The Queen Margaret Settlement 1897 – 1914: Glasgow women pioneers in social work.

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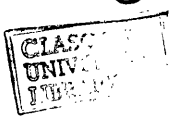

Abstract.

This study concerns the origins and early years of the Queen Margaret Settlement (hereafter QMS) in Glasgow, from its foundation in 1897 until the outbreak of war in 1914. The QMS merits study because of its pivotal rôle in several related fields, all of which underwent crucial change in this period. The QMS was part of the wider Settlement movement which arose in the 1880s as part of the contemporary 'rediscovery of poverty'. In the new thinking about the 'organic' nature of society, Settlements were a response to the alienation from each other of the urban social classes. The initial aim of the Settlements was to restore the social balance within poor areas by enabling University students to live in Residences as neighbours to the poor; in time many Settlements developed a strong interest in educating workers to understand the conditions they encountered. This concern led the QMS to promote professional training for social workers and hence to work for the foundation of a School of Social Study affiliated to Glasgow University.

The QMS owed much to its Glasgow origins. Amid the great wealth arising from vast industrial and commercial enterprises, the city experienced its own 'rediscovery of poverty'. This was influenced by the teaching of Moral Philosophy by Professors Caird and Jones at the University, and reinforced by a new mood of social concern from the major Scottish denominations, and further by the publication of reports detailing Glasgow's huge problems of housing and public health. Glasgow's social and economic elite had a tradition of active involvement in the public and philanthropic life of the city, and many of the women who worked in the QMS came from this motivated, wealthy class.

Furthermore, the QMS owed its foundation to Queen Margaret College, the first institution for women's higher education in the west of Scotland. Most of the women noted above attended the College to gain 'higher culture' and (later) degrees, making them a remarkable group by the standards of the time. The experience of College education combined with the self-confidence of their middle-class backgrounds, prompted these women to take whatever opportunities became available for service in professional and public life.

These women also conferred a unique character upon the QMS. They were intellectually and practically capable, and were pragmatic in their approach to the problems of the area. Their initial work centred on the encouragement of thrift and financial independence. However, their expressed concern for the welfare of women and children led them to pioneer several ventures (including the first Invalid Children's School in Scotland) which were later taken over by the State as part of the Liberal Welfare reforms in the Edwardian period. In order to remain relevant, the QMS had to keep abreast of the rapidly-changing circumstances of the times; the fact that it did so was due entirely to the ability of its remarkable women.

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Dedication

To Wilfrid, without whom this would never have begun, and to Edward, Rosalind, and James, without whom it would have been completed much earlier.

Abbreviations:

AR	Annual Reports
CAA	Catholic Archdiocesan Archives
COS	Charity Organisation Society
CSB	Collecting Savings Bank
GAHEW	Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women
GGHB	Greater Glasgow Health Board [Archives]
GR	Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library
GSST	Glasgow School of [Social Study and] Social Training
GU	Glasgow University
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
GUSS	Glasgow University Students' Settlement
GUWW	Glasgow Union of Women Workers
ILP	Independent Labour Party
MRO	Modern Records Office, Warwick University
PL	Poor Law
QMC	Queen Margaret College
QMCSA	Queen Margaret College Settlement Association
QMS	Queen Margaret Settlement
QMU	Queen Margaret Union
RC	Royal Commission
SRA	Strathclyde Regional Archives
UF	United Free Church
UP	United Presbyterian Church
WEA	Workers' Educational Association
WFL	Women's Freedom League
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WSS	Women's Suffrage Society
WUS	Women's University Settlement

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1: Background and origins of the Queen Margaret Settlement.

The Queen Margaret Settlement (hereafter QMS) was founded by the women of Queen Margaret College in 1897, the third of three Settlements established in Glasgow in the 1880s and 1890s and arguably the most successful.[1] These Settlements, along with about forty others in Britain and over four hundred in the United States, owed their foundation to the inspiration of the first University Settlement, Toynbee Hall, established in London in 1883. The Settlement movement began as a response to the problem of breakdown of community because urban development had resulted in the separation of social classes; however, each Settlement developed along different lines in response to local conditions and to the motivation of its members. 'The central idea of all Settlements is to establish a home in a poor locality and make true friends of the people who live there. But while all Settlements have this as their "raison d'etre", they have ... developed on many different sides – there is no stereotyped Settlement method. Religious, educational, social purposes – in most all three find a place.'[2] Furthermore, the origin of Settlements was closely linked to the national debate in the 1880s concerning the 'rediscovery of poverty', in which the continuing immensity of the problem drew conflicting views on the way it should be tackled. The problem and the attention were not confined to the urban poor, but since Settlements were invariably based in cities, this discussion centres around their condition. This chapter examines first the contemporary national concern about the breakdown of society in the 1880s by the alienation of the poor from the better-off which prompted the foundation of the first Settlement; it then considers the particular intellectual, religious, and social influences operating in Glasgow which gave rise to the QMS.

In the course of the nineteenth century, there was a grudging acceptance of the city as an enduring fact of industrial life. It may have been dirty, overcrowded, and blighted the lives of its inhabitants, but it would not disappear so the citizens had to make the best of it.[3] The teaching of John Ruskin, Professor of Fine Arts at Oxford University, greatly influenced a number of people who tried to improve the quality of industrial life, including Edward Denison (see below), Octavia Hill and Arnold Toynbee. Ruskin believed that all aspects of society – beauty, art, religion and morality were interrelated, and that a corrupt society could not produce good art. He hated cities because all the beauty and meaning had been driven out of them.[4] Civic enterprise as seen in Birmingham, Glasgow, and Leeds, could do much to enhance the quality of life in the city and generate pride in its achievements, but the sheer scale of some problems was immense. Half a century of improvements, clearance of the worst slum districts and various legal measures designed to improve living conditions had made inroads into the poorer districts but they failed to overcome the problems; indeed, sometimes they had exacerbated them. 'What is happening in Glasgow is this: sanitary science is advancing, the standard of overcrowding

[1] The two earlier ones were Toynbee House, founded in 1886 by Prof. William Smart, and the Glasgow University Students' Settlement (GUSS), founded in 1889 by a group of Divinity students.

[2] Strathclyde Regional Archives (SRA), TD-PAR 1.9, 345, *GUSS Annual Report*, 1907/8.

[3] Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: the Search for Community* (Yale, 1987) 40-41.

[4] Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: the Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York, 1967) 4-5.

has been raised, uninhabitable houses are being condemned, while the railway companies and Improvement Trust are again clearing away ... congested districts inhabited by the poorest of the poor. These people [are] being driven closer into the remaining slums, causing rents to be raised, whilst dragging down the reputation both of their new houses and their new neighbours. Just as the Saltmarket waifs were driven over the river to Gorbals...'[5]

In addition, city populations were swelled constantly by displaced and dispossessed people who came in search of a better life, but actually increased pressure upon over-crowded and hard-pressed resources. Whitechapel, the base of Toynbee Hall in East London, became home to successive waves of refugees from continental Europe, particularly after 1881 for Russian Jews escaping the pogroms which followed the assassination of Alexander II;[6] Anderston, the home of the QMS in Glasgow, had seen its mansion houses split or 'made-down' and become slums to cope with the housing shortage following successive migrations to the city from Ireland during the famine and from the Highlands as a result of the Clearances.[7] At the same time, the families of men who had prospered moved out of the cities to villas in leafy western suburbs, severing the link between workplace and home. This left great tracts of the city with an entirely poverty-stricken population. Edward Denison, who chose to live in Stepney in London in the 1860s deplored the fact that there were 'no rich people in the district. It is this unbroken level of poverty which is *the* blight of East London.'[8] Octavia Hill echoed the charge; 'We live upon the labours of the poor in districts far from our homes. We are content to draw our wealth from these [factories]. Does this imply no duty? It is our withdrawal from these less pleasant neighbourhoods which has left these tracts what they are.'[9]

The separation of rich and poor areas contributed to middle-class fears in the 1880s about loss of social control. The working classes had become a more potent political force since the provision of compulsory elementary education from 1870 in England and from 1872 in Scotland, and the extension of the franchise to adult men in 1884. The Labour movement was rising but still in its infancy and closely tied to the Liberals in Parliament. More immediately alarming for the middle classes, New Unionism among less-skilled and lower-paid workers found expression in strikes such as that by the dockers in 1889. Intellectual stirrings were also apparent in this decade. Marx died in 1883 but his influence continued, and one of his followers, H. M. Hyndman founded the Social Democratic Foundation to achieve radical reforms through violence if necessary. Less dramatic but more influential, the Fabian Society was founded to work for social reform through gradualist means. These developments may or may not have forced the middle-classes to act through fear but they indicate a general level of concern about the condition of society.

Such concern surfaced particularly during periods of economic slump. In fact, the general level of underemployment among the casual workforce caused as much hardship

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[5] John Mann Jr., 'Better Homes for the Poor', *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society (Proc. Roy. Phil. Soc.) of Glasgow*, vol. xxx 1898/9, 14 Dec. 1898.

[6] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 28-9.

[7] J. N. Cooper, *Simply Anderston* (Glasgow, 1972); A. K. Chalmers, *The Health of Glasgow, 1818-1925* (Glasgow, 1930) 80.

[8] Baldwin Leighton, *Letters and other Writings of the Late Edward Denison* (London, 1872) 29, quoted in Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 4.

[9] Julia Parker, *Women and Welfare: Ten Victorian Women in Public Social Service* (London, 1989) 24.

as periods of slump, but the latter had a higher profile.[10] Moreover, the effects of a trade depression blurred the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor which was at the heart of the Poor Law, and also highlighted the inadequacies of the existing system of Poor Relief. Under the English Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, relief was only given to the able-bodied poor if they entered the workhouse – the so-called 'workhouse test' to discourage the indigent poor from claiming relief through laziness. However, a fall in demand for a city's staple product dislocated an alarming proportion of its workforce and the rest of the city's economy, and all became chargeable to the parish poor rate. In such circumstances indigence was not the problem; the Poor Law simply could not cope with the numbers suddenly thrust upon it. Workhouses were not built to cope with mass destitution, and it was cheaper to give people outdoor relief in their own homes. The Scottish Poor Law of 1845 made no provision at all for the able-bodied poor, although again, in practice, the application was not so rigid as the Law intended it to be. Furthermore, for those limited categories deemed eligible (those disabled by extremes of age or physical disability) the great majority were relieved outdoors and not indoors.[11] People in need often resorted to charities since '... the fact that no able-bodied person can receive relief led to a conviction on the part of the public that charity must relieve destitution'.[12] In Glasgow, charitable giving was generous; ('Would charity funds in Glasgow, if properly administered, enable you to abolish relief?' 'Yes, I think so ... the amount collected in Glasgow for a year, for a variety of charitable objects, if it were put with [the returns of an endowed character for all Scotland] would materially relieve the public of the provision of outdoor relief.'[13]) but its administration was much criticised by those involved in Poor Law and charity organisation. 'Outdoor relief is much complicated by charitable agencies in this city who give relief of various kinds – nearly all acting independently of each other. The present anarchic methods lead, I believe, to an enormous amount of deception, which, under the present system it is impossible to discover';[14] '... more money is spent printing the names of the donors than is spent on the people for whom the charities are meant'.[15]

It was precisely this waste of resources together with the degrading effect of 'doles' on the poor which prompted the creation of the Charity Organisation Society (hereafter COS) in 1869. The COS was a highly influential movement. It had a well-defined ethos, articulated by Charles Bosanquet and elaborated by Charles Loch, its two Secretaries; it inspired much dedicated work from its workers, male and female, in England, Scotland and the United States; moreover, some of these who began as COS friendly visitors later broke with that tradition and became important in other welfare developments, including the creation of Settlements. Like most contemporary thinking, the COS defined the poor in two groups; those who were simply poor, 'wage-earners, who help to create the wealth

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[10] J. H. Treble, 'The Market for Unskilled Male Labour in Glasgow, 1891-1914,' in I. Macdougall (ed.), *Essays in Scottish Labour History* (Edinburgh, 1978), 132-4.

[11] R. A. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law 1745-1845* (Edinburgh, 1981) 147-150; I. Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland 1890-1948* (Edinburgh, 1988) 9-12; A. Paterson, 'The Poor Law in Nineteenth Century Scotland,' in D. Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1976) 178, 185, 191-2.

[12] *1910 Royal Commission on the Poor Law, (RC. on PL.)* CD 4978 xlvi 1, statement of evidence by Miss K. V. Bannatyne, p. 308, 5.

[13] *1910 RC. on PL.* James Russell, q. 58501.

[14] *ibid.*, James Stewart, q. 58928.

[15] *ibid.*, J. Russell, q. 58584.

of society', and those who were indigent 'due very often ... to moral causes, to weakness of will and poverty of spirit'.[16] Pauperism was 'not a poverty of possessions but a poverty and degradation of life, an habitual reliance on others, due to want of self-control and foresight'. Hence, when a family fell upon hard times, 'the ordinary contingencies of life which fall within the range of ordinary foresight, should for the individual's sake and for society's sake be met by the efforts of the individual himself'. At such times indiscriminate doles of food and money would only demoralise a poor family and lead them further into despair, whereas appropriate charity could assist them back to independence and encourage habits of thrift and forethought that would prevent them falling into that pit again. 'Bad charity tempts them into the indigent class, good charity prevents their falling into that class.' Such 'good charity' could be harsh and uncompromising. 'All means of pressure, such as fear of destitution, sense of shame, influence of relative, must be brought to bear or left to act upon the individuals. The family unit must be taken as a whole, otherwise the strongest social bond is weakened.' 'He strongly deprecated any disturbance of the normal state of things and was most emphatic that no help should be given where the husband drinks and might if he liked earn good wages.'[17]

The COS drew heavily on the ideas of Thomas Chalmers, whom Loch regarded as his 'patron saint'.[18] Chalmers was a minister of the Church of Scotland (and later a leader of the Free Church in 1843) who was appointed to St John's, from the Tron parish, in Glasgow in 1819. For Chalmers, legal pauperism was a social evil. Poverty was 'always with you'; rich and poor were part of the divine order, but pauperism destroyed responsibility and set society in conflict.[19] Chalmers put into operation in St John's a system of 'friendly visiting' to relieve poverty, in which each case was thoroughly examined and relieved if necessary, quietly without stigma, but always with the aim of encouraging the family back to independence.[20] Chalmers' ideas had a wide influence through and beyond the COS; his teachings, for example, inspired the American Social Gospel and the American Unitarian Joseph Tuckerman, who in turn influenced the philanthropic Unitarians including the Liverpool minister John Hamilton Thorne.[21]

The different Poor Law administrations in England and Scotland caused divergence between the English and Scottish COS which surfaced at the national COS Conference in Glasgow in 1897. The *Charity Organisation Review (COR)* noted that the 'extent of obligation was much wider ... than across the border,' and moreover 'the problems of poverty are probably more complicated than anywhere else in Scotland ... the boldest attempts have been made to deal with them'. Yet these remarks prefaced a critical appraisal of the Glasgow COS: 'the Glasgow COS woodyard for able-bodied men, included in the programme of the Scottish COS, though with us, that is needless and undesirable ... far more questionable schemes for clothing, a form of relief perilous to administer, but

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[16] This and most of the following statements of COS policy are taken from C. S. Loch (ed.), *Annual Charities Register and Digest* (London, 1904) xv-xvi.

[17] Glasgow University Archives (GUA), 49.22/169, Queen Margaret College Settlement Association Executive Council Minutes book I (QMCSA Minutes I), 7 Dec. 1897.

[18] C. L. Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913: Its Ideas and Work* (London, 1961) 376.

[19] Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth* (London, 1982) 119.

[20] See Chapter 4.

[21] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 7; Brown, *Chalmers*, 377.

which the Glasgow COS combines with strong moral pressure on the parents'.[22] These points were answered in the April issue of the *COR* by the Revd. Hugh Ross, a member of the Glasgow COS. 'The Homeless Shelter – there is a great deal to be said for work as a test, and even as a means towards reaching for independence. While not ideally perfect, a work shelter is the only practical way of meeting the situation in Scotland.... The results in Glasgow are distinctly good, two-thirds of inmates on average finding their way back to independence and unaided exertion.'[23] A further difference arose over the formation of district committees, which the London COS had instituted from the 1880s in an attempt to organise charity more effectively. Glasgow district committees were formed from 1895 and the QMS's first responsibility in Anderston was to manage the COS district office there. However the Glasgow practice was scorned by the London COS; 'when we learn that their offices are open for two hours in the week only ... it is impossible to regard them as anything other than the germ of a future local system'.[24] Again, the criticism was countered by Ross. '... regarding district committees, the measures already taken are sufficient. It would never do to have an open door merely to provoke applications.'[25] Nonetheless, further reports from the Glasgow conference reinforced the impression that the London COS remained sceptical of the wisdom of the Glasgow COS and of Glasgow's public and private relief in general.[26]

However, by the mid-1880s the COS creed that poverty was a moral failure was being seriously disputed. As noted above, mass urban destitution in an economic slump could not be attributed to moral failing, and shifted the emphasis from character to economic conditions as a more likely explanation.[27] It was also questionable if foresight could provide cover for emergency needs. (A later study upon household budgets by the Fabian Mrs Pember Reeves, noted that there was really very little choice when keeping a family upon twenty shillings a week – the women's accounts corroborated each other and showed no margin for contingency funds.[28]) Several studies, such as Charles Booth's investigations into living conditions in East London, and Dr James Burn Russell's study of Glasgow housing, *Life in One Room*, were conducted upon COS lines of inquiry, but the results led the conclusion towards state intervention. These studies also publicised the extent

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[22] Loch (ed.), 'The COS in Scotland', *Charity Organisation Review (COR)*, Feb. 1897, 76.

[23] H. Ross, 'The COS in Scotland', *COR* (April 1897.)

[24] Loch (ed.), *COR*, Feb. 1897, 79.

[25] Ross, *COR*, April 1897, 228.

[26] Another example occurs in the remarks in the *COR* on the speech by Henry Jones, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University who was influential in the current Glasgow thinking upon poverty and charity (see also below). 'Jones' paper on "Corporate and Individual Charity" held that there is "something radically unsatisfactory in a view ... which regards these powers as intrinsically inimical", and that there is a distinction between them "of methods and means but not a difference of agents". It seemed to some of us that the Professor hardly understood the position of those who think that the municipality may provide gas, but need not, as in Glasgow, find a Corporation Home for widows and widowers, but we rejoiced in his emphatic declaration that "the weapons of state and civic methods can only be entrusted to the skilled hands of men whose individual character is highly developed."' 'COS Annual Conference,' *COR*, June 1897.

[27] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 26.

[28] M. Pember Reeves, *Round About A Pound A Week* (London, 1913, republished 1979) 12.

of the poverty and appalling living conditions endured by the poor which were generally hidden from the view of the better-off. Public opinion was shocked too by *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, written by Andrew Mearns, a Congregationalist minister in London, and taken up by the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Daily News*. The impact of such articles lay not in the revelation of unknown awful conditions, but in the sheer scale of them, and they caught the mood of the times. Henry Scott Holland recalled that Settlements 'came about through one of those spasms of pity and remorse which now and again lay hold of the imagination of a nation, only to pass away in idle emotion. This time it was not permitted to do so.'[29] The Revd. S. A. Barnett commented that 'The revelations of recent pamphlets have fallen upon ears prepared to hear.'[30] Barnett was speaking to a group of Oxford students upon 'Settlements of University Men in Great Towns' in October 1883; later that year he founded the first Settlement, Toynbee Hall. There was a general groundswell of opinion that such conditions were catastrophic, too great to be overcome by individual efforts alone, as advocated by the COS, and could only be tackled by the machinery of the state.

At the same time there was a change in motivation. Orthodox Christianity had been challenged by Darwin's theory of evolution and by scientific progress; faith in God was still strong but there was growing optimism that the application of reason and scientific method to social problems could improve man's condition.[31] Social problems could be measured more accurately if data were collected and studied, and then appropriate action could be taken in what proved to be the most needy areas.[32] Settlements themselves and the inquiries they undertook encouraged the shift from the poverty of character to structural causes. For example, Mrs Bosanquet, in her book *Rich and Poor* castigated feckless wives for their extravagance in buying small quantities of food at higher prices, rather than buying more cheaply in bulk.[33] While there was some truth in this, Professor Paton's dietary study carried out (partly at the QMS) in Glasgow in 1912 was much more aware of the constraints of managing such a small budget. The study's prime purpose was to establish if it were possible to produce an adequate diet for the physical demands of the man's job on the money he earned. Furthermore, the research report noted that the demands of the study confounded the result by requiring the food to be bought in the morning for calorific testing to take place, whereas women often bought food at the end of the day when it was being sold off cheaply.[34]

The change in emphasis was reinforced by the universities' teaching from the 1850s that society was an organic whole and that the 'common good' was paramount. Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol argued that universities had a wider responsibility than simply

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[29] H. S. Holland, *A Bundle of Memories* (London, 1915) 89.

[30] A. Briggs and A. Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: the First Hundred Years* (London, 1984) 3.

[31] The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was founded in 1857, in imitation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, to encourage such an approach. Mowat, *The COS*, 14.

[32] This was seen in the QMS's involvement with infant health-visiting and feeding, when the areas of highest infant mortality were targetted for visitation by trained workers. See Chapter 6.

[33] Mrs B. Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor* (2nd edn. 1898) 90-92; quoted in J. H. Treble, *Urban Poverty in Britain 1830-1914* (London, 1979) 118.

[34] D. E. Lindsay, *Report upon a Study of the Diet of the Labouring Classes in Glasgow, carried out during 1911-12* (Glasgow, 1913).

to intellectual progress, that they should educate men to be national leaders. This was developed by T. H. Green who taught at Balliol from 1866 and also by Arnold Toynbee, the economic historian, who matriculated there in 1875. These men 'had their minds full of the "condition of the people" question, temperance, housing, wages, electoral reform, amelioration of the lot of others, as a mark of genuine faith'.[35] Green himself had lost his faith in the 1860s but did not abandon Christian principles and in the words of Arnold Toynbee, felt a responsibility to 'redefine the practical character of Christian life'.[36] From a position close to the German idealists, Green felt that God existed in loving the brethren, and that man could reach his 'higher self' by subordinating his own needs to the 'common good' and serving others in community. Green argued that losing one's faith did not mean that life became pointless; philosophy could restore a sense of purpose and enable life to be spent in useful and positive service.[37] 'The State was a moral institution and civic duty a spiritual function. This was to be embraced and possessed, for within it there was nothing finally and absolutely secular.'[38] Yet Green himself only approved of state intervention in society insofar as it freed people to cultivate their 'higher selves'. Toynbee went further. 'Where people are unable to provide a thing for themselves, and that thing is of 'primary importance', the State should interfere and provide it for them.'[39] Green died in 1882, Toynbee in 1883. Jowett died in 1893 and was succeeded by Edward Caird, a former Balliol student and now Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University. Caird's teaching was similar to Green's in that he considered the conflict between the individual and the state could only be resolved if freedom and association were defined in relationship with each other, as a union reflecting the organic nature of society.[40] He also encouraged Balliol men to assume their responsibilities in the outside world. Upon his appointment as Master of Balliol in 1893, his chair at Glasgow was taken by Henry Jones, who figures above in a difference with the COS, and also below in the discussion of the Glasgow intellectual scene. Hence the doctrine urging educated men (and later women) to work together in common cause for the good of the nation spread its influence over generations of Oxford students from the 1860s into the 1900s, and through them, to succeeding generations of students in other universities.

Those who came to believe that some measure of state action was necessary to redress the basic ills of society were classed as Progressives or New Liberals. This was a broad church of political thought which was generally in line with Liberal tendencies, although it did not include all Liberals and it did incorporate others – Conservatives, Labour socialists, and Fabians – who were not Liberals.[41] Within this loose alliance there were many rival strategies: the Fabians were accused by Hobhouse of 'attempting to force progress by packing and managing committees instead of winning popular assent';[42] at the other end of the spectrum was the 'gradualist' school which held that 'all real progress must

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[35] Melvyn Richter, *Politics of Conscience; T. H. Green and his age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) 29-30.

[36] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 11.

[37] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 11-16.

[38] T. Jones, biographical sketch of William Smart, in W. Smart, *Second Thoughts of an Economist* (London, 1918) xxii.

[39] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 13, 16.

[40] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 19.

[41] P. F. Clarke, 'The Progressive Movement in England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (TRHS)*, 5th ser., vol. 24, 1974; Mowat, *The COS*, 117.

[42] Clarke, *op. cit.*

be by growth. A change which does not fit into or grow out of things that already exist is not a practicable change, and such are some of the changes now advocated by socialists upon platforms.'[43] Some Liberals too were wary of the extent to which individual freedoms would be threatened by state socialism, but recognised at the same time the state's potential to deal with social evils.[44] Both the COS and the Progressives stressed the importance of character, but they differed over the extent to which social reform could be achieved by individuals working by and for themselves: the COS believed that the efforts of individuals would create a better state; the Progressives held that individuals working on their own efforts hardly constituted social reform, while some problems were far beyond the range of any man's responsibility and thus required the wise application of state aid.

The deep differences between COS and the Progressives were revealed at a meeting of the COS Council in July 1895, when the Revd. Samuel Barnett delivered a 'Friendly Criticism' of the COS.[45] Barnett himself was a COS visitor, but his years as Rector of St Jude's, Whitechapel in the East End of London had made him a socialist. Barnett's speech was amicable in tone but his message was hard-hitting. His main argument was that COS thinking had not advanced since the Society's foundation in 1869, and that it was so set upon its vision that it overlooked the value of current efforts. Barnett remarked that changes in the 1880s had created 'a great body of opinion which has altered the conditions under which the problem has to be discussed'. Yet the COS had become 'idolaters of principle'. The Council 'sets and sets rightly a high value on saving as a means to independence, but obviously saving may be a crime ... may be a question whether a man earning less than a pound a week ... ought to save his money rather than spend it on the development of the bodies, brains and souls of his children. The Council give no adequate consideration to any of these things, It simply exalts saving – giving to a form the glory of a principle.' This seemed blinkered to Barnett, especially in the light of current thinking on the 'organic society', and he despaired that the COS was missing the mood of the times. 'The Council does not lead public opinion. Like Lot's wife, its eyes are constantly turned back to the past.... The pity of it is that the Society which is the centre of devoted work, does not catch the goodwill and enthusiasm of the times. It condemns more than it organises, it sometimes despises where it ought to woo....'

Despite his temperate tone, Barnett's remarks shocked some members of the COS. Brook Lambert wrote in the November issue of the *COR* of the 'severe disagreement between Barnett and Loch, whom I for one had always regarded as the Paul and Barnabas of this work'.[46] Loch, who responded to the Friendly Criticism, was vehemently critical of Barnett, not countering the main points of Barnett's address, but charging him with changeability and lack of understanding. Meacham contends that while Loch's attack was certainly personal, it was easy for him to suggest that Barnett's attack was simply a personal defence of his shifting position over the last twenty years.[47]

The COS came under fire from the Progressives because of their perceived narrowness of vision, but also because twenty years' work appeared to have done little to solve social problems. Beatrice Webb admired some COS principles but for her 'its major fault lay in its obsession that mass hardship was caused by indiscriminate handouts which encouraged

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[43] Canon S. A. Barnett, quoted in Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 7.

[44] M. Freeden, *The New Liberalism* (Oxford, 1978) 60, 66.

[45] Loch (ed.), *COR* vol. XI, Aug. and Nov. 1895; also Mowat, *The COS*, 126-7.

[46] B. Lambert, *COR*, Nov. 1895, vol. XI, 499.

[47] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 77.

deceit. She decided that the COS had no consciousness of "collective sin"'.[48] Furthermore the COS had not transformed charity; Barnett observed that 'charity was as disorganised as when the COS was formed', Beatrice Webb that 'the COS made a merit of denouncing the practices of other charitable agencies while failing to ... cope with the vast ocean of poverty on their own terms'.[49]

As noted above, Barnett's experience of life in the East End of London made him a socialist. He published a pamphlet entitled 'Practicable Socialism' in 1883; he supported the London Dockers' Strike later in the decade partly because he wished to see the rich shocked out of their complacency and faced with the consequences of overlooking their social obligations.[50] However, in 1883 the untimely death occurred of Arnold Toynbee, Green's friend and pupil at Oxford, and it was decided to commemorate his name in a Settlement in the East End of London. (A similar venture had taken place in London in the 1860s when the Revd. J. R. Green had chosen a living in the East End in preference to the West End.) Since Green's teaching had emphasized the obligations of the Universities to the world outside, it was felt appropriate to establish a Settlement called Toynbee Hall to provide a point of contact between resident university students and the local population. The Settlement would provide whatever the local people wanted – dancing, music, libraries, education. 'Nothing that can be learned of the University is too good for East London.'[51] Barnett's Settlement had several related objectives. Its central function was to re-establish a social balance in the area, 'to bring back into the stricken district men and women normally expected to be there, without whom civic life cannot proceed'.[52] The intention was not to patronise but to allow each group to learn about the other in reciprocal friendships; the students could share some of their learning with the local people, and in turn their eyes would be opened to the reality of life in a poor locality. Holland recalled hearing Barnett inspire a student audience with all that they might achieve with Settlement experience, culminating in their appointments as Poor Law Guardians – which caused 'rather a sudden fall in excitement'. Yet the students realised that Barnett meant they 'would have got to the very heart of things in a way that really touched the poor'.[53] Barnett felt too that Settlements should not be sectarian or missionary, because the need for converts would interfere with the primary purpose of 'connecting' with the local people in 'one by one' relationships. 'A mission creates organisations, institutions, machinery. A Settlement uses personal influence and tends to human contact.'[54]

Toynbee Hall was criticised mainly because its vision was so hazy and indefinable. Sidney Webb considered it 'somewhat sentimental and unpractical'.[55] Meacham argues that as fashion changed from social amelioration to social science in the mid-1900s, later graduates who were interested in social conditions were not drawn to the vagueness of 'connection' with the poor and preferred to go straight into government social science work.[56] Furthermore, the need to draw in local people meant that activities dominated Settlement life. In an aside to Barnett's comments about the difference between Settle-

[48] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 171.
[49] Mowat, *The COS*, 128, 130.
[50] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 67.
[51] Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 5.
[52] Holland, *Memories*, 91.
[53] Holland, *Memories*, 92.
[54] Canon S. A. Barnett, 'Ways of Settlements and Missions,' *COR*, Dec. 1897.
[55] S. Webb, *Socialism in England* (London, 1893) 75.
[56] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 122.

ments and missions above, the *COR* remarked caustically '... it certainly seems to us that even Toynbee Hall appears to lead to the growth of organisations'. Toynbee Hall itself had a strong educational programme because Barnett believed 'the social problem is at root an educational problem', although he was aware that this frustrated the ideal of one-by-one relationships.[57] It is questionable too if Settlements could ever have been 'simply the restoration of natural conditions which public life assumes',[58] rather than artificial implants in the neighbourhood. Settlers were criticised for being 'in the area but not of it' and for defining the terms on which the local people met them. Loch too was 'inclined to doubt whether Canon Barnett's theory that the Settlement is not an institution but merely a place where the rich can live as neighbours to the poor, is held among the poor themselves. The neighbourly ideal would be carried more effectively if people lived as independent units ... rather than a common life in the Settlement.'[59] Certainly some students left Toynbee Hall because they felt they were acting a part there, and chose to live separately among the poor.[60]

Nonetheless, Settlements caught the mood of the times. Further Settlements opened in London, some with significant differences from Toynbee Hall. Several were overtly religious, believing that Toynbee Hall did not sufficiently emphasize its Christian nature; Oxford House was founded in Bethnal Green in 1884 because its leaders found Toynbee Hall 'unacceptably secular'. Other Nonconformist Settlements combined Settlement ethos and mission: the Presbyterians opened a Settlement in Poplar, the Wesleyans opened the Bermondsey Settlement in 1890, the Congregationalists had Browning Hall in Walworth and Mansfield House in Canning Town.[61] Other Oxbridge Colleges set up their own Settlement houses in London which led to women students' Settlements. The Women's University Settlement (WUS) began in Southwark in 1887, and Lady Margaret Hall established one in 1897, in the same year as the QMS. Barnett had originally conceived of Settlements only for men; indeed, he was afraid that if women were allowed in, they would take over and drive out the men.[62] Octavia Hill was also sceptical about women's involvement; she feared they would be distracted from their 'primary duties' at home by working with the poor, and also that well-bred women would need rest at home away from the slums, so residence in a Settlement would not give the required break. However, more women than men were available for the work so women's Settlements became accepted and carved out their own role in social work.

In addition, Toynbee Hall attracted many visitors from cities in Britain and abroad (especially the United States) who came to observe the Settlement ethos in operation and to judge if it might be effective in their own cities. Settlements sprang up in most major cities in Britain, in Dublin, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Rose estimates that by 1914 there were forty British Settlements.[63] Among the most famous American visitors was Jane Addams who set up Hull House in Chicago after seeing the work done at

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[57] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 54-59.

[58] Holland, *Memories*, 91.

[59] Loch (ed.), *COR*, Dec. 1897.

[60] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 48-50.

[61] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 79.

[62] Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: work and community for single women* (London, 1985) 217-8.

[63] M. E. Rose, 'The Settlement House and Social Welfare: Britain and the United States c. 1880-1914,' *Manchester Univ. Working Papers in Economic and Social History*, no. 6, 1991, 14.

Toynbee Hall. Another visitor was William Smart, recently appointed lecturer in Political Economy at Queen Margaret College in Glasgow. He was fired with enthusiasm for the idea and saw the potential for its application to Glasgow as a large city with similar social problems. On his return in 1886 he published a pamphlet which effectively launched the Settlement movement in Glasgow.

By the 1880s Glasgow stood at the peak of its achievements as second city of the British Empire and ranked within the first six cities in Europe in terms of population and production.[64] The close proximity of iron and coal reserves together with its access along the river Clyde to the west coast had made the city an important trade centre, and in the nineteenth century improvements to the ship-carrying capacity of the Clyde and the advent of the steamship made it the focus of Scotland's transatlantic trade. Glasgow's economy was dominated by engineering and heavy industry: iron, steel, and chemical works, general engineering, locomotive works and shipbuilding, as well as a host of industries connected with the importation of raw materials from the United States. Glasgow was 'a skilled man's city'; in 1911 less than 30% of the occupied male labour force was unskilled.[65] There were also over twice as many men employed in commercial occupations in Glasgow as in Edinburgh.[66] Such activity created great wealth; Glasgow dominated wealth-holding in Scotland in this period. A survey of the size of estates left at death taken from the Calendar of Confirmations (a useful guide if used with caution[67]) throughout Scotland in the year 1881 reveals that Aberdeen and Dundee accounted for 3% of total wealth, Edinburgh 16%, but Glasgow topped the table at 23%.[68] Glasgow's middle classes were a strong and tightly-knit group, active in the life of the city.[69] Church membership was normative and charitable activity was plentiful. There was also keen awareness and interest in current social questions, shown by the support given to such societies as the Civic Society and the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow. This latter group had large membership, notable for the extent of their wider involvement in civic affairs; their meetings considered matters of public health, housing for the poor, and the moral and social progress of Scotland. Through these people and their organisations Glasgow experienced its own 'rediscovery of poverty'.

Certainly the problems of urban poverty were at least as acute in Glasgow as elsewhere. The city's population grew rapidly in the nineteenth century; from 77,000 in 1801 it increased over three times to 256,000 by 1841, and then tripled again to 762,000 by 1901.[70] The increase had been stoked by rapid immigration from Ireland as a result of the Famine and rural poverty, and from the Highlands and Islands as a result of the Clearances. The influx put an enormous strain on housing resources, exacerbating overcrowding

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[64] S. Checkland, *The Upas Tree: Glasgow 1875-1975 ... and after*, 2nd edn. (Glasgow, 1981) Preface.

[65] R. J. Morris, 'The Urbanisation of Scotland', in W. H. Fraser and R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland vol. II, 1830-1914* (Edinburgh, 1990) 76.

[66] N. J. Morgan and R. H. Trainor, 'The Dominant Classes,' in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland II*, 108.

[67] N. J. Morgan and M. S. Moss, 'Listing the Wealthy in Scotland', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, LIX, 1986, 194-5. This is discussed further in Chapter 2.

[68] Morgan and Trainor, 'The Dominant Classes', in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland II*, 114.

[69] See Chapter 2 for those included in this 'middle -class'.

[70] J. Cunnison and J. B. S. Gilfillan (eds.), *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1958) 58.

and pushing up the disease rate. Edwin Chadwick visited Glasgow and was appalled by the stunted bodies of the poor, and the noisy, dirty life around them.[71] Immigrants added to the numbers of the casual labour market which flourished around the docks. Partly through the introduction of steamships and through a change in the dock companies' hiring of hands, there was a great deal of underemployment in Glasgow, in addition to the seasonal nature of much unskilled work which afflicted any city. Furthermore, families tended to perpetuate a tradition of skilled or unskilled work which made it difficult to rise out of poverty.[72] Evidence given to the Poor Law Commission in 1909/10 suggested the principal causes of poverty in Glasgow to be low wages, irregular demand for labour, the wage-earner's incapacity to earn through sickness, accident, or death, large numbers of children, and old age.[73] Yet if the problem of poverty was acute, there was also more wealth in the city to provide relief;[74] moreover Glasgow's middle classes were actively encouraged to consider the city's problems through its own particular political debate and traditions of civic involvement, and by current influences emanating from the University, the churches, and Glasgow's own public health reports.

As at Oxford, the influence of Moral Philosophy teaching at Glasgow University spread through generations of university students who carried this ethos into their professional life and public leadership. Philosophy was central to the Arts curriculum until 1892 and beyond;[75] Glasgow University's position as the sole institution for higher education in the west of Scotland reinforced the effect of these ideas by influencing many men active within the same community. Sometimes also, sons (and later daughters) of wealthy fathers studied for a short period at the University without taking a full degree, and this again diffused the influence of current moral philosophy more widely. Edward Caird, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University until appointed Master of Balliol in 1893, shared and was a keen proponent of many of T. H. Green's ideas. He accepted Hegelian ideas that everything fell into God's range, that man was a social being who could only exist in working together with his fellow men. Caird's teaching profoundly affected a generation of remarkable philosophy students, including Henry Jones who succeeded Caird to the Moral Philosophy chair in 1894, William Smart, who became the first Professor of Political Economy at Glasgow, J. H. Muirhead, later Professor of Moral Philosophy at Birmingham University,[76] James Denney, later Principal of the United Free Church College in Glasgow, John Herkless, Principal of St Andrews University, and W. P. Ker, later Professor of Poetry at Oxford University.[77] Jones followed and expanded Caird's teaching, 'preaching eagerly

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[71] M. W. Flinn (ed.), *Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain by Edwin Chadwick, 1842* (Edinburgh, 1965) 99.

[72] Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 58-59. See also Chapter 4.

[73] *1909 RC. on Poor Laws*, CD. 4922.

[74] Anne Crowther, 'Poverty, Health and Welfare', in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland II*, 278-9.

[75] R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* (Oxford, 1983) 361.

[76] Muirhead gave the inaugural address at the launch of the Glasgow School of Social Studies in October 1910. His lecture on the 'Motives for Social Service' indicates clearly Caird's influence on his subsequent thinking; 'the central [motive] was the sense of social solidity, a profound conviction that it was flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, its woes were our woes, its growth and betterment our own growth in human worth'. GUA, G.S.S.T. archive. (For the QMS's role in establishing the School see Chapter 6.)

[77] W. P. Ker had two sisters who worked for the QMS and one, Penelope, took over

the cause of good citizenship, and pressed for an increase in teaching of the moral and social sciences'.[78] In 1905 he founded the Civic Society, a 'meeting ground where vigorous businessmen of city and more theoretical scholars of the University can discuss and study social problems with a view to mutual helpfulness and better practical results'.[79] Jones' colleagues and friends included a cross-section of Glasgow society, merchant as well as university families,[80] which demonstrates wide support for such views.

Moral Philosophy teaching at Glasgow University was reinforced by a new debate amongst the churches.[81] Since the mid-nineteenth century, the drop in church attendance had been a source of concern, but publication of new statistics in the late 1880s suggested that church attendance levels were lower than ever. The traditional argument had blamed the poor for not making an effort and sinking into a moral morass. However, this time a different reason was suggested by the Glasgow-based inquiry into 'Non-churchgoing and the Housing of the Poor', conducted by the ministers of the Barony and Park parishes in Glasgow. The Report of the inquiry, read to the General Assembly in May 1888, considered that there could be 'thousands of God-fearing and true men and women compelled against their will to worship God at their firesides,' because they could neither afford to dress for church as society expected, nor afford to attend because of the 'evil methods inherent in seat-letting'.[82] This marked a distinct change in attitude to non-church people. Economic and social realities were preventing people coming to church, and the church was not addressing their needs. 'Picture the tragedy of life in one room. Non-churchgoing is the least of it. What the church has primarily to do is [show] that it has more to do for these so-called "lapsed masses" than ... to shower upon them tracts and good advices while we are leaving them to swelter in dens and under conditions where Christian life is difficult if not impossible to realise.' A similar report was presented to the Established Presbytery of Glasgow in February 1889, acknowledging that poverty was 'often the consequence of untoward circumstances'. The concern persisted through the 1890s and 1900s. There was some reluctance, particularly from the Established Church, that support for social reform could be politically divisive for congregations, but this was generally overcome by the awareness that the churches had become remote from the harsh realities of life for the poor and would appear irrelevant, or worse, antagonistic to attempts to improve social conditions.

The churches' concern was given official and scientific support by the publication of studies such as Dr Russell's *Life in One Room.* Glasgow's first Medical Officer of Health (MOH), Dr W. T. Gairdner was appointed in 1863 as a sign of the city's concern about its

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the Invalid Children's branch. She was instrumental in founding the Invalid Children's school in Anderston and went on to found the Children's Home Hospital in the country. See Chapters 4 and 5.

[78] H. Hetherington, *Life and Letters of Henry Jones* (London, 1924) 21-2, 86-8.

[79] *COR*, June 1897, 332.

[80] Hetherington, *Henry Jones*, 90.

[81] D. J. Withrington, 'The Churches in Scotland, c.1870-c.1900: Towards a New Social Conscience?' *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol. XIX (Edinburgh, 1977) 155-168. This paper forms the basis of the argument in this paragraph. See also A. C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1983) 133-53.

[82] Macleod, *Non-Churchgoing and the Housing of the Poor* (Edinburgh, 1888) quoted in Withrington, 'The Churches in Scotland', 163.

disease rate and standards of public health.[83] His successor, Dr. James Burn Russell spent much time lecturing and explaining health problems to middle-class audiences in Glasgow, which created 'an attitude of concern' among those with the power to tackle them.[84] His most influential paper, *Life in One Room* began as an address to the Park Parish Literary Institute in February 1888; Park Church, in the centre of one of the richest residential areas in Glasgow, was attended by many of those middle-classes active in public life. The publication of *Life in One Room* caused much concern and discussion, for in it Russell drew attention to the high proportion (over one quarter) of the population of Glasgow who lived in 'single ends' where the whole family ate, washed, slept, played and died. This was the most publicised in a series of articles Russell wrote upon the subject.[85] In 'The House in Relation to Public Health', Russell stated 'The house is one of the most important items in the conditions upon which density operates upon health,' and quoted 'the nearer people live to each other, the shorter their lives are'.[86] The worst cases of overcrowding occurred in 'ticketed houses', with a capacity of less than 2000 cubic feet. These had a ticket nailed to the door recording the maximum number of occupants allowed by Glasgow Corporation to live in the room and could be inspected at any time. In practice, such inspections merely moved the problem elsewhere; 'if a man and wife and four children are found [in one room] they shift [to another district].[87] The solution was to get rid of the old 'made-down' tenements and provide decent homes for the poor. In 1866 the Glasgow Improvement Trust was set up to tackle the problem. At that time, about 8% of housing was reckoned to be overcrowded; by 1885 this had been reduced to below 5%.[88] Vast tracts of land had been cleared but the task was immense. The recollections of Thomas Jones, a student member of the Glasgow University Students' Settlement in Possil in the 1890s, indicate the enormity of the task. 'I was allotted a "close" which had forty-four families on one staircase in forty-four rooms – the famous "ticketed" houses. My mission was to bring them evangelical comfort. I saw that what was wanted was dynamite, with which to blow up the whole street after due notice to the occupants. The close is still standing.'[89]

Yet Jones also paid tribute to 'the enlightened and determined Corporation [which] made vast changes in health and housing of the working people, and halved the death

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[83] O. Checkland, 'Local Government and the Health Environment,' in O. Checkland and M. Lamb (eds.) *Health Care as Social History: The Glasgow Case* (Aberdeen, 1982) 7.

[84] O. Checkland, 'Local Government,' 10.

[85] Reprinted in A. K. Chalmers, *Public Health Administration in Glasgow: A Memorial Volume of some of the Writings of J. B. Russell* (Glasgow, 1905) 189-206. See also, 'On the Ticketed Houses of Glasgow,' *Proc. Roy. Phil. Soc. of Glasgow*, xx 1888-9; 'Sanitation and Social Economics', *ibid.*, xxi 1888-9.

[86] *Transactions of the Insurance and Actuarial Society of Glasgow*, 2nd ser., vol. 5, read for the Society 26 Jan. 1887.

[87] *1885 RC. on Working-Class Housing*, C.4409-1, Dr J. B. Russell, q. 19523.

[88] *ibid.*, Russell, q. 19492. However, this clearly depends on the measure used. Checkland notes that in 1891, London County Council defined overcrowding as two or more people per room; one-third of London housing fell below this standard, but two-thirds of Glasgow's. The 1917 Royal Commission on Housing revealed that Glasgow's overcrowding problem was still huge; 10.9% of houses had more than four people per room; 27.9% had more than three, and 55.7% had more than two people per room. Checkland, *The Upas Tree*, 20.

[89] GUA, DC.22/114, T. Jones CH, 'Life in the Great Towns,' *The Times*, Mar. 1932.

rate'. Glasgow's City Council was widely praised as a prime example of municipal socialism. In addition to housing, the Corporation also took responsibility for gas, water, electricity, telephones, the public regulation of buildings, health and education.[90] Sidney Webb hailed it as an example of enlightened socialism; '... the city of Glasgow has gone much further, the municipality (which already provides gas, water, markets, washhouses, slaughterhouses) has demolished vast areas of slum property and itself built large blocks of dwellings for the poor let at a "moderate" rent....'[91] Bernard Aspinwall also shows how American reformers viewed Glasgow as trying to embody the values of an ideal urban industrial society, both because of the control of its own public services, and because of the character of the 'self-made' men who had achieved this. 'Glasgow's municipal revolution was staffed by business men "earning their living by the sweat of their brow", a reassuring traditional American way.'[92] It has been argued that the city fathers were too authoritarian in their behaviour, for example sanctioning nocturnal raids on ticketed houses, and forbidding alcohol in the poorhouses, but such men were still admirable for their commitment and ability to get things done.[93]

Glasgow also had a highly active band of workers in charity and philanthropy. The Glasgow *Post Office Directories* for the period list scores of national and local charities in Glasgow, covering practically all ages and conditions of man, from temperance organisations and church missions to day nurseries and sick poor nursing associations. As noted above, there was some confusion between their efforts, yet the workers also undertook a considerable amount of work for each other; for example, COS workers investigated cases on behalf of the School Board for the Poor Children's Clothing Scheme, and the Fresh Air Fortnight Society, and the QMS itself later undertook work for other public and charitable institutions. But there was also an enormous amount of informal overlap between the charities through their voluntary staff which is clearly revealed in the network of relationships in the QMS.[94] Indeed, several new organisations arose in Glasgow in the 1880s as umbrella organisations to study what was being done and to consider new branches of work to fill the gaps. (This resembled the COS Register of Relief[95] but commanded more support perhaps because many of the workers involved were already acquainted through a host of social connections.) One of these was the Glasgow Social Union, founded in 1889 'to encourage friendly association among those engaged in social work in Glasgow; to promote sympathetic friendship between well-to-do inhabitants and their poorer fellow-citizens, and to improve the physical, moral and social condition of the latter'.[96] The Union had representatives from well-established charities, such as the COS, the Kyrle Society and the Women's Protection League. More central for this study was the formation of the Glasgow Union of Women Workers (GUWW) in 1884 as a centre for all the work carried on for women and children in Glasgow.[97] A significant number of the QMS women were members of the GUWW, mainly as representatives of other charities,

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[90] B. Aspinwall, 'Glasgow Trams and American Politics, 1894-1914,' *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. LVI, 1977, 64-5.

[91] Webb, *Socialism in England*, 108.

[92] Aspinwall, 'Glasgow trams and American politics', 74; also *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920* (Aberdeen, 1984) 151-159.

[93] Checkland, *The Upas Tree*, 28.

[94] See Chapter 3.

[95] See Chapter 4

[96] SRA C245257, *Glasgow Social Union, First Annual Report*, 1891.

[97] SRA TD-PAR 1.20, GUWW. See Chapter 3.

reinforcing their position within this active section of Glasgow society.

The 1890s also began to witness a lively political debate in Glasgow over the extent to which the state, national and local, should be allowed to intervene in order to create an environment in which the problems of poverty could be tackled. Glasgow was one of the main centres for those advocating taxation of land values as a way of improving services and solving housing problems. By the 1900s men like W. H. Smart and Lord Provosts like Daniel M. Stevenson were seriously discussing the provision of housing by the municipality; the differences between Labour activists on the Town Council and Progressive Liberals like these men over questions such as these or on issues such as minimum wages, seemed to be mainly to the extent to which the public authority ought to be the initiator.[98]

There were also at this time several initiatives designed firstly to increase contact between classes and secondly to make definite improvements to the quality of life for the poor – both of which echoed concerns on the national scene. The foundation of the Glasgow branch of the Kyrle Society in 1882 aimed to meet the second of these objectives. The Kyrle Society was run mainly by women and drew on Ruskin's ideas about bringing beauty to grim places, the object being to bring 'influences of natural and artistic beauty home to the people'. The Society had six sections; Music, Decorations, Sanitary Aid, Wood Carving, House of the Poor, Window-gardening. It established a Housing section in 1889, to provide decent-quality housing for the respectable poor who would look after it. The other major developments were in the University Settlement movement. Against the background of social concern derived from church, University and civic involvement, Glasgow's middle-class families were involved in all these initiatives; from such families were drawn the majority of QMS women.[99]

William Smart was also a product of this active Glasgow middle class. A son of the senior partner in the firm John Clark and Co. at the Mile-End thread works, he graduated from Glasgow University in 1872 before joining his father's firm and rising to become a partner. When several thread firms merged in the 'Great Thread Combine' in 1884, he left to become a lecturer in Political Economy first at University College, Dundee in 1886, and then in 1887 at QMC, Glasgow, until his appointment as the first Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy at Glasgow University in 1896.[100] He was very much influenced by Edward Caird.[101] Thomas Jones described him rather sourly and unfairly as a man of 'real ability, little originality, enormous industry and great modesty'.[102] The pamphlet

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[98] See I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1927* (Edinburgh, 1986) 230-241; A. McKinlay and R. J. Morris, *The ILP on Clydeside 1893-1932* (Manchester, 1991) 14, 38-48; I. Sweeney, 'Local Party Politics and the Temperance Crusade: Glasgow 1890-1902', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 27, 1992, 58-9.

[99] See Chapter 2.

[100] T. Jones, *Welsh Broth* (London, 1950) 18; *Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909* (Glasgow, 1909). Smart was awarded the LL.D. by St Andrews University in 1895; he was an instigator of the Glasgow Municipal Housing Commission in 1902, and became a member of the Poor Law Commission in 1905 signing the Majority report. He was a strong supporter of higher education for women, and had a wider concern with women's work, wages and conditions, publishing essays on Women's Wages in 1888 and 1892. He was also, with Professor and Mrs Edward Caird, among the founders of the Women's Protective and Provident League which later became the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. Smart, *Second Thoughts of an Economist*; foreword by T. Jones, xxiv-xxvi.

[101] Hetherington, *Henry Jones*, 87.

[102] Jones, *Welsh Broth*, 18.

which Smart published in 1886 following his visit to Toynbee Hall merits close study because it first introduced the Settlement idea to Glasgow.[103] It is also interesting to set later Settlement developments, especially that of QMS, against Smart's first thoughts. Smart combined a call for the establishment of a University Settlement in Glasgow with its potential to address some of his main concerns, namely the extension of University education to the city, and investigation into women's work and wages. Smart commended the Settlement idea to his Glasgow audience by noting how well it fitted Glasgow's situation. He showed how closely the inspiration behind Toynbee Hall mirrored contemporary thinking in Glasgow; the 'chief article in his [Barnett's] creed is that love to God is best shown in service to man'. He advocated the Settlement idea as a way of harnessing the latent goodwill of Glasgow's 'hundreds of people eager ... to do their duty by the poor.... But they do not know where to begin; they do not understand the full bearings of the problem and they do nothing. What is wanted to make this vague sentiment effective is a powerful organisation of educated men and women who will first set themselves to understand, and then get to work.'[104]

Smart took from Barnett's Settlement three main aims he thought appropriate for Glasgow: to raise aspirations by bringing people into contact with a 'higher' culture, to extend the University's outreach to the city, and to act as a base for social inquiry. He countered the criticism that Barnett was 'planning to save souls by pictures, pianos and parties' by economics. 'Every economist knows that you cannot raise the condition of the poor until you have widened their horizons; till you have created new needs and made them feel wants.... But give a man a two-room standard of comfort and he will struggle hard and struggle long before he descends to one room again.'[105] It had been noted in earlier reports on Glasgow housing that the poor preferred to live in single ends and spend less on rent, 'they have no appreciation of what home comfort is';[106] Smart thought that social meeting through a Settlement could address this problem. He devoted most space in the pamphlet to describing the educational work of Toynbee Hall through its extension lectures which he saw as a way of overcoming the alienation which had followed the University's move from the city centre to Gilmorehill.[107] However, as noted above, Barnett was doubtful about the value of lectures because they impeded the building of one-by-one friendships. Again, Smart was aware how valuable a Settlement could be in furnishing reliable statistics about the conditions of working-class lives; here he foresaw a particular role for women, which may have been significant for the later development of the QMS. 'The greatest service that could be done to political economy and the solution of social problems is the ascertaining of wage levels, of standards of comfort, of the effects of different kinds of work on workers ... only by getting into the confidence of the poor, and women are best able to win this confidence.... Hence ... there would be a peculiarly great sphere for ladies. There is no life in the whole community so hard as the life of a working woman; there is no life of which so little is known.... By every consideration of religion and humanity the women of the West are called to the rescue of their sisters.'[108]

The main difference between Smart's and Barnett's notions of a Settlement was that

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[103] W. Smart, *Toynbee Hall: A Short Account of the Universities' Settlement in East London, with suggestions for a similar work in Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1886).

[104] Smart, *Toynbee Hall*, 24.

[105] Smart, *Toynbee Hall*, 8.

[106] *RC. on Working-Class Housing* C.4409-1, vol. V, Bailie James Morison, q. 19572.

[107] Smart, *Toynbee Hall*, 20; '... the same separation between East and West...'

[108] Smart, *Toynbee Hall*, 25-6.

the Glasgow model showed little sign of 'breathing influence'. The principle of University students living a common life to learn from and make friends of the poor did not figure largely in Smart's proposals. In part he was expressing the strong Scottish university tradition of non-residence. Collegiate life in Glasgow arose from student societies and a common curriculum, not through College residence.[109] 'University qualification ought not to be insisted upon'; 'Whether the Settlement is residential or not is a question of detail. The strength of a resident nucleus is that some of the men are always on hand to prevent things going wrong.'[110] Furthermore, for Smart the urgency of the work overlaid the finer points of personal connection and influence. 'Residence is not essential but the work is waiting to be done.' Smart's concern was not for what the settlement could 'be' in a poor neighbourhood, but how many useful roles it could serve – as base for extension studies, for inquiries into lives of poor – neither of which were conducive to making friendships on an equal basis. However, since this was the most elusive aspect of Barnett's Settlement, it is perhaps not surprising that the proactive, energetic Glasgow model overlooked it.

As a result of Smart's enthusiasm the Glasgow University Settlement Association was set up in November 1886, with Smart as treasurer. It leased part of a building in Townhead in the old city centre, erected by the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company (of which Smart was a director) and named it Toynbee House. Many prominent Liberals in the University were associated with it, including Professor Henry Jones. Modelling itself upon its mother institution, Toynbee House developed a range of similar activities: Men's Clubs, a Literary Society, a library, choir, gymnasium, violin and elocution lessons. Women students from QMC also took part through the Queen Margaret Lecture Guild, which organised short lecture courses and summer reading for working women, with prizes for summer essays. This Settlement fulfilled Smart's desire for University outreach to the city, but it was never residential and thus never able to achieve the mutual education of students and local people to which Barnett's Settlement aspired.

The primary requirement, for a residential Settlement, was not satisfied until the second Settlement initiative at Garscube Cross, to the north of the city centre. There was no direct link of inspiration or personnel between this and Toynbee House; the impulse for this foundation is attributed to Professor Henry Drummond of the Free Church College in Glasgow, described as the 'outstanding embodiment of the old evangelicalism and the new scientific outlook in Scotland' by James Cunnison, who was a student member of this Settlement from 1903 to 1910, and later made his career in social studies.[111] According to Cunnison, Divinity students in the Established Church Divinity Hall and the Free Church College began Settlement work at Garscube Cross in 1888. These members of the University Missionary Society, together with the Total Abstinence Society and Christian Association of the University, were 'either Free Church folk of evangelical faith or Established Church folk with the kind of religion that inclined them them to social service: all but one or two were making for the ministry'.[112]

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[109] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, 295-8, 330-3; J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, vol. II (London, 1969) 156-8.

[110] Smart, *Toynbee Hall*, 26.

[111] J. Cunnison, 'Casual Recollections of the Students' Settlement,' *College Courant (CC)*, Martinmas 1955, vol. 8 no. 15, 30.

[112] Jones, *Welsh Broth*, 12. Jones was one of the original generation of these Settlers. He lectured in Political Economy for several years before becoming Professor of Economics in Belfast, then Secretary of the Welsh Insurance Commission and then Deputy Head of the Cabinet Secretariat in the First World War. He ended his working life as President of

The Students' Settlement was principally evangelistic but the men soon realised the value of maintaining a residence in the area. 'While it is the intention of the promoters to make definite Evangelical teaching the kernel of their work, it is found that merely to produce a momentary repentance in the hearts of the people fails ... to break off the evil habits into which many ... have grown; it is hoped that by bringing a higher social atmosphere among them, the new lives which many have begun may have a better opportunity of developing than at present.'[113] Subscriptions were raised for the alteration of Tower Hall, known locally as the 'Roon Toll'. This provided spartan accommodation for fifteen residents at sixteen shillings per week, 'a little above the average in private rooms' but all the subscription money went to support the actual work. The main work was the 'regular visitation of neighbouring families in their own homes'[114] undertaken by the residents with the part-time help of non-resident students. The Settlement remained primarily evangelistic until 1894 when a difference arose with the University Missionary Society which departed to work in another district. From then on, 'greater stress was laid upon clubs and other social activities, and a larger proportion of arts and medical students ... gave greater variety. The majority were from working-class homes, although some of the medicals may have been a cut above.'[115] The change of emphasis was reflected in the Settlement's activities; lectures were given, and legal and medical dispensaries were held by the students.

Even so, Cunnison admitted that the Students' Settlement 'never fitted quite comfortably into the Settlement idea'.[116] The original preoccupation with evangelism did not accord with Barnett's ideal, and made it difficult to establish real friendships which lay at the heart of Settlement work. Furthermore, such an emphasis made other considerations (of social need and physical squalor) take second place, which some Settlers found hard to reconcile with the life they saw, recalling Jones' desire for dynamite to solve what he considered to be the inhabitants' most pressing problem. In organisation, too, the Students' Settlement differed from Barnett's model. It suffered constant problems of inexperience and lack of continuity because all the residents were undergraduates. Concern was expressed by the residents about the time visiting took; many were working-class men for whom their degree was the passport to professional life, but it stands in marked contrast to the later QMS, where such a concern hardly ever surfaced. This was partly because many of the QMS women were more monied and so had more time to spare for Settlement work; it was also because visiting the poor was seen as an appropriate exercise in social conciliation for a lady, and so Settlement work fitted the perception of what a lady might do. In practice, the very fluidity of the Settlement idea enabled women to work to make it their own area of expertise. Another interesting contrast with the QMS arose over funding: the Students' Settlement relied upon support from the 'general Christian Public'; the QMS was more Glasgow-based and therefore more confident of support from its local wealthy peer group. Nonetheless the Students' Settlement survived the First World War and only faltered in the 1920s, merging with the QMS in 1934 to continue work in Anderston.

The third Glasgow Settlement began in 1897 under the auspices of Queen Margaret College, and this Queen Margaret College Settlement Association, the subject of the present study, was to prove the most enduring and important of them all. It was com-

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University College, Aberystwyth. Cunnison, 'Recollections,' 32.

[113] GUA, *GUSS Prospectus*, 1889.

[114] Cunnison, 'Recollections,' 34.

[115] Cunnison, 'Recollections,' 31-2.

[116] Cunnison, 'Recollections', 36.

pletely different in character from the first two, being entirely run and staffed by women, including some of the first women with experience of higher education. The largest group were students at Queen Margaret College, the first institution for higher education for women in the west of Scotland. This experience of being at the forefront of a new movement for women fired the women with enthusiasm for seeing the College retain a leading position in women's affairs, and imbued them with great self-confidence to tackle problems in their own way. In addition, many of the women who became influential in this Settlement were daughters of wealthy Glasgow professional and business families linked to the city's political elite, brought up in the background of social concern and social duty described above, reinforced by a strong religious motivation and a keen desire to get things done. Indeed, Glasgow's middle-class business and professional communities gave decisive support to the campaign for women's higher education, which encouraged the foundation of Queen Margaret College in 1883 and its incorporation ten years later into the University of Glasgow. The College became the Women's Department of the University and its students could be awarded degrees. Student numbers expanded rapidly as a consequence – doubling from 176 in 1893/4 to 334 in 1900/1 and nearly doubling again to 639 by 1912/13. This caused some concern to its honorary Secretary, Miss Galloway. She 'watched with a growing sense of strain' as the College grew from a small, rather elitist group of wealthy Glasgow mothers and daughters into a 'manufactory of students almost as big as Gilmorehill'.[117] Miss Galloway wholeheartedly endorsed the formation of the Queen Margaret Union in 1890, which aimed 'to promote social intercourse among the students'.[118] Both current and former students were represented there, and since the latter often lived in Glasgow and had finished their studies, they wielded significant power in the Union. Initially the Union had plenty of College concerns about securing the Endowment Fund and establishing Halls of Residence to house the influx of students outwith Glasgow. Yet it was not solely inward-looking. In 1896 the Union President, Dr. Marion Gilchrist, proposed that 'the Union should take special interest in all women's work in whatever branch, but especially the work of the labouring classes'.[119] The result was the foundation of the Queen Margaret College Settlement Association by a motion of the Union six months later in May 1897.

There were other factors which also affected the rise of the Settlement. Dr Gilchrist's motion above is strongly reminiscent of Smart's original pamphlet, and certainly there was at that time mounting concern about the life endured by working women. In 1892 Smart had published an essay entitled 'Women's Wages'; Charles Booth's investigations in 1889 and the report of the Labour Commission of 1891-4 provided the first reliable evidence of the conditions of women's employment.[120] Smart's nine years as a lecturer at QMC from 1887 to 1896 must have influenced his women students, just as his subsequent appointment as Professor of Political Economy extended his influence to the men students. Furthermore, many QMC students had brothers who attended Glasgow University where they would have been taught by Caird or Jones. However, the QMS appeared to owe little to the other Glasgow Settlements. There is no outstanding familial link between the QMS and either Toynbee House or Garscube Cross. Even when the Queen Margaret

[117] Prof. J. L. Morison, in Mrs R. Jardine (ed.), *Janet A. Galloway LL.D.: A Book of Memories* (Glasgow, 1914) 39.

[118] GUA, Queen Margaret Students' Union (QMSU) Minute Book 1890-1908, 28 Mar. 1890, 1.

[119] GUA, QMSU Minutes, 6 Nov. 1896.

[120] Smart, *Second Thoughts*, xxv.

Lecture Guild folded, and the QMS inherited the funds, it did not institute lecture courses in Anderston.[121]

There is more evidence to suggest that the QMS came about through the influence of other women. There was a definite connection with the WUS in London. Like the WUS, the QMS worked closely with the COS. Several key QMS workers trained at the WUS in London before returning home to establish the Glasgow model; throughout the period various questions on invalid children's aid, children's games, and the skilled apprenticeship committee, were referred to the WUS for suggestions and advice. Other University Settlements for women, such as the Missionary Settlement for University Women, had some financial support from QMC (which gave the fourth largest donation of all the women's institutions). Women's influence may also have arisen from a two-day conference of the National Union of Women Workers, held in Glasgow in 1893. The Conference spent one day discussing the student life of women, and the second, University Settlements. Chapter 3 notes how widely QMS women were involved in the Glasgow Union of Women Workers, but this was not the main impetus since the QMS was not formed until 1897.

The principal spur to the QMS's foundation came from Miss Galloway herself. As noted above, her concern for the corporate life of the College led her to encourage the formation of the Students' Union in 1890, and later to promote the idea of a women's Settlement. 'It is not too much to say that from first to last, she was the inspirer and leader of Settlement work. She had been interested in the WUS but the idea really took hold after her visit to the United States in 1893 and she spoke of it often.'[122] 'It was largely due to Miss Galloway's energy and interest that the Queen Margaret Settlement came into being. She saw that some definite work was needed to hold the Union together, a proposal was made that the members might do social work, and a suggestion that they might help at the Men's Settlement was thrown out. "Why not have a Settlement of their own?" was her response, and immediately she set to work to collect information as to existing women's Settlements.'[123] Social work was not simply a convenient tool to maintain the Union. It was a natural suggestion to emerge from a social, educational and political milieu which was suffused with the ideas of social organicism and amelioration, and from a person representative of the women in the leading Glasgow activist families of the day. The recollection by Miss Rutherfurd, who later became the first Settlement Warden, accords with other memories of Miss Galloway's character. She was described as 'a woman's woman ... very jealous of the indiscriminate mixing of the sexes'.[124] Her life's work for the higher education of women underlined her faith in women's ability to manage and develop their own undertakings in their own way. Her commitment to the QMS was demonstrated by her becoming President of the Interim Committee and undertaking all the negotiations with the COS on behalf on the QMS, and then by her active participation as Convener of the QMS Executive Council from its foundation until her death in 1909.

The following study of the QMS from 1897 to 1914 covers a crucial period in several diverse areas. On the national scale, the causes and alleviation of poverty were being

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[121] This contradicts a remark by Cunnison that 'the educational and social work of Toynbee House [was] transferred to Anderston ... and became the Queen Margaret (residential) Settlement'. 'Recollections,' 30. There is no evidence for this assertion in the QMS Minutes.

[122] GUA, 49.22/6, QMCSA Executive Council Minute Book IV 1908-13 (QMCSA Minutes IV), 9 Feb. 1909.

[123] Miss M. Rutherfurd, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 36.

[124] David Wilson, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 56.

earnestly debated and challenged; on the local scale, Glasgow stood at the height of its industrial and civic achievement, and yet half a century of progress had still failed to address the problems of a large section of its population. Transcending both, women for the first time were able to attain the same educational heights as men and to undergo similar professional training, to exploit the opportunities thus offered and to develop their own methods of tackling social problems by acting in their own, women's way. All these factors meet in the QMS, which was the achievement of some rather remarkable women.

2: The QMS women: background and social profile.

This and the following chapter address some central questions about the women who directed and operated the Queen Margaret Settlement (QMS): what sort of women were involved? how typical were they of the wider Queen Margaret College (QMC) student body from which they came? how far were they following a family tradition of charitable service? and how far were they using the experience of College and Settlement as a springboard for their own aims? The first concern is to establish the population of women, and then to examine their family backgrounds through their fathers, or husbands and brothers, as women were still largely unrecorded in this period. A woman's status was largely determined by her father's position, and enhanced by her mother's father if he were a notable figure. The most effective method is therefore to study the father as head of the family, and to build up a picture of the family setting illustrated by his career, church membership, professional life, public or charitable involvement where these are available. Furthermore, to determine how typical the Settlement workers were of the general QMC student population, a comparison is made with a sample of QMC students who were not involved in the Settlement. Each stage is accompanied by an outline of the search methods used and information obtained, the problems encountered, and their effect on the scope of the inquiry.

The names of the women who were involved in the QMS are taken from the *QMS Annual Reports.*[1] Each report listed those who had taken part during the year, and this enables the compilation of a register of workers together with the extent of their involvement. The length of service varied greatly, from a single mention in one year to a devotion over decades across a range of activities. The women included in the QMS study are those with two or more years' service, which indicates a reasonable commitment to Settlement work. This provides 232 names.

An address is then sought in order to identify the woman's family. Most of these are obtained from the QMS subscriptions lists, while some can be traced through the QMC student registers.[2] Where tentative associations were made, these are generally confirmed through another source, such as census returns. QMC students from 1883 to 1892 simply had their names, addresses, courses of study and fees handwritten in a register; QMC students who matriculated after 1892 (following the College's affiliation to the University) are easier to find and follow because the University matriculation forms required further details of age, year of study, and father's occupation. Those for whom an address cannot be found include many of the social studies students who came after 1909; however, since their presence was a result of Settlement policy rather than a source of it, they are excluded from an investigation of women who made the QMS what it was. In all, addresses have been obtained for 201 of the 232 women gathered above.

Once an address is obtained, the householder's name can be identified by consulting the *Post Office Directory* for the given year.[3] The General section of the *Directory* then

[1] GUA, 49.22/144, *QMCSA Annual Reports (AR) 1897-1913*; 49.22/145, *QMCSA AR 1913-23.*

[2] GUA, QMC College Registers 1883-1914, GU Women's Department Matriculation slips 1893 onwards.

[3] Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, contains most of the sources utilised in this analysis, such as the *Post Office Directories* (*P.O.D.*, volumes of *Calendar of Confirmations 1870-1936*, *Register of Defuncts for Lanarkshire 1843-65*, and microfilm copies of the major Glasgow daily newspapers from which the obituary information is derived.

lists the father with his occupation and firm if appropriate; this is useful for tracing him through subsequent changes of address within Glasgow. Sometimes it is impossible to identify the father. The householder could be a widow or a brother; checking back frequently reveals that the family had moved after the father's death and he cannot be identified. In addition, where a woman's home was far from Glasgow it is too difficult to trace her family. Where a woman was older or married, her husband or brother is taken instead. Close male relatives have been identified for 171 of the 201 names for whom addresses were found; family ties reduce this to 138 men. The QMS workforce had a high proportion of family connections, many women being sisters who therefore shared the same father: nineteen pairs of sisters, five families with three sisters involved, and five sisters in the Lindsay family. There were forty known family connections, which means that a quarter of the women were related to each other.

Further investigation of the father requires the date of his death, from which it is possible to discover the size of his personal estate and any obituary information. The *Post Office Directories* are checked chronologically using a binary search method to note the date at which the man's name disappears.[4] This generally indicated his death. Sometimes, of course, he had left Glasgow; husbands and brothers tended to move away more, but if a man were sufficiently prominent, an obituary notice can be found for him later.

The search then moves to the *Calendar of Confirmations*, which provides individual details upon the date of death, the amount of personal estate left, the names and occupations of the executors and their relationship if any to the deceased.[5] The executors are useful as a means of identifying relations and connections between families. The size of estates has been used as a general indicator of wealth but they are not conclusive and need to be treated with caution.[6] First, the estate includes only personal or movable property and does not take into account heritable estate, which could be considerable, for example, for men who were partners in ironfoundries. It is further complicated because the deaths span a period in which the law on death duties was altered and it seems that men of property took immediate steps to safeguard their wealth for their families. For instance, David Bannerman, corn factor, died in 1894 leaving an estate of £51,567; his son, also David Bannerman, inherited the business and did not appear to suffer a financial crisis since he continued to live in a reasonably large house in Lilybank Gardens in affluent Hillhead, but on his death in 1923 he left only £838. One example does not prove a case but may indicate a change in behaviour which reduces the usefulness of the estate as a consistent measure of wealth. A cursory check reveals that a large proportion of the smaller estates (under £10,000) occur after 1894, although this may be explained by other factors; certainly men in similar occupations left more in earlier times. In all, eighty of the male relatives have been traced to their deaths, over half of the 138 known, including sixty-nine to the *Calendar of Confirmations*.

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[4] Binary search was adopted to reduce the number of *P.O.D.* volumes handled. Having established the name and occupation of the man, the *P.O.D.* volume eight years later was checked to see if if was still recorded. If he was, then the next volume eight years hence was checked and so on until the name disappeared. Then the volume for the intermediate four year period was checked: if the name was there, then the volume two years after was examined; if not, the volume for two years earlier and so on until the exact year was identified at which the name became missing.

[5] See James G. Currie, *The Confirmation of Executors in Scotland*, 4th edn. (Edinburgh, 1923).

[6] See Morgan and Moss, 'Listing the Wealthy in Scotland', 189-195.

From the dates of death, it is possible to find obituary notices for some men. The most useful newspaper is the *Glasgow Herald*; other daily Glasgow papers do not appear to carry these notices, and the *North British Daily Mail*, though helpful, ceased about 1900. We are dependent, therefore on the judgment of the *Glasgow Herald* for obituary information. Generally it includes successful business men, writers (lawyers), doctors, university professors, and those active in public life or philanthropy. Further information is derived from the many collective biographies of the period including *Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909* (Glasgow, 1909), *One Hundred Glasgow Men* (Glasgow, 1886), *Notes on Glasgow Contemporaries at the dawn of the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow, 1900), *Glasgow Men and Women* (London, 1905), the Scottish Biographical Collection, and portraits in the *Baillie* 'Men You Know' series, which are all in the Glasgow Room at the Mitchell Library.[7] Other details are taken from society membership lists, kirk communion rolls, and public bodies.[8] In all, further information has been obtained for ninety-two men, which represents two-thirds of the 138 identified. Sampling error is irrelevant because the Settlement group is the entire population, so some definitive points can be made upon the social make-up of the QMS.

The social setting of the Settlement women is assessed first in terms of their fathers' occupations, intended simply as a expedient guide and not a rigid structure. See Table 2.1. The system of classification is that adopted by Anderson in *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* (1983) and adapted by Wendy Alexander in *First Ladies of Medicine* (1987), because it gives a better perspective on social differences within occupational/economic groups[9] and because it facilitates comparison of Settlement/non-Settlement groups.

The main observation from the table is the overwhelming predominance of professional (principally, 'old' professional), and more particularly, commercial and industrial families. Many well-known and sizable Glasgow firms are represented here; among them, William Connal and Co. the iron merchants, Stewart and Macdonald, clothing manufacturers and warehousing, the ironfounders James Watson and Co., the Brownlee Sawmills, the Allan Line and Anchor shipping lines, the biscuit manufacturers Gray, Dunn and Co. and threadmakers William Clark and Co., and the Maclehose and Blackie publishing houses. Sixty-one fathers from the professional and commercial/industrial groups are known to have been partners in their firms and it is likely that the actual figure would be higher if all the fathers could be identified. Four partners in the firm Stewart and Macdonald, and each of the three partners in the legal firms Bannatyne, Kirkwood, France and Co., and Maclay, Murray and Spens, had at least one daughter in the QMS. Similar links are noted in the University where nine professors' daughters and two wives shared Settlement involvement, whether or not they attended QMC.

A study of the distribution of addresses of the QMS women supports the hypothesis that this group were a wealthy elite. With four exceptions from the north of England, all

[7] Also the Grieve Scrapbooks, Baillie's Scrapbooks and Campbell's scrapbooks, which contain obituaries from the *Glasgow Herald*.

[8] These include: in the Glasgow Room, the Glasgow Liberal Association (G 32941), the Citizen's Union 1900, Parish Council records, School Board diaries, the Glasgow Social Union, the Glasgow Conservative Association (1889); in the SRA, Free, UF and UP church records (CH2 and CH3), the S cottish Council for Women's Trades; in the GUA, the Greater Glasgow Health Board (GGHB) archives of hospital records.

[9] W. Alexander, First Ladies of Medicine (Glasgow, 1987) 74. 'It attempts to provide a sense of "horizontal social class on the basis of vertical occupation" information.'

Table 2.1: Occupation of fathers of women involved in the Settlement

		Numbers
OLD PROFESSIONS		**39**
— comprising	Doctors	6
	Writers/lawyers	9
	Ministers	8
	Missionaries	1
	Teachers	3
	University Professors	11
	Professional Musician	1
NEW PROFESSIONS		**18**
— comprising	Accountants	6
	Engineers	5
	Architects	1
	Officials	4
	Editor	1
	Average adjuster	1
COMMERCIAL/INDUSTRIAL		**73**
— comprising	Merchants	29
	Bankers, stockbrokers	5
	Manufacturer	19
	Managers	4
	Warehousemen	6
	Shipping	7
	Publisher/editor	3
AGRICULTURAL		**2**
— comprising	Farmer	1
	Tea planter	1
INTERMEDIATE		**6**
— comprising	Builder	2
	Shopkeeper	2
	Commercial traveller	2
RETIRED		**2**
NO INFORMATION		**50**

the women were Scots. Seven came from more distant regions of Scotland, fifteen from the Clyde valley, eight from towns just north of Glasgow (Lenzie, Bearsden, Blanefield) and two from Lanarkshire. Twenty-two lived on the Southside of Glasgow, mainly in Langside or Pollokshields. However by far the greatest number of women - 137 in all – were resident on the north side of the river Clyde, most notably in the Park area (23), Hillhead and

the University (24), Dowanhill (33) and Kelvinside (35). The most expensive houses at this time were found in Pollokshields, Dowanhill, Kelvinside and Park, where Mrs Elder's house in Park Circus was one of the two with the highest valuation for the whole of the city.[10] A survey of estates at death (although not an infallible guide) reveals that the QMS women's fathers included extremely wealthy men; the shipowner Alexander Allan left over £500,000, the manufacturer Robert Rule left just under £400,000; Daniel Lean and William Ker each left over £200,000.[11]

Because the population includes those women for whom no address was available and those whose fathers were not identified, there is a large group of fifty men unaccounted for. It cannot simply be assumed that since these men could not be found, they are less likely to be notable or wealthy. Some were not included because a tentative family association could not be confirmed. As noted above, some families moved after the death of the father and could not be traced back. However the main reason is that most of these families lived in the comfortable West End in Dowanhill and Kelvinside, which indicates that the family was at least reasonably well-off and most unlikely to belong to the intermediate, skilled or agricultural groups. Further evidence on unknown QMS women's fathers is, therefore, likely to add to the first two groups, and consequently the most likely error is to underestimate, not overestimate, the upper middle-class representation.

In contrast, the opposite end of the social spectrum, the industrial and working class, has no representation at all. Those in the intermediate category were judged to be 'lower middle class' because of the size of the businesses they represented or because they were self-employed.

Table 2.2 sets the results of the QMS study against comparative studies of QMC students.

Column A records the father's occupation for all women in the QMS population, i.e. those who had served for two or more years. It is a condensed form of Table 2.1 above and additionally expresses the occupational groups as a percentage of all Settlement fathers, even though this certainly underestimates the weight of upper middle-class groups. Column B therefore gives a clearer impression by including only those women whose fathers could be identified. This highlights and may overstate the huge predominance of professional, merchant and manufacturing families, many of which were very wealthy. In order to determine if this is a particular characteristic of the QMS group, or common to the general QMC student body, it is necessary to set this group against a comparative group of QMC students drawn from the same period.[12] Again, this has to be undertaken on a study of fathers, on the basis of information available in the matriculation registers.

A separate selection of QMS women has to be drawn from the original population in order to ensure that the only distinguishing factor is membership of QMS; column C therefore contains only those fathers whose daughters had both a Settlement and a QMC connection. Where one daughter had worked in the QMS and another had attended QMC the family is still included, because the object of study is the family background and not the individual woman. However, women who had only brothers studying at the University are excluded, on the grounds that there is no specific QMC connection, and that families

[10] N. J. Morgan, 'Valuation Rolls, ratebooks, and the Urban Historian,' in David Reeder (ed.), *Archives and the Historian*, Centre for Urban History working Paper no. 2 (Leicester, 1989).

[11] See Table 2.3 below.

[12] R. S. Schofield, chapter 5 in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society* (Cambridge, 1972.)

Table 2.2: Results of Settlement and comparative studies

	A		B		C		D		E
	Entire QMS population		QMS pop. fathers known		QMS QMC pop.		QMC NON-QMS pop. comparison		Anderson 1905 matriculants
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	(%)
Professional	57	(30)	57	(40.7)	45	(37.5)	46	(35.4)	(25)
Commercial/ Industrial	73	(38.4)	73	(52.1)	56	(46.6)	45	(34.6)	(35)
Agriculture	2	(1)	2	(1.4)	2	(1.6)	2	(1.5)	
Intermediate	6	(3.2)	6	(4.3)	6	(5)	13	(10)	(21.3)
Skilled	0		0		0		5	(3.8)	(16.3)
Semi- and unskilled	0		0		0		0		
Retired	2	(1)	2	(1.4)	11	(9.2)	19	(14.6)	0
Unknown	50	(26.3)	-						
Total	190		140		120		130		

Sources:
A. *QMCSA Annual Reports*
B. QMC Matriculation Registers
C. *Glasgow Post Office Directories*
D. QMC Enrolment Registers 1883-94, 1906-12.
GU. QMC Matriculation files 1893-1906.
E. R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in* Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh, 1983) 308.

which were prepared to finance daughters through higher education might be unusual. Two other significant groups are also excluded by the need to study only QMC women; a sizable group of (nine) students who came to the QMS for social studies training, and Oxbridge women students. The relatively high number of 'unknowns' is explained by the College's practice of recording only basic details of the matriculant in the College register, and not her father's name and occupation as required on the University matriculation forms from 1892. The drop in professional representation is due to the exclusion of women who did not themselves attend QMC but who belonged to university families (where the man was a professor) – this causes a reduction from fifty-seven to forty-five in this group. It is probable that friendship ties account for their involvement in the QMS. The decline in the commercial/industrial sector is spread evenly through the merchant, manufacturing and warehousing groups. Since four of the warehousing fathers were at one time partners in the firm Stewart and Macdonald, it is likely that friendship ties again drew in the two women who were not students at QMC. Yet despite these reductions, the commercial/industrial and professional families continue to account for 83% of the fathers, heavily outnumbering the rest.

Columns D and E act as the comparison and control. The QMC non-Settlement sample (column D) is taken from the QMC enrolment registers and matriculation forms

in order to act as a control against which to set the Settlement group. Women with Settlement connections are withdrawn. Nine QMS women were selected in the sample, and six others from the same family as a QMS worker; these have been replaced by the nearest eligible woman student. But where a student had only a passing involvement with QMS (where she had worked for less than two years or had simply given a subscription) she is still included in the sample. This is purely a practical measure – if these women were also excluded it would leave very few about whom much could be said; it also reinforces the view that the Settlement drew its support from a distinct class in Glasgow. Columns A, B, and C on the Settlement population show consistently high percentages of representation from the professional and business groups (68.4%, 92.8%, and 84.1% respectively); the non-Settlement column D has a similarly high 70% for the same groups.

Column E is taken from R. D. Anderson's *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* and is important because it includes all female matriculants and not just graduates. It is clear from the QMS study that as late as 1905 some women attended QMC without studying for a full degree and these individuals would be lost if only graduates were recorded.[13] However, the inclusion of Anderson's figures raises further questions because the noticeable differences between his control sample and this QMC non-QMS sample require more explanation than simply different authorship. Certainly by 1905 (the year of Anderson's study) grants available through the Carnegie Trust made it possible for more women from the 'intermediate' and 'working class' groups to study at university, which may significantly affect the proportions.[14] Many grants were for women training to be teachers as graduate status afforded more opportunities; Anderson states that by 1909, 54% of women in Glasgow University's Arts Faculty came from teacher training colleges.[15]

Certain points in the QMC comparative group merely reflect the weighting of the sample. QMS women were found to live in or close to Glasgow so women in the comparative study are chosen on a similar basis. Where a woman student whose home was far from Glasgow is selected, that name is noted, but the next name from the Glasgow area is also taken. It is interesting and relevant to note the number and origins of women outwith Glasgow but each one reduces the number who can be traced in Glasgow and limits the effectiveness of an already small sample. As only eight QMS women were students lodging in Glasgow, it makes sense to concentrate upon the Glasgow-based population. The concentration upon the Glasgow area accounts for the higher incidence of professions and commercial and manufacturing interest compared with Anderson's group. In addition, there was a slight tendency for the Settlement group to be drawn from the earlier years of QMC before it was part of the University, when higher education was more for culture than professional advancement and hence more a preserve of the wealthy. The QMC non-QMS sample is weighted accordingly, five students per year being sampled for the first ten years (1883-1892) and four per year thereafter up to 1913. This is bound to reduce the representation of skilled working-class and intermediate groups in comparison with Anderson's study.

However, two further problems were encountered which should be borne in mind for both columns D and E. The first is the correct assessment of the father's occupation from

[13] For example, Mrs Bertha Bles (aged 33) and Miss Myra Napier (aged 20) both matriculated in 1903; each studied a single course and neither pursued a full degree.

[14] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, 288, 309. The Carnegie Trust was established in 1901 for the benefit of both male and female Scottish students. By the period 1904-8, 50% of all Scottish students, and 70% of all Arts students were assisted by the Trust.

[15] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, 275-6; see also Chapter 3.

the single word entry in the matriculation rolls. Occasional entries can cause confusion (the word 'writer' denoting lawyer is an obvious example) but there are also problems of scale. John Snodgrass was described by his daughter as 'Miller' which might almost put him in the agricultural category; in fact, his mills covered much of Washington Street in Anderston and employed a large workforce, so he clearly belongs in the commercial/industrial category. Similarly, George Inglis was noted as 'Tanner – retired' by his daughter Isabel (M.B.Ch.B. 1911), but the facts that she was a medical student (which was a prohibitively expensive course of study for most working-class fathers), and that the family lived in a large house in Helensburgh, do not indicate any working-class background. Her father was probably a businessman in leather manufacture.[16] Such background knowledge was only gained from extensive research into the QMS women's families; the same rigour was not applied to the QMC comparative study so it is possible that mistakes crept in and the lower social groups are over-represented. Even so, the intermediate and skilled groups are only 12.3% of the total and thus comparatively small.

The second problem relates to social origin. Since the QMS women from as far afield as Kilmacolm and Lenzie were traceable through the Glasgow *Post Office Directories*, it was assumed that that same would be true of QMC women whose families lived there. However, the QMS women's fathers were often rich men who had made their money and their mark in Glasgow and then had moved out to live in the country while Glasgow remained the focus of their activity. Conversely, it transpires that for most QMC women these towns were their family home; they were not concerned in the life of Glasgow and so cannot be traced there. Furthermore, it is far more difficult to trace people who did not live in the affluent southside or west end; men who were signalmen, smiths, or steel-yard labourers were often tenants rather than owner-occupiers and prove too elusive. These problems severely limit the success in tracing many of the comparative sample.

The comparative study highlights again the upper-middle-class predominance of the Settlement population in the A, B, and C groups. It is also interesting that there is a difference of 10% between the (reduced) representation of the Settlement commercial group in column C and a corresponding rise in the lower middle-class intermediate and skilled groups in column D. However the predominance of the professional and commercial group remains the distinctive feature of the Settlement population. This is borne out by a survey tabulated in Table 2.3 of estates at death (where these could be traced) for the Settlement group and the QMS non-Settlement sample (columns C and D in Table 2.2).

The numbers known are too small to furnish any more than a general picture but some points are worth noting. Even the limited evidence available here confirms the view that the Settlement fathers were generally among the wealthiest men in Glasgow. Furthermore, the QMS group, as we have seen, is likely to underestimate the number of reasonably wealthy men, whereas the comparative group errs on the side of underestimating the number of poorer men. In addition, even where shipowners (such as Leonard Gow) and industrialists (including James Mirrlees) appeared in the comparative sample, they left significantly less money than their counterparts in the Settlement group.

Having established the place of the QMS women's fathers in Glasgow society, we now examine how active a part they played in it, to assess how far their daughters were following their family background into Settlement work, or developing their own direction through it. This is not to say that a woman was bound to follow in her father's footsteps, but home background probably influenced her, especially if she were still fairly young and

[16] Alexander, *First Ladies*, 13-14, notes that her sample of sixty-two women medical students included only one 'skilled' and six 'intermediate' fathers.

Table 2.3. Estates at death where known for QMS/QMC non-QMS fathers

Estates at death	QMS		QMC non-QMS	
£	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
0 – 1000	3	(4.3)	5	(12)
1000 – 10,000	25	(36)	22	(52)
10,000 – 50,000	22	(32)	12	(29)
50,000 – 100,000	10	(14)	2	(5)
100,000 – 200,000	5	(7)	1	(2)
200,000 – 300,000	2	(3)		
300,000 – 400,000	1			
400,000 – 500,000	0			
500,000+	1			
Total	69	Total	42	

Source: *Calendar of Confirmations* 1870-1936, Glasgow Room.

living at home. It should also produce a clearer picture of the setting of this group in Glasgow society at the turn of the century. We will examine four areas which are relevant for this study; education, church involvement, politics, and philanthropy.

Since higher education was particularly important to the women who ran the QMS, it is interesting to observe how many of the fathers had similar experience. Thirty men are known to have attended university, although not all took degrees. As expected, the professions predominated with twenty-six university-educated men including seven professors, five doctors, and five lawyers. Only four came from the commercial/manufacturing group. Perhaps it is more surprising that these men supported their daughters through higher education. In fact, higher education derived much of its support in Glasgow from the commercial/industrial group. The original Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women was founded by Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan, whose husband was a partner in the Turkey Red Dyers at Auldfield Dyeworks, and the establishment of QMC was made possible by the gift of the college building by Mrs Elder, widow of John Elder of the Fairfield Shipyard at Govan. Furthermore, the merchant/manufacturing group generally had more disposable income than the professionals.[17]

The extent of church membership suggests another motivation for Settlement work. Determining the scale of church attachment was complicated somewhat by the date of merger of the United Presbyterians and Free churches into the United Free (UF) church in 1900, but more by the late arrival of some United Free church records into the Strathclyde

[17] A former QMC student recalled that professional fathers encouraged higher education for their daughters as a means of providing for them after the fathers' deaths. 'Money didn't flow like water into their pockets. They were glad and relieved that a way was being hewn through prejudice which would lead to careers for their daughters as well as their sons.' GUA, 34375, Euphemia Gray, 'Through College Windows,' *Glasgow Herald* (*GH*), 19 Mar. 1955.

Regional Archives after this study was undertaken.[18] This probably weights the balance of QMS representation in favour of the Church of Scotland, although UF records were obtainable for most of its west end but not southside churches. However, the number traced is still significant. Fifteen families of QMS women were found in each of two large fashionable Churches of Scotland – Park and Hillhead – situated in the heart of the West end where most of the women lived. Four QMS women from two families attended St Bride's in Partick, and another, Elizabeth Henderson, married her minister in Barony Church. Two QMS fathers were also members of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Professor R. H. Story was Moderator and his friend W. F. G. Anderson was a representative Elder. The UF Church contingent (incorporating United Presbyterian and Free members) numbered eleven QMS families at Westbourne Free church, where the minister was the Revd. Alexander Orrock Johnstone, whose daughter Lucy was closely associated with the QMS for many years. Wellington, Claremont, and Kelvinside Free churches all had four or five QMS families each. There were in addition four Episcopalians (including the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway whose daughter was a popular QMS sub-warden) and one Quaker (William Gray, of Gray, Dunn and Co.). In all, a definite church commitment was noted for over fifty QMS women and again this certainly underestimates the total.

It may be considered that the fashionable churches served as much of a social purpose as a religious one. Yet it is clear that where a man's church involvement is specifically recorded (for example, as an elder) almost without exception his QMS daughter exhibited a high degree of commitment to the Settlement. George Younger was described in his obituary as 'a prominent member of the congregation for more than forty years'; his daughter Alice gave twelve years' service to the QMS and became its vice-convener. William Ker was one of the founders of Hillhead and Hyndland churches; his daughter Penelope initiated a school for invalid children at the Settlement, to which they were taken in an ambulance provided by her father.[19] Similarly, mission work seemed to run in families. Of the eight QMS women who went out as missionaries, four had other family members overseas, and two of those were in one family: Janet Copeland's father had been a missionary, Myra Napier's brother Robert was killed in the South African wars while on mission work, two of the five Lindsay sisters went out to teach at mission schools in India.

Political inclinations were recorded from an actual mention in party lists or an obituary note. The results show a strong Liberal tendency in the QMS group with over three times as many Liberals as Conservatives. This corresponds in the next chapter with the high degree of support which QMS women gave to the Women's Suffrage Society, the most Liberal of the suffrage groups. The QMS women's fathers generally took an active role in public life with at least thirty-one fathers holding some official position.[20] Some had a very high profile; five men were Deputy-Lieutenants for the City and County of Glasgow, three were at some time Deans of the Guild, four were Trustees of the Savings

[18] SRA, CH2, Church of Scotland Archives; CH3, United Free Church Archives.

[19] He also encouraged her to set up a rural hospital for town children, as outlined in Chapter 4.

[20] It is an interesting aside to note that even the limited number of QMS fathers obtained from the UF church furnishes as many charitable men as the Kirk group, and yet those from the UF were considerably less involved in public life than their Kirk fellows. Furthermore, where party political allegiances were identified all the UF men were Liberals or former Liberals, while the Church of Scotland had all the Conservatives and only a couple of Liberals. The number found is too small to justify further comment.

Bank, and four were Town Councillors. A total of thirteen men, including some of those above, were Justices of the Peace. Sometimes public and business interests overlapped, as in the Clyde Trust and Merchants' House, on which five and eight men served respectively. QMS women's fathers also figured prominently on business and professional bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Shipping, Corn Trade Association, and one was a director of the South Western Railway. Similar levels of involvement have been noted for University institutions such as the Senate. There was a considerable degree of multiple office-holding which reinforced the position of certain families. W. F. G. Anderson, for example, was said to be a leading member of seven organisations; the other four Deputy-Lieutenants were each associated with a further six.

There was clearly a high degree of participation within charity and philanthropy, which again probably influenced the daughters in the work they undertook. In all, the fathers were identified with over thirty charitable institutions. The men who were heavily committed in public life were generally less active in this sphere, the main exception being on the boards of large institutions like the voluntary hospitals, particularly the Western, Victoria, and Eye infirmaries. At the same time their wives and daughters were involved along with practically all the other QMS women's families in raising hospital funds through the Ladies' Auxiliary Associations. Several of the charities were specifically evangelistic, principally the City Mission and the South American Missionary Society, but the Temperance movement, perhaps surprisingly, attracted support from only three men. It is apparent that a handful of men gave a considerable amount of time to a number of charities; worthy of mention here are Matthew Greenlees, William Ker, J. O. Mitchell, Alexander Whitson, George Younger and Charles McLean.[21] Again, the daughters of these men played a full part across the range of Settlement activities.

A number of men were concerned with educational and cultural activities, both for encouraging others and for personal fulfillment; this also reflects what they did for their daughters and the daughters in turn did through the Settlement. Professor G. G. Ramsay, participant in the University reform discussions in the 1890s,[22] was associated with Allan Glen's school and was also a governor at the Technical College. In this he served with Dr Henry Dyer, founding principal of an engineering college in Tokyo and prominent member of the Glasgow School Board, who wrote extensively on educational matters and later lectured to the Glasgow School of Social Studies.[23] Two others were on the boards of the Athenaeum and Glasgow Academy. Men from both the professional and commercial classes pursued personal interests which had nothing to do with their work lives; W. F. G. Anderson was a member of the Royal Scottish Geographical Association. J. O. Mitchell and David Murray were Presidents of the Archaeological Society and both

[21] Glasgow Room, *GH*, Matthew Greenlees; Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Glasgow Savings Bank, COS, St Andrews Ambulance Association, Night Asylum for the Houseless, Whiteinch Orphanage, Mission to the Outdoor Blind. William Ker; Merchants' House, Western Infirmary, Deaf and Dumb Institution, Baillie's Institution. J. O. Mitchell; COS, Old Man's Home, Merchants' House, Victoria Infirmary, Glasgow South American Missionary Society, Girls' Orphan Home. Alexander Whitson; Broomhill Home for Incurables, Kilmun Home, Scottish Temperance League. George Younger; Rottenrow Mission, City Parochial Board, Glasgow Savings Bank, Old Men and Women's Home. Charles McLean; Eye Infirmary, Glasgow Distress Committee, St Andrew's Ambulance Association, Director of refuges, reformatories and industrial schools.

[22] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, 194.

[23] See Chapter 6.

wrote books upon their subject. The most popular shared interest was the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, which included twenty-two of the QMS women's fathers in 1898. The Society provided a forum for debate on a variety of topics such as 'Better Houses for the Poor' and 'The Physique of Glasgow Children'.[24] Such discussions were not theoretical when these men were in a position to effect changes through their involvement in charitable organisations and civic bodies. The whole points to a level of concern for Glasgow and for raising the quality of life for its citizens that could well have been taken up by their daughters.

In conclusion, the QMS women were almost entirely drawn from the well-to-do Glasgow middle-classes. The number from professional families was high, but that from mercantile and manufacturing families was greater still and many were very wealthy. A significant number of men were first- or second-generation in Glasgow and, having made their money in business there, moved out to live in the Clyde valley while continuing an active role in city life. Despite the relatively low levels of university education among the fathers they were prepared to finance the higher education of their daughters as well as their sons. Indeed, there is clear evidence that family money earned through business was used to professionalise the next generation: William Ker sent two sons to Glasgow University; the elder, W. P. Ker became Professor of Poetry at Oxford University, and the younger, Charles, qualified as an accountant and became an active and prominent Glasgow citizen; the Glasgow architect John Keppie's father James was a tobacco merchant; Robert Napier was an engineer and his son became a minister; William Young was a partner in the iron merchant William Connal and Co. and his son became a doctor.

Collectively the Settlement families were heavily involved in the life of the community. Although too widespread to be cohesive, they were nonetheless quite a homogeneous group. The interlinking is evident on many levels; as well as church, charitable work and public service, it is clear that certain leisure pursuits drew men together. At least six were officers in the Volunteer regiments, and four were associated through the Clyde yacht clubs. While it is unsafe to assume that association means closeness, a number of friendships and family ties have been identified. W. F. G. Anderson and R. H. Story were both Unionists and both members of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; the evidence for friendship is supported by biographical reference to Christmas 1901 when Anderson visited St. Andrews to play a round of golf with the Principal.[25] The Kers and Higginbothams were related by marriage, and Penelope Ker drew her sister-in-law Mrs Charles Ker into Settlement work. But such particular instances are less important than the whole picture of a highly active and dedicated sector of Glasgow society.

A further consideration is the extent to which women were following the family (and particularly the fathers') example in undertaking Settlement work. There is a clear line between the public and philanthropic service noted for many of the QMS women's fathers and the concern showed by the daughters in their work for the QMS – for primary health matters, bringing up young people, the poor state of housing, welfare of the poor. The QMS women were products of the prevailing Glasgow culture of social concern fostered and encouraged by intellectual, religious and public health influences, and rooted deep in family traditions of social service. However, a further important motivation, which built upon their heritage of active social concern, was the confidence they acquired by being the first women to receive higher education. This confidence enabled them to bring a new zeal into a traditional role for women in doing good works among the poor, in which they

[24] *Proc. Roy. Phil. Soc. of Glasgow*, vol. XXX 1898/9.

[25] The Misses Story, *Memoir of Robert Herbert Story*, (Glasgow, 1909) 340.

were treated seriously by men, and could create a new area of specialism in professional social work. It also enabled them to move out into more public fields of service, in which they were following the example of their fathers, rather than their mothers.[26] The extent to which higher education opened the way into public and professional opportunities is discussed in the next chapter.

[26] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 29. 'Women who challenged Guardians, gave evidence to Royal Commissions and addressed public meetings ... were not extending women's traditional responsibilities into public life. They were crossing occupational and social barriers to enter the male world of politics and professional activity.'

3: The QMS women: education, politics, and professions.

This chapter examines the lives of the women who were involved in the Queen Margaret Settlement. Their formative years coincided with a period when the role of middle-class women especially was changing dramatically, and it is therefore interesting to see how these women worked for and responded to the opportunities which opened to them. Indeed, the QMS women are a useful group to study through this period because they were particularly well-placed to take advantage of changing circumstances. Through their family backgrounds they had money and education, and a certain dynamism which prompted them to initiate and participate in new causes. The chapter considers first the restrictions which constrained middle-class women through the nineteenth century and how single women particularly desired a new role. The progress of the QMS women out of this environment are then examined through developments in higher education, political gains, and professional advancement.

However, first a discussion of methodology is required, especially concerning the problems which arise in attempting to trace women. It was noted in the previous chapter how difficult it is to find women in a man's world; the search is more difficult in this chapter because of the women's marriages. A wife took not only her husband's surname but his initial as well, so there is no trace of the woman's former name in any but the most informal or formal documents. This proved to be the greatest drawback in tracing the women. Various attempts were made to overcome the problem, none entirely successful. The *Mormon International Genealogical Index* ceased in the late nineteenth century so while some women's births were recorded, their marriages were not. The *Glasgow Herald* published wedding notices only for the rich, famous, or titled, so only a handful were found there. The *Glasgow University General Council Register* of graduates was much more helpful, but it had two limitations for this study: it did not take account of the Queen Margaret College students who had matriculated before 1892 (before QMC became part of the University) which accounts for about a third of the QMS population; it also depended upon the marriage being notified to the University by the graduate or a parent and some probably never were. The best method of dealing with this problem would have been a systematic search of the marriages register in Edinburgh, but this would have required prohibitive amounts of both time and expense.

The problem of 'losing' women when they married makes it difficult to generalise about the respective careers of College (pre-1892) and University (1892 onwards) women students. In the first place there is a problem of continuity in the Settlement. None of the women who married continued with their Settlement work immediately; some left Glasgow altogether, some returned to the QMS later and possibly others too, but under their new names they cannot easily be recognised. It would be valuable to know whether more women returned to the QMS, or if any took an interest in other fields. More importantly, the lack of evidence gives a biassed impression that women University graduates were more likely to marry (by the evidence of the General Council Register), while non-graduate College women apparently remained spinsters and spent the rest of their lives in various types of public or social service, simply because these are the women who can be traced. It is therefore difficult to draw definite conclusions about the comparative careers of College and University women.

Nonetheless, a reasonable picture can still be constructed from various sources contained in the Glasgow University Archives. This is true also for College women because some had links with the University in later life, notably Violet Roberton and Helen Story,

who helped to found the University School of Social Study and Social Training.[1] The *General Council Registers*, updated annually, give details of the graduate, degree and year of graduation, married name for women, and current post and address, as far as is known. Editions of the *College Courant* after 1948 contained a section of obituary notices which proves useful for correcting mistakes from earlier sources. For example, according to the *General Council Registers*, Alice M. B. Guthrie graduated M.A. in 1903 at the age of 25; in 1918 she was recorded as teaching in Helensburgh; by 1936 she was married and had an address c/o the Bank of South Africa, London, and by 1950, her address was simply, London. Her obituary notice in the *College Courant* enables us to fill the gaps in this bare description of her life. According to this, she took a teaching post in Sunderland after graduation but then left for health reasons. On the outbreak of war in 1914 she was visiting her sister and family in South Africa and she offered to stay and help with relief work. Until 1920 she filled posts as 'acting principal' in girls' schools in Capetown and elsewhere. She then married and lived in London, working with her husband on behalf of Dr Albert Schweitzer.[2] The discrepancy between the *Registers* and what was actually happening in her life should be considered when drawing conclusions.

College and University records thus provide most of the information concerning these women's higher education and professional progress in the first and third parts of this chapter. The main sources for their political activity are to be found in the Glasgow Room at the Mitchell Library. A variety of sources, ranging from newspapers, Town and Parish Council records, School Boards diaries and minutes, and some papers left by the Women's Suffrage Society form the basis of that investigation. Hospital records were also utilised in the Glasgow University Archives. Because of the difficulty of obtaining details of women, there are almost 100 women of whom we know nothing beyond their service in the QMS. However, 146 of the original 232 (approximately two-thirds) had some experience of higher education. Two-thirds also were identified with hospital charities, and about a fifth had a known connection with one or other of the suffrage movements. Quite a large group of 110 women have been traced to their post-QMS career.

'The New Woman ... has arisen out of that great middle class which is now the backbone of the nation.... This middle class found itself without recognised status in society and therefore adopted a new standard - of extreme and conventional respectability. The life of women especially was narrowed by artificial restriction, against which there has been a revolt, taking sometimes an extreme form.'[3]

This 'New Woman' speech was addressed to a meeting of the Teachers' Guild in Glasgow in 1896, just as the teaching profession was experiencing the first wave of women graduates, and it highlights a number of factors significant for women at that time. In the first place, it marks an optimistic era in women's views about themselves and what they hoped to accomplish. By this time women had gained entry to higher education, and the first two years of graduate teachers and doctors were commencing their careers; furthermore the momentum for women's political emancipation was increasing (although Glasgow's suffragist associations were not formed until the early years of the twentieth century). Signs of this optimism are evident from contemporary women, not just in what they could achieve for themselves, but how because of their historical lack of influence they would bring a new freshness to a stale man's world. Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan[4]

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[1] See Chapter 6.

[2] GUA, *CC* vol. IX no. 18, Whit. 1957.

[3] GUA, 23407, Dr Wenley's address to the Teachers' Guild, *GH*, 25 Jan. 1896.

[4] Founder member of QMC and Vice-President of the QMS.

spoke at her own Golden Wedding to exhort women, 'that when they had the vote they wouldn't tie themselves up as men did in political associations and clubs. Let them be independent in the position they took up, the social and moral reformers of the world.'[5]

The 'New Woman' speech also makes reference to the 'artificial restriction' which circumscribed the lives of Victorian middle-class women in the mid-century. In earlier centuries women had managed businesses and estates, but now the zones of men and women's work were completely separated as families moved home from the centres of economic activity to western residential suburbs. Hard work was praiseworthy and virtuous, yet the middle-class lady was demeaned by housework. A man's success was judged by how little his wife had to do, and in return, her place was being in the home for her husband and family. By this women could 'fulfil both essentials of women's being – they are supported by, and they minister to, men'.[6] 'The natural crown of woman's career is wedded life. There is no doubt about that.'[7]

Spinsters denied this fulfilment were restricted to a marginal life in the home, relieved only by the church and good works. There was 'a tragedy of aimlessness in some women's lives'[8] although many gave passionate commitment to unpaid service.[9] In 1859 Miss Jane Smith was '... disconsolate, because if the school goes, all my work in the world will seem to have gone too. I wish unmarried women could follow some trade or profession.'[10] Similar feelings motivated Miss Janet Galloway, who became the first Secretary to Queen Margaret College. 'Finding by experience the disadvantages to which women were subjected by reason of the restricted character of their education and the consequent limitation of their activities, she became an ardent supporter of the movement for the removal of these limitations and for the provision for women of an education of the same character as that of men.'[11] Single women benefitted most from the new opportunities afforded by higher education and professional qualification because they could gain independence and status outside the marital bond.

The Glasgow campaign for women's higher education was part of a nationwide movement which gained increasing support from the mid-century onwards. In England, Girton College was founded in 1869; in Scotland, St Andrews University began to award the 'Lady Literate in Arts' in 1879. The L.L.A. was equivalent to a degree and was thus especially useful to women teachers who required a recognised qualification in their subject. However the women's aim was to achieve equality and not merely equivalence in university teaching and qualifications. In several cities women formed associations to press for women's admission to Universities. The Glasgow Association for promoting the Higher Education of Women (GAHEW) was launched at a public meeting in April 1877 and the first classes began that autumn; an Edinburgh Association followed in 1879. Sympathetic Professors in Glasgow had given occasional lectures to women since 1868, organised by Mrs Campbell

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[5] *GH*, 6 May 1896.

[6] W. R. Greg, 1862, quoted in Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 3-4.

[7] GUA, 19982, Report of meeting to form Association for Promoting Higher Education for Women, speech by Revd. F. L. Robertson, *Glasgow News (GN)*, 4 Apr. 1877.

[8] GUA, *QMCSA 2nd AR*, Report of 2nd AGM, 6 Nov. 1899, Bishop Harrison.

[9] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 5.

[10] SRA TD 1/905, Miss Jane Smith to Mrs A. Smith, July 1859. Miss Smith lived at Jordanhill and was closely related to Mr Parker Smith, the Liberal Unionist MP, and also 'cousin' (according to her letter) to the Gairdner family of Newton Mearns and later Blanefield, who figure prominently in the QMS.

[11] Dr D. Murray, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 11.

of Tullichewan, but GAHEW marked a definite attempt to provide a systematic course of study for women, parallel to those available for men at Glasgow University on Gilmorehill.

But in the early days, the main motivation for the women who took these courses was self-fulfilment, for 'higher culture' was taken to be synonymous with 'higher education'. In a lecture to women, Professor G. G. Ramsay[12] considered that 'a cultured person should have a fair knowledge of history ... know something about all the great names of this country and western Europe. Culture doesn't know everything, it is an attitude towards true knowledge.'[13] At this time, women who attended higher education courses were not seeking better job opportunities. Clearly some women were ambitious, but generally the early supporters of higher education were wealthy enough to need no justification of the expense by future financial return. The Edinburgh Ladies Association expressed their aim as 'not to train for a profession but to give women the advantages of a system already acknowledged to be well-suited for the mental training of their sex'.[14] Indeed, the most popular studies among the QMS non-graduate women students were single courses upon English and French Language and Literature.

Both men and women argued that higher culture would enhance women's role in the home, in bringing up their children ('who is the first and greatest educator of all our future men and women? Woman does all this and should she not be educated?')[15] and in supporting their husbands ('whose wives having resources within themselves might be something more than mere housekeepers – intelligent companions, wise counsellors to their husbands').[16] On a wider scale, it was suggested that the elevation of women would benefit society as a whole. 'Educated women will tend to raise the morals of our country for it is well-known that education drives all that is foolish and false from the mind.'[17] The well-known campaigner Mrs Josephine Butler used similar arguments in favour of higher education for women; '... women's sphere was in the home but many had none. Education and the possibility of a free and independent life and entry into important jobs would diffuse "home influence" among the masses. It could also increase marriage as the worth and dignity of women would be restored.'[18] Furthermore there was a strong emphasis in Glasgow upon higher education as training for the mission field. 'When circumstances place girls above working for their living they should train themselves for doing the great unpaid work of the world where "the harvest is plentiful but the workers are few".'[19] The first woman graduate was challenged similarly; 'I do not think, Miss Gilchrist, that you have any right to study medicine unless you are going to the mission field'.[20]

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[12] Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University and member of the Royal Commission on the reorganisation of London University in the 1890s; also father of Gertrude, who attended St Leonards school, St Andrews, studied at Cambridge and was Honorary Secretary to the QMS from 1901 to 1905.

[13] SRA TD 1/905, Margaret Smith to her mother, 3 Nov. 1891.

[14] 'Memorial of Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women to the Scottish University Commissioners', quoted in Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* (London, 1983), 259.

[15] GUA, 20280, 'Bina', 'Reminiscences of the Early Days of the Association of the Higher Education of Women, by a former student.'

[16] *GN*, 4 April 1877, Revd. F. L. Robertson.

[17] 'Bina', 'Reminiscences'.

[18] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 112.

[19] 'Bina', 'Reminiscences'.

[20] GUA, 20618, Dr Marion Gilchrist, 'Some early recollections of the Queen Margaret

The women in Glasgow were fortunate to enjoy the support of a number of influential men in the church, business and university communities who spoke at the GAHEW inauguration in 1877. The Glasgow daily papers also reported the meeting seriously and at length. According to the Mistress of QMC, the women's campaign encountered less hostility in Glasgow than in Edinburgh where Sophia Jex-Blake's struggle to enter the University had already raised public awareness. Furthermore, Glasgow was not to be outdone; Professor Nichol 'wouldn't wish it to be supposed that in a movement of this kind the city had fallen behind other places. Certainly it had not fallen behind Edinburgh....'[21] However, some concern was expressed that higher education might cause an erosion of 'womanly' qualities; 'learned women could grow into mere pedantry and lose the grace and sweetness of womanhood and become painfully disagreeable'.[22] The subject of study was also an issue; there was felt to be 'something suitable in the artistic side of education as applied to ladies', whereas natural sciences were deemed 'unwomanly', 'although there were some women whose minds needed them'. An educated woman whose interest in her subject threatened to undermine her natural role in the family was seen as a freak. Professor Nichol caused amusement by this frank admission; 'certainly, if a lady found more interest in differential calculus than Beethoven, or more interest in the formation of a beetle than the study of Shakespeare, she should study calculus and the beetle ... but he confessed he would rather be associated with the admirer of Beethoven and Shakespeare than the other lady'.[23]

Support for GAHEW courses came chiefly from wealthy mothers and daughters, many of whom attended together; a few years later, QMS workers Misses Lucy and Alice Gairdner studied different subjects in the same year, while Misses Ethel and Virginia Donaldson attended English Literature classes together. Courses ranged from Astronomy to Physiology and 450 places were taken. The GAHEW committee were satisfied with the response but aware of the limited appeal. 'Though we have made a beginning, it is only a beginning ... we must not rest satisfied till we are able to establish for girls who have left school a systematic course of study extending over several years and opening to them the whole round of a liberal education.'[24] Supporters of GAHEW did not have to contend with particular hostility but they did have to convince University and public opinion that they were serious about their desire for higher education. To this end, the Association promoted Higher Examinations for Women when these were instituted in 1880, and awarded bursaries to the most successful girls to aid further study. The most convincing proof of commitment came with the establishment of a women's College in 1883 in North Park House, Hillhead, which was the gift of Mrs Isabella Elder. She was the wealthy widow of the shipbuilder, John Elder, of the Fairfield Works at Govan, and was very keen to promote all forms of educational opportunity for women. The College was named after Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore, for her 'educative influence upon her people as a leader of thought and fosterer of Christian art'.[25] GAHEW was superseded and disbanded, while its former members continued their work with fresh zeal through Queen Margaret College (QMC).

The foundation of QMC gave new impetus to the campaign for women's higher ed-

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Medical School', *Surgo* (Mar. 1948).

[21] *GN*, 4 Apr. 1877, Prof. Nichol.

[22] *ibid.*, Revd. F. L. Robertson.

[23] *ibid.*, Prof. Nichol.

[24] GUA, 19992, *GAHEW Annual Report* 1877/8.

[25] GUA, 20469, D. S. Adam B.D., *QMC History*, 29 Jan. 1885.

ucation. The Queen Margaret Diploma brought added status to both arts and science faculties; the opening of the Queen Margaret Medical School in 1890 (again through Mrs Elder) attracted students widely, and classes were raised to degree level in all subjects. Numbers rose rapidly at first, then levelled and fell off slightly. Yet the College's success only highlighted its limitations. Reliance upon the support of leisured ladies did not offer security for the future, and was unhelpful for the College's public image. Mrs Elder noted the 'impression of exclusiveness which exists in the public mind towards QMC'.[26] Moreover the demand for those requiring degrees for employment was still unsatisfied; again Mrs Elder warned 'until we can give our students degrees, the large number prepared to be teachers will go where they can get degrees to have an equal chance with others in the struggle for employment and the chief object of the College will remain unaccomplished'. Frances H. Melville, Mistress of QMC after 1909 wrote later that women's higher education was approaching a crisis by the late 1880s; a Royal Commission was appointed and the Universities (Scotland) Act followed in 1889.[27] It caused some disappointment that the Act did not allow the immediate opening of the Universities to women, requiring instead an enabling ordinance of the Commissioners and the 'will of the University'.[28]

The College was incorporated into Glasgow University as the Women's Department in July 1892 and the first women students matriculated in October. Degree courses begun in 1890 could be recognised. Arts classes opened to women immediately, followed shortly afterwards by science, and medicine in 1894.[29] The high standard of College tuition enabled Marion Gilchrist and Lily Cumming (both QMS women) to graduate in medicine that same year. Student numbers increased enormously, doubling in the first decade (1893/4 176; 1900/1 334) and nearly doubling again to 1913 (1912/13 639). Initially most students were still drawn from upper middle-class Glasgow families; they lived at home and occasionally took single courses rather than full degrees. The problems of finding accommodation and bursaries had to be tackled before the College could satisfy the growing demand from girls all over Scotland and beyond.

However, as noted in the previous chapter, only a handful of women from the QMS came from outwith Glasgow and district. Indeed, the high social standing of the QMS women is confirmed by the observation that many of the group who attended QMC did not do so to gain degrees for employment. Forty QMS women attended QMC before it became part of the University, and of the ninety who attended subsequently, fifteen took single classes rather than full degrees. This does not mean that QMS women were less able academically than their graduate sisters; a number of names recur as prizewinners – notably Miss Elizabeth P. Taylor, who was the first woman to graduate with first class honours in mathematics, and Miss Helen Rutherfurd, described as 'Professor Murray's best student', who also took a First and won an Oxford scholarship.[30] The distribution of QMS students among faculties shows a heavy preponderance of Arts students over Science and Medicine, yet a greater proportion studying medicine than the general QMC trend;

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[26] GUA, Ure-Elder papers, letterbook, Mrs Elder to Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan, 18 Apr. 1891.

[27] GUA, 19921, 'QMC,' *Pass it On*, Magazine of the Women's Educational Union, vol. XV no. 1, Nov. 1935.

[28] GUA, J. N. Morton M.A., Writer, *An Analysis of the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889* (Edinburgh, 1889) 12.

[29] GUA, 20580, Letter from F. H. Melville to K. M. Atholl on women's education, 26 Sept. 1924.

[30] GUA, *CC*, Whitsun 1949.

fifty-eight Arts students, four scientists and fifteen medics.[31]

Reaction to women students within the University was mixed. Most professors were happy to teach women students and some began co-educational courses at Gilmorehill immediately, although most teaching continued in the College. Some refused, on the grounds that it was outwith the terms of their contract to teach women, whereupon special lecturers were appointed for the College.[32] One lecturer was reported to have apologised to his men students for the poor standard of his lectures but said they had been prepared for the weaker intellects of QMC.[33] Generally the novelty value caused most comment. The *Glasgow Herald* described the first intake of medical students 'from the stern female clad in severe navy blue serge to the little girl with ringlets who ought to have been eating chocolates in a drawing room'.[34] This owed more to popular misconception about women students than to reality because Dr Gilchrist recalled that these two failed. The element of novelty persisted for some time; a former student wrote that in a graduation ceremony 'each woman was singled out for outbursts of wild catcalls and vociferous cheering as if she were something from another planet'.[35] The women shared the excitement; the same student recalled 'the girls now hurried off more enthusiastically to QMC than their brothers. I think because it was novel and there was a challenge to be met.' Women took their degrees seriously and worked hard at them; again, they were part of a hard-working culture, with the example before them of their fathers who worked long hours during the week, relaxing only on Saturday afternoons.[36]

Undoubtedly the experience of being in the vanguard of a new movement for women conferred confidence and a sense of fellowship upon these first University women. Consequently many of them maintained their links with the College and its organisations after their student days, particularly through the Queen Margaret Union and the Queen Margaret Settlement. Such links were actively encouraged by Miss Janet Galloway, first Secretary to QMC. As noted in Chapter 1, she promoted the formation of the QM Union to draw together current and former members of the College, and she suggested the QMS Settlement as 'some definite work was needed to hold the Union together'.[37]

A further College creation was the Glasgow Association of University Women, founded in 1901 to provide another forum for social and intellectual meetings, perhaps for the more academically-able women. The QMS graduates were well-represented and formed half the first committee; they were also those with the best degrees. Most, but not all of them had professional careers as secondary-school teachers, university assistants and doctors. The

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[31] This includes, however, three women who were involved in the Settlement in the early 1900s who then graduated in medicine much later: Marjorie Anderson (B.A. Oxon.) who graduated M.B.Ch.B. in 1921 at the age of forty; Florence M. Robinson, also M.B.Ch.B. in 1923 in her forties; Joan D. McKenzie, M.A. 1909 and M.B.Ch.B. in the 1930s when she was nearly fifty. It is tempting to speculate that they had to overcome implacable parental opposition before embarking on their studies, but this is unlikely, since two already had degrees, and Miss Robinson's father Marcus (timber merchant of Partick) died four years after her graduation.

[32] GUA, Melville to Atholl.

[33] Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos*, 261.

[34] GUA, Gilchrist, 'The QM Medical School'.

[35] GUA, Gray, 'Through College Windows'.

[36] J. J. Bell, *I Remember* (Edinburgh, 1932) 27-37, quoted in Morgan and Trainor, 'The Dominant Classes,' in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland II*, 122-3.

[37] M. Rutherfurd, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 36.

Association regularly invited women speakers from the COS, the Liverpool women's Settlement, the Factory Inspectorate, all concerns which closely mirrored those of the QMS. The Association also assumed the mantle of the Queen Margaret Lectures Guild which disbanded in the early 1900s, proceeding to organise lectures as far afield as Dumbarton and Lenzie. However the women graduates were not concerned to uphold academic debate if demand dwindled. Miss Maud May cancelled the Lecture Guild programme in 1909 after several lean years since there was 'no demand at present'; around the same time, Dr Agnes Cameron (sister of Mary in the QMS, and daughter of Dr Murdoch Cameron) proposed that 'all meetings should be of a social nature, good lectures being so plentiful in Glasgow that this work of the Association was superfluous'.[38] The women were not intellectually snobbish, they simply sought a useful meeting place for like-minded women. Perhaps the Association also provided shared support for career women who faced some male hostility in their working lives.

The incidence and experience of QMS women with higher education is given in Table 3.1.

The striking figure from the table is the high proportion (nearly sixty-three per cent) of the women who had undertaken some form of higher education. This makes it a most unusual group by the standards of the time. Furthermore, a quarter of the remainder had a link with QMC through the attendance of a close female family member, emphasizing the importance of women's higher education for this group as a whole. In addition, those who came to the QMS to undertake social studies training were generally not graduates (with the exception of Florence Falconer) but their social-work training indicates some degree of post-school attainment so they have been classified with the Higher Education group. Only fifty-two of the original group had no proven connection with higher education, and this may arise from the difficulty of obtaining even the most basic address information. The whole points to a high level of involvement in higher education for Settlement women and their families. They were among the first to take advantage of the opportunity it offered and gave vigorous support to the general life of QMC, taking a high profile in all the College organisations, Student Representative Council, Queen Margaret Union, and Association of University Women, in addition to their service in the QMS.

In contrast, some women who had given enthusiastic support to the demand for women's higher education had an ambivalent attitude towards women's political emancipation. A number of women prominent in social and educational affairs in the late nineteenth century displayed scant regard for, or even downright opposition to the issue of female suffrage.[39] These women claimed that while higher education fitted women better for their work inside the home and, outside it, to lead independent and useful lives, female suffrage did neither of these; it simply challenged traditional social divisions and claimed equal authority with men.[40] They were also scornful of the general level of women's commitment to other causes. Florence Nightingale refused to join the Council of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage; she believed that women should have the vote but that there were far more urgent problems. 'Oh fellow-countrywomen why do you hang back? We hear so much of "idle hands" and "unsatisfied hearts"... All England is ringing with the cry for "Women's Work" and "Women's Mission" – why are there so few to do the work? We used to hear of people giving their blood for their country. Since when is

[38] GUA, 49/44, Glasgow Association of University Women, Minute Book 1901-12.

[39] In London, Octavia Hill; in Glasgow, Janet Galloway. See below.

[40] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 112.

Table 3.1: Experience of Higher education among QMS women.

Members of QMC 1883-1891		40	
Members of QMC as Womens Dept. of Glasgow University 1892 onwards:			
graduates	75		
non-graduates	15		
	(Total)	90	
Graduates from other Universities:			
Cambridge	3		
(Margaret S. Ker, Gertrude Ramsay, Alice Younger)			
Oxford	1		
(Marjorie Anderson)			
Trinity College, Dublin	1		
(Elsie R. Stevenson)			
Edinburgh	1		
(Frances H. Melville)			
Unknown	2		
(Florence C. Falconer, Gladys Dick)			
	(Total)	8	
Women who were QMS Social Studies students:		8	
Women with direct higher education experience:		(Total)	146
Women whose mother or sister attended QMC	22		
Women with only brothers at G. Univ.	6		
Women of professorial families	6		
Women with indirect higher education experience:	(Total)	34	
Women with no known higher education experience:		52	
Women with no known direct higher education experience:		(Total)	86
TOTAL POPULATION OF QMS WOMEN:			232

it that they give only their ink?'[41] Kathleen Bannatyne addressed the QMS in similar vein. 'In these days when women are claiming the highest privileges of citizenship, it is a sad commentary on their real eagerness for those privileges that in a large city, there is still such a small proportion willing to come forward and train themselves for volun-

[41] Florence Nightingale, preface to *Memorial to Agnes Jones*, quoted in Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 113.

tary work.'[42] Julia Parker, in her study of ten women involved in public social service, argues that such women were reserved about female suffrage partly because their family upbringing had not exposed them to sex discrimination. Their backgrounds were similar in many respects to those of QMS women; coming from monied, liberal, educated families with strong social and religious awareness, the QMS women were generally tolerant and supportive but rarely extreme about women's suffrage. Those who had struggled long to reach their position – Dr Marion Gilchrist, a farmer's daughter from Bothwell, for example – were perhaps more inclined to join the more militant groups.

The QMS itself had no defined position upon the issue of female suffrage. Miss Galloway and Miss Bannatyne, who were highly influential in the Settlement's first ten years, were both opposed to the movement, but at the same time the QMS included at least four women with militant suffragist sympathies. The question of female suffrage had no direct bearing upon Settlement work, although given its declared aim to improve the quality of life for women and the natural springboard it provided for the public careers of many of its members, the QMS might have been expected to indicate approval. However the QMS Executive Council always firmly rejected requests for its support in public suffrage demonstrations, even in 1914 by which time the main opponents had moved on.[43] The line adopted by the QMS following Miss Galloway was that taken by many social reformers, namely that the QMS should concentrate upon its own work for society which was more important than women's rights, and allow each individual to make up her own mind about the cause. 'Herself an Episcopalian, a Unionist, and an opponent of women's suffrage, she deliberately refrained from all public expression of her private views, lest she be taken to speak as a representative rather than an individual.'[44] Nonetheless the issue was discussed widely in women's groups; Dr Gilchrist, Miss Janie Allan and Miss Eunice Murray put their case to meetings ranging from the Association of University Women to the Anderston Girls' Club. It is clear even from the patchy records remaining from the Glasgow suffrage societies, that notwithstanding the influence of Misses Galloway and Bannatyne, many QMS members did support female suffrage.

The suffragist agitation attracted a great deal of public attention, but in fact women were already gaining new political ground in the first decade of the twentieth century by securing female representation in other areas of public interest. Progress was swiftest in those areas which fitted best with women's traditional responsibilities, so work for children, the sick and the poor was considered acceptable and appropriate for women's concern. But by moving onto public bodies and working alongside men, these women were stepping outside their traditional role and claiming that women's experience and voice had valid contributions to make.

The first gains in representation were made in the voluntary hospitals. Women had of course been involved in hospitals for years, particularly those concerned with women and children. The Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Glasgow had over a dozen QMS women on the Ladies' Committee up to 1906, and Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan was one of only two untitled lady patronesses. The Glasgow Maternity Hospital numbered two QMS women's mothers (Mrs Bannatyne and Mrs Story) among a mainly titled list of Lady Vice-Presidents. Similarly there was a high degree of Settlement representation upon the General Committee of Redlands Hospital for Women. Support for hospitals tended to be

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[42] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR*, Nov. 1910.

[43] GUA, 49.22/7, QMCSA Executive Council Minute Book V (QMCSA Minutes V), 12 May 1914.

[44] May B. Jardine, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 67.

localised; just as QMS women's fathers rarely appeared on the boards of hospitals on the south side of Glasgow, so the QMS women were found far more frequently supporting the RHSC and Maternity Hospital on the north bank of the River Clyde than the Samaritan Women's Hospital to the south.

Women's efforts for the hospitals were organised through the Ladies' Auxiliary Associations which arranged house-to-house collections throughout the city and succeeded in raising a great proportion of the funds (sometimes more than was raised by other methods, so the women's efforts were indispensable). Fully two-thirds of QMS women and their families in Glasgow alone are known to have been involved in hospital collections and management before 1914. It is clear too that previous involvement in charitable activity encouraged women to assume greater public responsibility in later life. 'Most of the pioneering generation of women first gained experience and leadership skills in some charity organisation.'[45] By 1900, the profile of women was raised further by the legal requirement to have two women directors on the boards of the large Infirmaries. These appointments had prestige and were generally made to older women; Miss Violet Roberton and Miss Sylvia Murray (second daughter of David Murray of Cardross) both served upon the Western Infirmary Board but not until the 1930s. Furthermore, the foundation of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association to Promote the Return of Women to Local Boards was noted in the Western Infirmary minutes of 1899; of six (male) founder members, three (Mark Bannatyne, Mr. Greenlees and W. F. G. Anderson) were all fathers of QMS women.[46]

Women found it hard to gain places upon School Boards because such places were highly sought-after, but once the novelty had worn off, children's education was seen as an appropriate outlet for women's experience.[47] Membership of the Glasgow School Board was certainly considered an honour: Miss Grace Paterson was the first woman to be elected in 1885 and served for twenty-one years;[48] her successor in 1906, Miss Kathleen Bannatyne, had impeccable credentials as a former Warden of the Women's University Settlement in London, a respected member of the COS and occasional contributor to its *Charity Organisation Review*, and an influential founder member of the QMS. The Govan School Board also had its first women representatives in the 1880s; the eighth woman to be elected (in 1903) was Miss Maud G. May M.A. (Tutor in Arts at QMC), followed shortly by Miss Lucy O. Johnstone M.A. (daughter of the Revd. Alexander O. Johnstone of Westbourne Free Church); both were also members of the QMS Executive Council.

The Glasgow and Govan Parish Councils (which administered poor relief) also gained their first women councillors in the first decade of the twentieth century, and QMS women were among the first to be elected. Two of the four women elected to the two councils in 1900 had Settlement connections, including Mrs Greenlees whose three daughters all worked in the QMS. In 1910 three of the five women councillors were also Settlement workers, and by 1915, all the Glasgow female representatives were also members of QMS. Miss Margaret S. Ker was first elected in 1905, and then from 1910 onwards, Miss Marion Rutherfurd, Warden of the QMS, was elected in 1907, and Miss Violet Roberton in 1915. After the First World War the number of QMS councillors increased but the number of wards multiplied further, so in effect, Settlement representation declined. There was a

[45] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 22. Also Atkinson, *Local Government in Scotland* (London, 1904).

[46] GUA, GGHB Archives, Western Infirmary Minute Book 1899, 25/7 and 6/10.

[47] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 36.

[48] Miss Paterson acted as educational consultant to the QMS.

great increase of women on the councils after 1924, but most were married, making it difficult to determine any further extent of QMS influence.

By this time, women had gained the vote, not least by the efforts of the suffrage societies in raising public awareness of the female suffrage debate. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (WSS) had been the first to be established in Glasgow in 1902, and as the most Liberal of the suffragist movements, it attracted the bulk of Settlement support. Membership lists no longer exist but certainly thirty-four Settlement women were involved as office-holders or organisers and a dozen further familial connections have been noted. However, the WSS's commitment, to work for female suffrage only through constitutional means, was not dynamic enough for some women who sought more militant action to promote their cause. Hence the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was founded in London in 1904 and gained adherents in Glasgow too. Discussions in Glasgow in 1906 between the WSS and WSPU on the possibility of joint action foundered on the rival strategies; the WSPU 'maintained that it was not an offshoot of the ILP (Independent Labour Party) but would stick to the militant methods already adopted'.[49] This was the last straw for some stalwarts of the WSS, frustrated by what they saw as feebleness and lack of progress, and they turned to the WSPU. Grace Paterson who had previously applauded the WSS for being 'law-abiding persons'[50] '... had attended a meeting of the WSPU and decided that the WSS wasn't powerful enough'.[51] Dr. Marion Gilchrist also grew impatient and proposed at a meeting of the WSS that 'the Government should do women's suffrage or the WSS wouldn't support it'.[52] The meeting did not accept the motion; Dr Gilchrist resigned later that year and delivered the first address at the opening of the WSPU offices in Bath Street, Glasgow in 1908. In this she acknowledged that she had '... at one time thought it a great pity that the militant suffragists should create rows at Westminster; now she had been brought round to the other view. She saw clearly now that no-one had done more for the cause than those militant suffragists.... The worst type of woman was one who didn't want the vote herself and wasn't prepared to let anyone else have it.'[53] Miss Janie Allan, one of the Allan sisters who let the Washington Street premises to the QMS, also resigned from the WSS in January 1909 declaring that 'her sympathies were more with the militant section of the movement'.[54] She later became one of the WSPU's two main organisers in Scotland.[55] Other prominent suffragists include Frances McPhun and Elizabeth R. McLean M.A. (sister of Norma, who worked in the QMS) who are both commemorated in the Suffrage display at the People's Palace in Glasgow.

The Women's Freedom League (WFL), an offshoot of the WSPU, also opened its offices in Glasgow in January 1908. Records for both these organisations are scarce but one QMS lady was strikingly prominent. 'The Freedom League had a powerful speaker and propagandist in Eunice Murray.'[56] Eunice was the third of three daughters of Dr David Murray of Cardross, all of whom attended QMC and worked in the Settlement.

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[49] Mitchell Library, Rare Books Dept., Minute Book, Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage (GWSAWS), 1 Dec. 1906.

[50] *GH*, 28 June 1906.

[51] GWSAWS Minutes, 17 Jan. 1907.

[52] *ibid.*, 28 Feb. 1907.

[53] GUA, *GH*, 13 Jan. 1908.

[54] GWSAWS, Minute Book, 14 Jan. 1909.

[55] Elspeth King, *Scottish Women's Suffrage Movements* (Glasgow, 1978).

[56] Warwick Univ., MRO, Stella Newsome, *The Women's Freedom League 1907-1957.*

She mobilised the support of the 'Scottish Scattered' (women who lived outside urban centres of population) by writing and distributing penny pamphlets. Her work for the WFL continued into the 1930s.

A close friend and former Settlement colleague of Dr Gilchrist's, Dr Elizabeth Chalmers Smith, became a public figure of a different kind. She and Ethel Moorhead, an artist from Edinburgh, achieved some notoriety in the Glasgow Park Mansion Affair of July 1913 when they were convicted of attempted arson. 'Scenes of indescribable disorder and confusion' ensued at Glasgow High Court in October 1913 when the women appeared. The *Glasgow Herald* treated the whole matter with amused scepticism. It admired the women's trickery in gaining entry to the house, ostensibly with a view to renting it, cited Elizabeth Smith's list of academic achievements, and made great play of her being the wife of the minister of Calton Parish Church. The headline for 28 July 1913 read "City Minister's Wife in custody. An Amusing Story". Both women were sentenced to eight months' imprisonment in Duke Street. Released under the infamous 'Cat and Mouse' Act when weak from hunger striking, the two made good their escape.[57]

The outbreak of war in 1914 caused a surge of volunteers for relief work generally and a temporary halt to political campaigning by the suffragettes. Marion Blackie wrote to the WSS secretary in August 1914 that she 'had dropped all political and propaganda work to help in relief'. Miss K. Macdiarmid was 'anxious to go to France or Belgium or somewhere', and Miss Greenlees 'felt obliged to resign because of hospital work'.[58] Barely a month after war was declared, the WSS notified the QMS that 'in consequence of the National Emergency, they have suspended all political work and have started an exchange for volunteer workers'.[59] In a letter to the Government, the WSS pointed to its co-operation with the National Union of Women Workers, the Liberal Women's Federation, the Women's Labour League, and the QMS.

War combined a sense of duty with new opportunities and encouraged women to try new openings. In a letter to all QM graduates in 1915, the Mistress of the College, Miss Frances Melville exhorted the women to utilise their university training to the full. 'In the face of the national crisis, it is incumbent upon every qualified women to consider seriously ... whether she would not be more usefully employed in undertaking some occupation hitherto followed by men.... At the moment, an opportunity, unsought and unwelcomed, offers itself for women to discover paths hitherto untrodden by them, occupations perhaps more congenial to the individual tastes of many [than teaching].'[60] The WSS compiled a "Memorial of Women War Workers" for the Government in order to demonstrate the value of women's efforts. This includes some Settlement women taking administrative posts which were new to women, for example, Margaret S. Ker was Convener of a committee on women's unemployment under the Glasgow Burgh Distress Committee.

Following the Armistice and the extension of the franchise, the WSS remained in existence to work for the election of women to local and national government. Indeed the Town Council had been open to women since before the War (Marion Blackie and Margaret S. Ker both stood unsuccessfully in 1911) but the first women councillors were not elected until 1920. Of the seven women then elected, both Miss Violet M. C. Roberton (returned for the Park ward) and Miss Mary A. Snodgrass (for Anderston and later Kelvinside) were Settlement women, and Mrs Jessica Baird Smith (Pollokshields ward) was a former QMC

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[57] *GH*, 26 Nov. 1913.

[58] GWSAWS Letterbook, 1913.

[59] GUA, QMCSA Minutes V, 1 Sept. 1914.

[60] GUA, 20678, F. H. Melville, letter to QMC graduates, Nov. 1915.

student. It is difficult to trace any more women back to Settlement origins because of the problem of married names. Both Misses Snodgrass and Roberton remained unmarried and continued in public service for many years, being appointed Bailies in 1926. They also represented a Liberal voice among the women councillors, since at least two of the others were staunch members of the Independent Labour Party. All the women were very similar, though, in the committee work they undertook; participation was dictated by interest rather than a desire to spread women's influence. Women councillors concentrated on committees on Health, Housing, Cleansing, Baths and Washhouses, Watching and Lighting; only one was on the Statute Labour committee and none at all on the important Finance committee.

The Glasgow WSS tried to work for women's representation at Westminster but without success. Among four women considered 'good candidates' were Miss Story (Elma, elder sister of Helen), Miss Eunice Murray, and Miss Snodgrass, but all refused. Miss Frances Melville stood as an 'Independent' candidate in a by-election for the Scottish Universities in 1933, but came 'a good second'.[61] However, the widowed sister-in-law of Dr Jane Reid Shaw, Mrs Helen B. Shaw was returned as MP for Bothwell in the 1930s.[62] In reality, the Settlement women did not harbour Parliamentary aspirations because they were more concerned with Glasgow, its politics, education, church and culture, where they already had some standing and could gain more.[63]

The extent of Settlement involvement in the campaign for political emancipation raises some interesting points. In the first place, the QMS contained women with a whole spectrum of views upon the question of women's rights. It included simultaneously some women who became well-known Scottish suffragists, some women who gained public status within Glasgow for their work for city authorities, some whose sisters were suffragettes but who took no active part in the movement themselves, and some who, despite years of work for women's opportunities, remained opposed to female suffrage. Furthermore, it is undoubtedly true that the experience gained through the QMS acted as a catalyst to some of those ambitions. On a basic level, Settlement experience included organisation of a large and articulate volunteer workforce, practice in business administration and accounts, policy-making and implementation which were all useful in public and professional life.[64] Moreover, given the QMS's origins in a women's college, its female staff and its professed preoccupation with women and children, the whole ethos of the QMS revolved around concern for women and their opportunities. Those who were drawn to Settlement work naturally shared those concerns and were enabled by the experience of their formative years, including those spent with the Settlement, to prosecute their aims more effectively.

Although political freedom was important, professional opportunities were of more immediate concern even to the QMS women from the 'monied classes'. Indeed, as the proportion of the total number of women in paid employment rose from 12.6% in 1881 to 23.7% in 1911, the historian David Rubenstein states that 'the major underpinning

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[61] GUA, *CC* Whit. 1962.

[62] *GH*, 17 Feb. 1932.

[63] For example, Miss Mary Snodgrass considered it sufficiently important to notify the WSS in 1921 that the Presbyterian Church of England had passed a resolution allowing women to be elders, deaconesses and committee members. GWSAWS, Minute Book 16 May 1921.

[64] See also Chapter 6, where Hilda Cashmore details the variety of experience gained through social-work training at a Settlement.

of developments was the expansion of employment for middle-class women'.[65] At the time of QMC's foundation, middle-class women were definitely not expected to work for a living; indeed, to do so would have demeaned their family's social standing.[66] Many families represented in the QMS had made considerable wealth from commercial and industrial enterprise but not many could rely on a comfortable future. 'Glasgow, like most towns given over to industry and commerce, has no leisured class,' stated Muir's guide to Glasgow in 1901.[67] As noted in Chapter 2, professional fathers particularly were prepared to support their daughters through higher education because it offered the opportunity of a qualification with which the daughters could earn a living after their fathers' deaths.[68] Career decisions were not an immediate concern for all women graduates, but in the rapidly-changing circumstances of the early twentieth century many did use their degrees to gain professional employment. The combined effects of higher education with the growth of opportunities in new and old professions and the consequences of the First World War led to a great deal of movement in the careers of the Settlement women.

However, the first consideration is how higher education could be combined with the 'natural crown of woman's career – wedded life'[69] to determine the effect of higher education upon women's eligibility, and the effect of marriage upon work. Miss Galloway herself 'encouraged her students to marry'[70] and was said to be 'much more interested in inducing her students to make the proper compromise between life and letters, than in training professionals or experts'.[71] Nonetheless, it was a concern at the turn of the century that university women would choose not to marry, or if they did, would be childless, preferring to concentrate their energies upon a career.[72] There were also fears that intellectual women would be unattractive to men because of their unhealthy absorption in their subject (see Prof. Nichol's expressed preference above) or because men would prefer submissive wives. Beatrice Webb was warned in 1889 that 'if you compete with us, we shan't marry you'.[73]

It is difficult to be precise about the QMS group as a whole, to postulate that they were less likely to marry because of their commitments to other work, or more likely because they stayed at home and perhaps married later. We are hampered by a lack of information upon those women whom it was impossible to trace at all and upon the earlier generation of pre-University College students because of the patchiness of the records. However, it has been established that fifteen women were married at the time of their QMS service

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[65] David Rubenstein, *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s* (Brighton, 1986).

[66] The same was true for the wife of an independent artisan; her ability to remain a home-maker and mother indicated that he could afford to keep his wife at home. Keeping women out of the workplace also reduced competition. A 'moral economy' in which 'many of the values of this group were congruent with those of the middle-classes'. A. McKinlay and R. J. Morris (eds.), *The ILP on Clydeside, 1893-1932* (Manchester, 1991) 9-14.

[67] J. H. Muir, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow, 1901) 153, quoted in Morgan and Trainor, 'The Dominant Classes', in Fraser and Morris (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland II*, 122.

[68] GUA, Gray, 'Through College Windows.' See Chapter 2.

[69] *GN*, 4 April 1877, Revd. F. L. Robertson.

[70] David Wilson, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 55.

[71] Prof. J. L. Morison, *ibid.* 41.

[72] See Chapter 5, on discussion of contemporary concern upon the nation's health.

[73] B. Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (London, 1926) 351.

and that thirty-five married subsequently. This comprises between a quarter and a fifth of the total QMS population, and is certainly an underestimate. At the same time, roughly forty women are known to have died unmarried and a further twenty are almost certain to have done so, being single late in life. This particular group of single women comprises those who merited obituaries by active involvement either in public or professional life. Furthermore, the final total of unmarried women is likely to be higher still because the pre-University College generation was generally older and therefore less likely to marry after 1914 when the number of eligible men was reduced by the Great War. Yet this must be counter-balanced by the exception of four women said to be single in 1920 but married by 1931 when all were in their forties.

Martha Vicinus writes of 'single women looking forward with relief to turning thirty when they could put aside any pretence of being marriageable and concentrate on their own interests'.[74] The experience of some of the women in Julia Parker's study supports this argument. However, the situation is confounded in the QMS group by the very experience of higher education. None of the students married during their course of study and the youngest were twenty-two or twenty-three at graduation. Indeed, a survey of ages at graduation for QMS QMC women reveals that the age at which most completed their studies varied between twenty-two and twenty-seven, with twenty-three to twenty-five by far the most common age at graduation, and the median age being twenty-five. Neither was there a significant number of women who delayed entering higher education until University courses were open to them and therefore were older at graduation; twenty-five was simply the most usual age at which these women graduated up to 1914. Furthermore, although the sample is small, none of the women graduates here married in the first three years after their degrees. Most (ten) married between four to eight years after graduation, and four women married twelve or twenty years beyond. This may indicate the seriousness with which women took their studies, and in some cases was clearly to consolidate their careers; however it does mean that the earliest marriages among these women graduates took place relatively late when they were in their late twenties or early thirties. From 1891 to 1911 the median age at marriage for the west Lowlands of Scotland was twenty-four to twenty-four-and-a-half years.)[75] Numbers are too small and knowledge too patchy to do more than indicate that higher education delayed marriage.

At the same time, University attendance created new possibilities for marriage. It is unlikely that the QMS women from such privileged backgrounds could achieve much social elevation through this route,[76] but university marriage reinforced the ties of class and culture. Some of the fifteen married women in the QMS had attended QMC before their marriage but that only served to confirm their existing social position. Within the QMS population there are twelve women who married subsequently, all graduates, for whom we know both father's and husband's occupation. See Table 3.2.

The figures are small but indicate as might be expected that such women married men from their own social group. A small amount of lateral movement is evident, firstly between professions for women who married members of the Indian Civil Service and therefore entered the New Professional group, and secondly two women from the Commercial/Industrial group who married professional men. There is little sign here of upward

[74] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 40.

[75] M. Anderson and D. J. Morse, 'The People', in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland II*, 35.

[76] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity* 308, indicates that university women were in any case from more middle-class backgrounds than the men.

Table 3.2: Effect of University marriage upon social mobility.

	Father	Husband
Old Professions	7	7
New Professions	2	4
Commercial/Industrial	3	1

NB. 1. The remaining categories, Intermediate and Agricultural, had no representation at all.
2. The class categories are the same as those used for the fathers' study; see Chapter 2, Table 2.1.

mobility through marriage; indeed, upward mobility is more evident among other QMS women who were the daughters of men in the 'Intermediate' group. Such women took degrees to become professionals themselves. Two were the daughters of commercial travellers and one of a draper; two became doctors and one a teacher. The largest group of women married within Glasgow, and their husbands (who did not have degrees) very probably belonged to the city's business community. In this study, only a handful of women married through University; four married fellow graduates, four more married fellow-Scots in the Indian Civil Service, three married church ministers. Twenty women married and remained in or returned to Glasgow; four moved to England and four to India. The number known may be small but at least disproves the notion that educated women rejected marriage entirely in favour of a career.

The effect of marriage upon graduate work is harder still to determine because the sample is so small. Only seven women in this study continued to work after marriage, and these were all university teachers or doctors since marriage was not a bar to practice. Mabel Atkinson continued to lecture; Grace Whish inherited her father's practice in Pollokshaws and Shawlands in 1917 and ran it for forty-two years; Ethel Lochhead worked as a maternity and child welfare officer for twenty years.[77] Miss E. Whiteley was the only teacher recorded to have a post after marriage, and since the bare details in the *General Council Register* are not backed by an obituary, we know nothing of the circumstances or accuracy of the entry. Perhaps the more important question is how the women's fertility was affected first by the relatively late age of marriage and secondly by the demands of career. Certainly no children are recorded in the obituaries of married working women. Marriage may not have been incompatible with some careers but children almost certainly were.

However, most of the Settlement women probably did not marry, and for them, the choice of profession was crucial because it opened the way to a useful and independent life. Initially a number of single women spent some time up to and after 1914 living in the parental home with no paid occupation – their families were able to support them and preferred to do so. After 1914 ten changed their situation and took up a career; three became secretary, missionary, doctor, respectively, the rest took up teaching. This shift took place when all the women were in their thirties or forties. Perhaps they had been

[77] GUA, *CC*, Martinmas 1963; 1965.

caring for elderly parents, or perhaps experienced changed circumstances. Certainly they made use of their degrees and several made a notable success of their new careers. Jenny McAra founded Hillside School for girls upon the Dalton Plan during the First World War after her father's death, which according to her obituary, 'assured [her] of a place in the history of education in Scotland'.[78] Mary C. Waddell became headmistress of a school in Hampstead; Marjorie Anderson, who graduated in medicine in 1921, became involved in old people's welfare organisations, and 'died in the full tide of a life spent for others'.[79]

As well as movement from home to profession, movements between professions were not uncommon, mainly for professional advancement. Several former teachers moved into higher education: Helen Rutherfurd became the first Mistress of Method and later Warden of Jordanhill teacher training College in Glasgow; Robina S. M. Turnbull was Warden of a London women's College; Margaret B. Moir was a lecturer at Perth University in Australia. Several others who had started out in professional social work training in the QMS moved into the Civil Service: Dorothy S. Allan, the QMS sub-warden in 1911 was appointed Chief Inspector under the National Health Insurance Act in 1912; Alice Younger, the long-serving vice-convener of the QMS took a civil service post dealing with women also in 1912. Returning missionaries generally became teachers (as they had been overseas) or worked for the church: Dorothy Ackland became Candidates' Convener for the UF church, Edith Lindsay became Joint Secretary of the Church of Scotland Prayer Union. Other shifts are not so direct. Frederica Barrie moved from a secretaryship into teaching, Gladys Dick from being a Welfare Supervisor in a large industrial firm to missionary work in India. Certainly movements between posts were facilitated by a degree. Women did not have to be redundant when times changed, they could move with them.

Such movements pose problems when attempting a classification of careers. However, Table 3.3 indicates the ultimate career destinations of 110 QMS women on whom information was found. The following discussion of the principal destinations considers the women's progress in these careers, and how far their Settlement experience affected the work they undertook.

The greatest number were drawn at some time to teaching, which had been the most common occupation in the nineteenth century for genteel women who had to earn a living. Such women had sought qualifications to improve their employment prospects as governesses or in elementary schools. They had thereby forced the pace of change in higher education because teachers offered the best potential source of student interest outside the leisured classes. The QMS women, of course, largely did not need to teach but may have been attracted to it as a result of their work in the QMS. The QMS Invalid Children's school attracted many volunteers, of whom Jenny McAra was one of the most long-serving, and the QMS Montessori Nursery School was a particular concern for Helen Rutherfurd from its opening in 1914 until her death. Graduate status changed both emphasis and opportunity in the teaching profession; it enhanced women's view of teaching as a highly-qualified career and it enabled them to compete on equal terms with men for posts in secondary schools and for senior posts in elementary schools. Most of the early women graduate teachers remained single and were utterly dedicated to their work, to the extent that they were seen as slightly odd. Elizabeth P. Taylor, the first QMC student to graduate with first-class honours in Mathematics, taught at Laurel Bank School in Glasgow; a pupil recalled her having 'an abundance of fair hair in a bun right on the top of her head and a

[78] GUA, *CC*, Whit. 1952.
[79] GUA, *CC*, Whit. 1959.

Table 3.3: Career destinations of QMS women, where known.

Teaching	24
Medicine	11
Mission	8
Professional Social Work	13
Public Life	5
Civil Service	3
Secretary	3
University teaching	9
Married only	34
TOTAL	110

pencil skewered through it – that's where she kept it'.[80]

Laurel Bank was one of the new girls' schools in Glasgow which offered possibilities of employment to women graduates; other QMC graduates found posts at the the Park and Westbourne schools. The graduate teachers carried something of the Settlement ethos into their new jobs since the work of the QMS was taken up in at least two of these schools in which former students taught. Girls from the Park school took part in in entertainments for the QMS before 1914, and Laurel Bank assisted the Hillside kindergarten school which took tubercular children from two of the city's most congested areas, Anderston and Cowcaddens. However, Scottish opportunities were limited and a number of women went elsewhere. According to Louisa Lumsden of St Andrews, graduates were 'compelled to look almost entirely to England for a worthy professional career'.[81] However, in the QMS group, more travelled abroad than to England. A few took senior posts in South Africa, several more went out as missionaries to India, where Janet E. Copeland, a first-class graduate in modern languages trained native teachers, 'teaching them in their own language within six months'.[82] Some moved into teacher-training and made original contributions to the development of Scottish education.[83] Teaching was therefore not a new field for women, but degrees enabled their greater participation.

The acquisition of a degree opened up routes into higher education. As noted above, some (Helen Rutherfurd, Robina S. M. Turnbull) moved into teacher-training, but rather

[80] Morven Cameron, *The Laurel Bank Story 1903-78* (Glasgow, 1978).
[81] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, 255.
[82] GUA, *CC* IX no. 17 (1956).
[83] See Jenny McAra, Helen Rutherfurd above.

more became University Assistants, mainly in Glasgow. Mabel Atkinson was a lecturer at King's College, London, Margaret B. Moir at Perth University. Mary Cameron and Margaret Finlayson both became Assistants at Glasgow University and Margaret M. Gray was a member of the English staff from 1910 to 1947. Maud May also had a long association, from 1900 to 1939; she was appointed Assistant in 1900, then Tutor in Arts at QMC in 1911, lecturer in 1926 and General Adviser to women students in 1935. Helen Story, younger daughter of the former Principal of the University, was the chief instigator of the University's School of Social Study and Social Training which originated partly within the QMS. She had studied at QMC before women could take degrees so did not have an M.A. but was awarded the LL.D. for her work with the School. The foundation of the School of Social Study also opened a new professional route for women, with or without degrees, one which became increasingly important with the demands of the new welfare legislation in first decade of the century and the needs of wartime in the second.[84]

Some professions only became available for women after the opening of the Universities and of these, medicine was the most notable. Eleven QMS women had medical degrees. They and their fellow students had to overcome considerable hostility to the idea of women doctors, since this offended contemporary notions of women's sensitivity and delicacy, as well as questioning their strength to cope. An article on careers in medicine for girls (published in 1908 after more than a decade of women qualifying as doctors) warned sternly that the 'indispensable quality' was a 'thoroughly healthy constitution to enable her to stand the stress of both training and "practice". In addition, she must have a thoroughly healthy and well-balanced mind, free from the tendency to nerves and hysteria which characterise so many of her sex.'[85]

The women had to face professional opposition from doctors and medical students, both in training, and in the search for posts. The QMC Medical school opened in 1890 with nine students; Dr Gilchrist recalled that 'the dissecting room was the old kitchen in the basement; the anatomy lecture room was the small apartment adjoining'.[86] Some classes were taught with men but many remained unmixed beyond 1910, and there is evidence to suggest that this separate teaching hindered the women's academic attainment.[87] Gaining access to hospitals for clinical training proved even more difficult. 'The College application was refused outright by the Western Infirmary, shelved by the Victoria Infirmary and given very limited approval by the Maternity Hospital. The Royal Infirmary gave guarded consent but following protests from male medical students had to withdraw from the agreement, and from 1893 taught women separately.'[88] Notwithstanding these problems, the women worked hard to qualify, and by 1914, Gaffney records that about seventy women doctors had graduated from Glasgow University.

Newly-qualified women then faced a further struggle for hospital access. The best training was obtained in the large voluntary hospitals, but competition was fierce and women were less likely to be selected than men. The Victoria and Royal Infirmaries appointed some women as house officers after 1900 after the law required that two women

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[84] This is explored more fully in Chapter 6.

[85] Florence B. Jack (ed.), *The Woman's Book* (London, 1911) 633.

[86] Gilchrist, 'QM Medical School'.

[87] Alexander, *First Ladies*, 27-32.

[88] Rona Gaffney, 'Women as doctors and nurses', in Checkland and Lamb (eds.) *Health Care as Social History: the Glasgow Case*, 135-6. Wendy Alexander also notes that the Western Infirmary's refusal to admit women entailed much more travelling for them, since the Royal Infirmary was in the city centre, three miles from the QMC/Gilmorehill sites.

directors be appointed to hospital boards. It was easier, though, for women doctors to obtain posts in hospitals specialising in women and children, where the old argument of modesty could not apply. In Glasgow such hospitals had large numbers of women directors, many of whom had links with the College.[89] These hospitals were the first to accept female students for training and to appoint onto the staff. The Samaritan Hospital for Women appointed its first women doctors in 1892 and two Junior Dispensary Officers in 1897, both of whom were QMS workers. Dr Gilchrist worked at Redlands Hospital for Women, and the Victoria Infirmary. Because of the difficulty of obtaining hospital work though, most women doctors settled in other areas. Most in this study entered general practice. Several took posts in the growing field of public health; Dr Ethel Lochhead worked as a maternity and child welfare officer in Hendon for twenty years. Indeed, many women doctors made their careers in maternity and child healthcare but Alexander notes that these were low-status jobs and therefore probably originated as much from lack of other opportunities as from a continuing concern for women inherited from the Settlement.

Many of the first Glasgow women medical graduates in Wendy Alexander's study were destined for the mission field in India, or took posts with the new Indian Women's Medical Service.[90] In contrast, only one QMS doctor went into missionary work; most of the QMS missionaries were M.A.s and went out as teachers. The majority went out with the United Free Church's Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS), which was arguably more active in foreign mission than the Church of Scotland.[91] The sisters Norah and Edith Lindsay (granddaughters of Professor William Lindsay D.D., of the United Presbyterian Church Divinity Hall) spent thirty, and thirty-two years respectively in Calcutta; Janet Copeland, whose father was also an 'educational missionary', taught in India for thirty-two years. Only one woman resigned early because of ill-health; Dorothy Ackland went to Bombay with the WFMS after graduation, but was forced to return only six years later. Marion Wylie, the only missionary doctor in the QMS group, also resigned after five years' service in Nagpur, but this followed her marriage.[92] Only one woman is known to have gone abroad with the Church of Scotland's Women's Aid to Foreign Missions (WAFM); Myra Napier went out with her sister Edith to nurse in Nyasaland after the death of her missionary brother.[93] Two other women, Marjory Cree and Gladys Dick M.A. also went to India apparently for missionary work but it is not clear with which society they went.

As noted earlier, missionary work seems to have derived from family influence rather than experience gained through the QMS. Nonetheless, the mission field undoubtedly offered greater opportunities of responsibility than would have been available to women who stayed at home. The obituaries of many women missionaries of the period convey a considerable degree of initiative and excitement; they had chosen to go out, braving the physical discomfort of the climate and associated health problems, and found openings for their talents which were more difficult to find here. The notion that the 'socially

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[89] See above.

[90] Alexander, *First Ladies*, 61.

[91] Derek Dow, 'Domestic response and reaction to the foreign missionary enterprises of the principal Scottish presbyterian churches, 1873-1929,' Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. 1977.

[92] Her husband, Robert McNair was in the Indian Civil Service and was knighted in 1932 on his appointment as Judicial Commissioner to the Central Provinces. Alexander, *First Ladies*, 39.

[93] Revd. Robert H. Napier B.D. (son of Robert T. Napier, Clyde shipbuilder) was a medallist at Glasgow University, became a missionary, and was killed in South Africa during 'the war'. *GH*, 30 Dec. 1921.

inept' at home were drawn to overseas mission had been dismissed by the 1870s.[94] Those women who went to the mission field were not merely following in the family footsteps, they were evincing courage and initiative and a desire to be useful, characteristics already exemplified in the struggle to become medically qualified or in the founding of the QMS.

A few notable women put their energies into areas of public life which concerned them. It is unlikely that their Settlement experience played a large part in deciding this course because they were all, in the words of Violet Roberton's obituary, 'continuing the family tradition of service to the community'.[95] Again, though, this was the first generation of single educated women to become so involved. Miss Roberton herself, the granddaughter of Professor Sir James Roberton, won the city's St Mungo Prize for service to Glasgow; Miss Mary A. Snodgrass, the daughter of John Snodgrass, a former Dean of Guild, became a Bailie and J.P.; Miss Kathleen Bannatyne's parents both served on hospital boards (as noted above) but otherwise shunned public life because of her father's 'aversion to thrusting himself onto public notice'.[96] However the QMS may have influenced the direction of their concern, since they took a keen interest in issues affecting women and children. Miss Bannatyne followed her service on the Glasgow School Board by becoming a member of the Local Education Authority in 1920; Miss Roberton was a member of the Glasgow Women's Help Committee, Miss M. S. Ker was concerned with women's unemployment, Miss Eunice Murray continued to work for the women's movement until the 1940s. The question may be raised how far these women's activities were sidelined to their 'relevant' concerns, in order to prevent them taking over more important issues. Yet most of the issues considered important by women were also of serious concern to men. Infant health, working-class housing, and special educational needs were currently matters of local and national concern which arose at meetings of the Glasgow Royal Philosophical Society, whose members had responsibilities for formulating policy for the city.

This chapter on the QMS women has explored their family backgrounds, their experiences in their formative years through College and Settlement, and the many ways in which their lives were affected by a host of new social, political, and economic factors. From all these one can identify particular influences which attracted them to work in the QMS. The ethos of the home background was clearly enormously important. Most of the women came from wealthy, comfortable, mainly Liberal families with strong religious conviction and a tradition of social action. This closely resembles the family experience of Julia Parker's ten women who were remarkable in public social service. Education was also clearly important, since even fathers with no university education were prepared to support their daughters through study as well as their sons.

This section of Glasgow society also shared a deep social concern. One article describing the city to an English readership noted 'the benevolence of men of wealth who are willing to contribute hundreds, even thousands of pounds to any object which commands their sympathy'.[97] Miss M. S. Ker shared this view. 'There is much wealth freely given; innumerable charities generally well-managed, sometimes overlapping, and an unfailing supply of capable volunteer social workers.'[98] The previous chapter noted the array of charities to which Settlement families, fathers, mothers and siblings, gave time

[94] Dow, 'Domestic response to foreign missions of the Scottish presbyterian churches'.
[95] GUA, *CC*, Whit. 1955.
[96] *GH*, 27 Sept. 1915.
[97] *COR*, vol I, Feb. 1897, 76.
[98] 1909 *R.C. on P.L. in Scotland*, CD. 4922 xxxviii 95, App. LXXVII, Miss M. S. Ker, Glasgow Parish Council.

and money. Two-thirds of the families were active in Glasgow hospital charities alone. These wealthy middle-class families were not acting from guilt, or an obvious desire to be fashionably charitable, they simply had a strong sense of duty to do something. This undoubtedly owed much to religious motivation, as a large number of the women came from families with a strong church commitment. Indeed the Scottish churches' current preoccupation with mission could have been an incentive for Settlement work.[99] Yet mission was expressly excluded from the QMS agenda, in contrast to the evangelising men Students' Settlement. The concept of Christianity which the QMS embodied was best described by Helen Story. 'We must not dream of playing the Lady Bountiful now-a-days, that phase of charity has happily passed away. We go as man to man and try mutually to make our corners of the vineyard a pleasanter and more fruitful place.'[100] In short, these women carried from their families a strong sense of right, duty and confidence which enabled them to pursue their own concerns effectively.

A further outstanding feature of this group which sets them apart from most women of their day was that the vast majority of them had higher education; the shared experience of College was very important for these women and encouraged them to join the QMS. Recall the enthusiasm of the first women students at QMC when 'it was novel and there was a challenge to be met'.[101] The importance of the College experience for these women may be judged by the number continuing membership of College organisations, the Union, and the Association of Women Graduates, as well as the Settlement. The Settlement therefore benefitted by being a continuation of the College; 'the idea of a residential home appealed to those who had gone to boarding school or college. They had benefitted so much from corporate living that the Settlement seemed the perfect means of carrying this into the world'.[102] This also explains why the residential aspect of Settlement life was slow to develop in the QMS; most of these women had not boarded as students but lived at home 'after the fashion of the Scotch Universities'[103] and so did not choose to live in the QMS even when the opportunity arose. The Settlement ideal itself, with its emphasis on personal example rather than missionary organisation, may have attracted volunteers; Vicinus likens Barnett's ideal to the 'perfect Victorian Lady'.[104] However, there was nothing insubstantial about the QMS women. They were intellectually and practically capable, and chose to be pragmatic; they identified needs, took account of external suggestions, and acted upon them to promote the welfare of those they aimed to help.

The final characteristic of the QMS which made it attractive to QMC students and others was that it was entirely a women's organisation, run and staffed by middle-class women to help working-class women and children. Recall the radicalism of Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan's hope for women to be the reformers of the world. Martha Vicinus also argues that since women were excluded from men's power, their existence was somehow distinct from it; '... women were not identified with economic exploitation and therefore

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[99] See D. Withrington's article on the greater social concern being expressed by the Scottish churches, cited in Chapter 1.

[100] G. E. R. Young, *Elma and Helen Story: A Recollection* (Glasgow, 1948) 16.

[101] See above.

[102] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 213.

[103] Adam, *QMC.*

[104] '... influencing by her presence rather than her actions'. Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 216.

they were welcomed into working class homes'.[105] The question of what the QMS women were trying to achieve will be explored later, but it is clear from the start that these were not radical feminists. They had a genuine concern for the women and children of Anderston but they were gradualist in their approach to social problems. 'The advantage of Settlement training [was that] those who had passed through the mill didn't go forward hoping all would be put right in a year; nor because everything was not put right within ten years did they think they must stop working. Hope lay in slow steps, not a sudden rush to outward improvement.'[106] They were motivated by a desire to share fully in the benefits of their class, rather than to overturn the status quo. Like many women of their time, they were both 'progressive and reactionary; progressive in that they were out for more power for women, reactionary in that they sought to prevent that power passing from a restricted social group to a wider one'.[107] Indeed, party political distinctions made little difference. Most women were from Liberal families, but Conservative sympathies did not imply reactionary attitudes towards opportunities for women. Helen Story and Marjorie Anderson were both daughters of staunch Unionists but both women took advantage of higher education and pursued further professional training, Miss Anderson later taking a medical degree, and Miss Story promoting professional social work through the University School. A more striking case was Miss Galloway herself. 'A Conservative in her political views, she was most progressive in all that related to education.'[108] On the other hand Dr Marion Gilchrist was politically active but she was professionally ambitious rather than a social revolutionary. The revolutionary progress made by these women through higher education, political emancipation and professional advancement tempts one to read back modern radical sentiment into their lives, but this is a mistake. Assessing the women in their historical context sharpens our appreciation of the lasting significance and the substantial achievement of their lives.

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[105] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 211.

[106] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR*, Report of AGM, Nov. 1910, Miss K. V. Bannatyne.

[107] Anne Summers, 'A Home from Home: Women's philanthropic work in the nineteenth century,' in Burman (ed.), *Fit Work for Women* (London, 1979) 60.

[108] Dr D. Murray, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 11.

4: The work of the Queen Margaret Settlement 1897 – 1907.

The history of the Queen Margaret Settlement in the pre-war period spans seventeen years. The period is divided into two parts; this chapter covers the establishment of the QMS during its first decade in Anderston, and the two following chapters chart the development of its work and character up to the First World War. This chapter considers first the town of Anderston and its immediate economic and social past, in order to identify the district's problems and consider the Settlement's response to them. A discussion follows of the ideological and personal influences which affected the QMS in its formative years, and their impact upon the direction of Settlement work. Its work and activities during this decade are then outlined and significant developments traced through the period. The chapter concludes by noting the potential problems facing the Settlement in 1907.

The QMS began to work in 1897 in Anderston, on the west of the city of Glasgow along the Clyde. The area had been reasonably prosperous, but a century of economic change caused severe deterioration in social conditions by the end of the nineteenth century. Anderston was independent until 1847 when it became a burgh, and was then incorporated into the city of Glasgow. In the eighteenth century it was the home of the Glasgow cotton industry, but by the early 1800s handloom weavers and spinners were being replaced by newer industries.[1] Service industries such as transport and trading expanded with increased business from the Broomielaw; large industrial concerns such as shipbuilding, foundries and factories were attracted to the area, drawing masses of workers.[2] Vast numbers of Irish immigrants in the 1840s swelled the army of casual labourers and increased pressure on housing and other hard-pressed resources.[3] In time the heavy industries required room for expansion and so many relocated to less densely-packed areas further up the Clyde or to sites on the southside: Neilson's engine works moved to Springburn, and the Lancefield forge to Tradeston.[4] Generally the skilled workers followed, but the unskilled preferred to remain where there were greater employment opportunities for other family members: 'if they live in town, a larger number of the members of their family can find employment than ... in outlying districts where the work is of a special kind, as in shipbuilding yards. For instance, Thompson's yard (down the Clyde) ... there is no employment for females in that neighbourhood.'[5]

New opportunities for work in Anderston were principally for women (in new bakeries or retail outlets or the shirt factory of Arthur and Co.) and for unskilled men in the

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[1] 'The decline of the muslin industry in particular and weaving in general brought about the disappearance of the Anderston Foundry, and engineering works particularly suited to lappet and muslin making'. Cunnison and Gilfillan (eds.), *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland (Glasgow)*, 235.

[2] D. Dow and M. S. Moss, *Glasgow's Gain – the Anderston Story* (Glasgow, 1986) 67.

[3] 'Week by week during those terrible years would the Sligo, Derry and Belfast steamers pour their famished thousands into Glasgow ... the greater part remained in Glasgow and spread the famine fever through its crowded courts, wynds and vennels.' Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, M. Condon's diaries, Migueleide, 352. Father Condon was priest of the parish which included Anderston in the 1840s and his reminiscences contain a graphic account of the distress.

[4] Dow and Moss, *Glasgow's Gain*, 73.

[5] *1885 RC. on Working-Class Housing*, C.4409-1, Minutes of Evidence, vol. 5, Sir William Collins, q. 19473.

vagaries of dock work. The building of Queen's Dock which opened in 1877 contributed to the growing number of casual labourers who congregated at the dockside in hope of work.[6] 'The irregularity of dock labour, which, while well-paid, is greatly overstocked and very uncertain,' was a constant problem.[7] The Allan Line, for example (belonging to the same family which leased the Elliot Street premises to the QMS) 'may have as many as 600 or 700 individual dock labourers at work in a period of twenty-four hours, and again may have as few as 125 in the same line'. Similarly, the City Line (with Managing Director W. F. G. Anderson, whose family was extensively involved in the QMS) '... at times, generally only a few days and nights ... will employ 500 hands, at other times we may only have the permanent staff of, say, twenty men employed'.[8] Steamships exacerbated the problem of erratic demand for casual labour; previously, the fulfilment of contracts had depended on the weather, now it depended upon speed in loading and discharging cargo.

Lower-paid workers and overcrowded housing caused Anderston to decline from the mid-century. Despite assumptions that 'the wages of a labourer should be 20s. per week if they chose to work, and may have other family members working,'[9] wages often fell below even that. In 1902 it was estimated that the average wage of a workshop labourer in Glasgow was 18s. for a 54-hour week, while the Clyde yards paid 4 1/2d. per hour, which meant that weekly wages there for labourers also frequently fell below 20s.[10] Anderston was not the poorest district in Glasgow but it had some blackspots and shared the problems of much of Glasgow housing, which was generally seen as awful. 'Glasgow stands alone with the highest death-rate, the highest number of persons per room, the highest proportion of her population occupying one-apartment houses and the lowest occupying houses of five apartments and upwards.'[11] A survey of working-class housing in 1881 revealed that many families lived in single ends or in one room-and-kitchen; 25% of the population of Glasgow were living in one room, and a further 36% in a room and kitchen.[12] The weekly rent for such a dwelling was 9s.10d. to 11s.10d,[13] which left 5s. to 10s. for 'the necessities of life'. Such were the conditions highlighted by Dr Russell, the city's MOH, which caused such a stir among Glasgow's well-to-do classes, as detailed in Chapter 1.

Dr Russell's inquiries into the city's health centred on relative levels of death rate and house occupancy of each sanitary district against the average for the whole city. Sanitary districts were divided into four groups, where group 1 had the lowest death rates and the lowest rate of occupancy per room in the house, and group 4 had the highest death rate and the highest number of people per room. Anderston 'proper' fell into group 3, which was bad but not the worst, partly because of the number of 'made down' houses which had been subdivided to accommodate more families.[14] Following these researches, efforts were made by the City Council and the Glasgow Improvement Trust to tackle

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[6] Dow and Moss, *Glasgow's Gain*, 76.

[7] *1909 RC. on PL.*, CD. 4978 xlvi, appendix cxxi, 798, Statement of Miss Marion Rutherfurd, Warden of QMS, q. 7.

[8] *1910 RC. on PL.*, CD. 5068, q. 89615, and p. iiii, W. S. Workman, quoted in Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 57-8.

[9] *1885 RC. on Working-Class Housing* Bailie James Morrison, q. 19626.

[10] Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 22.

[11] Russell, 'The House in Relation to Public Health', 11.

[12] *1885 RC. on Working-Class Housing*, Dr J. B. Russell, q. 19603.

[13] *ibid.*, Bailie James Morrison, q. 19616.

[14] Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 80.

poor housing. In consequence, the death-rate declined noticeably in the last decades of the nineteenth century although local differences remained stark. A table to compare district death rates drawn up by the next MOH, Dr Chalmers, indicated that in 1871/2 out of twenty-four sanitary districts, Anderston was the tenth worst with an average death rate of just over 32 per thousand against the city average of 30.7; by 1899/1901 it was eleventh worst with a death rate of 24.5 per thousand against the Glasgow average of 20.7. However, the QMS Warden's evidence to the Royal Commission makes it clear that the Settlement's concern for Anderston also covered the notorious 'Brownfield' area which was firmly in group 4, one of the eight worst districts 'morally and physically'. In 1871 Brownfield had the fifth highest death-rate in the city at over 38 per thousand, but by 1899/1901 it had the highest death rate, with just over 37 per thousand.[15] This explains why Anderston, together with Cowcaddens (with the second highest death rate) was chosen for the Infant Health initiative which became a major branch of activity in the Settlement's second decade. The QMS Warden described Anderston in 1909 as 'densely populated ... entirely working class [with] a large low-class Irish Catholic population'.[16] Miss Donaghy, who lived in Anderston as a girl and later became a social worker through the QMS, remembered Grace Street in Anderston as 'all single ends, very dark and dismal ... disgraceful rather than graceful'.[17]

Social problems were rife in these circumstances. A member of the Parish Council maintained that 'drink is the cause of a large part, but the low wages of women and unskilled labourers are also responsible for much, as after providing for the actual necessities of life, there is no margin which would enable the labourer to save for bad times or old age'.[18] Sir William Collins considered that 'perhaps the wretched character of the houses is as much due to the drunkenness as the drunkenness is due to the houses: they are cause and effect'.[19] As noted in Chapter 2, Glasgow had a large and active middle class involved in charitable work. 'The number of Christian workers is unlimited and I question very much if there is a single tenement in the lowest district of Glasgow unvisited by a Christian worker of some kind.'[20] Anderston was perceived as a great area of need in the city and its proximity to the wealthy West End caused it to become a particular focus for charitable agencies. The place was 'practically riddled with missions'[21]; Miss Rutherfurd counted 'eight parish churches and no fewer than thirty-one dissenting churches and missions and Roman Catholic churches'.[22] Naturally this led to some overlapping and rivalry; another former Anderston resident, Mrs Chalmers recalled 'I often wished I could go to Port Street (Settlement) for the dancing but we had our loyalties to Wellington.'[23]

Why, then, was another organisation prepared to tackle the problems in Anderston? What was unique to its approach which would fulfil a different need and avoid duplicating the efforts of other charities? It is useful firstly to note what the Settlement decided not

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[15] Miss Rutherfurd's evidence to the RC. on PL. in fact put the Brownfield death rate at 40.4 per thousand, but this is not supported by Dr Chalmers' table.

[16] *1909 RC. on PL.*, Miss Rutherfurd.

[17] Conversation with Miss Cathie Donaghy, 1987.

[18] *1909 RC. on PL.*, App. XXV, p. 689, Miss Burnet, Govan Combination Parish Council.

[19] *1885 RC. on Working-Class Housing*, Sir William Collins, q. 19406.

[20] *1909 RC. on PL.*, vol. xlvi, Revd. A. Miller, p. 278.

[21] *ibid.*, q. 59121.

[22] *ibid.*, app. cxxi, q. 6.

[23] Letter from Mrs Jessie Chalmers, April 1987.

to do. It was not an evangelistic organisation. Indeed, the Council chose to describe their activities as 'educational' rather than 'religious' in 1900, even though the latter could have gained them a tax exemption.[24] This is striking since many of the women were from strong Presbyterian families and several later undertook missionary work. Moreover, the men Students' Settlement made evangelism their priority, as outlined in Chapter 1. Yet the QMS emulated Barnett's idea that Settlements should encourage religion by example and be non-sectarian in character.[25] Nor did the Settlement take a strong stand on Temperance, although it clearly deprecated the effects of drink. (The QMS COS workers were sternly warned not to help a family in which 'the husband drinks and might if he liked earn good wages'.[26]) Temperance organisations spoke occasionally to the Clubs but otherwise there was little involvement in the Temperance movement by the families of Settlement women.[27] Clearly the Settlement left these missions to other agencies and concentrated on its own objectives.

The aims of the QMS were first outlined at its inception in May 1897 at a meeting of the Queen Margaret Students' Union. Its objects were 'to promote the welfare of the poorer people, chiefly of women and children, in a district of Glasgow ... working as far as possible in co-operation with, and on the lines of, the COS of Glasgow, and to maintain a centre of work in the district chosen'. This statement deserves closer scrutiny in order to reveal the various influences acting upon the QMS from its foundation, chiefly the specific concern for women and children, the important role of the COS, and the desire to establish an effective "living Settlement".

The first important aspect was the emphasis upon women and children (popularly perceived by the middle classes as the innocent victims of thriftless, drunken men and poverty-stricken circumstances) in order to enhance the quality of their lives and enable them to make the best of their circumstances. 'Our work among the poor is intended not to pauperise them, but to encourage them ... to support themselves, by giving them increased facilities for thrift, for education and for healthy amusement and by a care for their general welfare – in short, to help them become better citizens.' The QMS was not simply another venture by charitably-inclined ladies, it was a creature of the College, voted into existence by the women Students' Union and hence an appropriate concern for these women who had gained so much from their College experience. In this the QMS was more spiritual than radical; a memorial to Mrs. Campbell of Tullichewan spoke of the 'great pleasure she took in seeing former students of QMC using the advantages they had received to help their poorer sisters'.[28] This explains why the QMS went beyond the COS principle of independent self-support to a concern for quality of life.

Nonetheless the Charity Organisation Society (COS) was arguably the major formative influence on the QMS.[29] Several key Settlement workers had been trained by, and worked for the COS, and the QMS's first role in Anderston was to take responsibility for

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[24] GUA 49.22/169, QMCSA Executive Council Minutes Book I, 1897-1901 (QMCSA Minutes I), 22 May 1900.

[25] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 214.

[26] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 7 Dec. 1897.

[27] The notable exception was Alexander Allan, shipowner of the Allan Line, and father of the two ladies who provided the Girls' Club premises.

[28] GUA, 49.22/5, QMCSA Executive Council Minutes Book III (QMCSA Minutes III), 12 Feb. 1907.

[29] See Chapter 1

running the new COS branch office.[30] Indeed, before the QMS was officially launched, the Glasgow COS held a meeting with representatives of the Settlement Association, Misses Galloway and Bannatyne in May 1897 in which the COS 'expressed sympathy with its objects and their willingness to co-operate with it, and give such training in the offices of the COS as would enable its members to undertake district committee work'.[31] Workers in the COS office processed claims for help by checking the eligibility of the claimants and then directing them to the most suitable means of help. The COS aimed to streamline charitable work by investigating each case and checking overlapping philanthropy in order to thwart the 'mission hunter'. The QMS itself was subjected to scrutiny when the Settlement residence was proposed; the Glasgow COS chairman Carfrae Alston expressed his concern to Miss Bannatyne who assured him that 'the lady warden whose services might be at the service of COS would only mean that COS work was better done'.[32] In addition, the QMS actively promoted another COS principle – thrift – by establishing a Collecting Savings Bank (CSB) to cater for a class who 'through ignorance or shiftlessness will go to no Savings Bank. The Savings Bank must go to them.'[33]

A further major influence was the Settlement ideal itself, pioneered by Barnett in Toynbee Hall in London.[34] The QMS mirrored Barnett's aims more closely than either of the other Glasgow Settlements; as noted above, the Council refused to be identified as a religious institution (unlike the men Students' Settlement in Possil) and succeeded in establishing a 'living Settlement' base in the district (which Smart's Settlement never achieved). A Residence in the area served as a base for recuperation and as a home for the workers, and a meeting place for activities to bring workers and people together. Furthermore, the London women's Settlements had an enormous influence upon the development of their Glasgow sister since several Scotswomen trained and worked in them before returning to Glasgow to model the new one. They also reinforced the influence of the COS, with which the WUS had a particularly close association.[35] Kathleen Bannatyne was Warden of the WUS in Southwark, at which Marjorie Anderson spent two years, and Marion Rutherfurd trained for a year before becoming the first Queen Margaret Settlement Warden; Lizzie Lochhead lived in the Canning Town Settlement in 1900 before her appointment as Club Superintendant in Anderston. The overlap of personnel also meant that the Queen Margaret Settlement had closer contact with national Settlement developments than the other Glasgow Settlements.

Local agencies further expanded the scope of Settlement work. Chief among them was the Glasgow School Board which included most notably Miss Grace Paterson and Dr Henry Dyer as well as Miss Bannatyne.[36] Several branches of work arose directly

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[30] See Chapter I and below.

[31] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 28 May 1897.

[32] GUA, *ibid.*, 7 June 1899.

[33] Loch, *Annual Charities Register and Digest*, clxx; see also Chapter I.

[34] See Chapter I.

[35] 'Not all women's Settlements were tied as closely to the principles of COS ... as the Women's University Settlement.' Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 218.

[36] Miss Grace Paterson was hailed as a 'pioneer' of women's work, especially for her efforts to promote the study of domestic science in schools. She became Secretary of the Glasgow School of Cookery and Domestic Economy, and also served for 21 years on the School Board of Glasgow, resigning in 1906 as Miss Bannatyne was elected. (*GH*, 28 June 1906.) Dr Henry Dyer (whose daughter Marie was a QMS worker) was chairman of the Glasgow School Board from 1914 to 1918, and was once described as 'probably its

from these Board members; Miss Paterson's wide-ranging suggestions included teaching children games in the playground, taking small groups to see objects of interest in the city on Saturdays, following up confirmed truants, assisting the 'unfortunate children of careless drunken parents', and following up girls leaving school to assist them to find suitable employment.[37] Many of these were taken up by the QMS: a Saturday play hour began, trips were organised, a later committee sought employment for school-leavers, home visits to children who were too ill to attend school were begun by Miss Bannatyne following unofficial word from the school attendance officer.

Other educational developments in Settlement work belong to the later period. The QMS did not assume the role of the Queen Margaret Lecture Guild when that disbanded in 1902; however, it did support the Workers' Educational Association later in the decade. A more important initiative was the education of QMS workers and their friends about the background to the social conditions they encountered in Anderston. This was first proposed by Miss Bannatyne in 1902 and took the form of occasional lectures by visiting specialists. Since the major advances took place after 1907, its progress will be covered in Chapter 6.

The course of Settlement work was therefore shaped considerably by external ideas and influences, but policy decisions were made by the QMS Executive Council. Council meetings were held fortnightly until the end of 1901 and monthly thereafter; from 1902 each branch of work established its own committee and kept its own minutes (which unfortunately no longer exist). The Minutes of the Council meetings and the reports prepared by each branch committee for the annual November general meeting, therefore, provide the basis for the following discussion of the Settlement's work. The Settlement Council contained some powerful and interesting personalities. Apart from the first COS representative, all were women with some experience of higher education, and many went on to achieve considerable influence and status outside the domain of charity work. Two women particularly guided the Settlement's course in the early years: Miss Janet Galloway and Miss Kathleen Bannatyne.

Janet Galloway first achieved public status through her work for women's higher education in Glasgow and then as Secretary of Queen Margaret College. The original idea for a separate women's Settlement was attributed to her and she became the first Convener of the Settlement Council. She undoubtedly conferred status on the QMS, and did much to enlist support from the current female student population by hosting meetings and tea parties to publicise Settlement work. She and Miss Bannatyne undertook all the early negotiations with the COS, and she remained active in all subsequent developments by being on a host of subcommittees. Kathleen Bannatyne was already a prominent figure in social and educational issues before the QMS was founded. She had served as Warden at the WUS in Southwark, she was a member of the Glasgow COS Council and later its Vice-Chairman and she wrote articles for the COS Review. Elected to the Glasgow School Board in 1906, she later became its Vice-Chairman and subsequently a member of the Local Education Authority. Her later interests included the Juvenile Delinquency Board, secondary education and a concern for mentally and physically defective children. Like her

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most active and efficient member'.(*Scottish Country Life* 1914/15, 1-2.) He had formerly helped to found an engineering college in Tokyo and became its first Principal, for which he received many Japanese awards rarely bestowed on foreigners. He also wrote extensively on educational matters and lectured to the Glasgow School of Social Study in 1912. He was awarded the LL.D. by the University of Glasgow in 1910.

[37] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 29 Sept. 1897.

father she was a member of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Promoting the Return of women to Public Boards; like him also, according to one obituary notice, she 'rather shrank from public recognition', which seems curious in the light of her high-profile work.[38] Several branches of Settlement work owed their foundation to her suggestions. In the month following her stated desire to see the QMS establish a "living Settlement" in Anderston, suitable premises were offered by members of the Allan family.[39] It is unclear how far Miss Bannatyne was personally responsible for this, but she was entrusted with negotiations between the parties.

Both ladies shaped policy in one crucial respect; they were against any action by the Settlement which could be construed as political involvement. Despite Miss Galloway's dedication to promoting the advancement of women – 'you can do it if you like'[40] – 'the extraordinary thing ... was her conservatism'.[41] She opposed female suffrage and twice effectively prevented the Settlement Warden from standing for election to the Parish Council. Miss Bannatyne too, who did support the election of women to local boards, was wary of official Settlement involvement on any public body but probably approved of informal personal networks. In the early years the QMS was preoccupied with staffing its own activities, but by 1907 representatives from the QMS were sought for various external committees and the Council had to decide the merits of each case. The first office-holders were more concerned with establishing and consolidating the various branches of work. Miss Alice Younger, the Secretary and later Sub-Convener, did a great deal of work on sub-committees of several branches; Miss Mary Snodgrass was an extremely efficient Treasurer chiefly responsible for raising the money to finance the move to new premises in 1901; Miss Penelope Ker became Secretary of the Invalid Children's work in 1899 and expanded it far beyond its original aim.

Two other ladies deserve mention because they became the first paid officials of the Settlement. In 1900 Miss Marion Rutherfurd was appointed as the first Settlement Warden.[42] Before her year's training at the WUS in London she had worked for the Queen Margaret Settlement by running the COS office in Anderston. Miss Rutherfurd assumed this responsibility again and also initiated several new areas of work. She set up collecting savings banks in a number of local schools; she organised home visits to mothers receiving Corporation milk for their babies and then instituted a weekly open afternoon at the Settlement for mothers to bring their babies to be weighed and talk over health problems with a lady doctor. Her main aim was to increase the usefulness of the Settlement to the district rather than start major initiatives and she seldom voiced a strong opinion on the Council. In 1903 Miss Lizzie Lochhead was appointed as Superintendant of the Girls' Clubs.[43] She had no previous formal contact with the Queen Margaret Settlement but her sister Ethel had been an undergraduate representative on the Council. Miss Lochhead did much to develop Club work, both in personal contact with the girls, and in her efforts to cater for other age groups. Neither she nor Miss Rutherfurd, though, were politically active on the Council; their contribution was to develop the organisations for which they were responsible.

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[38] *GH*, 20 June 1922, 20 and 26 June 1924, 2 Dec. 1937. See also Chapter 3.

[39] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 15 Jan. and 7 Mar. 1899.

[40] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 9 Feb. 1909.

[41] Prof. Morison, Jardine (ed.), *Janet Galloway*, 39.

[42] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 28 June 1900.

[43] GUA, 49.22/170, QMCSA Executive Council Minutes Book II 1901-4 (QMCSA Minutes II), 10 Feb. 1903.

Despite their enthusiasm and energy, the women of the QMS encountered two main limitations in getting Settlement work started - shortages of volunteer workers and funds. The problem of attracting and retaining sufficient workers was a recurrent theme in the Council minutes for the first decade. The original Students' Union motion establishing the Queen Margaret Settlement had stipulated that membership should be restricted to former students of Queen Margaret College and 'women who have graduated in other Universities or ... equivalent to graduation in Oxford or Cambridge'.[44] This was opposed by Miss Helen Rutherfurd[45] and Miss Alice Younger who spoke in favour of open membership, but the motion clearly reflects the importance of a College education in the women's perception of the Settlement. However it was soon apparent that this source alone could not supply the Settlement's growing needs in Anderston. The Council's exasperation was plain. 'Members of the Executive Council regret that when so much work is waiting to be done they have so few workers.... At the same time they do not think it right to keep any deserving case hanging on unattended for an undue length of time if some outside workers – non-members of the Settlement Association – can be found to work it. They hope sincerely, however, that the Settlement Association will find more workers from the Students' Union.'[46]

For some activities it was absolutely essential to maintain a reliable team of workers. Bank collecting had to be done weekly to build up the habit of saving because 'the idea that two' weeks money might be kept never enters their head ... so the money must be caught at once.... Any hitch such as delay in repaying the deposit is destructive of confidence and may be a serious matter to the humble depositor.'[47] This was the first branch to seek outside help. 'Each collector is to be asked if she would try to secure more collectors from her own private friends, whether members of the Settlement Association or not, rather than interrupt the collection [over the summer].' Recruitment from personal friends was more common when there were specific posts to fill. Discussions in the Council minutes often specified women who might be approached, with a list of alternative names.'Old girls' networks' undoubtedly played a part. The Park School had several representatives among the workers. The Glasgow group of former pupils from St Leonards school, St Andrews, wrote in 1900 to offer help in Girls' Club work, and one, Miss Gertrude Ramsay, served for several years as Honorary Secretary to the Council.

Some types of work were more appealing than others and volunteers were found more easily. The Invalid Children's work hardly ever required special appeals for help. There was no shortage of visitors to assist with play- and lunch-hour activity. The Girls' Clubs too were fairly well-staffed. On the other hand, COS work remained in the hands of a small and steady band of workers, and the CSB always required more help than it could get. Playground games were intended to be supervised by women students, but they frequently struggled to survive.

Why were fewer students attracted to the Settlement than the Council hoped? In fact there were quite a number of undergraduates involved in the Settlement, but the huge expansion of the College in the 1900s did not produce as great an influx of volunteers as expected. Those who did give time to the Settlement tended to be, as we have seen, from wealthy middle-class Glasgow families, with friendship, family and charity-work connections with other workers. Most female students were less wealthy and had to concentrate

[44] GUA, 19696, QM Union Minute Book 1890-1908, 14 May 1897.

[45] Sister of Marion Rutherfurd, the first Warden, and later influential herself in the QMS.

[46] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 18 Feb. 1898.

[47] *ibid.*, 3 May 1898.

on their degrees for future employment. It is possible too that they were daunted by a perception of the Settlement women as a social elite.

This may also explain the Settlement's difficulty in finding resident workers. The Settlement made constant appeals from 1901 for residents for its Port Street house but without success. The rather high rental put some students off, but undoubtedly the main cause was that most Settlement workers lived in very comfortable homes within reasonable reach of Anderston and had no particular desire to live there. Furthermore, the Scottish student tradition was to live at home.[48] Miss Alice Younger lived in the Residence for a fortnight one summer and 'strongly recommended it to anyone who wanted a comfortable home',[49] but she did not repeat the experience and no further residents were forthcoming until the Settlement moved premises.

The Council had problems too in retaining workers and therefore maintaining consistency. Women were prepared to commit themselves to Settlement work from September to May (the Glasgow social season ran from December to the end of March) but not over the summer, when whole households moved west and northwards to the coast, highlands and islands. After the first year, Settlement activity ceased every summer from June until September for the extended holiday period. In 1898 the Council tried to meet through these months but the practice ended because the meetings were never quorate. The people of Anderston, however, generally remained there the whole year. It seems a curious message to have sent to the local people, to preach regularity and commitment, and then to disappear for a quarter of the year. In addition, women quite often left Settlement work for a variety of reasons and then returned to it months or years later. Several women travelled abroad with their families to America or South Africa or Europe.[50] Most Settlement workers being single, they were also recalled for home duties such as family illness; Lizzie Lochhead had to leave her post as Club Superintendant temporarily in order to nurse her mother. Then workers also moved away as their lives moved on. Marriage meant a complete break from Settlement work, although one or two maintained a connection, notably Annie Fraser Kedie who became Mrs Francis Charteris and later returned to the Council. Career developments removed many students after their degrees, and missionaries after their training. However, the Settlement was careful to suit its activities to the manpower available in the early years and turned down requests from other organisations which might overstretch Settlement staff.[51] It was equally careful with its financial resources.

The QMS's initial income came from subscriptions and donations. Subscriptions of 2s 6d. were invited from members of the Queen Margaret Union, donations were sought from wealthy Glasgow friends. The Settlement began on a sound footing, covering its costs in the first year with no major expenditure. However its aim to establish a permanent base, a "living Settlement" in Anderston was a considerable financial undertaking. At the successful completion of the first year in November 1898, the Council inquired into the prices of property in Anderston; in February 1899 Miss Bannatyne reported that a suitable house for a residence could be bought for £1500.

However in March the QMS received a surprise offer from Miss Janie Allan and her sister, Mrs Lander (formerly students of Queen Margaret College) who had an interest

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[48] See Chapter 1.

[49] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 12 Sept. 1905.

[50] See also Chapter 6.

[51] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 5 Jan. 1899. Requests for help from the Brabazon and Kyrle Societies were rejected by the Council; '[we] should not spread ourselves too wide ... preference given to institutions working within Anderston'.

in the Anderston Girls' Club. They proposed that the Settlement should take charge of the Girls' Club with its current staff in the Port Street halls, and that it could then have a further set of halls in Elliot Street at a nominal rent for conversion into a residence. Mrs Lander undertook to pay the Girls' Club expenses of £130 for the following year, and both ladies guaranteed that the buildings would not be taken from the Settlement except at its own request as long as it continued the Girls' Club work there. The Council was overwhelmed by the offer but gave it careful consideration. A sub-committee of Mrs Kedie, Misses Bannatyne, Galloway and Younger examined the buildings and the expense of the Girls' Club, which they considered quite an undertaking on its own. The further costs of altering, maintaining and staffing the Residence confirmed the Council's view, that 'without definite prospect of support, the feeling of the meeting was that the Association could not in the meantime undertake such a responsibility'.[52]

The matter went to a General Meeting of workers in April at which the Council suggested that the Settlement delay giving a final answer to Mrs Lander until February 1900 and in the meantime try to raise the money required. The Council's tone was cautious but keen; several speakers 'spoke of the discomfort and inconvenience of the present system and explained the benefits of a proper centre'.[53] The meeting was overwhelmingly in favour of Mrs Lander's offer so the Council was emboldened to go ahead. Plans were drawn up for raising money and making the best use of the Residence. Money was raised through letters of appeal and by a scheme for each past and present member of the College to raise £1. It was not an easy task because the appeal coincided and conflicted with demands for relief for soldiers' families in the Boer War, but it was felt that this could turn to the Settlement's advantage. 'When the war is over, the charitable impulse aroused by it should be directed into other channels.'[54]

By the Special Meeting at the end of February 1900, the Alterations Fund stood at £320 with an income of £50 promised. As the Council had hoped, the scheme had also aroused general interest in the Settlement and subscriptions had more than doubled from £25 to over £57. Two-thirds of the money required had been raised so the Settlement went ahead. Mrs Lander was 'very pleased';[55] she fixed the nominal rent at one shilling a year, and undertook to make up the deficit if the Girls' Club expenses exceeded £50. When the club winter session ended in May 1900 the Settlement took over the properties and engaged Mr John Keppie to make the alterations.[56] Miss Marion Rutherfurd was appointed as resident Warden at the end of June and came into residence in December, prior to the Residence's official opening in March.

Maintaining the premises was quite a drain on Settlement resources in later years especially since the Residence never attracted many suitable lodgers, but the advantages of having a resident base in the district far outweighed the costs. Still, the Council was cautious in its domestic spending and preferred to raise funds for special purposes so each branch was self-supporting. There were never severe financial difficulties in this period despite the extra expense of further activities. Twice the Council had to report a deficit to the Annual General Meeting but on both occasions the loss was made up by a member

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[52] *ibid.*, 18 Mar. 1899.

[53] *ibid.*, 17 April 1899.

[54] *ibid.*, Principal Story, 22 Feb. 1900.

[55] *ibid.*, 6 Mar. 1900.

[56] Mr Keppie was senior partner in the well-known Glasgow firm of architects, John Keppie and Honeyman; he was also the brother of Jane Keppie who was a long-serving QMS worker.

of the audience. The fact that the QMS was financially solvent says a great deal for its strength and persistence, and for the shrewdness of its women organisers.

The QMS undertook three initial branches of work; the COS office, the CSB, and playground games. The aims, operation, and success of these three will be considered in turn. As noted in Chapter 1, the Glasgow COS began to open a number of district offices after 1895 and the QMS took care of its Anderston branch. This initiative was begun by Andrew McCracken[57] as part of a wider COS programme (originating in London in the 1880s) to be more effective in organising charitable aid. The Anderston branch was a typical district office; it was purely a COS committee although it included members of another society (in this case, the QMS[58]); it was run by women volunteers but also had a paid working-class agent to undertake case investigation (a Mr. Currie).[59] The office at 75 Elliot Street was open for one, and later three hours, on two mornings a week to receive claims for assistance.[60]

Office practice followed a well-regulated procedure. Upon receiving an application at the District Office, a volunteer noted the details of the case. The applicant had to give extensive information about his circumstances: the names of all the family, their occupation and earnings, rent for the house and the factor's name, previous addresses, church connection, club membership, birthplace, relatives, income, articles in pawn, debts and prospects. By then, 'we have a pretty fair idea of the person we are dealing with, but it takes a long time and plenty of patience and tact to draw out a clear account and grasp the essential points'.[61] A precis of the applicant's circumstances was entered in the Record Book, noting the cause of trouble and the best form of relief. Inquiries were then made by an investigator who checked the authenticity of the story with various sources and visited the applicant's home 'to learn as much as possible ... the home visits are very interesting ... it gives us a real hold over them'.[62]

The case was then written up and reported to the weekly District Relief Committee which decided how to tackle it 'for the permanent benefit of the applicant'. The result was entered in the Decision Book. Some cases were rejected, some were referred to agencies more suited to deal with their problem. Plans of help, grants and loans were given when necessary. The case-worker continued to visit the family once a week until they were restored to independence or were beyond help. The COS was not primarily a relief society; it aimed rather to organise charity by enlisting sympathy. 'Money is raised specifically on each case, first from relatives and friends, old employers, churches or societies, and lastly

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[57] *Jubilee Book of the Glasgow COS* (Glasgow, 1924) 8. He also served as COS representative on the QMS Council and his daughter Winifred gave four years' service to the QMS until her graduation from QMC and thereafter to other QMS activities both before and after her marriage.

[58] Because the work was intensive, QMS women who worked in the COS office generally made this their sole contribution to the Settlement.

[59] The use of an investigating officer was a distinctive feature of COS work, and one of several COS innovations which formed the basis of later social work practice. Mowat, *The COS*, 39. See also Chapter 6.

[60] As noted in Chapter 1, this restricted opening was queried by the London COS, but the Glasgow COS retorted that 'it would never do to have an open door merely to provoke applications'. *COR*, April 1897, 228.

[61] GUA, *QMCSA 3rd AR, 1899/1900.*

[62] GUA, *QMCSA 7th AR, 1903/4.*

if there is a deficit, from the general public.'[63] Full case histories were used to appeal for public support because they aroused sympathy and also educated the public about the problems of poverty.[64]

The COS was greatly influenced by the teachings of Revd. Thomas Chalmers who had attempted to reinvigorate the parish system in an urban setting during his time in the 1820s as minister of the St John's parish in the Tron area of Glasgow, about a mile from Anderston. In Chalmers' system, the parish was divided into areas, each under the administration of a parish deacon, who was responsible for dealing with requests for poor relief and raising locally the resources to cover real need. The COS 'borrowed heavily from his ideas – the principle of local territorial administration, household visitation, thorough investigation, casework sessions, educational methods to encourage independence and social responsibility'.[65] Furthermore, Chalmers' ideas combined collective and individual views of responsibility: 'he forced others to look at the real problems of urban misery and alienation,' but clung to an older view of individual responsibility and freedom which did not seriously question the existing social order. [66]

According to the Anderston COS records, destitution was caused mainly by illness and accident, old age, lack of jobs, intemperance and thriftlessness. How did the workers aim to alleviate these problems? Illness or accidents could cause short- or long-term poverty. Short-term cases could be supported by family and friends as described above. Protracted illness might require hospital care, so lines to the voluntary hospitals and convalescent homes were sought from wealthy subscribers to the QMS. Work could also be found for other family members to tide over the difficult time, and in some cases the COS provided retraining so people could regain financial independence in a new job.

Old age accompanied by ill-health was a common cause of poverty. Indeed, Hobhouse stated that pauperism among the aged '... is the normal fate of the poorer classes ... not due to shiftlessness or improvidence, it is due to insufficient and irregular earnings'.[67] Where there were younger members of the family they had to provide support, but otherwise extra help was required. A pension scheme began in 1900 like one operated by the London COS. By 1904 it had six pensioners at a total cost of £52 a year. At £8 13s. per person it had to be supplemented by other sources but at least it was reliable. The strictest criteria were applied to its recipients. 'Pensioners need to be of exceptionally high character and be able to show some evidence of thrift and to have done the best for themselves and their families.'[68]

Shortage of work was a persistent and sometimes pressing problem. Women who would not consider full-time work often wanted part-time temporary domestic work to tide them over bad times; it was said to be 'difficult to gauge the number of women employed in home work because it is so largely casual ... driven into it by circumstances. If shipbuilding is bad, women go into the homework market.'[69] The Anderston COS kept

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[63] GUA, *QMCSA 8th AR, 1904/5.*

[64] Details of COS practice were taken from accounts in the *QMCSA AR* and also from Mowat, *The COS*, 23-32.

[65] Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, 376.

[66] J. F. McCaffrey, 'Thomas Chalmers and social change', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. LX, 1 no. 169, April 1981, 37.

[67] Freeden, *The New Liberalism*, 205.

[68] GUA, *QMCSA 7th AR, 1903/4.*

[69] *Report of the Select Committee on Homework 1907 PP.* (207), evidence of Margaret Irwin, q. 2222; quoted in Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 70.

a register of 'trustworthy and capable women for odd jobs' and urged their friends to employ them. More seriously, strikes or a slump in trade could cause mass hardship in Anderston and strain COS resources. As noted in Chapter 1, the Scottish Poor Law made no statutory provision for the able-bodied poor, so the COS was then inundated with requests for help. In the winter of 1904/5 the COS made special arrangements with the Parish Council to employ men of 'good character who were out of work through no fault of their own'[70] at the Labour Yard. Of those who turned up, seven good workers were sent to Stobhill to help lay out the grounds for the new hospital and one gardener was taken onto the permanent staff. Practically the COS could do little in such circumstances.

It is difficult to ascertain if the COS office was effective in tackling the problems people faced in Anderston. The method of accounting the number of applications with help given varies widely in the annual reports, but it seems that the COS office dealt with about 200 cases per year and was able to assist about half of those, either by direct or organised aid. A number were channelled towards other agencies for appropriate help. Roughly a third each year were turned away, either because they gave false information, or were not eligible for relief, or they were deemed 'unhelpable', individuals and families suffering because problems of drink or thriftlessness persisted. The COS workers' sense of powerlessness came across keenly in the *Annual Reports.* 'There is no doubt that one of the chief sources of misery and unhappiness in Anderston is drink ... workers should root out this evil till people see the degradation ... it leaves a class of people it is difficult to raise, and yet it is with a sense of failure we leave these families to drift on.'[71]

This was one of several problems which afflicted the COS. Its role was often misunderstood by applicants who expected direct help rather than referral to another agency. This was particularly acute in 1902 when the Settlement was becoming better-known and sounded a helpless note in that year's COS report. 'There is still confusion surrounding our sphere and object.... We are not a relief society.' By 1904 the report's tone was more cheerful, mentioning 'people also coming in for advice and friendly chat'. The number of cases fell but greater efficiency meant that 'more satisfactory help was given to the rest'. The COS was viewed with suspicion too by other charitable agencies who mistrusted its inquisitorial attitude to their own affairs. In 1906 the Anderston office attempted to compile a register of all local people receiving charitable relief. A year later it reported that 'registration will never be a complete success until all agencies co-operate' and expressed the 'hope we may become the trusted advisors of, and co-operators with the many other agencies at work in the district'.[72] In fact the relief registration scheme made only slow progress throughout the pre-war period, and this frustration was not confined to the Anderston office. 'From the very first, District Offices failed of their first purpose, that of co-ordinating the work of all local charities and the Poor Law, and registering and directing all applicants for aid.'[73]

In general, the help which the Anderston COS could give was subject to the same constraints as the rest of the COS, limited by the circumstances of the applicant and by the general economic depression in the area. However the Anderston office was able to branch out beyond pure COS concerns, firstly because the Scottish COS had to be broader in scope than its English equivalent because it had to deal with the able-bodied poor who were not covered by the Scottish Poor Law, and secondly through its association with the

[70] GUA, *QMCSA 7th AR, 1903/4.*
[71] GUA, *QMCSA 10th AR, 1906/7.*
[72] GUA, *QMCSA 8th AR, 1904/5.*
[73] Mowat, *The COS*, 22.

QMS which led to several fruitful schemes because the QMS women were always ready to try out new ideas in the district.

More efficient use of office time also allowed the COS office to be an agency for other purposes. From 1898 it assisted with the local Poor Children's Clothing Scheme, which involved the collection of clothes and occasionally food for distribution to the poorest families during the winter months. The scheme was set up by the Glasgow COS in 1893 'to prevent indiscriminate charity and to give necessitous children boots and other garments'.[74] Parents applied to the School Board Officers who issued tickets; the tickets were then taken to the COS who investigated the case. After 1905 people had to apply directly to the COS office which 'had the desired effect of very considerably reducing the numbers ... who had formerly applied to the School Board officers because their neighbours were applying and not because of real necessity ... but it has added considerably to our work in the office over the winter months'.[75] In 1904 the COS workers also began visits to the homes of mothers who received Corporation milk for their babies. This was a popular and useful development; workers came forward readily and gained 'much insight into the general economy of a working class household'. The success of this branch (over two thousand visits were made in 1904/5) prompted the Warden to begin a 'mother's afternoon' at the Settlement for social chat and medical advice. The Warden branched out again when she was asked to become the COS representative on the Western Infirmary's Samaritan Society. The Council remained wary of external demands taking time from the Warden's Settlement business but approved this as a logical extension of her COS duties. However, the QMS's position in Anderston and expertise in COS work caused such demands to recur, leading to tensions within the Council at the expansion of Settlement work by external forces.[76]

The Collecting Savings Bank was another initiative which embodied the COS principle of encouraging thrift by taking the bank to the people. This second activity began in February 1898 when three women each undertook to collect from one street. After the distribution of leaflets outlining the advantages of the Bank, interested people were asked to join the Bank roll and to encourage their friends to do so. Building up the bank habit took time, though, and initial progress was disappointing. In March 1898 the opinion was expressed at the Council that 'the CSB district was probably not the best for results,' and that better-off streets might have responded more enthusiastically, but the collectors decided to persist where they had begun. For two hours every Monday morning the collector made her rounds, receiving sums between one shilling and two and sixpence. She generally took time to stop and chat so '... the "Bank Lady" becomes a feature of the day'.[77] The depositors were 'led on by shillings' until their deposit in the Glasgow Savings Bank reached one pound, then they were on their own. In time this policy was successful; bank deposits rose with the regularity of the collector, and doubled from 1898 to 1902.

From 1902 fresh efforts were made to publicise the benefits of the Bank. Bank parties were held annually at the Settlement with tea and an entertainment and a talk on bank principles. In 1904 school banks were set up in two local schools in an attempt to instil thrift at an early age. Great efforts were made to recruit more staff, both to take on extra streets and to ensure that nothing interrupted the routine of bank-collecting. Once

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[74] *1910 RC. on PL.*, CD. 4978 xlvi, Andrew McCracken, 26.

[75] GUA, *QMCSA 8th AR, 1904/5.*

[76] See end of this chapter.

[77] GUA, *QMCSA 3rd AR, 1899/1900.*

established, the practice 'is, in fact, only limited by the number of collectors'.[78] The number of collectors rose to six by 1907. The Bank was hailed as a success in the winter of 1903/4 when bank deposits rose despite the current shortage of work. 'Badness of trade lays a heavy burden on the working people. In this case it gives us a greater opportunity.' Years of recession did not affect takings very badly and indeed probably contributed to an subsequent upturn in its deposits. 'Having something put by' enhanced respectability among neighbours and eased the worst effects of the bad years. The CSB workers made maximum use of these arguments. 'We are trying to teach the value of money and its careful spending [that] something may be done ... if not to prevent poverty, at least to lessen its squalid side.'[79]

The CSB had obvious limitations. Even at its height with fourteen collectors it could not cover the whole of Anderston. Nor would it have been profitable to do so; some streets were too poor through lack or mismanagement of money to have anything to spare for the Bank lady on Monday. The CSB had nothing to offer them. However, its work for another section of the working class grew steadily over the period, and as with other ventures, the example of saving taking root in some households may have caused the idea to be followed in others.

The third original branch of work was the institution of a Saturday morning play hour. The intention was to teach children to amuse themselves in an orderly way and thus keep them from the 'dangers of the streets'. 'Although people may ridicule the idea of children requiring to be taught to play it really is a necessity in these little ones.... They have to be taught to play as they have no idea of amusing themselves but happily carry out the ideas given.'[80] The emphasis on orderly play was part of a wider national debate upon the value of organised games in promoting other qualities (team spirit and commitment, physical fitness) in the prevailing concern about moral decline of character and the national physical decline of women and more particularly, men.[81] Indeed, the building of character was one of the central tenets of the COS. 'Character is the great point to get at.'[82] Mrs Bosanquet too stressed the importance of character; 'could the young but realise how soon they will become mere walking bundles of habits they would give more heed to their conduct while in a plastic state'.[83] The Clarendon Commission of 1864 reported that 'cricket and football fields are not merely places of amusement, they help to form some of the valuable social qualities and manly virtues....'[84]

The 'cult of organised games' increased in schools and other organisations at this time.[85] Boys were encouraged in gymnastics (originally a military exercise) which was later modified for girls; the QMS introduced Swedish drill into its Girls' Clubs. However some educationalists in the late nineteenth century believed that girls should be cleaning

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[78] GUA, *QMCSA 7th AR, 1903/4.*

[79] *loc. cit.*

[80] GUA, *QMCSA 4th AR, 1900/1.*

[81] See also Chapter 5 on infant health.

[82] *1910 RC. on PL.*, Andrew McCracken, q. 59884.

[83] Mrs Bosanquet, *Strength of the People. A Study in Social Economics* (London, 1902), quoted in Stefan Collini, 'Idea of Character in Victorian Political Thought,' *TRHS*, 5th ser., vol. 35, 34-5.

[84] J. K. Walton and J. Walvin (eds.), *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939* (Manchester, 1983) 229.

[85] Collini, 'Idea of Character,' 47; James Walvin, *Leisure and Society 1830-1950* (London, 1978) 122.

and tidying the school inside while the boys played outside, to prepare them for their future role.[86] There is no sign that the QMS women countenanced such views; indeed, to do so would scarcely have been compatible with the women's own striving for recognition of their abilities outside the home. They did promote homecraft and cookery classes in the Girls' Clubs, in line with the new emphasis on girls' education promoted by Miss Paterson, and these proved very popular. The QMS certainly did not promote sports to the same extent as the Oxford House Settlement in London which ran athletics, football, cricket, cycling and rowing clubs,[87] nor did they introduce the girls to the increasingly popular sports of tennis, croquet or cycling. In any case, it is not clear how popular or practical sports would have been for the girls, with very little money or space in which to play them.

The ideals may have been high but the practice was fairly chaotic. Since the playground activity required only an hour on Saturday mornings the Council hoped that it would attract Queen Margaret students in sufficient numbers to be left to them. The students only just managed to cope. Numbers of children fluctuated wildly; in 1897/8 the average attendance was twenty to thirty children, by 1901 this had risen to between twenty and seventy and by 1904 numbers varied from thirty to eighty. The variation was due mainly to the weather and partly to the venue. The games began in the Washington Street School yard, moved to Bishop Street and finally settled in the Finnieston School playground which was said to be much lighter and airier. The age limit was unenforceable; babies and fourteen-year-old boys all came and were catered for. 'The girls skip, the boys play rounders ... the babies are quite happy if they are given a toy to hug.'[88] School rules prohibited football so other games had to distract the boys and new ones were introduced. Miss Bannatyne researched Old English games played in the London board schools from the Bermondsey Settlement. She also organised outings. In the winter of 1897/8, trips were made to the People's Palace, Kelvingrove Museum, the Botanic Gardens and the Zoo, the children reportedly being 'very polite and well-behaved'.[89] In later years this practice declined; presumably the increase in numbers deterred the students from attempting such a feat without the driving force of Miss Bannatyne.

Playground games struggled with the minimum of resources. The regular team never had more than five members with infrequent help from other students, so sometimes they must have been swamped by children. The activity was only moderately successful in attracting students help as the Council had hoped, but it drew some who became committed Settlement helpers: Miss Winifred McCracken continued her involvement after graduation; Miss Hilda Lindsay served as Honorary Secretary until she left Glasgow. Success and increasing popularity made the helper shortage more acute. 'We need leaders to show what is wanted and to curb roughness.' Occasionally all the leaders were away and then the games were slow to pick up again. Bad weather also caused numbers to drop. Wet weather venues were difficult to find: school caretakers disliked opening school premises (although a gratuity helped for a while) and the Settlement was unavailable on Saturday mornings because of cleaning. A further problem arose in 1903 when toys were stolen after a session. The culprits were suspended and there is no record of further trouble. In fact, games for children were developed more successfully in the later Children's Club, which is dealt with

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[86] Walton and Walvin, *Leisure 1780-1939*, 230.

[87] David Rubenstein, 'Sport and the Sociologist, 1890-1914,' *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 1, May 1984, 20.

[88] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 13 Dec. 1904.

[89] GUA, *QMCSA 3rd AR, 1899/1900.*

in Chapter 5.

As well as being the QMS's first areas of work in 1897, the COS office, the CSB and the Saturday play-hour were similar in that they each had a precise aim and thus remained fairly limited in scope. The CSB aimed to cultivate the habit of personal and family thrift, playground games encouraged children to learn sportsmanship. The use of COS office time for other initiatives (notably infant health, which later became a separate branch) arose because the Warden was responsible both for COS business and for developing other work as she felt appropriate. However, two further Settlement activities, begun early in the first decade, spawned a host of related activities and far outstripped the original aims.

The development of Invalid Children's work was the flagship of the Settlement's first decade. Its primary concern was educational. Until the Education of Defective Children (Scotland) Act 1906, school boards were not empowered to provide for children with special needs, so many children with sound minds could not attend school for years because of their weak physical condition, when 'just these children need the discipline of lessons and whatever intellectual advantages they can obtain to counterbalance the disadvantages of their bodily weakness'.[90] The QMS organised lady visitors who spent an hour or two each week teaching an invalid pupil. Sometimes the child's problem was not so much lack of education as appalling home circumstances, and then the QMS visitor's concern extended to the whole family. 'Girl, gained in health since the family was moved, by the kindness of her visitor, from an underground cellar to an airy room in the new workmen's buildings.'[91]

Such intervention is interesting, partly in the light of the contemporary debate on the nature of education, which some insisted was 'about school and not about welfare'.[92] The invalid children may have been a special case, but there is no mention of Settlement discussion about the advisability of such involvement in family circumstances; the need was pressing and the women took action to meet it. It is also remarkable in view of the QMS's commitment to COS principles which deplored any interference in families which might weaken the sense of family responsibility. Certainly the visitors used their concern for the invalid child to influence the whole family. 'Miss Younger spoke ... of the ultimate benefit to the family if the lady in charge of the case had the tact and patience to secure the interest of parents and other members of the family ... the raising of the family was often the end ... to be accomplished in time.'[93] At the same time they were prepared to urge drastic action to separate the family if it would benefit the children; '... family gone to the City Poorhouse, the father being unfit for work, and a letter sent to the School Board urging their interference to prevent the parents claiming their children again'.[94] These cases indicate that the Settlement women preferred to follow their practical instincts in line with their beliefs, rather than to be bound by rigid principles. This is illustrated again on the subject of the invalid children's dinners, as there was a point of view which held that school dinners were a misuse of public funds. The QMS position both fitted COS principles and was thoroughly realistic; a speaker to the QMS was 'pleased to note each parent paid nine pence ha'penny per week for the dinners, which covered expenses. It is important that parental responsibility should not be lessened and yet it is impossible to give instruction to unfed children who are unable to imbibe it.'[95]

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[90] GUA, *QMCSA 1st AR, 1897/8.*

[91] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 18 Jan. 1898.

[92] I. Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland 1890-1948* (Edinburgh, 1988) 57.

[93] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 18 Jan. 1898.

[94] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 10 May 1904.

[95] GUA, *QMCSA 8th AR, 1904/5.*

In the first year sixteen children were assisted. Three were helped to return to school, two to find employment; others were provided with a home nurse from the Sick Poor Nursing Association or taken to East Park Home because of long-term illness. Some required admission to institutions; two went to the Asylum for Imbecile children, three others to hospital. Time spent in fresh air was a great healer; there was considerable need for a country home to which children could be sent for a prolonged stay away from city grime and atmosphere to regain their strength. In 1897/8 three delicate children were sent to recuperate in Lady Bell's country home at Montgreenan. Their improvement was so marked that a Special Cases fund was set up to offset the expense for parents. The Fresh Air Fortnight Society also co-operated with the QMS in boarding out some children.

In 1899 Miss Penelope Ker succeeded Miss Bannatyne as secretary of the Invalid Children's branch and new developments followed. The work was popular with workers because it involved children and was seen to be worthwhile but it was expensive in workers' time and the number of cases was growing. The best use of resources was to institute a Settlement class for the children (as had been tried in England[96]) but this required special equipment and much planning. The class was first proposed in January 1901 but was postponed by a smallpox epidemic. At the same time a class run by Settlement workers at the Merryflats Poorhouse Hospital made encouraging progress, 'a promising extension of invalid children's work'. In May a small class began to meet at the Settlement on fine days. This encouraged the workers to consider establishing a permanent invalid children's school. The QMS sought advice from similar institutions in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and approached local bodies for assistance.

The QMS Invalid Children's school opened on 1 October 1901, the first of its kind in Scotland. Several organisations contributed to its running costs. The Settlement provided the room, heating and lighting, voluntary teachers and play-hour helpers, and a good dinner for three ha'pence per day. Miss Ker's father donated an ambulance to convey the children to school, while the Cripple Children's League of Kindness paid for the coachman and horses, and a trained nurse to accompany the children and attend to their medical needs. The Glasgow School Board provided a trained teacher and all necessary furnishings. The Board 'welcomed the institution of a school for invalid children, the provision of which was not yet possible for them ... they had gladly affiliated it to Finnieston school and were willing to do their utmost to help it work'.[97] The school began with seventeen pupils, increasing to twenty-nine in November. Attendance could not be regular and the school closed completely at the outbreak of measles in January 1902 and 1904. There was a constant turnover of population. Some children improved and went to the Board school or to work; some had to go to the Parish, or Infirmary or a Home. A further number left because they were too old, or too ill, and several died each year.

Everything possible was done to promote health at the school. Medical inspections were arranged almost as soon as the school began; Dr Marion Gilchrist's fee of a guinea was paid from Settlement funds until the School Board was able to take it over.[98] One of her first recommendations was cod liver oil, which was then supplied at one penny per week. A weighing machine was given by the Ministering Children's League to check progress. A drill class was held at school from 1903 onwards. Visits to the country were arranged. In

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[96] '... unfit to mix with the rough crowd of a public school, they can be grouped in a small class and educated together ... has been tried in a few districts with some success'.*COR*, Feb. 1897, 21.

[97] GUA, *QMCSA 4th AR, 1900/1.*

[98] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 25 Oct. 1901.

the summer of 1902 fifteen children were sent into the country and their health improved markedly as a result. Thereafter a regular subscription ensured a permanent Settlement cot at the Dundonald home 'with great good resulting'; the opening of the Children's Home Hospital at Aberfoyle increased the opportunities for children to stay in the country. The QMS workers took a great pride in the improvement they could effect. 'From the day they enter school, the children's health improves ... a check on height and weight, the big airy school room, the cheerfulness of being with other children, the cleanliness insisted upon and the wholesome food and cod liver oil co-operate to make new creatures of the children.'[99] Ordinary discipline was not overlooked either, for parents or children. Pupils were encouraged to save in the school savings bank, parents to maintain the highest standards. 'A tea meeting for the mothers had a beneficial effect on the attendance and tidiness of the children.'[100]

The success of the Invalid Children's school inevitably increased demands on the Settlement. In February 1903 the wife of the Partick Provost requested and gained permission for half a dozen invalid children from Partick to join the Finnieston school 'until such time as the Partick division has a school of its own'. However, the School Board's request for help with a class for defective children was turned down. The Council offered a room but no assistance; they 'were not short of sympathy but had simply no staff'.[101] A request from Miss Paterson led to the Settlement arranging dinners for the defective class on the same terms as for the invalid children but again they could not provide staff to supervise. The Council were adamant; they stressed that they had never undertaken the education of defective children and repeated their conviction that the two classes were entirely different and should be kept apart. Miss Snodgrass felt strongly that it was 'definitely a matter for state provision and not private enterprise'.[102] Mr Allan of the School Board remained 'displeased' according to his sister[103] as late as 1904 but the Settlement stood firm.

As one need highlighted others, two further developments arose from invalid children's work. The workers had long recognised the benefits of a permanent base in the country to which children could be sent for long-term recuperation. Miss Ker resigned temporarily from the Invalid Children's committee in April 1903 in order to set up such a home, seeking advice from Settlement colleagues Misses Rutherfurd, Bannatyne and Ramsay. 'William Ker, my father, said we might begin a cottage home for invalid children. Those suffering from tubercular diseases of the bone. A Home where no limit will be put to the length of stay in the country.'[104] The Children's Home Hospital opened in Aberfoyle in May 1903, moving in 1911 to its present site at Strathblane. The Home drew praise from local and national medical opinion, including the *British Medical Journal*. 'It is the practical application of points in treatment which we have so frequently insisted upon and we trust that the usefulness of the Aberfoyle Home will be increased by a wide recognition of the good work which it is carrying on in a neglected field of mercy.'[105] Sir Hector C. Cameron[106] also voiced his strong approval; 'if the Settlement did nothing else, that

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[99] GUA, *QMCSA 9th AR, 1905/6.*

[100] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 10 Dec. 1901.

[101] *ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1902.

[102] *ibid.*, 26 Dec. 1902.

[103] Mrs. Lander, see below.

[104] GGHB Archives, HB 12/1/9, Strathblane Home Hospital Minute Book I, handwritten by Penelope Ker, 24 April 1903. William Ker figured in Chapter 2.

[105] GUA, 49.22/114, excerpt from *British Medical Journal*, 19 Nov. 1904.

[106] Prof. of Clinical Surgery at Glasgow University and later Dean of the Faculties after

was quite sufficient to justify its existence'.[107]

The second initiative arose from the need to help former invalid pupils to secure work. The QMS Apprenticeship Committee was formed in 1905 to search out suitable employment and persuade employers to take on apprentices with disabilities. 'Each day is felt more strongly the need of starting the older boys and girls with steady work when they leave the invalid children school, work that is suitable, and masters willing for a time to give patient aid.'[108] This began modestly but managed to get some suitable posts for girls with milliners and jobs for boys in the country. One promising student was assisted with further study: 'Miss Aitken ... recommended Andrew Speirs should go to Art School for further teaching: the Settlement will pay for his materials and advance the four-shilling fee.'[109] Although these children required careful placements which their health could withstand, the problem of finding steady, regular work applied to all school-leavers, and was exacerbated at times of industrial depression. As noted above, casual work at the docks meant long periods of underemployment interspersed with short bursts of frantic activity when a ship arrived; skilled labour, however, was in demand and did not suffer as badly in times of trade depression. A slump in trade in 1906 caused the Apprenticeship Committee to reform itself as the Skilled Employment Committee with the wider brief to help any young person obtain a steady job. Members of the Committee met employers, advertised on cards, and promoted the value of apprenticeship to parents. This was much more challenging and the Warden sought advice from friends in the Women's University Settlement; the QMS branch secretary Miss Bannerman later visited Southwark and was struck with enthusiasm by 'the excellent working order of the Apprenticeship committee, and [she] had got ideas for work for normal children'.[110] The Apprenticeship Committee dealt with about thirty to sixty applications per year, and found work for a half to three-quarters of them.

However, finding suitable applicants for suitable places was an difficult task. Applicants for apprenticeships had to be reasonably educated and dressed,[111] and steady enough to commit themselves for their period of training. In some cases the applicants were not able enough, 'of a rough class suitable only for machinists', and in several cases, 'after a good opening had been found, they refused to take advantage of it and the application had to be dropped'.[112] A greater problem was persuading young people that the training would be worthwhile. 'Older lads earning large wages at casual work are unwilling to give this up to start in skilled trades.'[113] The causes of this problem were defined afresh in terms of the workings of the labour market by R. H. Tawney, in his work as research assistant to Professor William Smart.[114] Unless a boy had secured an apprenticeship soon after leaving school, his future lay in dead-end jobs. As a school-leaver, a boy could obtain a comparatively well-paid job (more than an apprentice) as a van-driver or delivery boy

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G.G. Ramsay; also father of Hester Cameron, who worked for the QMS from 1904-6.

[107] GUA, 49.22/114, excerpt from *Glasgow Daily Record and Mail*, 1 Dec. 1904.

[108] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 14 Nov. 1902.

[109] *ibid.*, 10 May 1904.

[110] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 9 Oct. 1906.

[111] The QMS frequently provided a decent outfit of clothes as 'some children are so poorly clad as to be handicapped greatly in the search for employment'. GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1909/10.*

[112] GUA, *QMCSA 10th AR, 1906/7.*

[113] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*

[114] See Chapter 1.

but with no long-term prospects. Boys were paid less than adults, so once the boy became a man, his future in that job depended on the number of adults already in the firm. Frequently he was dismissed, and with no training, he drifted into irregular employment.[115] Generally the boy was blamed for choosing the short-term reward without giving thought for future consequences. Tawney pointed out that a fourteen-year-old boy could hardly manipulate the labour market, that it was the structure of the labour market itself and the labourer's position in it which was at fault. In any case, few boys with lowly-paid unskilled parents could afford not to take the higher-paid option to boost the family earnings. The QMS were acutely aware of this problem. 'A boy may be settled for life, as the Committee fondly believes, in a ship-building yard, and two months later be found going with messages from a butcher's shop because he had a friend there and the immediate wages were higher.'[116] However, the QMS had some success in placing school-leavers, more especially girls who were mainly apprenticed to dressmakers or entered service.

In 1904 the question of state control for the provision of special education was of special interest to the Settlement. The Council prepared a petition in favour of the takeover for the Scottish Secretary:

'that the education of cripple and defective children be made compulsory as at present proposed, and that the age limit be from five to sixteen;

'that from experience of the first school of the kind in Glasgow, we advise that meals be provided but that in all cases, parents be asked to pay 1 1/2d per child per dinner, leaving the details in the hands of the voluntary agencies.'[117] The first point was of particular concern to the workers. The School Board dissuaded the Settlement from accepting pupils under seven because of pressure of numbers but the workers felt strongly that the children gained so much in health in those two years that they could go to the Board school by the time they were seven. The Education of Defective Children (Scotland) Bill became law in 1906, and the Glasgow School Board became responsible for running the school. However, the transfer of authority was quite slow and the Settlement retained some control for several years.

The final branch of Settlement work in this decade began with the Girls' Club. The Settlement had assumed responsibility for running the Club in 1900 as a condition of its tenancy of the Port Street and Elliot Street halls. By then the Club had run for about fourteen years. The current convener Miss Watson related how the original club had met in Hill Street, Garnethill, for games, singing, musical drill, a Bible class, and later a swimming club and an annual Fair Week holiday. After several restarts and changes, the Allans had moved the Club to the Anderston buildings in 1894.[118] In 1900 about seventy girls aged from fourteen to sixteen met on Thursday and Saturday evenings for games and musical activities, while younger children had a games evening on Fridays. The Allan sisters retained a strong interest in the Club; they each gave £25 a year to cover expenses and ensured that their original objectives were included on the lease: 'primarily to provide a place where girls over fourteen belonging to the poorer working classes can find rest and recreation of a harmless kind, and where they can meet ladies who would take a personal interest in them, and secondarily where such girls if they desired it could improve themselves by reading books and attending educational classes and lectures provided to help them develop their powers of mind and body. It is understood that the Queen

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115 Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare*, 66-7.

116 GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

117 GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 10 May 1904.

118 GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 29 Jan. 1901.

Margaret College Settlement Association while following the lines herein indicated and hitherto followed shall have power to make changes in methods of working if thought desirable.'[119] This is quoted at length, because it became apparent that the detail of former practice effectively negated the permission to make changes in the last sentence, as the QMS found to its cost.

Miss Watson remained in charge for the first years of the Settlement's takeover but her poor health gave the workers scope for new and rather ambitious innovation. The new programme began in 1901. In addition to the two Club nights and Friday children's evening, Sunday afternoons were to be quiet times, with a bible class. Furthermore, a second club was to run on Monday evenings (and later Wednesdays) to cater for girls who worked in the pottery and paper-bag industries, 'who are for the most part very poor, living in the backlands and underground floors of the worst streets in Anderston ... a class apart from the Club girl proper'.[120] These were the rougher 'shawl girls' whom the workers found 'difficult to manage or interest'. However, they persevered with dancing and drill and a short cookery course until the lighter evenings drew the girls away. The Bible class was deemed 'quite a failure' but the workers were not disappointed since 'the district abounds in Sunday meetings and it is common to find girls who attend two meetings, Sunday School and one church service in one day'.[121]

Club numbers rose at the beginning of the winter session 1902/3, and the Council considered ways to keep discipline among the girls. The idea of girls forming their own committee was rejected as premature, but the Council agreed to appoint a working woman to attend regularly on Club nights. A Mrs Ferrie was appointed at £2 monthly; she 'might do, though rather old'.[122] Mrs Ferrie's position lasted only a month. She 'had appeared the first night under the influence of drink and had since been discovered to be notoriously unsteady'.[123] After a further unsatisfactory appointment, the Settlement began to look among its own helpers. In January 1903 Miss Lizzie Lochhead was 'asked if in any circumstances she could take a larger part in the working of the Clubs'. In February she was appointed as Superintendant of the Clubs, with a salary of £5 monthly, and residence in the Settlement. Miss Watson agreed it would 'greatly benefit the Clubs to have a worker there constantly who could visit', and suggested she should retire, but she was urged to stay and maintain overall control of the work.

Miss Lochhead began her work with great enthusiasm, as the length and vivid detail of Club reports indicate. No changes were introduced before the summer but ideas abounded for the next session. The children's evening came under review as being 'perhaps the most difficult and unsatisfactory evening'. The children had 'little inclination to play together, preferring to romp in twos and threes ... they need to learn the lessons games teach'.[124] This evening was reformed on the lines of the Children's Guild of Play with tighter structure and management, where 'the children's energies could be very happily directed in learning pretty songs and dances and old English games'. Teaching through games was also introduced into the Girls' Club, where a games tournament proved reasonably successful. 'The girls were inclined to lose their temper and not play fair but on the whole their behaviour was very creditable and they gave in to the referee's decision

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[119] *ibid.*, 12 May 1900.

[120] GUA, *QMCSA 4th AR, 1901/2.*

[121] *loc. cit.* Also recall Mrs Chalmers' loyalty to the Wellington mission above.

[122] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 14 Nov. 1902.

[123] *ibid.*, 9 Dec. 1902

[124] *ibid.*, 10 Mar. 1903. See also above on games to teach social values.

without very much sulking.'[125] Miss Lochhead promoted further competitive events in fancy work and games with other local girls' clubs.

Following a successful Fair Week holiday, the Superintendant began her new programme in autumn 1903. The Monday/Wednesday club had classes in singing, elocution and drill, and a social evening once a month at which they entertained their friends. The Thursday/Saturday girls had additional classes in laundry and sewing, and were permitted to set up their own committee to run the club. Such classes met with approval from the mothers but the girls' interest soon foundered. The Monday/Wednesday club reached its nadir. 'The majority of girls are not interested ... constantly sighing for the good old days when they had dancing all evening.... A few girls are very much attached to the club and wouldn't miss it for anything ... they help us to bear cheerfully the adverse criticism showered upon us.'[126] The new subscription system did not work either; 'on the evening when subs were due, attendance fell from forty to five; we must return to the penny-a-night system'. The Council advised Miss Lochhead to keep the Clubs open through the New Year 'to keep the girls from the temptations of the streets' but attendance was low. The 'rougher girls' party was 'a failure ... one girl was very drunk and two others not quite sober'.[127] This club closed early for the summer through lack of support. The Children's Club too had discipline problems with the boys in Spring. Disappointments continued over the summer. The outing to Rowardennan for eighty-three girls and six ladies was a 'disaster'. It rained in torrents '... which probably accounted for the disgraceful conduct on the way home. The Thursday girls were the worst offenders – we had expected better things of them.'[128] The Fair Week holiday at Peaton was marred by 'bad behaviour ... the girls are much too careless in their intercourse with men whom they scarcely know'.

The crisis in the Clubs was discussed at a meeting between the Council and Mrs Lander in September 1904.[129] She 'agreed it was useful to have a lady interested in Girls' Club work in view of Miss Watson's increasing bad health,' but still 'the impression the committee received was that Mrs Lander was not satisfied with the management of the Clubs'. Nothing was minuted about withdrawing the Settlement's privileged rent agreement but it must have been thought. The Council promised to 'alter some of the present arrangements if necessary and do all its its power to improve the Clubs' efficiency'. Miss Watson shared the view that change was required, although she commended the Superintendant on the whole. 'Miss Lochhead appears to get on well with the girls though they strike me as being somewhat indifferent to her. She did practically all the managing of the Clubs, visited regularly and knew the circumstances of the girls. Managed to form a committee of girls who worked well under her direction. Got up a capital entertainment.' Yet Miss Watson did recommend changes in management. 'Re workers: her manner is so excessively shy that she is not fitted to lead or direct them. Best to form workers into a committee so that no administration will fall to Miss Lochhead.'[130] The Council acted on this and appointed a Convener to save Miss Lochhead some responsibility.

Further changes took place in the winter session 1904/5. Weekly subscriptions were reintroduced. The Girls' Club continued to meet at Port Street while the rougher Girls' Club moved to the Elliot Street hall but attendance there remained low. 'The girls simply

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125 *ibid.*, 7 April 1903.
126 *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1903.
127 *ibid.*, 12 Jan. 1904.
128 *ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1904.
129 GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 13 Sept. 1904.
130 GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 4 Oct. 1904.

will not come on Saturdays. Even dancing fails to attract them.... I have been to workshops ... and employers have kindly put up posters about the club.'[131] The Port Street Club began slowly too. Laundry and cookery classes failed in October ('they preferred the old days when they were not worried with such things') but millinery lessons were introduced 'to the great satisfaction of the girls'. The situation improved over the year though, and new clubs were considered for the next session. The winter of 1905/6 saw the formation of a Little Girls' Club and a Married Women's Club for old Girls' Club members, both of which proved very popular. Over the year numbers increased markedly but attendance at the Elliot Street Club remained erratic and at the end of 1906 it was proposed to close the club early when Mrs Lander had been consulted.

At the following Council meeting it was announced that Mrs Lander intended to sell the Port Street and Elliot Street halls. No reasons are given in the minutes for her decision and there was no mention of the broken guarantee stated in the original agreement.[132] Her action must have been prompted by her perception of the Clubs' difficulties. That seems unnecessarily harsh; Girls' Club work was cyclical by nature as its previous history shows, and the Superintendant's unsuccessful attempts to introduce worthwhile courses were merely short-lived teething troubles with a new activity, indeed the Port Street Club had already recovered and extended its work. The Settlement had also tried with some success to reach poorer working class girls and give them some contact with a wider world. The main reason for Mrs Lander's displeasure was probably what she saw as the overextension of Club activities and unnecessary expense arising from it. This emerges in a terse paragraph added later to a copy of the 1900 Elliot Street lease.[133] The original copy of the lease listed expenses for the Girls' Club which totalled £42. Mrs Lander and Miss Allan agreed to cover that between them with an annual donation of £25 each. However, this covered only the bare essentials (gas, coal, cleaning) and left only £2-10-0 for incidental expenses. The QMS's programme of classes greatly increased expenditure and it is clear that Mrs Lander thought these to be unnecessary and profligate, and outwith the terms of the original agreement.

The crisis centred upon the importance of the Girls' Club to the Settlement's landladies. Miss Watson's ill-health prevented her taking decisive leadership of the clubs and the time taken to find a suitable replacement cost the clubs in discipline and direction. The 'working woman' idea was almost a comic failure; the resident manager was a much better solution. Miss Lochhead's setbacks in 1903/4 were clearly due to her lack of experience; she had to learn what was possible and how to build from that starting point. This is exemplified in one difference over the charge for Swedish Drill classes. 'Miss Lochhead says such a class is so good for the girls, but the committee girls say it is impossible to

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[131] *ibid.*, 11 Oct. 1904.

[132] The Port Street premises were later let to the School Boards and the 'Cripple School' continued there, but that was not noted in the Minutes at this point.

[133] The paragraph reads; 'Additional expenses have been paid to teachers for dressmaking etc. – which classes have already been given up as unnecessary by Mrs Lander, as has also the Girls' week at the seaside in summer, to the expense of which they themselves only contribute a very small sum; supplies of magazines, Christmas entertainment, and an unnecessary liberality in coal, gas and cleaning expenses – according to her own and Mr Allan's statement.' GUA, 49.22/60, Memo. re lease of Elliot Street House, 22 May 1900. The date of the addition is not clear but must be 1905 or later with the reference to dressmaking classes.

pay 5s.'[134] Yet twenty-five years later she was featured in the the 'Glasgow Folk' series in affectionate and glowing terms, 'not a teacher so much as a leader, drawing out from the members the talent which is latent but inarticulate'.[135]

The survival and success of the Girls' Club as a condition of the lease for the halls and residence put pressure on the Girls' Club staff to make the clubs work, no matter how the rest of Settlement enterprise flourished. When notice came of the termination of the lease in May, the Settlement's very existence hung in the balance: 'The Settlement Association may have to work for other charities'.[136] Yet the work continued; plans were finalised for a lecture course and the successful placing of three youths was reported by the Skilled Employment committee. It is unclear if the Council was really alarmed at the prospect of their work being curtailed or if it was more aggrieved at the broken contract.

1907 began as a time of critical self-assessment for the QMS. It could look back with some satisfaction at the achievements of the last nine years, chronicled in the pamphlet 'The chronology of growth of Queen Margaret College Settlement Association'.[137] At the same time, the enforced removal compelled the Settlement Council to consider its priorities for the future. The most pressing problem – to find new premises – forced re-assessment of the importance of having a residence in the district. So far the "living Settlement" had not been a conspicuous success. Since 1900 there had been rooms to let at Port Street but only paid officials (the Warden, the Club Superintendant, and the woman doctor from the Maternity hospital) had taken them. Mrs Lander even questioned the need for a residence since no residents had come forward. The Council replied that the sole resident's room was 'an odd shape and not very homely'.[138] More likely, the cost of a guinea per week for living in Anderston and working in the Settlement was too much for students concerned more for their degrees than social work. (Two who inquired 'drew back' on hearing the charge.) Yet residence was the hallmark of Settlement work, and the Council adhered to this principle by considering all new buildings on the basis of their potential as living quarters for the Residence. The QMS moved temporarily to a house in India Street at the end of June, while a suitable tenement was sought for a future Residence.

The QMS also had to consider how far it would allow both its buildings and its staff to be used for other activities in Anderston. The QMS inherited with the lease in 1900 a flood of requests from other organisations for use of the halls; generally it accommodated them except where demands conflicted with those of the Girls' Club, when Settlement activities took precedence. However, the QMS sometimes withheld its support, especially where help was required of its own volunteers. Two examples highlight this. The Glasgow Foundry Boys made repeated requests for an extra Sunday meeting in the Elliot Street hall, for help

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[134] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 5 Jun. 1905.

[135] GUA, 49.22/144, *Evening Citizen*. Further praise came from Thomas Jones CH., in his reminiscences in *Welsh Broth*, 13. 'The one I knew best was Lizzie (or Lily) Lochhead, who left a comfortable lawyer's home in Paisley and a summer house in the Kyles of Bute to work for a lifetime in the women's and girls' clubs and camps of the Settlement. She was tiny and trim, but tough and quick, could act a part in a play or dance a reel, and her gay spirit and humorous outlook cheered all who met her, while her mastery of the local accent and vocabulary took her straight into the hearts of surrounding folk.'

[136] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 11 Dec. 1906.

[137] GUA, 49.22/3. This was requested by Harvard University as a contribution to its museum display upon Settlement work; the Council decided to reprint the pamphlet for Glasgow to show the achievements of the first ten years.

[138] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 13 Sept. 1904.

with the club, and for tea-making facilities, and each time they were refused according to the QMS minutes, 'in the most courteous manner possible'. When their tenancy of the Port Street hall ended in May 1901, the Foundry Boys committee complained directly to Mrs Lander, an action 'strongly deprecated' by the Settlement Council. 'It was decided they could not have the Port Street hall after May, as they brought in so much dirt with their feet that it was not fit for the girls to go in afterwards – and also the hall was so close after the meeting.'[139] Another example was the defective children's class, which the Settlement was prepared to house but not to staff. With limited financial and volunteer support the QMS was wary of taking on too many new projects. Major new initiatives (such as the Girls' Club or Invalid Children's school) attracted support from its existing members; other extensions (such as infant visiting or school banks) provided valuable contact with many people so they were considered worthwhile. The shortage of helpers and residents remained a problem, though, as success bred expansion and greater demands on Settlement time.

The problem reached a new level when external demands were made on the Settlement's own paid officials. On a small scale this sometimes involved inquiry by the Warden into truancy cases, which the Council was happy to sanction. Even then, it was loth to take on anything which could be construed as political involvement with rights and wrongs. A request from the HM Inspector of Factories for Settlement help in reporting women's factory grievances was considered cautiously as 'probably an advantageous offer for the Settlement Association ... but members should guard against women who ... regard them as mere channels for grievances'.[140] The Warden provisionally agreed to join the newly-founded Industrial Law committee in 1902 but considered that the Council might think it wiser to withdraw 'in view of the controversy which surrounds this Society'.[141] A month later, Miss Blacklock, secretary of the Association for Promoting Women to Local Boards (APWLB) suggested that the QMS support the proposed appointment of Miss Marion Blackie to the Municipal Commission on Housing. Both ladies were well-known to the Council, being former members of the College and some-time Settlement helpers but official support was not forthcoming: 'it would be unsuitable on our part'.[142]

Matters came to a head in 1904 when the Warden herself was approached by the APWLB to stand as Parish Councillor for the Anderston ward. Sharp differences of opinion arose on the Council. Certainly election would have entailed a great deal of Parish business for the Warden, leaving less time for Settlement work; on the other hand, with her intimate knowledge of the area and its people through the COS, she was well-qualified for the post and could serve the area in a useful extension of Settlement work. The Warden herself took this view. She 'put herself in the Council's hands but it would give her the greatest possible pleasure to stand'. Underlying the debate was a crucial issue: were the Settlement workers content to remain in charity work with unquestionably worthy aims like exhorting people to thrift and self-improvement, or were they prepared to pursue public and professional responsibilities for women by using their talents and their expertise? At that time the dominant hierarchy in the Settlement wanted to maintain a neutral stance, while the majority of ordinary workers favoured a more active line. Discussion on the case produced two camps: Misses Janet Galloway and Lucy Gairdner thought the Warden should not stand, partly because it would entail considerable Settlement reorganisation;

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[139] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 12 May 1900.

[140] *ibid.*, 19 Feb. 1898.

[141] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 8 April 1902.

[142] *ibid.*, 2 May 1902.

Misses Tannahill and Campbell proposed that she should stand. Only five of the nine present voted, and the result was against the election. In 1907 the invitation was renewed. A letter from Miss Galloway persuaded the Warden to withdraw her request and the Council concurred that 'it would interfere with her work as Warden'. However, in les than a month an anonymous donor had promised £50 per annum for the salary of a Joint-Warden who could cover Settlement work and thus enable Miss Rutherfurd to stand as Parish Councillor. Miss Galloway moved acceptance of the offer, and the Warden was duly elected in December.

This marked a real turning point in Settlement policy. As the next chapters demonstrate, the next few years witnessed increased welfare provisions and a huge growth in the numbers of voluntary and statutory bodies requiring informed opinion on social issues. The QMS was obviously well-placed to deal with such inquiries. It chose to become involved in new developments in social work for the benefit of its local population while advancing the cause of its workers by giving rein to their knowledge and abilities.

5: The work of the Queen Margaret Settlement 1907 – 1914.

By the end of the Settlement's first decade it was well established as a distinctive local centre among the many missions and charities in Anderston. The QMS aimed to raise the quality of life for the local people, by cultivating independence, and by exerting a good influence upon the young. Promoting independence and self-reliance was a chief tenet of the COS which the QMS upheld by running the local COS branch office and by organising the CSB to encourage thrift and thus financial independence. In addition, the QMS Invalid Children's school and Apprenticeship Committee supported and encouraged independence in infirm children and their families before state provision existed for them. Attempts to exert a civilising influence upon young people had begun with supervised playground games and organised Girls' Clubs; now these expanded to include clubs for girls of every age and further to provide healthy activity for boys. The main effort, though, continued to be directed towards girls as the mothers of the next generation.[1] Both these objectives, promoting independence and educating the young, remained central after 1907, but the latter expanded to promote education at all levels – from advice to new mothers, to the training of social workers – and essentially became the predominant theme of the second decade.

1907 emerges as a watershed for a number of reasons. The sale of the original premises in Elliot Street by Mrs Lander and Miss Allan forced the Settlement Council to reconsider the value of maintaining a residential Settlement in Anderston. Clearly such a building was useful; it provided accommodation for full-time staff and short-term visiting workers as well as a sizable base for activities, but it was costly to maintain. Despite Elliot Street's failure to attract residents, the hallmark of Settlement work was that workers should live among those they sought to help. The Executive Council therefore decided to seek another residence. The resulting acquisition of premises in Port Street was an ambitious move, contrasting strongly with all the hesitation surrounding the tenancy of Elliot Street seven years earlier. The Port Street Settlement enabled the fulfillment of the residential ideal and greater scope for a range of other activities, from factoring houses to providing nursery day-care.

Furthermore 1907 marks the greatest turnover in executive personnel. A number of key figures withdrew; the deaths occurred of Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan and Principal Story, and the resignations of many including Miss Bannatyne. The sudden death of Miss Galloway early in 1909 was a great shock but in fact it confirmed a growing trend from 1907, namely the election to the QMS Council of women more concerned with training for social work rather than seeing it as a lady's part-time occupation.

Moreover the trend towards professionalising social work is apparent from the changing roles of the Settlement's own officials. The Warden's election to the Glasgow Parish Council in 1907 marked a distinct change in Settlement policy. The appointments of Joint-Warden and milk-depot Superintendant concentrated power with the QMS's paid officials. The wardens and residents often dealt with tasks or advice asked of the Settlement. Furthermore the QMS increasingly attracted students who saw it as a stepping-stone to a professional career, rather than simply a humanitarian duty. The QMS stepped up its

[1] 'To get hold of girls at this most impressionable age, to teach them the value of thrift and orderliness, to instil into them the feelings of self-reliance and esteem, to foster in them the spirit of camaraderie and good fellowship, must prove of inestimable value to the community of the future.' GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR, 1908/9.*

occupational training for students to gain experience for other welfare work, while the Lectures Committee expanded into the Joint Conferences Committee with the COS and thence into the School of Social Study and Social Training affiliated to Glasgow University.

The concurrent social reforms of the Liberal Government also carried implications for QMS development. The QMS itself was well-placed in Anderston to become the base for local committees, with its detailed knowledge of local conditions and often experience in the field concerned. Furthermore, Settlement experience enabled women to gain employment in the expanding civic and state welfare services outwith Glasgow and in other areas of public life.[2]

1907-14 was therefore an exciting period for the QMS as established activities evolved and new possibilities appeared. This chapter deals with some of these; the major underlying changes plus a survey of new growth in existing branches of work. The following chapter examines the expansion of the Settlement's role in training its workers and the concurrent developments in state welfare reforms which combined to transform social work from a social and philanthropic activity for middle-class women into a highly-trained profession for both men and women.

The QMS was deeply affected by a substantial changeover in executive personnel and by the scope of the new premises. However, underlying all the developments from 1907-14 was a change in direction by the decision-makers. Who, therefore, began to be influential in the QMS, what did they aim for, how did this differ from previous practice, and how far were they successful in taking new directions?

The question of who wielded power and influence in the QMS is assessed here by a study of the Executive Council minutes in order to see what was suggested by whom, how it was received and how it proceeded. The study proved a little difficult because the women were aware that political discretion was necessary (probably from their fathers' experience on boards and councils) and so much of the debate is couched in general terms: '... is to be asked ...', 'the Council thought this branch of work to be very desirable'. Where a woman is mentioned specifically there is therefore a strong inclination to attach weight to it as an opinion which not everybody shared. 'Miss Snodgrass proposed that the Mistress of QMC should be an ex officio member of the Council' may not have been a controversial issue whereas her speech in favour of the Warden's decision to continue on the Parish Council undoubtedly was, since the subject was still divisive.

1907 saw so many departures and additions to Settlement personnel that the alteration in its character was more significant than in any other single year. As has been noted, it saw the deaths of the honorary President and the Vice-President, Principal Story and Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan. The Girls' Clubs convener Mrs Bles moved to Oxford with her husband; Mrs John Kedie left after ten years' service; Miss Penelope Ker resigned the leadership of the Invalid Children's branch again to concentrate on the Aberfoyle Children's Hospital although she maintained links with the committee. Miss Kathleen Bannatyne ended her long association with the Settlement Council by resigning 'owing to the increase of work on the School Board and the COS'.[3] She had been involved almost constantly since 1897 and her opinion was always sought over major policy decisions, but from 1907, she only recurs in the Minutes in connection with QMS involvement in the

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[2] Atkinson, *Local Government in Scotland.* Miss Atkinson was a Settlement volunteer for four years while studying at Glasgow University where she was the Scott Scholar; she later became a lecturer at King's College, London.

[3] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 11 Dec. 1906.

Poor Children's Clothing Scheme in 1908.[4] Miss Janet Galloway continued as Convener of the Council until her sudden death in 1909 but her influence declined significantly from 1907. She may have been aiming to retire from the QMS when it was self-governing; she may have been thwarted by the new blood on the Council. Certainly her views did not always prevail in Council decisions as before. Three issues concerning staff highlight this. As outlined in the previous chapter, Miss Galloway opposed the Warden's standing for the Parish Council but her resistance was overcome by the anonymous donation of £50 for a joint-warden's salary which she accepted, and by the successful election of the Warden.[5]

Another instance occurred with the appointment of a Sub-warden after the Joint-Warden proved unsatisfactory. The Council were determined not to err again in their choice of candidate, whereas Miss Galloway wanted the appointment settled quickly although not all the references had arrived. The Council preferred to wait until the planned special meeting by which time all the information would be available.[6] Miss Annie Harrison was then considered the best candidate but the Council wanted to consider others so the offer was delayed and again Miss Galloway was overruled.[7]

A further difference arose with the appointment of a resident worker. Mrs W. F. G. Anderson[8] offered a cheque for £50 to pay for a resident worker, stipulating only that 'she should be trained in all branches' of Settlement work. Miss Galloway wanted the post for a Queen Margaret College student, whereas Mrs Noel Paton thought it should go to someone 'who would use [the training] for definite work afterwards'.[9] Two months elapsed before the post was offered to Miss Mackay from St Andrews. No further discussions were recorded in the Minutes, but neither were any rejections, so perhaps Miss Mackay was appointed by default.

The effects of Miss Galloway's declining power were two-fold. The links between College and Settlement became more tenuous. Meetings continued to be held in the College at the invitation of Miss Janet Spens (although she took no part in Settlement affairs) but no-one had the same active concern to promote the QMS among the students. The Convenership passed to Alice Younger, formerly Vice-Convener, although the new Mistress of QMC was given ex-officio membership of the Council. Only when Miss Younger resigned and Miss Frances H. Melville (Mistress of the College) took her place was the formal relationship between College and Settlement restored. From the evidence of the Council Minutes, Miss Melville did not express strong opinions or seek to impose her will upon the Council. Moreover, the conservative element on the Council lost some voice with Miss Galloway's demise. A second request to the Settlement to sign a WSS memorandum was rejected as the first one had been, but the tone of debate on the question of the Warden's re-election to the Parish Council in 1910 implies that this was still a controversial

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[4] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 10 Nov. 1908.

[5] See Chapter 4.

[6] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 10 Nov. 1908.

[7] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 16 Nov. 1908.

[8] Mrs Anderson was the wealthy widow of W. F. G. Anderson, partner and managing director of the Anchor Line. She gave generously to the QMS (of which her daughters Winifred and Marjorie were members) paying the entire cost of Settlement Hall described below. She also gave extensively to other charities. At the Royal Hospital for Sick Children one ward was given in memory of her husband and two cots were named for her daughters. GGHB *RHSC Reports 1919-22, 1919 AR.*

[9] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 12 Nov. 1907.

subject.[10]

With the waning of Miss Galloway's influence, new personalities came to the fore and their aspirations directed the QMS. Power was concentrated in the hands of the office-holders, the Conveners, Secretaries and Treasurers. Others raised important issues within their sphere which affected the direction of Settlement policy but generally the office-holders held the centre ground, reinforced by their pre-eminence upon committees for premises, personnel, and the Social Studies Conference committee.[11]

Several women deserve special mention. Miss Alice Younger was elected Convener after the death of Miss Galloway. She had been on the Council since the Settlement's foundation apart from an absence between 1901-4 while she studied elsewhere. Her father, George Younger was a yarn merchant prominent in charity work and in affairs of the Church of Scotland. After an absence in 1909, Miss Younger finally resigned in 1912 to take up a post in Edinburgh as the Organiser of the Women's Department of Labour Exchanges in Scotland.[12] Miss Mary Snodgrass was the Settlement's Treasurer from 1899 and took over the CSB in 1900 but she became more vocal or forceful from 1907. Her father was John Snodgrass, of J. and R. Snodgrass, flour millers, whose mills were situated in Anderston on Washington Street. She was a dynamic Treasurer, undertaking to raise the money required to complete the new Hall,[13] and speaking out in favour of Marion Rutherfurd's decision to stand for re-election.[14] She was about to resign from the QMS when war was declared in 1914 and decided to stay on. She became Town Councillor for Kelvinside in 1920 and was made a Bailie in the 1920s.[15] Miss Lucy Gairdner occupied two key posts on the Council for most of this period; she was assistant Treasurer from 1899 to 1911, and Secretary from 1905. From the evidence of the Minutes, she supported Miss Galloway when a decision had to be reached, and thus belonged to the more conservative camp in the Council. For years she and two sisters regularly made the ten-mile journey from the family home in Blanefield to the QMS in Anderston but in 1911 Lucy Gairdner offered to resign the Secretaryship on the grounds that it would be 'better done by someone living in Glasgow'.[16] She was persuaded to remain as assistant Secretary while Miss Maud May shared the work and she was appointed Vice-Convener in 1912 on Miss Younger's departure.[17]

A number of new members made an impact on the Council. Mrs Charles Ker joined

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[10] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 10 May 1910.

[11] Those who played an important role in extending Settlement policy within their particular sphere of interest include Miss Lucy Orrock Johnstone and Miss Helen Story. Lucy was a QMC graduate and daughter of a prominent West End minister, the Revd. Alexander O. Johnstone. She joined the QMS as a representative of the GUWW, and was unusually active for a double rep., heading the Skilled Employment Committee. She worked hard to ensure that the QMS had a voice on the statutory body formed in 1913. (See Chapter 6.) Helen Story was the daughter of the former Principal R. H. Story of the University. She took over the Lectures Committee and under her direction it grew into the School for Social Study, as described in the following chapter. She was later awarded the LL.D. for this work.

[12] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 8 Oct. 1912.

[13] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 28 Sept. 1910.

[14] *ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1910.

[15] *Glasgow City Diary* 1926.

[16] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 12 Sept. 1911.

[17] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR, 1911/12.*

as a 'former student' representative from the pre-University College. Her election highlights an important aspect of the QMS, in that it extended and reinforced the web of interpersonal relationships within the upper ranks of Glasgow society.[18] One of Charles Ker's sisters was Penelope, who directed the Invalid Children's work, and one of his business partners in the accountancy firm McLelland, Ker and Co., was Charles D. Gairdner, whose sister Lucy is referred to above. Mrs Ker undertook no particular branch of work but she presided occasionally at Council meetings and she took the chair during Alice Younger's three-month absence in Canada during the summer of 1909.[19] Mrs Noel Paton was co-opted to the Council in 1907 and became Girls' Club Convener for a year. She was the wife of Noel Paton, Professor of Physiology who later used the QMS as one base for conducting his inquiry into the diet of the labouring classes in Glasgow.[20] It seems again that Mrs Paton was known socially to members of the Council, and that friendship ties first drew her to the QMS. Miss Violet Craig Roberton was first elected to the Council in 1907, having helped with Girls' Clubs for two years. As granddaughter of Professor Sir James Roberton she was also familiar in University circles. Miss Craig Roberton went on to a full public life: she became a City Councillor from 1921, a Bailie in 1926, and was created CBE in 1929. She was later awarded the St Mungo prize for service to Glasgow, city and university.[21]

These women formed the core of the decision-makers after 1907. It is difficult to judge how closely the new officials embraced the original aims of 1897 without a recorded discussion of the matter, so we must look at what they did, what they encouraged and what was allowed to develop. Clearly they wanted the Settlement to remain relevant to the needs of the area, and sought to extend work through existing channels where this was desirable. As before, some of the most successful innovations arose directly as a response to external circumstances; the Council agreed to man the depot for milk distribution and hence became involved in early health visiting, it launched a housing venture, and it pursued the opportunity to run the juvenile labour exchange in Anderston. Meanwhile, the kindergarten project which pioneered the Montessori method in Scotland was entirely the QMS's own initiative. More importantly, over half, and arguably the most influential half of the Council was active in promoting social study courses, hastening their acceptance as a University discipline. Times were changing but the QMS strove to keep pace with them.

The Settlement's move from Elliot Street was the most obvious outward change in 1907. No longer constrained to run the Girls' Clubs as the Allans wished, the QMS was free to choose its own objectives and seek suitable premises. The priority, though, was to find temporary accommodation from May 1907 when the building was let to the School Board. An Arrangements Committee comprising Misses Galloway, Bannatyne, Younger, Snodgrass and Gairdner was formed immediately in December 1906, and in February 1907 it reported that 'after much visiting, a house on the corner of India Street and St Vincent Street was gained'.[22] The Washington Street premises (rented jointly with COS) housed the rougher working Girls' Club, while the other Clubs continued at Port Street with the permission of the School Board.

The idea of taking over a tenement block was first raised at a Council meeting before the move to India Street. The QMS could take the rooms necessary for its work and let

[18] See also Chapters 2 and 3.
[19] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 11 May 1909.
[20] Lindsay, *Diet of the Labouring Classes.* See also Chapters 1 and 6.
[21] GUA, *CC*, Whit. 1955, obituary notices.
[22] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 12 Feb. 1907.

the rest as workmen's dwellings, factored by the Settlement.[23] Although this is the first record of the tenement idea, it was clearly not new because it was taken up so readily, and also because the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings company had already been approached for their support.[24] Misses Snodgrass and Younger looked at several possible buildings and sites before proposing a block of two tenement houses at 75-83 Port Street.[25] The houses were well-situated in the centre of Anderston opposite their former premises, the cripple school and Finnieston school. The valuer described them as having 'ashlar fronts, polished on the lower storey and very neatly striped above, while the back walls were of good rubble'.[26] Number 77 was four-storied, with three two-roomed houses and one of one room on each 'flat' or floor, and this was considered most suitable for alteration to Settlement purposes. Number 83 was 'only in fair condition', similarly constructed with nineteen houses including one in the basement, and would stay as it was. Number 75, situated on the back ground, consisted of a 'very plain' three-storey workshop and store 'which might be adapted for a hall'.[27]

Next came the problem of deciding terms. The proprietors would let Number 77 but with no option of purchase afterwards, and no control of the back premises. Alternatively they would sell the lot, two tenements, back ground and workshop for £3,300 and then repairs and alterations would be necessary. The QMS Council weighed the options, made inquiries and sought advice, and finally decided to buy the property and ask for public subscriptions of £2000.[28] Within weeks, the asking price of £3,300 had been agreed and £1,142 had been received towards the Purchase Fund.[29] Work began on Number 77 in March 1908 and it was finished and inhabited by September.[30] The Purchase Fund then stood at £1650, but interest in completing it waned as other ventures prospered. Two years later £85 was still required.

At this point an offer from an 'anonymous' subscriber diverted attention back to extending Settlement amenities. Mrs W. F. G. Anderson[31] offered £85 to the Settlement to close the Purchase Fund and a further £1000 for a hall.[32] The Council was 'quite overwhelmed' and called a special meeting to consider the offer. A two-storey hall was decided upon, a hall with a movable partition to seat 250 people, and two rooms on top with a small kitchen.[33] Plans were drawn up, and those of the Workmen's Dwellings Company were accepted on condition that the estimate was lowered from '1250. Still, Mrs Edwards proposed and it was carried that 'we should go on and trust that the extra money required can be raised'.[34]. The plans finally passed the Dean of Guild Court

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[23] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 16 Apr. 1907.

[24] GUA, 49.22/187, Memo re Settlement, 11 Dec. 1907.

[25] See appended map.

[26] GUA, 49.22/61, Valuation by Thomas Binnie, 1 May 1908.

[27] QMCSA Minutes III, 5 Feb. 1908.

[28] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 23 Dec. 1907. The Minutes record that advice was sought from the Lord Provost and Dr David Murray, who recommended purchase, from Mr Biggar (of the Workmen's Dwellings Company) whose valuation was only £2800, and from the University Master of Works who estimated the repairs at £750.

[29] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 5 Feb. 1908.

[30] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 8 Sept. 1908.

[31] See above.

[32] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 13 Sept. 1910.

[33] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 28 Sept. 1910.

[34] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 15 Nov. 1910

although the changes required raised the estimates to £1650 which was a 'blow to the Council'. But work had begun in March so they 'decided to go on and make an effort to raise the money'.[35] Then Mrs Anderson offered a further £700, making the hall a free gift from her.[36] The hall was opened officially by Principal McAlister at the Annual General Meeting in November 1911. The 'anonymity' of the donor was dropped as Mrs Anderson agreed to an inscription saying that it was her gift, although she turned down Anderson Hall in favour of Settlement Hall.[37] The transformation of the hall shows again the considerable wealth of the QMS's connections, but further, demonstrates the QMS's optimism in this expansion in contrast with their earlier hesitation to commit themselves to large ventures.

The QMS entered its new premises in 1908 and had the use of the Hall from 1911. The increased space allowed a broader range of activities by existing organisations and room to host new ones. The QMS became landlord to several other groups to which it was sympathetic, but exerted different degrees of control over them. For example, it was happy to let out rooms to the Workers' Educational Association (hereafter WEA) and the Glasgow Day Nurseries Association although QMS workers took no direct part in these activities; at the same time the QMS was able to use its second tenement house (no. 83) to let houses to suitable tenants, and to use the hall (formerly no. 75) to establish its own nursery school.

The request from the Glasgow Day Nurseries Association to rent the ground floor of 83 Port Street came in December 1910.[38] The Council expressed approval but canvassed the views of the other tenants before agreeing to a five-year lease at £40 per annum. The Day Nursery opened daily from 5.30 AM to 6.30 PM in order to mind and feed the young children of widowed or single parents who had to go out to work, for which the parents paid 3d. per child per day. The Council indicated its strong support for housing the Day Nursery but made it clear that the relationship would be 'simply tenant' and that no other help would be forthcoming.[39] However the QMS actively pursued the chance to become the local centre for the WEA. Following the Warden's attendance at a WEA conference and subsequent correspondence, Miss Hilda Lindsay was invited to join the provisional WEA Committee.[40] Six months later this Committee proposed that classes for working men should begin in Calton or Anderston. The Council's response was prompt and enthusiastic; they 'agreed it would be a good thing to have such lectures which could be held in the Social Room at the Settlement'.[41] The Council also sent a 2s.6d. subscription to WEA funds; this was trifling in comparison with the £3 sent to the School of Social Studies, but the QMS had a much higher stake in the School and in fact the WEA was the only other organisation to which they contributed. When the Glasgow Western WEA branch was formed, Misses Lindsay, Snodgrass and Story joined the Committee and the QMS sent the same small subscription.[42] The lectures began in the QMS Social Room later that year. As far as is known, lectures were given by men from the University and not by QMS women.

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[35] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 9 May 1911.
[36] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 12 Sept. 1911.
[37] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 10 Oct. 1912.
[38] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 13 Dec. 1910.
[39] GUA, DC. 22/188, Lease between QMCSA and Glasgow Day Nurseries Association.
[40] GUA, QMCSA Minute Book IV, 14 Dec. 1909.
[41] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 14 June 1910.
[42] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 14 Mar. 1911.

Greater space also afforded room for the QMS's own initiatives. The primary scheme was to provide houses for the local people in which the QMS could encourage 'a high standard of home life amongst the tenants'.[43] Part of the attraction of buying 75-83 Port Street for the QMS was that no. 83 contained nineteen one- and two-roomed houses which could be let as workmen's dwellings, 'thus fulfilling an ideal long-cherished by the Association'.[44] The origins of this 'ideal' were two-fold. The terrible state of Glasgow housing for the poor[45] had caused great concern and debate in the city (Mr John Mann of the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company had lectured to the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, which numbered many QMS women's fathers among its members[46]) and led partly to the creation of the Kyrle Society with which several Settlement women and many of their friends were connected.[47] The QMS workers themselves were keenly aware of the problems of unsatisfactory housing through the visiting they undertook in practically every area of work - for the COS, CSB, Invalid Children's Aid, and Infant Health Visiting. Furthermore, the QMS was impressed by Octavia Hill's scheme for managing homes for the London poor because they proposed to run the properties 'on the lines of management suggested by Miss Hill'.[48] In addition to her writings on the subject, Miss Hill had strongly influenced the Women's University Settlement in London, and thus influenced several senior members of the QMS who had trained there.[49]

The management of houses was more than a business arrangement, it aimed to raise standards among the tenants themselves and by their example, among their neighbours. In 1865 Octavia Hill had set out to provide decent homes for the poor in a reasonable tenement instead of awful buildings; ten years later she had decided that the homes were bad because of the tenants' habits as well as the buildings so she set out to alter their habits by constant visiting and supervision and exhortation to improvement.[50] The visitor's first target was to improve cleanliness; 'dirt gradually disappears in places that cleanly people go in and out of frequently'.[51] One Glasgow lady visitor with the Poor Children's Clothing Scheme, described as 'an apostle of soap and whitewash and water ... succeeded in persuading a woman so to whiten the walls, and wash the floors of the house, and to wash herself and the children, that when the husband returned, he shut the door and went upstairs under the impression he had gone into the wrong house'.[52] The tenants were also to influence each other in their model of community life. 'Above all, the tenants are so

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[43] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR, 1908/9.*

[44] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*

[45] See Chapters 1 and 4.

[46] See Chapter 2.

[47] See Chapter 1. The Housing Section began in about 1889, and Miss Marion B. Blackie was closely associated with it; she was cousin to the QMS Secretary Dorothy Blackie, had attended QMC and gave a regular subscription to the QMS. The Housing Section factored a number of properties for the 'respectable' poor in several areas of Glasgow (including Anderston), some jointly with the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Co. (Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland.*)

[48] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR, 1908/9.*

[49] See Chapter 4.

[50] O. Hill, *Homes of the London Poor* (London, 1883) 45, quoted in Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 154.

[51] O. Hill, quoted in Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 171.

[52] Ross, 'The COS in Scotland'.

sorted as to be a help to one another.'[53] They would be assisted in this by a 'resident manager [who] saves a large part if not all his wages in diminished repairs. His influence and that of his wife upon the habits of the tenants is most valuable.'[54] The QMS took this advice and sought a caretaker, appointing a plumber 'with good references for both himself and his wife'.[55] A later caretaker's wife proved less satisfactory; she 'had left the Settlement, had returned without asking leave, then run away again. She is now most anxious to return but Miss Melville and Miss Rutherfurd are agreed that on no account must she do so. Miss Clark, the daughter, is doing very well.'[56]

A further influence was the lady rent-collector. Octavia Hill listed special requirements for this person; a 'responsible, firm, gentle, persevering lady ... with a good head for business, a high ideal of what might be realised (but with patience to approach the ideal gradually) indifferent about "mere popularity" and ready to do the stern thing'.[57] Personality and training were both special prerequisites; Miss Hill's essential 'body of knowledge' included rates and taxes, the legal position on weekly tenancies, financial knowledge including accounts and cost of small repairs, and a quiet temper. 'The work is more like a profession in that there is so much technical in it.'[58]

The houses at 83 Port Street were factored in the first year by the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company and thereafter by the QMS. The business was managed by a subcommittee and the rents were collected by Miss Amelia Watson (who also ran the Milk Depot) until her departure from Glasgow and then by Miss Lochhead and Miss Macdiarmid (whose mother was also the COS representative on the Settlement Council). The attempts in Glasgow by both the Workmen's Dwellings Company and the QMS to produce 'model' tenants centred on the 'respectable' poor, the 'industrious but really very poor, earning less than 20s. per week', in contrast with the 'ill-doers ... disreputable, vicious and criminal, often earning over 20s. a week but making the gratification of their animal instincts the first consideration'.[59] Mr Mann considered that both groups required wholesome houses at low rents near the centres of the city, but that bad tenants should be dealt with severely, 'put into municipal houses of the plainest sort and something akin to police supervision, or drive them from pillar to post until they become tolerable or leave the city'. In fact there are no records of any problems with the QMS tenants, but judging by the levels of rent which were not low for Anderston and the occupations of the tenants, only 'respectable' families could afford to live there. Indeed the QMS claimed that there was 'quite a demand in the neighbourhood to become a Settlement tenant'.[60] Certainly very little was lost through 'unlets', the major exception being the workshop which lay empty for the

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[53] O. Hill, 'Management of Houses for the Poor,' *COR*, Jan. 1899, 20.

[54] John Mann Jr. (Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Co.), 'Better houses for the Poor'. Mr Mann was consulted by the QMS over the purchase of the tenement, above.

[55] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 16 Nov. 1908.

[56] GUA, QMCSA Minutes V, 1 Sept. 1914.

[57] Hill, 'Management of houses for the Poor'.

[58] *ibid.* Interestingly, Octavia Hill's vision of what might be achieved is in sharp contrast with a similar experience of rent-collecting by Beatrice Webb, in the same district twenty years later. 'The lady collectors are an altogether superficial thing. Undoubtedly their gentleness and kindness bring light into many homes but what are they in the face of this collective brutality, adding to each other's dirt, physical and moral?' B. Webb, *My Apprenticeship*, 277; Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 41.

[59] Mann, 'Better Houses for the Poor'.

[60] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1909/10.*

first half of 1910 which probably hastened its transformation into a hall later that year.[61]

Indeed a further Settlement initiative arose through the hall's 'lack of use in morning hours [which] led the Council to consider the possibility of ... a nursery school. At present, there is no agency in the city whose business it is to look after such children. The infant has the Health Visitor and Day Nursery, and the child of five comes under the long arm of the School Board, but the toddler has too often to take its chance in the perilous playground of the Streets.'[62] The QMS inquired from Miss Grace Paterson about the Montessori method which was 'not yet put into practice in Scotland ... it would be a valuable experiment to see how far it could be adapted to children of the north'. The nursery school opened for a trial period in the summer of 1913. It was run voluntarily by a Miss Scott who had recently studied the Montessori system in America, and took between eight and ten pupils for three hours each morning. The experiment proved successful and was hampered only by lack of funds. However, in 1914, the Students' Union Association and Association of Women Graduates co-operated to hold the 'St Nicholas Market, Garden Fete and Maytime Revels' in the grounds of Queen Margaret College. The event was enormously successful, raising enough to endow the Janet A. Galloway Scholarship and to maintain the nursery school for five years. In autumn 1914, Miss Harriett Barton was appointed and the school recommenced.

Although the range of Settlement work increased with new space and new demands, the QMS maintained all its former concerns to some extent. Most branches expanded in response to local conditions and increased demands from external sources (the COS, CSB, Skilled Employment Committee[63] and Club work) while Playground games remained static and Invalid Children's work was reduced as the School Boards assumed control.

From 1907 economic depression and harsh winters combined to make life hard for people in Anderston. A severe trade depression affected the major employers throughout the west of Scotland, notably heavy engineering and shipbuilding, which affected skilled men badly; it also reduced opportunities for casual employment, normally the preserve of labourers, to which the skilled men resorted when their own trades failed.[64] Many were thrown back onto their meagre savings where these existed, or onto charitable or parish relief. This increased the casework load for the COS office at 10 Washington Street and at the same time gave opportunities for co-operation with various city-wide schemes to alleviate distress. Many visits were made by QMS workers on behalf of the Poor Children's Clothing Scheme, the Lord Provost's Relief Fund and the Burgh Distress Committee.

In the winter of 1907/8, the COS office opened five mornings a week to deal with the flood of applications for assistance.[65] The 'stress of unemployment continued all summer' and the Labour Yard was constantly full. 1908/9 was more severe, as indicated by the involvement of the Burgh Distress Committee, and the great increase in the amount

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[61] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 8 Feb., 12 Apr., 14 June, 13 Sept. 1910.

[62] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR 1912/13.*

[63] This will be covered in Chapter 6.

[64] Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 62, 90.

[65] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR 1907/8.* The COS office practice has been adopted of running years over the winter so 1907/8 denotes the autumn and winter of 1907 and the spring of 1908. The records of the COS and other departments were kept separately and do not survive in the QMS archive. In addition, figures were no longer reported at the monthly Executive Council meetings. Hence only an overview can be obtained from the *Annual Reports* and specific problems which were referred to the Council.

of infant milk paid for by the Lord Provost's fund.[66] December 1908 was 'quite the busiest ever in the Anderston offices' but the COS were also pleased to note that local subscriptions rose in response to the level of distress. 1909/10 marked Anderston's lowest point; applications to the Poor Children's Clothing Scheme and the COS office peaked at 547 and 307 respectively.[67] The COS office reported a busy year; the winter was 'exceptionally severe and want of work caused much suffering among the poor'. 1910/11 marked a respite; COS applications fell by 50, the 'work was less strenuous and the class of applicant more hopeful'. Fewer applications again were registered in 1911/12 but 'the total number of applicants does not index the distress which obtained' as a dockers' strike in the autumn and a coal strike in the spring caused hardship to strikers' families who were not eligible for relief.[68]

The Anderston COS fostered 'cordial relations' with other agencies through the depression and tried again to engage their co-operation in the registration of relief scheme in line with other district committees. The scheme was in operation in 1910 'but few agencies take advantage of it at present'.[69] It was never very successful in Anderston, partly because of the tendency of the many West End missions to act independently; in 1914 the COS report bewailed 'we know there is still a considerable amount of overlapping in assistance given by missions which might be prevented if they would consent to register with us'.[70]

Improving economic conditions from 1910 freed workers for other schemes in co-operation with other bodies. The burden of COS visits increased in 1909 with a scheme of Friendly Visiting in cases where the COS felt material aid would be wasted but constant supervision might 'help them back to independence'. The COS manual gave as the first aim 'to establish a relation of friendship with the person ... take the utmost care not to give the impression you come as an official to inquire into their mode of life ... extend intelligent sympathy, be tactful'. It also aimed to foster thrift, and health in the home.[71] Friendly visiting must have been a difficult balance to achieve and was perhaps an odd term to use; the Anderston COS later described it more robustly as 'giving a real grip on certain families'.[72] Co-operation with the Parish Council in 1914 resulted in three removals of children from ill-treatment by parents; with the onset of war the office also became a base for applications to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association.[73]

Other visiting schemes had medical origins. The Warden and later the Joint-warden continued to visit the Western Infirmary with the Samaritan Society. In 1909 the QMS worked with the Consumptive/Phthisical branch of the Public Health department to monitor patients' progress.[74] It co-operated with churches and missions to visit every family whose children had been on the Fresh-Air Fortnight scheme.[75] In 1911 the Settlement pro-

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[66] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR, 1908/9.* The Lord Provost's Fund served a great need in the 1907-9 slump, as witnessed by the letters which survive in the SRA, G3 36/1, quoted in Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 90.

[67] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1909/10.*

[68] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

[69] *loc. cit.*

[70] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*

[71] SRA TD-PAR 120, *Glasgow COS Manual*, 27.

[72] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR, 1911/12.*

[73] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*

[74] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1909/10.*

[75] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR, 1912/13.*

vided the Anderston base for Professor Paton's study into the diet of working men, which aimed to ascertain if the food which their wage purchased could provide sufficient energy for the hard manual labour which their jobs required. Students from the Physiological department came daily to the Settlement for a fortnight to calculate the calorific value of the food which the wives were preparing to serve to their husbands. Dorothy Lindsay, sister of Hilda and several other Settlement stalwarts was Paton's research assistant and the author of the final report.[76]

The increase in visiting activity was made possible by the numbers of helpers enlisted during the worst years of the trade depression. From a mere four COS workers in 1906/7, the number rose to ten in the following year, between seventeen and twenty-four helpers over the toughest years from 1908 to 1912. While many of these were already QMS helpers who took on another commitment, some were new. From 1910 help came from University students who needed the experience for their courses. In the winter session that year, students from the Economics section came for practical work and to observe the administration of relief; they assisted in an inquiry into the position of wives and families of seafaring men, from which the report was sent with one from the Students' Settlement to the Scottish Council for Women's Trades.[77] Increasingly from 1909 Settlement residents and Social Studies students were pressed into COS service since it afforded the most immediate insight into the life of the poor and the best training for future employment.

The CSB was also affected by the slump. It suffered as the depositors did and yet attracted new custom as the benefits of even small savings became apparent in hard times. 'Some people willingly expressed gladness at having something laid away to tide them over this difficult time.'[78] In this period the work realised its potential, first by proving the preaching about thrift and also by gaining regular contact with a great many people. By 1909 there were 1120 depositors 'which means that a considerable number of families have been brought into fairly intimate touch with the Settlement'.[79] Moreover the CSB was viewed as a good introduction to social work for new trainees. 'Through the weekly collections the collectors can get to know the best way of helping by befriending unemployed families.'[80] Realising the attractions of the bank, the QMS considered it worthwhile to revive its social angle. Larger bank parties were held more frequently in the new hall, with less argument over the cost of the tea. In 1912/13 twelve parties were held; 'their fame has the unsought-for effect of bringing new depositors to the bank ... and once the introduction is made ... often afterwards in time of need they find it again'.[81]

Even during the worst years from 1907-9 the number of depositors and the amount collected remained steady in both the CSB and the School banks; the 1908 report, however, noted the first decrease in deposits for ten years, which 'considering the distress in the city and remembering that saving money is not always the best means of thrift, is not surprising'. By 1909/10 the economic upturn brought the first monthly collection which exceeded £100. The number of districts increased by 1914 from nineteen to twenty-three as larger ones were sub-divided. As a sign of further prosperity, large withdrawals were

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[76] Lindsay, *Diet of Labouring Classes.* See also Chapter 1.

[77] This followed a similar enquiry in Liverpool – 'in the hope it will influence politicians to alter the Shipping Act so wives receive a great proportion of their husbands' wages at shorter intervals'. GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

[78] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*

[79] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1909/10.*

[80] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*

[81] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR, 1912/13.*

made for the summers of 1913 and 1914. £500-600 was withdrawn at Glasgow Fair and the QMS reported triumphantly 'it is gratifying to know that they have helped to save for the holiday ... and there are many who frankly and gratefully say "I wouldn't have that money now if you hadn't come for it every week."'[82] Considering the general poverty of the area, a surprisingly large amount of money passed through the Bank. See Figure 1.

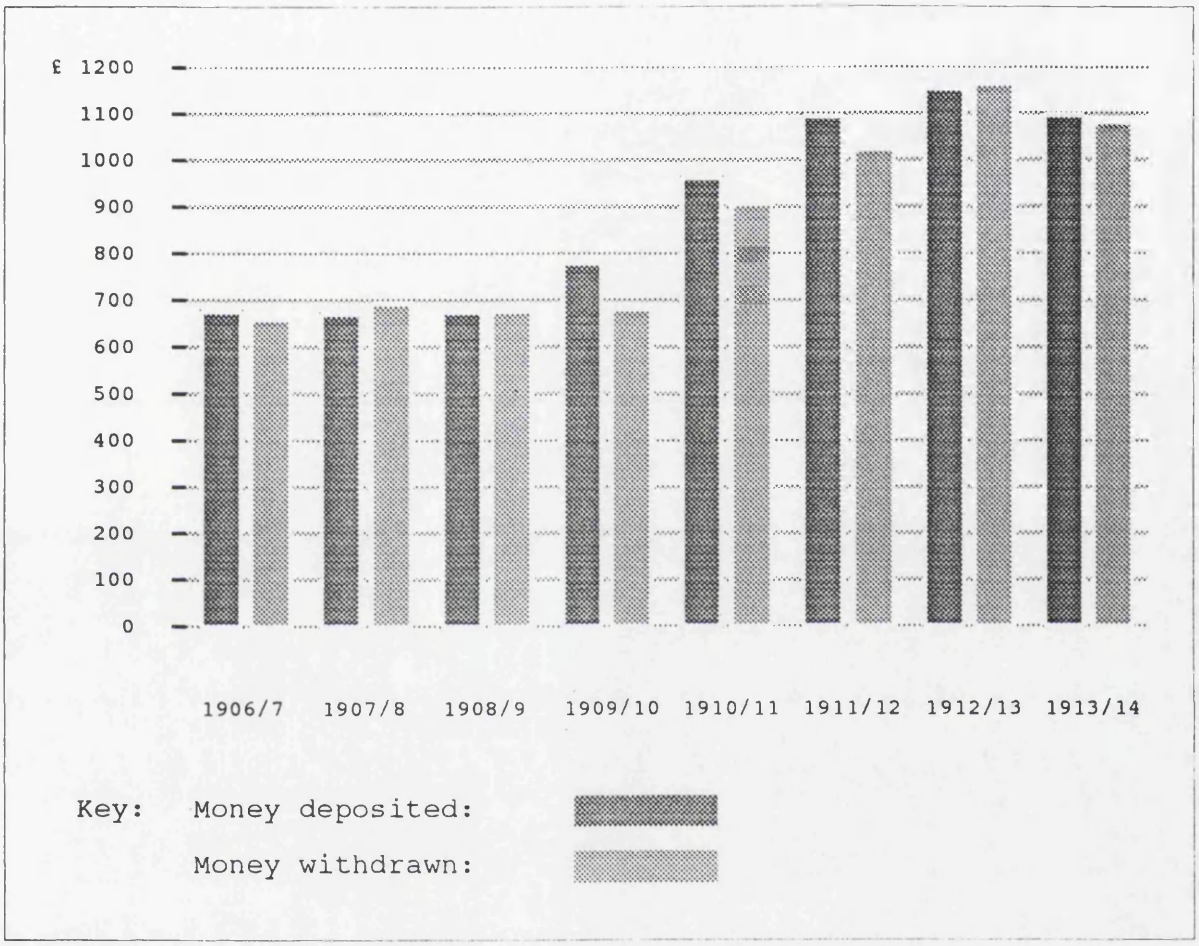

Figure 5.1: Histogram to show CSB collections and withdrawals in the years 1906 – 1914.

The CSB's major development was into School banks. Children with accounts in one of the district's many Mission Banks could not open another but the School Bank hoped to catch other children in the neighbourhood schools. 'The habit of thrift cannot be impressed too early upon children who have a surprising amount of money ... they provide a safer outlet for pennies than sweet or cigarette shops and many children are able to buy boots and have a holiday that otherwise might have gone barefoot or had to remain in town.'[83] A side benefit was the subsequent reduction in applications to the Poor

[82] *loc. cit.*
[83] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1909/10.*

Children's Clothing Scheme. The bank extended its activities to three schools, Finnieston, Bishop Street and Kelvinhaugh, and a fourth opened in Washington Street School in 1910. The deposits remained steady during the lean years and again in 1914: 'they may prove their use this winter when money is sure to be scarce'.[84]

In contrast to the two branches above, Playground Games remained a small-scale, peripheral Settlement activity.[85] The Saturday morning play-hour was one of the Settlement's first activities which aimed to foster character through fair play and a sense of team spirit and commitment, which was an important topical concern. However Playground Games never attracted a sufficiently large or regular staff to be successful. 'It is impossible for one or two workers to give sufficient attention to children when they turn out in great numbers so attendance is apt to fall off.'[86] Numbers still fluctuated wildly from twenty to seventy in better years, dropping to ten to forty by 1913. The Council also expressed disappointment that the play hour idea was not taken up in other schools by other organisations. The lack of support for this activity can be ascribed to several factors; students and other volunteers preferred to give an evening (rather than a Saturday morning) to a children's club with recognised membership (so numbers were not so unpredictable) and a more structured programme which incorporated the objectives of teaching fair play and fun. With several notable exceptions mentioned above, no new students were drawn to the QMS through Playground Games; it was either their sole involvement or it was a small part of their intensive social work training.

Though Playground Games foundered, its objectives were realised through the various QMS Clubs which flourished after 1907. Girls' Club work had been of paramount importance from 1901 because the QMS's low-rent occupation of the Elliot Street premises depended on its continuation. Development was patchy even after Miss Lizzie Lochhead's appointment as Club Superintendant; her plans to develop the Clubs into self-governing bodies with a wide range of activities had teething troubles, and were considered too ambitious and expensive by the Allans.[87] The disagreement with the QMS's landlords culminated in the Settlement's relocation to Port Street. However, it continued to run the Clubs, and Mrs Lander and Miss Allan continued to subscribe towards expenses (though less generously) and to provide for the Club girls' Fair Week holiday until 1910.[88]

In practice the split benefitted the Clubs. It freed the workers from the need to meet the Allans' approval, and allowed them to build upon the original aims of the 1880s for the changing world of the 1900s. The Girls' Club emphasis changed from being a club organised for the girls as a meeting place off the streets to being largely self-governing. The members ran it, deciding their own programme incorporating lectures, social events, and fund-raising for others. By 1907 the Clubs had settled down; no more instances of trouble were recorded in the QMS Council minutes. The Allans' original working girls' club now met in the Port Street premises and was known as the Port Street Club. It was run by a committee of its own members and was highly successful, both in numbers and

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[84] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*

[85] See Chapter 4.

[86] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

[87] See Chapter 4; also GUA 49.22/60 Memo re lease of Elliot Street House, 1900, with later addition describing the probable cause of the disagreement.

[88] Relations with the Allans remained strained. Mrs Lander continued to donate £25 towards Club expenses but her sister's contribution fluctuated between £5 and £25. The QMS was also required to pay £5 for old Club furniture which the School Board did not want.

in range of achievements. Evening continuation classes were run with the School Board's co-operation, although the QMS's own classes in swimming and needlework proved more popular. Under the supervision of Miss Lochhead and the workers, the girls organised debates, displays of work and drill, and produced several of Shakespeare's plays. They also raised small funds for the Aberfoyle cot and for Settlement Hall. Social events took a significant step forward when men were invited to Saturday evening dances in 1908, and 'a committee of girls together with ten young men were responsible for a high standard of conduct' at a series of Open Evenings in 1913. Port Street Club membership rose steadily from 115 in 1907 to a peak of 496 in 1913/14.

One successful club highlighted the need for others at each end of its age range. A junior Girls' Club for those from ten to fourteen years opened with seventy-nine members in 1907. It, too, concentrated on drill, dances, and needlework, with a number of dramatic productions through the years. In addition, a Married Women's Club for former Girls' Club members met on Wednesday afternoons, giving its members 'a chance to do work and chat'.[89] Prizes were given for the best work, a darn or buttonhole. Husbands were invited in to a dance held in 1914. The members had been together for some time so this was considered a 'specially friendly club'; on several occasions the Settlement workers were struck 'by the kindness shown by members to those less well-off'.[90] Yet times were hard for all; cookery lectures proved more popular than sewing classes because 'women find it difficult to provide money for new material and feel shy of bringing old garments to be remade'.[91]

A new step was taken in 1907 to open a Children's Club for six- to nine year-olds, based on the "recreation school" outlined by Mrs Humphrey Ward in her lecture to the QMS in February 1907, and affiliated to the Christian Social Union. Previously the Guild of Play on Wednesday afternoons had aimed to teach songs, dances, and games, but numbers were too great to be manageable and scope was required for different activities. The main innovation was the introduction of handicrafts, rugmaking for the boys and raffia work for the girls, while the younger children played with dolls and picture books; then all joined together for songs and games. The Club opened with 140 members. By 1910 the boys' attendance was declining so the Club divided into boys and girls and the number of boys rose again. The QMS also founded a Boys' Club in 1907 for ten- to twelve-year-olds who had outgrown the Children's Club but were too young for the Boys' Brigade, and a Boy Scout patrol began in 1910. Clubs for men only began after 1918. The path was now set for girls to attend Settlement Clubs from the age of six until their own children were old enough to join; boys could also attend Settlement Clubs from six until they passed into the Boys' Brigade. Such a clearly-defined progression meant that fewer were likely to be lost and thus the QMS could exert influence on children throughout their formative years.

The QMS handled social differences by running separately 'a club for hat girls and a club for shawl girls'.[92] A parallel Club "system" was established in premises in Washington Street, for children who 'belong to the poorest classes and have little or no other good influences'.[93] This social group was far more difficult to interest and control so the QMS restricted their efforts largely to female groups – Junior and Girls' Clubs, a Married

[89] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*
[90] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR, 1912/13.*
[91] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR, 1911/12.*
[92] Jones, 'Reform in the Great Towns'.
[93] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*

Womens' Club from 1910 and a Children's Club from 1911. The Girls' Club catered for girls employed at the rivet works. Its aims were the same as the Port Street Club but organisation was modified to suit the aptitude and resources of its members. The subscription was lowered from one shilling to sixpence; singing, dancing, and sewing were the main activities; entertainments took the form of songs and sketches rather than full-length plays. Formal classes were not held in the Club but a School for Mothers began in the Washington Street Married Women's Club with courses on health and cookery. In 1913 these were extended from twelve to twenty-six weeks with teaching assistance from the Glasgow School Board. Expectations of the girls' achievements were fairly low, the biggest headache being to keep them there. Attendance was notoriously unreliable and fluctuated wildly; 'it is most difficult to keep these girls interested – only six registered after Christmas'.[94]

It could be argued that the Settlement's Club work was alright as far as it went, but that it had only limited success amongst the poorest girls and that it largely helped those who were best able to help themselves. Against this, a number of points can be set. Certainly the Settlement Clubs fulfilled and surpassed the Allans' original aim of providing 'a place of rest and recreation of a harmless kind' for poorer working girls 'where they could meet ladies who would take an interest in them';[95] the initial difficulties and subsequently the ambitious range of activities undertaken by the girls themselves indicates how far the Clubs had progressed since 1900. Much of this was due to Lizzie Lochhead's superintendance. Despite early problems she persevered with the Clubs for decades; in October 1929 the *Glasgow Evening News* paid tribute to her as 'not so much a teacher as a leader, drawing out the talent which is latent but inarticulate'. Furthermore the effect of the Settlement women's presence upon the Anderston girls was qualitative and cannot be measured. It is best indicated by speaking with those whose lives were undoubtedly changed by contact with the Settlement clubs. Miss Donahy lived in Anderston as a girl, was bombed out, and returned there – 'I suppose I was what you'd call deprived'.[96] She joined the Club and graduated through the system, becoming a helper and later training in social work herself. She was latterly a social worker in Clydebank. Club work was not easy but the Girls' Clubs were never short of helpers, and in fact took over from Invalid Children's Aid as the greatest single 'employer' within the Settlement.

The Invalid Children's work had been the big success of the Settlement's first decade in Anderston. In 1908 it was reported that '360 children have passed through since the work began in 1897. Since the first small class in 1901, there are now twelve schools for several hundred children in the Glasgow area.'[97] Major developments in the second decade centred on the shift from a voluntary initiative towards local authority responsibility through legislation, and from a multitude of voluntary assistants towards professional care and teaching. The School remained important to the QMS because several key long-serving Settlement members (including the Warden) were closely associated with it, but it became less central because it involved fewer volunteers. In the School's second year (1902/1903) more than forty-two Settlement volunteers gave up some time to help; in 1912, the year before the School moved to Yorkhill, there were only eight helpers, and these were regular

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[94] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*

[95] See Chapter 4.

[96] Interview with Miss Donaghy, a former member of the Anderston Settlement Club, Autumn 1987.

[97] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*

teaching volunteers.[98]

The passing of the Education of Defective Children (Scotland) Act in 1906 heralded changes for the Invalid Children's School, although the transfer of control from QMS to School Board took some time. The Glasgow School Board had been associated with the School since the latter's inception in 1901; from providing one paid teacher in 1901, the number had risen steadily with the increase in pupil numbers until there were six paid staff in 1907 and nine in 1914. A number of Settlement workers continued to assist with teaching in classrooms, but fewer than before, so from 1907 there were always more paid than voluntary staff. The number of play- and dinner-hour visitors remained high (in the twenties) until 1911 and then declined. The Board assumed full financial responsibility in 1906 'but at their request we continue to arrange for dinners, supervise cooking and serving, and supply voluntary workers to assist Nurse during dinner and play hours'.[99] The QMS also continued to arrange medical inspections with Dr Marion Gilchrist until a letter in October 1909 'thanked the Settlement for providing medical inspection. In future the Board will do it, and is responsible for the money paid by children for dinners, so the school accounts no longer belong to the Settlement.'[100] The changeover had taken three years.

The school size remained roughly constant after 1907 with about a hundred pupils on roll. Numbers fell slightly when ten pupils left to join a special class for Roman Catholic children which opened in the same building in 1907, moving later to a separate site at Cranstonhill. However, pupil numbers rose again when more stringent School Board medical inspections sent more children to the school, and a new class had to be opened when the age-limit was raised to sixteen. In 1913 the school 'removed from its original but long-outgrown quarters to a more suitable temporary building at Yorkhill where ultimately the School Board intends to place an up-to-date centre for both mentally and physically defective children'.[101]

Figures drawn from the *Annual Reports* provide an overview of pupil numbers in the school, the reasons for their transfer and their destination upon leaving. The figures must be handled with care: the method used in recording the statistics leaves simple interpretation open to the charge of double-counting. Miss Rutherfurd's reports to the Annual General Meeting totalled all the children who had been in the school at any time in the preceding twelve months in "number on roll", and those present in November when the report was drawn up as "number still on roll". So it cannot be determined if a child counted in 1910 was still present in 1911 or 1912, or even if he had been readmitted several years later with a recurring or different disease. However, bearing this in mind, some useful points can be made.

Figure 2 shows the destinations of former pupils of the invalid children's school from 1901 to 1914 in a tri-partite classification. Because of the danger of double-counting, a more useful measure of the school's size and output can be achieved by subtracting the 'number still on roll' from the 'number on roll'. It appears that roughly 50% of pupils left school in a year, either to return to normal life or to continue treatment elsewhere. The first category measures the success of the school by recording the number of those who were able to take up a normal life at school or work; the second contains those who were

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[98] Interestingly, several volunteers who gave many years' service to the Invalid School developed a special interest in education later; notably Jenny McAra – see Chapter 3.

[99] GUA, *QMCSA 10th AR, 1906/7.*

[100] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, Oct. 1909.

[101] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR, 1912/13.*

not cured, but needed help from other institutions, generally Homes or hospitals. Also included here are those who were not cured and died, or were ill or too old to benefit from the school. The third is an 'ambiguous' category for those who left the district with no information on their recovery.

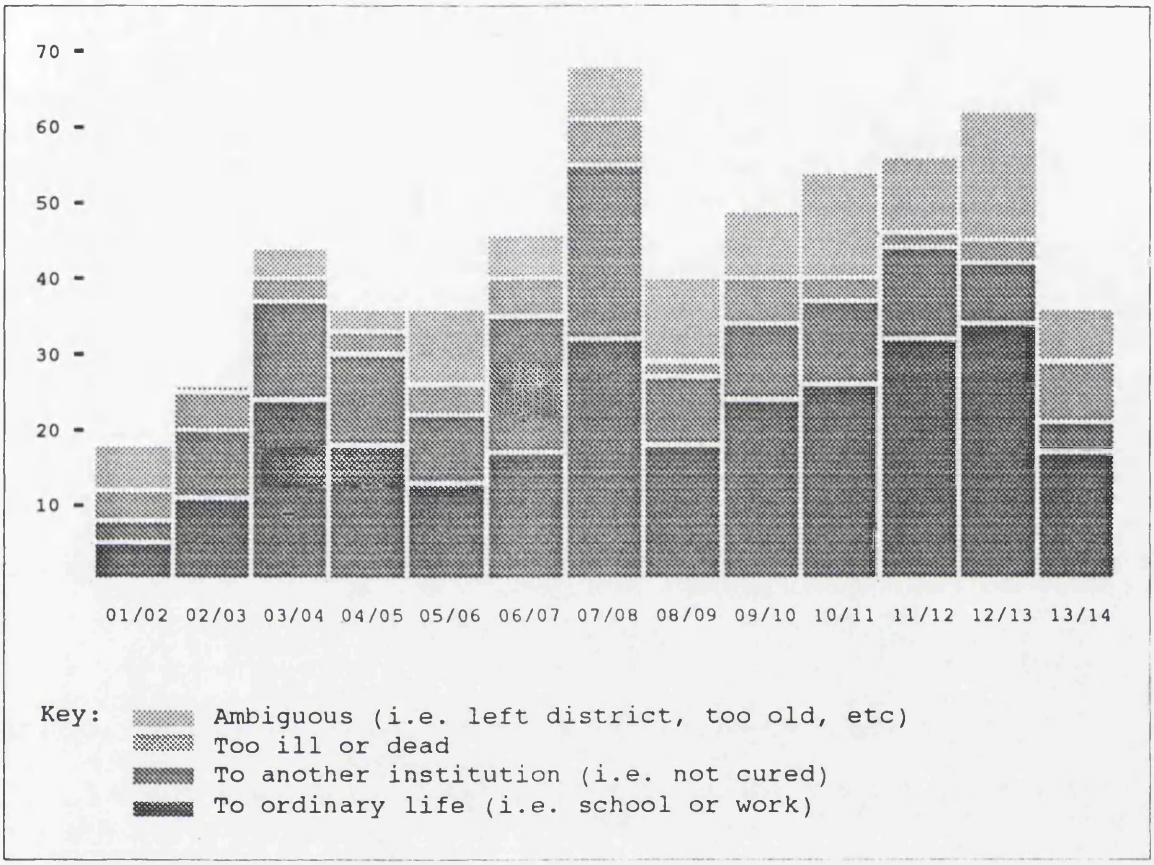

Figure 5.2: Destinations of children leaving the Invalid Children's School per year over the period 1901 – 1914.

Figure 2 reveals some interesting points. If 50% left the school each year, the average length of stay was two years, and about half the leavers resumed normal activity. The category 'to another institution - not cured' includes children sent to twelve medical institutions and the poorhouse, but the latter accounted for less than one per year. There were surprisingly few deaths recorded; perhaps most of the seriously ill children were transferred to hospital in which case they would have been noted as transfers rather than deaths. Plotting the proportion of pupils who resumed normal life out of those proceeding either to normal life or to another institution (see Figure 3) appears to indicate that the invalid school became more efficient in restoring its pupils to health over the period from 1901-14. However, the school's population varied throughout this period because of changing criteria governing the intake of pupils (as for example when more rigorous medical inspections brought more children in, and when the leaving age was raised). The perceived rise in rate of recovery may therefore be more apparent than real.

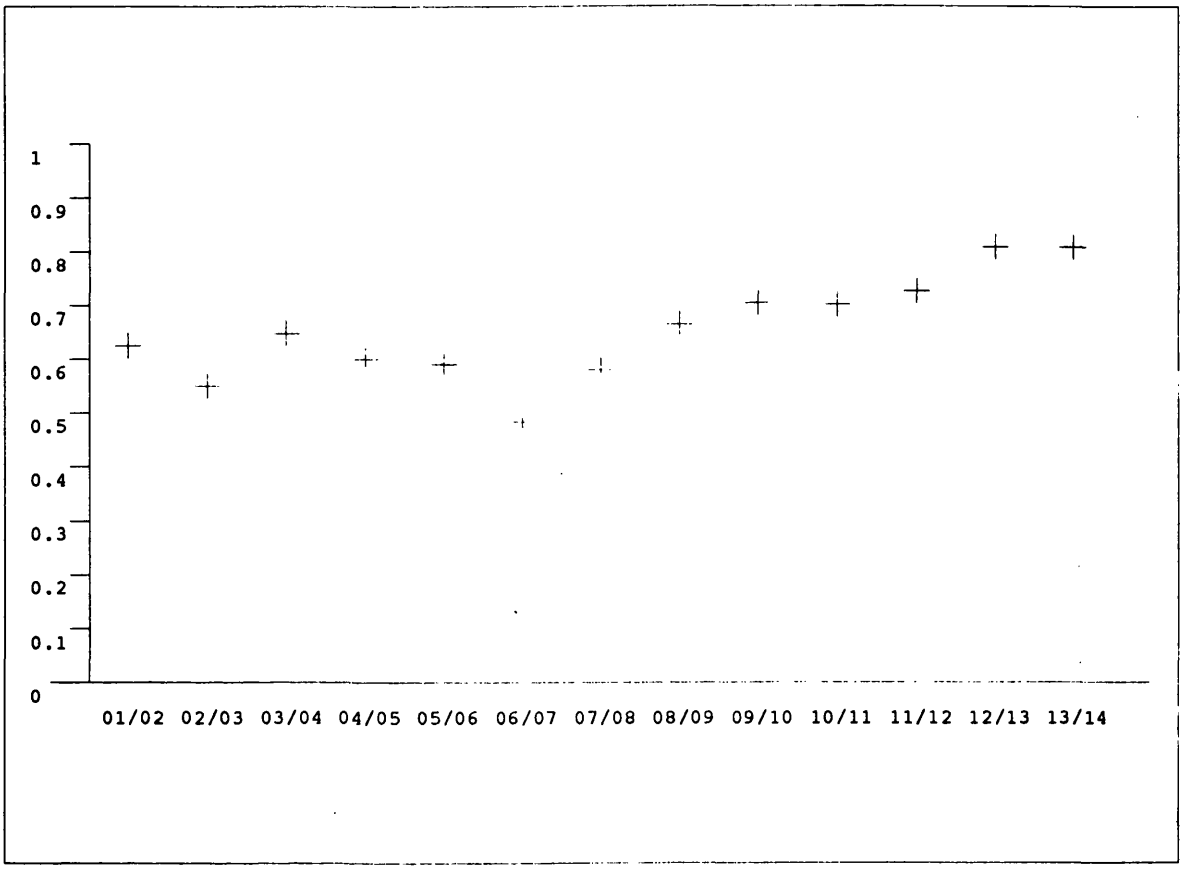

Figure 5.3: Plot of proportion of pupils proceeding to ordinary life out of those known to have proceeded either to ordinary life or to another institution, for children leaving the Invalid Children's school per year over the years 1901 - 1914.

Since such a high proportion were capable of recovery, it is interesting to look at the type of diseases represented. Figure 4 indicates the range and scale of pupils' ailments in a typical year, 1911/1912. Studying a single year is the most helpful since it avoids problems of double-counting, and variation in the stringency of medical inspection and in classification of diseases. In fact, the picture does not differ widely for any other year, and the differences found are well within the limits of statistical variation.

Between 40% and 55% of cases were rickets. This crippling and deforming bone disease is a vitamin deficiency caused by poor diet and by a lack of sunshine through which the body can produce its own vitamin D. This corroberates all the housing evidence of Anderston being full of 'dark and dismal' closes, never seeing the sun.[102] The reports are full of references to 'little ricketty creatures who soon respond to treatment of better air, good food and cheerful company. They pass rapidly into ordinary school.'[103] Despite the obvious success of the treatment, the number of cases seemed overwhelming. 'The flow of little ricketty creatures seems never ending ... it is somewhat discouraging to be faced

[102] See Miss Donaghy's recollection, Chapter 4.
[103] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

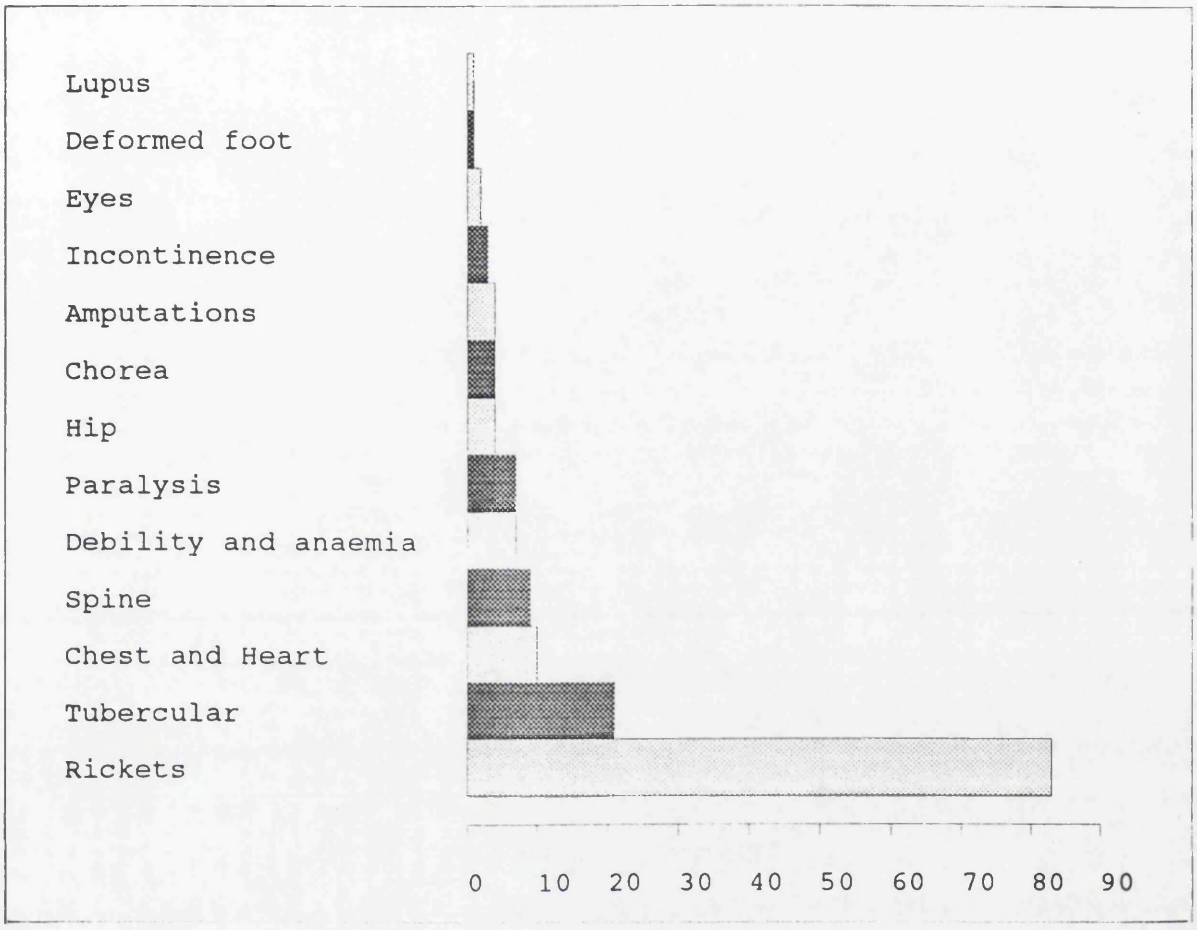

Figure 5.4: Histogram to show distribution of cases in Anderston Invalid School in year 1911/12.

by the third or fourth child from some home as crooked and ricketty as the first ... but some who seemed hopelessly ill and feeble are now passing us by for ordinary school.'[104] Apart from a daily dose of cod liver oil and a good dinner at a small cost, the major treatment continued to be long-stay care at homes in the country. This depended upon the consent and ability of the parents, as well as the problem of finding accommodation. The QMS continued to fund a bed at Dundonald and at Aberfoyle, and was assisted by other interested parties.

They remained firm believers in fresh air and outdoor life to restore health to city bodies. 'One boy returned after eleven months; all wounds healed - had worn dressings for eight years';[105] 'one baby boy returned after two years' stay (at Aberfoyle) a fat, rosy urchin of four, completely cured, not even lame';[106] 'eighty were sent away from

[104] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR, 1911/12.*
[105] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR, 1907/8.*
[106] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

twelve months to two weeks, without exception all have benefitted greatly'.[107] Increased numbers made it difficult to arrange country holidays, and the declaration of war in 1914 compounded the problem. 'St Leonards is only taking soldiers' children; Montgreenan is temporarily converted into a soldiers' convalescent home.'[108] So the Invalid Children's work continued.

In the survey of developments in Settlement work above, one striking feature is the degree to which the QMS actively co-operated with other agencies. Clearly some co-operation was integral to Settlement work from the very beginning when the QMS undertook to run the Anderston district office for the COS, and to organise a local CSB with the Glasgow Savings Bank. Indeed the QMS, through its COS work, sought to co-operate with other agencies in the district and to avoid overlapping effort by promoting the Registration of Relief scheme. Yet such co-operative efforts were strictly limited; recall, for example, the Council's refusal to allow the Warden to stand for election to the Parish Council in 1904 'because it would interfere with her work as Warden'. However, her subsequent election in 1907 marked a distinct change in Settlement policy, indicating that the QMS was prepared to use its resources and expertise more widely to assist other bodies.

In 1908 the Council published as part of its *Annual Report* an extensive list of over twenty organisations with which the QMS co-operated, as if to publicise this aspect of its work. Apart from general COS business, the COS office had also worked for the Glasgow and Burgh Distress Committees and Lord Provost's Fund; through the person of the Warden (who was its Honorary Secretary) it had links with the Parish Council, the Brabazon After-Care Committee, and the Samaritan Society of the Western Infirmary. The COS co-operated also with the University with student research from the medical, economics, and social studies departments. As noted above, the CSB worked closely with the Glasgow Savings Bank. The QMS Apprenticeship Committee and Invalid Children's Aid Committee were both affiliated to similar organisations in London; in addition, the Invalid Children's work was closely tied to the Glasgow School Board's Special Schools Department, and to the Aberfoyle Children's Home Hospital which it had inspired. The Clubs, too, had external connections: the Children's Club was affiliated to the Scottish Christian Social Union; lectures were given to the Girls' and Married Women's Clubs by the Glasgow School Board and the Glasgow School of Cookery. The QMS's move into infant health, discussed in the following chapter, proved to be a very positive branch of work, entailing co-operation with the Maternity Hospital for the Visitation of Mothers, and with the Health Committee for the Reduction of Infant Mortality and Early Notification of Births Act.

Other societies (the Kyrle Society, the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, and the Glasgow Union of Women Workers) were listed in the 1908 *Annual Report* without specific attachment to a particular branch, yet they are the most interesting because they reveal a vast amount of cross-linkage between Settlement personnel and other organisations. The Scottish Council for Women's Trades had approximately one hundred names on roll, of which fourteen were Settlement women or female members of their immediate family.[109] QMS women were particularly prominent on the Committee on Investigation into Women's Employment, where they numbered seven of the thirty-three members; this was also the Committee to which the QMS referred an inquiry into women's wages from

[107] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR, 1912/13.*
[108] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*
[109] SRA, TD-PAR 1.19, 27, *Scottish Council for Women's Trades.*

the Christian Social Union in London.[110] Even more striking is the membership list of the Glasgow Union of Women Workers (GUWW) which resembles a women's 'Who's Who in Glasgow society in 1911'. This was a very large organisation with about 370 members, of whom about seventy were connected with the QMS. Yet again the QMS women had a high profile. Six of them were on the Executive Council, and seventeen on the eighty-strong Representatives Council. Each member of this Council also represented another organisation, giving a fascinating insight into the high degree of involvement and interweaving of this section of Glasgow society, reminiscent of that of the QMS women's fathers in Chapter 2. Some are obvious (Kathleen Bannatyne represented the COS, Lizzie Lochhead the Anderston Girls' Club, Marion Rutherfurd the Glasgow Parish Council, Mary Snodgrass the QMCSA), others less so (Violet Roberton represented the Missionary Settlement of University Women, Mrs Kedie the House of Industry, Maud May the Association of Women Graduates, Mary V. Hunter the Women's Indian Study Association). Moreover, the list of representatives reveals the extent of involvement by other family members: Mrs Bannatyne (mother of Kathleen) was involved with the Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Institution, Mrs Barclay (mother of Kate) with the Dorcas Society to Fever Hospitals, Lucy Mitchell (sister of Isobel) with an Emigration Society.

Furthermore there was a rising perception in the QMS that staff should use their knowledge and expertise in a wider field than simply Settlement activities, and that they had opinions which should be heard in local and national welfare schemes. The period 1907-14 saw an increase in the number of requests for information or representation from the QMS for other bodies as a sign of its growing reputation: at first these were largely from similar organisations, like the Kyrle Society, or the Dundee Settlement, but later from official committees, for a proposed Council of Child Welfare in Glasgow, the Women's Employment Bureau, or the Scottish Advisory Committee in connection with the National Insurance Act in Edinburgh. It is this widening of the QMS's role and its growing national reputation, discussed in the next chapter, that makes its new developments in the period 1907-14 so interesting.

[110] GUA, QMCSA Minute Book IV, 9 Jan. 1912.

6: Developing Professionalism in the QMS 1907 – 1914.

Apart from new developments in existing work, the striking feature of the Settlement's second decade was the increasing emphasis upon training for social workers, leading towards social work as a paid profession. The QMS made a great contribution to the professionalisation of social work in Scotland. In association with the Glasgow COS and Glasgow University it organised recognised public courses in social work theory for the general public, laid down the general direction of the subject, and provided the experiential training required. From the first formal lecture course in 1911 until the outbreak of war in 1914, between thirty to sixty people annually attended the public social studies lectures, and and roughly half of those attending undertook the diploma course. The war caused a temporary setback in numbers although general growth resumed after 1918, yet it also demonstrated the need for welfare training by creating demand for particular occupational training courses associated with war work. This chapter examines the process by which the QMS came to promote professional social-work training, through its internal evolution and through the external interests of its members, which, with concurrent developments in local and national welfare, led to the establishment of a separate School for Social Study affiliated to Glasgow University. The effects of School and Settlement upon each other are also considered.

Several factors in the QMS's earlier development encouraged the trend to professional training. In the first place, the QMS was very much a creature of Queen Margaret College. The College's pre-eminent position in women's higher education in the west of Scotland was a source of pride to its founder members who wanted to see the College maintain the lead in new developments. Moreover this pioneering generation of women students was keen to make the most of opportunities which were opening for them.[1] The self-confidence and mental training which women gained through academic study needed fresh outlets. Martha Vicinus goes further: 'neither the idealism nor the self-confidence of a new generation of educated women could be satisfied by the amateur philanthropy of their mothers'.[2] Furthermore, the study of Settlement workers in Chapter 3 indicated that most of these women were not expected or required to seek paid employment after their degrees, and so had time to give to voluntary charitable work. Some had to stay at home; for example, Helen Rutherfurd, prevented 'by circumstances' from taking up an Oxford scholarship, was involved with the Montessori Nursery School for years after 1914.[3] Such women spent a great deal of their time, talents, and energy in extending the Settlement's outreach to the people and because of their background and training, they wanted to learn a more professional approach.

External factors which had influenced Settlement policy from the beginning further encouraged the trend towards training. The QMS's official link with the COS in running the Anderston COS branch office was reinforced by the COS influence from the Women's University Settlement in London, at which several staff members had trained before coming to the Queen Margaret Settlement.[4] The COS laid great emphasis upon workers being

[1] 'Girls now hurried off to QMC more enthusiastically than their brothers ... because it was novel and there was a challenge to be met.' GUA, Gray, 'Through College Windows'. See also Chapter 3.

[2] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 221.

[3] GUA, *CC*, Whitsun 1949.

[4] See Chapter 4.

thoroughly trained in the Society's principles before they could undertake casework. 'The first object of anyone who is trained should be to train others, and he should consider this as even more a point of his work than dealing with the causes of distress ... the Committee would like to see in the Society the nucleus of a future University for the study of social science in which all those who desire to undertake philanthropic work to graduate.'[5] Indeed the development of the QMS's own Lectures Committee jointly with the COS and the GUWW in 1904/5 closely paralleled the path of the London venture in 1896 when the COS, WUS and National Union of Women Workers combined to organise lecture programmes.[6] The London COS School of Sociology opened in 1903; the School of Social Science opened in Liverpool in 1904 under the auspices of the University, Victoria Settlement, Central Relief Committee and the COS.[7]

However the COS practice of close scrutiny into the workings of other charities caused mistrust and resentment and it is unclear how far the Society could have advanced training by itself in Glasgow at this time. Meanwhile the QMS, because it was well-regarded by the city and University and because of its indomitable educated women workers, was well-placed to promote social work training and formed the intention of doing so at an early stage. At the Annual Meeting in 1901, Kathleen Bannatyne outlined 'why the Settlement was a natural outcome of College life and how many of the qualities developed by University education were precisely those demanded by that new view of charity and social work which was gaining ground. The training of its workers in this new way was not the least important of this Settlement's objectives, and one well-deserving of public support.'[8]

Several early branches of Settlement work in Anderston brought workers into close contact with the lives of the poor and raised their awareness of the difficulties. In particular, the workers' experience in investigating cases for the COS and collecting for the CSB confronted them with the precarious financial position of many families and led to the realisation that simple panaceas were not enough. 'All these little planks such as temperance, social purity, labour reform and the like were all important ... in the social reform platform, but they would not achieve separately the aim which they all had in view.'[9]

The need for workers to know more of the theories of social and economic conditions rapidly became apparent, and in 1902 Miss Bannatyne proposed that a meeting of workers and their friends should be held at the Settlement, to be addressed by some well-known person on an aspect of social work. This, she argued, would have the dual advantage of instructing workers and allowing the exchange of ideas, and of publicising the Settlement's work. A committee of the office-holders with Miss Galloway and Miss Bannatyne was formed to organise a programme. Following a successful season of lectures, Miss Galloway proposed that 'they form a regular part of Settlement work'.[10] In 1904 lectures were organised jointly with two representatives from the COS who were also members of the Settlement Council (Miss Bannatyne and Mr McCracken), and the following winter the Joint-Committee was expanded to include two representatives from the GUWW, who again were known to the QMS.[11] The Joint-Committee's programme

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[5] GUA, *COS Occasional Paper, 2nd ser.. 11* (London, 1898) 7-10.

[6] Mowat, *The COS*, 105, 111.

[7] Mowat, *The COS*, 111.

[8] GUA, *QMCSA 4th AR*, 16 Nov. 1901.

[9] GUA, *QMCSA AR*, Report of 16th AGM, Nov. 1913.

[10] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 10 Nov. 1903.

[11] Note again the cross-linkage of the active middle-class sector of society. See Chapter

included short courses by local experts and single lectures on diverse topics given by national figures including Beatrice Webb, Professor and Mrs Bosanquet from St. Andrews, and R. H. Tawney (who was an assistant history lecturer at the University from 1906 to 1908). The lecture programme gained impetus from 1907 but as with progress towards higher education, required financial resources and accommodation for students before it could offer comprehensive training.

At the same time the Settlement's search for new premises had implications for the future of its training programme. The Council still desired to fulfil Barnett's ideal of a residential base, but had been unsuccessful in attracting visitors to the Elliot Street Settlement.[12] The enforced move in 1907 had made the council reconsider its priorities, and the decision was taken to maintain a residence. Purchase of the tenement block at 75-83 Port Street meant that a whole house could be devoted to Settlement purposes, with ample room for residents as well as the necessary offices and meeting rooms.

Resident numbers did indeed rise following the move to 77 Port Street. There were always four workers in residence but never more than seven, so to 1914 the Settlement's eleven rooms were never filled to capacity. This owed something to the lighter, airier building, but more to the growing number of posts with pay. The Warden and Girls' Club Superintendant, who had to be resident under the terms of their appointments, were joined first in 1907 by a Joint-Warden (later replaced by a Subwarden), in 1908 by a social work student under the Anderson Scholarship (who later also became Superintendant of the Infant Milk Depot), and from 1911 by the holder of the Janet A. Galloway Scholarship for a trainee social worker. From 1910 an increasing number of women seeking social work training were also resident during their course of study.

This trend towards paid social workers clearly became part of the Settlement's strategy, although it was never envisaged that they would supplant volunteer help. However, volunteer help was not always reliable; indeed it was reported in 1909 that the 'increasing temporariness of workers' was becoming a problem.[13] The growth and diversification of Settlement work since 1897 had increased the need for helpers, but while volunteers could be found for the more popular tasks with children (such as helping in the Invalid Children school, and later Girls Club work and Infant Health visiting), few women undertook more than two Settlement commitments. Fewer than a dozen devoted workers were involved across the range of activities. There were also problems associated with the type of woman upon whom the QMS depended. Most College Settlements (including the GUSS at Possil) had notorious problems of continuity because they relied upon a transient student population. The QMS did not suffer a similar complete turnover of its workforce every few years (because, as noted earlier, most of its students lived in Glasgow) but it was susceptible because they were women from comfortable backgrounds. As noted in Chapter 4, it was practically impossible to maintain a year-round commitment in Anderston when nearly the whole workforce took a quarter of the year off in the summer. A surprisingly large minority left Glasgow for an extended period to travel with their families. The year 1890 from the diary of Miss Helen Story makes exhausting reading; in Glasgow till May, then to Edinburgh for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Back to Glasgow on 3 June, to London on the 5th; Aldershot and Oxford, London again, then to St Leonards-on-sea till 14 July; three weeks more in London. Back to Glasgow 30 July; Roseneath 18 August to 1 September; Dunbar till the end of September. Glasgow again on 1 October;

5, and also below on the formation of the Board of Studies.

[12] See Chapters 4 and 5.

[13] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR, 1908/9.*

Loch Awe from 3- 29, Glasgow and Edinburgh til the end of December. 26 December to Inverary for the New Year.[14] Furthermore, single women were the first to be summoned if their families required extra help, even if they were salaried social workers. The Superintendant Lizzie Lochhead resigned her post in 1908 'as she was needed more at home',and then negotiated a new contract by which she lived at home in Paisley over the summer and at the Settlement in Anderston for the Girls' Clubs over the winter.[15] The highly popular Sub-warden Miss Annie Harrison (daughter of the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway) resigned in 1911 'as she was wanted at home'.[16] In addition, towards 1914 several single women gave up Settlement work to take up other work, paid or otherwise. There is no evidence to suggest that circumstances now forced them to find paid employment. However they had given years of service to the Settlement, and perhaps this was an acceptable way of leaving. Reliance upon volunteer workers was therefore difficult especially as work broadened and diversified, and so much of it required reliable, regular assistance to build up regular habits like thrift among the local people.

The Settlement's internal evolution towards professionalising social work was accelerated by its response to external requests, mainly from statutory bodies. An example from 1907 demonstrates how an initiative with the Glasgow Medical Officer of Health (MOH) grew into the most extensive trained visitors' programme the Settlement had undertaken, and by its organisation, set the benchmark for similar schemes.

The Settlement's prime concern for the welfare of mothers and children naturally 'pushed them into a greater concern with good standards of health'.[17] Ante-natal care was minimal; women only visited a doctor if there were some complication, and domiciliary midwifery remained unsupervised until the Midwives (Scotland) Act, 1915. The Warden Miss Rutherfurd saw the potential for Settlement work among mothers with young children. She won the support of the Glasgow MOH Dr A. K. Chalmers, with her suggestion of starting up a restaurant for nursing mothers, but this initiative began instead in Cowcaddens in 1906.[18] At the same time she was 'anxious to have a day when mothers could bring their babies to be weighed and to talk about feeding, with perhaps a Health Visitor to attend';[19] this took the form of the Nurslings' Consultations, held weekly at the Settlement from October 1906 with the woman assistant MOH in attendance, and were the first of their kind in the city.[20] These were intended for children reared upon baby milk supplied by the Corporation but nursing mothers came too and the experiment 'proved a great success'. Thus the Warden again was approached by Dr Mary Gallagher, woman assistant MOH with the request that the Settlement might take over the running of the infant milk depot. The Settlement's response was prompt and positive; 'the Council thought this work would be very desirable'.[21] It offered the services of a lady superintendant and use of the club premises at 6 Washington Street as a depot, if the Corporation would pay for the wages of a server. The Anderston Milk Depot opened in September 1907.

This development should be set in the context of contemporary national and local

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[14] G. E. R. Young, *Elma and Helen Story: A Recollection* (Glasgow, 1948) 3-6.

[15] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 14 April and 8 Dec. 1908.

[16] *ibid.*, 11 Jan 1911.

[17] Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland.*

[18] Thomas Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914* (Edinburgh 1958) 519.

[19] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 11 Sept. 1906.

[20] A second scheme began shortly afterwards in Cowcaddens.

[21] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 14 May 1907.

concern about the state of the nation's health in the early 1900s. The high rejection rate among potential recruits for the Boer War on the grounds that they were medically unfit, and awareness of the tense international situation, raised a widespread national fear that men who could be called upon to fight might not be strong enough to do so.[22] 'Deficient vigour is nothing less than a national danger, an incipient national suicide,' declared one speaker in 1908. 'A few weeks ago I watched in Glasgow a procession of about 150 sandwich men advertising a theatre. Not more than ten per cent of them were up to a moderate standard of physique.'[23] He and other writers stressed the importance of giving children a good start in life, and especially of reducing the high rate of mortality amongst infants. Experimental regulations introduced first in France and then in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, had effectively halved the death rate among very young children by keeping a statutory eye upon them. The main measures introduced were early notification of births, prompt visits by trained health visitors, and continuing visits where necessary by volunteer helpers to support the mothers.

Glasgow was at the forefront of this campaign because of its very high infant mortality rate and poor physical state of children through inadequate diet in early life.[24] Dr Chalmers and Bailie W. F. Anderson, chairman of the city's health committee, travelled to France to discover what was being done, and resolved to improve municipal links with the maternity hospital and milk depots and to visit the children involved.[25] The Corporation had set up milk depots in 1903 to supply infant milk to mothers who were unable to nurse their own children.[26] The depots were targetted at those areas of the city which had a particularly high infant mortality rate, including Anderston and Cowcaddens. Anderston encompassed the 'notorious Brownfield district where there is a high death rate among infants,'[27] and it was second only to Cowcaddens in the number of streets blacklisted by the insurance companies, in which life insurance could not be sold. It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that Brownfield and Cowcaddens were two districts with the highest general death rate; one infant in every five died here, in comparison with wealthy areas like Hillhead and Pollokshields where infant deaths averaged one in thirteen.[28] It soon became apparent that the sale and distribution of milk required follow-up home visits, and in Glasgow this voluntary work was undertaken by the COS, QMS, churches and individuals.[29] Anderston QMS workers paid one home visit per month per month to those

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[22] Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland.* 47-8.

[23] SRA, T-PAR 19, 432, Canon Wilson, Pamphlet on the 'Health of Infants', a Paper to the Social Reform League of Worcester, 25 Feb. 1908.

[24] 'An Enquiry into the Physique of Glasgow Schoolchildren,' *Journal of the Royal Sanitary Institute*, vol. xxv. Part III 1904, Congress at Glasgow, quoted in Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 199.

[25] Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare*, 533-4.

[26] Leith was the first Scottish city to institute milk depots in 1903; Glasgow's first opened in Osborne Street in 1903, followed by Dundee a month later, and Edinburgh in 1905.

[27] *1909 RC. on PL.* , App. CXXI, Miss M. Rutherfurd.

[28] Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 192-3.

[29] Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 199. A range of other voluntary societies were founded at this time to promote health and hygiene: the Institute of Hygiene (1904), the National League for Health (1905), Maternity and Child Welfare, Infant Health Society (1903). H. Corr, 'Schoolgirls' Curriculum and the Ideology of the Home, 1870-1914,' Glasgow Women's Studies Group, *Uncharted Lives: extracts from Scottish Women's experiences*

babies receiving Corporation milk. Originally the retail dairies were responsible for the distribution and sale of milk but the MOHs were far from happy with the standard and conduct of their operation. They feared that the depots were exacerbating the problem, because unless milk was stored in cool, clean conditions it caused outbreaks of infant diarrhoea which was one of the principal causes of high infant mortality. In 1906 Dr Chalmers requested that action be taken to improve the milk supply, and submitted a report from the City Bacteriologist upon sediment found in milk from an Infant Milk Depot. 'The five deposits submitted consist of repulsive pultaceous masses composed of greyish dung-like material, interspersed with hairs and covered with dirty greyish slime.'[30] Medical dissatisfaction persisted despite the tightening of the Dairies order in 1906, and caused Dr Gallagher to approach Miss Rutherfurd in 1907: 'would the Settlement be willing to take over the distribution of milk from the milk depot, should the Corporation wish it. She's very dissatisfied with the way the dairies do it.'[31]

The Anderston Milk Depot supplied milk to mothers declared medically unable to nurse their own children at the cost of 2d. to 3d. per day, depending upon the baby's age. It would also assist nursing mothers, since the mother's health affected her ability to feed her child.[32] Dr Gallagher sometimes ordered pure milk to nourish the nursing mother to benefit the child, and there was a suggestion that mothers who required more nourishment be sent to Lockharts tearooms, but it is unclear if this ever happened.[33] The Depot registered fifty babies on its books in the first month. This figure had grown to seventy by March 1908, but then slipped again to forty-seven in November as the recession began to bite, although some were paid for by the COS. Numbers began to rise again in January 1909 when about a third of cases were supported by the Lord Provost's Fund and peaked at eighty-six in March but over half of these were dependent upon the Fund. When this help was reduced from May the number of babies supplied declined rapidly ('18 couldn't afford it, LPF stopped payment on 6').[34] In 1909 the authorities decided to close the milk depots; 'depot milk was no better than other forms of artificial feeding, if properly selected and prepared. Mainly, however, the notification of births and district visiting were yielding the information that previously the depot alone had supplied.'[35] Dr Chalmers notified the Settlement of the Depot's closure in September 1910 although medical consultations and vaccinations continued as before.[36] By then the supply of milk was incidental to the host of related activities it had spawned, both in response to legislation and as part of a city-wide programme, and on the Settlement's own initiative.

The QMS followed a now familiar pattern of exploiting the potential of one branch of work to reach a wider audience made available through the contacts opened up by running the infant milk scheme. Within months of the Depot's opening, the QMS instituted a course of simple medical lectures on Wednesday afternoons. This was followed by a basic cookery course which aimed to instruct in basic hygiene and simple wholesome food; the

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1850-1982 (Glasgow, 1983) 88.

[30] Quoted in Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare*, 240.

[31] GUA, QMCSA Minutes III, 14 May 1907.

[32] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR 1907/8.*

[33] In Cowcaddens the British Women's Temperance Association set up a dinner table for nursing and expectant mothers during the depression of 1908 where they could receive a hot dinner for a penny. Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 201.

[34] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 11 May 1909.

[35] Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 208-9.

[36] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 13 Sept. 1910.

guiding principles were 'an open fire and as few implements as possible'.[37] The opening of Mothers' Clubs also on Wednesday afternoons probably drew a number of former Girls' Club members, accustomed to Settlement ways. From 1912 the mothers' groups enjoyed excursions to Ardgoil with Corporation support. These were the forerunners of the Mothers' Camps of the interwar period, which aimed to give mothers a break – for most it was the first holiday since their marriage. Only children under twelve were allowed to accompany their mothers and volunteers from the College organised activities for them.[38]

The Settlement's own visiting campaign was boosted from January 1908 by the implementation of the Early Notification of Births Act which effectively created the Maternity and Child Welfare Services. This embodied one of the principles referred to above in which perinatal deaths could be reduced by alerting the authorities to a birth so that the mother could be visited and health risks reduced. Previously, the Registration Act permitted twenty-one days to elapse between birth and registration, by which time many infants were dead, so the registration of birth and death might be simultaneous.[39] The new Scottish Act required the father to notify the authorities of a birth within thirty-six hours, and then the baby and mother were visited in their home by a trained health visitor for the first year of the baby's life. Visits took place fortnightly or monthly for the first three months, then less frequently up to six months and only in certain cases up to a year 'where the Inspector considers the mother ignorant or neglectful'.[40] The efficacy of the campaign depended on the supply of visitors, which in Glasgow relied upon volunteers, so the campaign concentrated upon four wards with the highest death rate. Anderston was an obvious target and the QMS became the base for operations there. The Public Health Department requested the Settlement's assistance, and volunteer visitors worked under the guidance of trained senior women medical students. Visits were noted on report cards and monthly returns sent to the MOH. Local committees were co-ordinated from November 1908 when the Anderston (Settlement) branch of the Glasgow Infant Health Visitors' Association was formally instituted; Misses Amelia Watson and Marion Rutherfurd were asked to join, and Miss Galloway to be Vice-President.[41] The QMS had of course already undertaken visiting for the Corporation Milk Depot, but this was extended greatly by the demands of the Act. From 190 babies visited in 1907 the number increased to 302 in 1909, by over thirty volunteer visitors. Infant visiting became one of the most popular branches of Settlement activity. In 1911/12 it was reported that 'thirty-nine ladies have visited three hundred new brothers and sisters of the babies visited last year. The visitor's hope is socialistic rather than an individualistic one. She hardly dares hope for much improvement in the individual baby she visits but feeds her hopes on a future generation of healthy babies whom her preaching may have helped in some measure to make possible.'[42]

It would be fascinating to know what exactly the ladies said, and how it was received, but sadly no Settlement records remain. However, a contemporary study conducted by

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[37] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR 1910/11.*

[38] I am grateful to Miss Winnie Carnie, student volunteer at the QMS in the 1930s, for her memories of the Mothers' Camps. Notes taken at a conversation in 1988.

[39] Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 201.

[40] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR 1908/9.*

[41] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 10 Nov. 1908. Dr Chalmers wrote later 'the movement has now been in enthusiastic operation for more than twenty years, rendering valuable aid to the (Public Health) Department in this work for the reduction of infant mortality'. Chalmers, *Health of Glasgow*, 200.

[42] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR 1910/11.*

the Fabian Women's group in London offers a sometimes surprising insight into domestic economy in a comparable social setting. Conducted over a longer period than the Glasgow dietary study, it enabled the investigators to build up quite a relationship of respect for the women, and this closer observance is more informative about the quality of women's family life. The subject was the effect of sufficient nourishment upon mother and child, both before and after the birth, and the district chosen centred upon a weighing clinic to which the babies were brought regularly. 'The mothers are reported to be suspicious and reserved, some grateful, some critical.... She generally appeared to be conscious that the strange lady would like to sit in a draught, and if complimented on her knowledge of fresh air ... might repeat in a weary manner commonplaces on the subject which had obviously been picked up from a doctor or nurse.'[43] As far as the QMS is concerned, it is reasonable to suppose that their advice centred on similar good practice in basic hygiene and infant feeding because it seems unlikely that the young but often second- or third-time mothers would actively seek advice from these rather older, childless ladies. It is tempting to suggest a charge of patronising but this is not borne out by the obvious popularity of the Mothers' Clubs and lectures among the Anderston mothers; if they had felt patronised surely they would not have continued to attend. The clue to their success may underlie a comment by Marion Rutherfurd on the School Board's afternoon classes in childcare and cookery, 'the results are good as far as they go but the women who attend are too respectable,'[44] of the 'hat' rather than 'shawl' category. The level of teaching reinforced the mothers attending in what they were already doing – in other words they were not those most in need of the basic wisdom the QMS offered. Perhaps also membership of Settlement clubs was seen as an upwardly mobile activity, providing weekly contact for 'aspiring women' with ladies who were interested in them, whom they wanted to please, which raised their social expectations. The hope may have been that those 'aspiring' women attending the QMS would exert a similar good influence upon their neighbours, including the 'shawlies', rather as the QMS hoped to spread a good influence by the behaviour of its own tenants to the whole neighbourhood.[45]

The establishment of the Infant Health visiting programme had implications both for the area and for the QMS. It defined the categories and districts of greatest need more precisely than before; it also provided the first reasonably comprehensive visiting scheme to cover them, which has been built upon to the present day. At the same time it highlighted the difficulty of reaching those who were in the least stable financial and family situation who most needed the support of the health visitor. A report in 1912 noted the 'difficulty of constant removals - the families who need to be followed up most often get lost'.[46] Such families were not helped by other measures designed to help families. The introduction of Maternity Benefit in 1911 under the National Insurance Scheme benefitted only the insured or the insured's spouse. It provided thirty shillings, on condition that the mother abstained from work one week before and four weeks after the birth. Even

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[43] Pember Reeves, *Round about a Pound a Week*, 16.

[44] *1909 RC. on PL.*, App. CXXI, Miss M. Rutherfurd, 7.

[45] See Chapter 5, Workmen's dwellings initiative. A similar development occurred in Toynbee Hall's educational programme; those attending were the 'best sort' of working men interested in self-improvement from all over London, not the indigenous poor of the neighbourhood. Barnett, however, considered that the aspiring lower middle-classes (clerks, elementary-school teachers) were as much in need of improvement as the very poor, or they would become unbearably smug. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 58-9.

[46] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR 1911/12.*

this could go astray however; a Glasgow report in 1913 noted that 'the husband drinks it all or takes two weeks off'.[47] Despite shortcomings, the changes in statutory maternity and child welfare marked a changing awareness of the valuable role the state could play in helping to promoted the survival and health of its future citizens.

The visiting programme was also important for the Settlement's strategic development. Once again it set the pattern adopted throughout the city. Speaking in 1909 Dr Chalmers acknowledged the contribution made by the QMS to infant visiting, 'begun at his request by volunteer workers from the Settlement from which had grown a unique movement in the formation of the Infant Health Visitation Association which had branches in every part of the city'.[48] Furthermore, it fitted exactly the Settlement's declared concern with women and children's welfare, and it appealed greatly to volunteer helpers so it was easier to staff. For training purposes, it built upon and radically extended the existing visiting programme developed for the COS and CSB in Anderston, and capitalised on Settlement's links with the College in that visitors were trained by their own student colleagues.

At the same time demand for social-work training was developing outwith the QMS. Growing opportunities in social work began to feature in women's books. 'One of the newest [areas] open to an educated woman, offering fresh fields for all kinds of social activities ... and one peculiarly suited to feminine capabilities.'[49] The two major requirements were, according to another source, 'a great fund of sympathy and understanding of human nature. Added to this, a regular course of training ... to fit her for that particular branch of service which she wishes to take up.'[50] The importance of training was stressed repeatedly: 'help could not be healing unless based upon knowledge;'[51] 'social problems would not be solved until we acquire for social workers something like the education required for clergy and doctors'.[52] Such emphasis led to an increased demand for training, seen in the rise in applications for Settlement residence and experience. Numbers rose gradually at first, from two in 1908 to three in 1909, but by 1911/12 there were four women in residence for about a year and four more for a shorter period.

Moreover the demand for training was boosted by the Liberal Welfare reforms from 1906 to 1911. These created a number of paid posts in the new Labour Exchanges, National and health Insurance schemes, the probation service, and welfare services in large firms, all of which required specialised training. But by far the greatest need for information and training arose from those already engaged in welfare work, Poor Law and Trade Union officials, church and charity workers, who needed to keep abreast of new developments. Miss Hilda Cashmore, of Bristol University Settlement and later of the Manchester School of Social Study, identified a wide variety of skills which could be required by those under the umbrella of social work: 'administration, personnel and business organisation, casework, teacher training, or more specific training for almoners, health visitors, women police or probation officers, workers with the blind or mentally defective.'[53]

The QMS was extremely well-placed to respond to this need. Under the leadership

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[47] Dr Barbara Sutherland, quoted in Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare*, 521.

[48] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR 1908/9.*

[49] G. E. Mitton (ed.), *The Englishwoman's Yearbook and Directory* (London, 1914) 151.

[50] Florence B. Jack (ed.), *The Woman's Book* (London, 1911) 691.

[51] GUA, *QMCSA 11th AR 1907/8*, Principal McAlister.

[52] GUA, *QMCSA 12th AR 1908/9.*

[53] Hilda Cashmore, *Notes on the Training of Students in the Principles and Practice of Social Work* (Manchester, c. 1930).

of Miss Helen Story and Mrs Francis Charteris,[54], the Joint-Committee became more ambitious. In May 1908 a resolution was passed 'urging the City authorities and the University to take steps to provide for education in the duties of citizenship and social service by the establishment of special classes'.[55] As with the struggle to achieve university education for women, those interested had to prove that demand existed for such courses and to demonstrate their commitment by arranging lecture courses, with examination for a diploma. Mr J. H. Jones of the men Students' Settlement joined the Committee and under his direction the Diploma course was developed and extended every year.

The basis of the course was set out at the head of the first syllabus in 1909. 'It is strongly felt by those who are engaged in any kind of public or social work that their practical training ought to be supplemented by some systematic instruction in the history and theory of social economics if the best results are to be obtained. The problems that such workers are called upon to face demand for their solution more knowledge than can be gained from practical experience alone...'[56] This preamble recalls several points outlined above, notably the desire of QMS workers to set the conditions they encountered in the context of contemporary thinking on poverty, and the priority given to training by the COS. 'Every trained charity organiser becomes in his turn a centre of charity organisation, effective in proportion to his grasp of principle and the strength of his conviction.'[57] However the COS's emphasis upon individuals' training was superseded here by the consideration that more would be achieved by taking a collective, wider view of social problems, which was closely allied to the Progressive view of the 'organic' nature of society.[58] Clearly there was no longer any room for a 'dilettante' approach to welfare work; to render the most effective help, all workers required instruction both in the causes and effects of social conditions, and in current legislation, in order to see what they could aim for in their own speciality, and further, how this would complement and reinforce other efforts. Moreover the mention of 'solutions' strikes an optimistic tone, suggesting that real progress could be made if such an 'organic' and methodical approach were adopted.

The first year consisted of twenty-one lectures held over three terms, and one conference held in the spring. Lectures took place at the University on Friday evenings so that working men and women could attend, and the fees were kept low at six shillings for the whole series. Encouraged by the response ('the first year now passed was eminently successful'[59]), the following year the Joint-Committee planned a similar course of lectures extended to include tutorial classes, and pursued the idea of awarding a diploma in social work. The *Annual Reports* indicate that they also contacted similar institutions in London

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[54] Mrs Francis Charteris was formerly Annie Fraser Kedie, daughter of Robert Kedie, a partner in the firm Stewart and Macdonald and extensively involved in the public and philanthropic life of Glasgow. Her mother was also very active in the Westbourne Free Church, the GUWW, and in the QMS from its inception. She and her two daughters all attended QMC at various times, where Annie graduated in Latin in 1905. In 1907 Annie married Frank Charteris (son of a medical professor at Glasgow University) a Glasgow medical graduate who became Professor of Materia Medica at St Andrews University from 1920-48.

[55] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 8 June 1908.

[56] GUA, *Glasgow School of Social Study and Social Training (G.S.S.T.), Syllabi* 1909-1943.

[57] GUA, *COS Occasional Paper 11.*

[58] See Chapter 1.

[59] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR 1909/10.*

and Liverpool but there is no evidence of advice or information received so it is unclear if it influenced subsequent developments. The University authorities, however, deemed the diploma to be 'premature'[60] so the Joint-Committee decided in the meantime to hold its own examination upon theoretical work and award a certificate signed by the lecturers. In the next session, the syllabus was expanded again to make practical work an integral part of training; a minimum of twelve hours per week was required either at the QMS or the COS.

Early in 1912 the Joint-Committee took the decision to reform itself as a Board of Studies to incorporate representatives from other public bodies. This increased the breadth of support; the Board now included members from both the Glasgow and Govan School Boards, Glasgow Parish Council, the University, the Scottish Christian Social Union and the Students' Settlement in addition to the three founder members. However the QMS still predominated; thirteen of the twenty-seven-strong Board were also members of the Settlement Council. Three of these were ex-officio, two were nominated Settlement representatives, two were co-opted and the rest were there on behalf of other organisations, chiefly the COS, GUWW and School Boards. Such a remarkable degree of overlap indicates again how widely Settlement influence was spread through its personnel into other organisations.

In April 1912 the Board launched the School of Social Study and Social Training under the auspices of the University. 'The demand for workers has been so great in recent years that men and women with no training have been called upon to assist in the administration of laws dealing with social conditions.... They should be able to show some systematic training in social work and attained to a certain standard of efficiency, as would be assured by a certificate or diploma of a recognised School of Social Study.'[61] The School pressed ahead on two fronts, by continuing to organise thematic series of public lectures for general interest, and by further improving the scope and scale of formal training courses to a diploma qualification. The general lecture series were organised on a termly basis with such themes as 'Some problems of Modern Industry,' 'The Health of the Nation,"Child and State'. Just under two-thirds of those attending the general lectures also enrolled on the diploma courses.

Diplomas were awarded with the sanction of the University after the completion of two years' satisfactory study. The Ordinary Diploma was granted after examination for a part-time course of theoretical study with sufficient practical work to illustrate it, and the Endorsed Diploma after examination on full-time study combined with a specific course of practical training at a named institution. The course was intended to be 'philosophical in a wider sense, intended to train the imaginative reason rather than to impart a detailed body of knowledge,'[62] yet the nature of the lectures was essentially practical. Typically, they described the current workings of the system, be it 'The Present Treatment of the Feeble-minded' or 'Trades Schools', considered its shortcomings, noting recent inquiries and reports, and suggested possible solutions and future direction. All the lecturers were actively involved in the field they described; for example, the work of the Public Health Department was outlined by Dr A. K. Chalmers, the Glasgow Distress Committee and Unemployment by a Councillor member of that committee, and Education and Industrial Legislation by Dr Henry Dyer, an educational writer and prominent member of the Glas-

[60] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 15 Nov. 1910.
[61] GUA, *G.S.S.T., Syllabus 1912-13.*
[62] 'The Training of Social Workers', *GH*, 11 Oct, 1912.

gow School Board.[63] Four lecturers (in Political and Moral Philosophy, Social Economics and Economic History) gave the general lectures on the Diploma Course: only one, Miss Maud May, came from the QMS, and she was also Tutor in Arts at Queen Margaret College.

The QMS's annual report in 1911 rejoiced in the public response to the School's programme; 'the success of the scheme points to the fact that the lectures are supplying a real need.'[64] It is worth asking who attended these courses, and why they chose to study for a qualification rather than simply absorb the information from lectures. The first register of students gives some details of home addresses and future posts but sadly it is incomplete; nonetheless some general points can be made about the student intake and changing trends in the first decade of training. Women had, of course, been trained at the Settlement since 1909. They and the first students at the School were mainly Scots (though fewer than a third had degrees) and they were reasonably well-off; board alone at the Settlement cost twenty-three shillings a week which was a week's wage for many a working family man.[65] As with early women students in higher education, many did not take the full qualification, and because the records are incomplete, we cannot know how many subsequently engaged in social work. With the School's foundation in 1912, men were also accepted although women continued to predominate. The men were already employed (as church ministers, WEA organisers or Poor Law officials) and so studied part-time for the Ordinary Diploma, as a form of in-service training. However, two major influences increased opportunities for women's employment in social work.

As noted above, the Liberal welfare reforms in the first decade of the twentieth century increased the variety of posts available for trained, qualified workers. The majority of students took posts in the Labour (later Employment) Exchanges, or in manufacturing and commercial firms as Welfare Supervisors. A large minority went to work with children, becoming health visitors, teachers, or club leaders. A handful became hospital almoners or factory inspectors. Women who possessed a degree and considerable Settlement experience could attain senior civil service posts: Dorothy Allan (M.A.Glas.) formerly Settlement Sub-warden, became a Chief Inspector for the National Health Insurance scheme (in 1912); Alice Younger (M.A.Cantab.) Convener of the Settlement Council, was appointed Organiser for Women's Labour Exchanges in Scotland at the same time.[66]

In addition the outbreak of war in 1914 increased the number of social work posts for women, for example, by increasing the employment of women in munitions factories. War raised demand for new courses from the School, including one for Factory Welfare Supervisors for the Ministry of Munitions. The widening intake was assisted by the availability of grants from the Carnegie Trust after 1917. Although the records are sketchy, it seems that in 1918/19 still roughly half those attending the lectures took the diploma. Those who did not, did not have jobs either, those who gained the ordinary or (more frequently) the endorsed diploma were already employed, suggesting that the diploma was useful for future employment. New posts in employment exchanges or welfare supervision predominated.[67]

The establishment of the Board of Studies in 1912 completed the School's official

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[63] Further biographical information upon Dr Dyer appears in Chapter 4.

[64] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

[65] Professor Smart estimated the basic living wage for a married man at 24s. in the 1890s. Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare*, 63.

[66] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 8 Oct. 1912.

[67] GUA, G.S.S.T., Rollbook 1911-42.

separation from the Settlement, although each had a lasting effect on the other. The Board expressed a strong wish that 'the School and Settlement should keep in touch and co-operate in every way possible as before'.[68] This was certainly the case up to and beyond the First World War, as the continued referral of policy matters back and forth from Board of Studies to Settlement Council, and the strong interpersonal links testify.

For instance, despite the noted high proportion of members common to both, the Board of Studies always sought consultation with the Settlement Council upon major matters of School policy. In 1910 the question of the diploma preoccupied both bodies. The Council 'would like to hear the Committee's views; they recognise the use of a diploma but consider it would mean considerable extra expense'.[69] In 1911 Miss Story sought the Settlement Council's view on the question of endorsing past work. 'For the Settlement, the Warden thought she would be justified in endorsing the certificate of someone whom she considered had already passed the qualifying training.'[70]

The Settlement continued to be very important to the School until the Second World War, not least because it continued to be the main base for illustrative work for the Ordinary Diploma, and the favoured student choice for the Endorsed Diploma. The Settlement charged £5 while COS training was free, yet more students chose to train at the Settlement. A survey of fees from the 1914 *Englishwoman's Yearbook* indicates that the charge for the Glasgow course was quite reasonable although it is difficult to work out a common basis for comparison. The University of Birmingham charged £7-1-6 for one session with board and practical work; Alexandra College Dublin charged £15 for two terms; the Women's University Settlement in London charged 12 guineas per session and then £60 for board, while the Lady Margaret Hall Settlement required £48 p.a. for residents' fees. The Glasgow diploma fee was one guinea for one year or £3-5 for two for the endorsed course, and then additional fees for practical work and board. Furthermore, QMS was one of only two places offering a scholarship for social study, the other being the Victoria women's Settlement in Liverpool.[71]

Settlements were seen as the most thorough training ground for students. COS training was valuable for experience of casework, but Settlement activities were wider-ranging and gave greater organisational experience, 'programme-making, expenses, committee minutes, records'.[72] *The Englishwoman's Yearbook* recommended that it was 'desirable to pass through a University course of Economics followed up by a year's practical work at a Settlement.... As demand at present exceeds supply there is every chance of obtaining a post after Settlement experience.' Hence the QMS was selected to provide the illustrative experience required for the Ordinary Diploma. Indeed a survey of women's Settlements for *The Englishwoman's Yearbook* indicates that the QMS had a particularly extensive range of activities so the fees there represented good value for money.[73] In addition, the QMS sometimes undertook investigations for other agencies: for example, in 1910 all students were engaged in research for Professor Noel Paton's dietary study.[74] Trainee students were expected to share fully in every aspect of Settlement activity; Miss E. R. Jamieson, scholarship student in 1910, was involved in nine separate branches of service from COS

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[68] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR 1912/13*, final report of Lectures Committee.
[69] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 13 Sept. 1910.
[70] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 14 Nov. 1910.
[71] Mitton, *Englishwomen's Yearbook*, 273.
[72] Cashmore, *Notes on Training.*
[73] Mitton (ed.), *The Englishwoman's Yearbook*, 275-8.
[74] See Chapter 5.

visiting to three different girls' clubs. The residential experience lent an extra dimension to training, as well as being a convenient combination of home and work base for students. Miss Cashmore argued forcefully for the value of residential experience for those contemplating a social work career. Included among her 'essential methods' was that 'every student should live in a working class or industrial district ... should become familiar with with the centres of working class life.... No visiting can give the same training as residence. It is abundantly clear that unless a University Settlement can be so organised as to be adaptable ... as a practising school for students, such a thorough training is impossible.'[75]

The School also had a major impact upon the life and work of the Settlement. Clearly it provided a valuable pool of labour to support the volunteer workforce, and one which required experience across the range of activities. A brief survey of a cross-section of Settlement activities indicates that student help supplemented but did not supplant the volunteer workforce. A student presence of five or six was hardly noticeable among fifty Infant Health visitors, but it revitalised the Western Infirmary visiting team which had never numbered more than four, and provided essential backbone to mainstream efforts, such as the COS office when support declined in 1912. The QMS formulated its policy on students as it went along. For example, after the unsatisfactory episode with the Joint-Warden, all residents were required to serve a probationary month before final acceptance for training. Again, considering fees for non-residential training, the Conference Committee found it 'a little difficult to settle a fair fee for practical work'[76] and so left it up to the training society. The COS declined to charge at all; the QMS debated one or three guineas and settled on the former although the Treasurer preferred the greater amount.[77] However the fee was debated again before the course began; 'three students had agreed to the old price and now needs were greater'. It was recommended that the old fees stood.[78]

The supervision of students fell to the Warden, which reinforced her seniority. The Warden's role increased in scope, status, and salary (from £50 to £80) in fourteen years. Under her original contract, Miss Rutherfurd was a glorified maid-of-all-work 'housekeeping for herself and the residents, carrying on all the work of the Settlement and training workers who may present themselves'.[79] This was a much lowlier post than that advertised concurrently for the Warden of Women's University Settlement following Miss Bannatyne's resignation: 'What is wanted is a lady of good education, with a genuine interest in social questions and faculties of initiation and guidance. The Warden is exempt from all troubles of housekeeping. Salary is £150 p.a.'[80] The QMS Warden could take part only in service which had direct bearing on Settlement work, hence the controversy on the Settlement Council when she was invited to stand as a candidate in the Parish Council elections in 1904 and 1907.[81] In subsequent years the Warden was called further afield to serve on national committees, by civil servants who included former Settlement colleagues: she became a member of the Central Committee for Scotland on Women's Unemployment, and Convener of the Sub-committee on Juvenile Employment. The workload told on Miss Rutherfurd's health; on 14 February 1911 she was sent on immediate leave

[75] Cashmore, *Notes on Training.*
[76] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 13 Dec. 1910.
[77] *ibid.*, 11 April 1911.
[78] *ibid.*, 12 Sept. 1911.
[79] GUA, QMCSA Minutes I, 15 Jan. 1901.
[80] *COR*, vol. IX, Jan-Jul. 1901.
[81] See Chapter 4.

to rest in the south of France and later underwent a 'serious' operation. The Warden returned to her post the same year but the work continued to affect her health, especially with the increased demands of wartime. She died in 1919, aged fifty. Clearly the QMS Council had seriously underestimated the potential of the Warden's role in salary and status in 1901. However, Miss Rutherfurd was able to carve out her own role in the newly-created post, in accordance with her interests and the needs she perceived, and her training at the WUS gave her a high ideal of what might be achieved. Her own personality and commitment made an enormous impact upon the scope and scale of Settlement activity in Anderston and did much to boost its public profile, with no dissension among the Council apart from that over the Parish Council. On her death the *Glasgow Herald* and Anderston Girls' Club Magazine each carried obituary notices; the former acknowledged her 'long connection with the COS ... large share in the management of the Cottage Hospital at Strathblane ... association with the Poor Law for eleven years, as a member of Glasgow Parish Council ... particular interest in Invalid Children's aid at the Settlement'. The Club's tribute was more personal; 'some members were perhaps a little afraid of her grave, stern manner, but she had a genuine interest in the Club.... The thought of what Miss Rutherfurd would say was wholesome.'[82]

Within the Settlement the Warden and Sub-warden between them became responsible for most branches of work as well as the co-ordination of students and voluntary workers: one Warden was always responsible for the COS office; the name of Miss Turnbull (Subwarden replaced that of Miss Snodgrass (long-serving Treasurer) upon the CSB cards in 1913; Miss Rutherfurd remained at the head of the Invalid Children's Aid committee until 1914 when a further paid post was created to head the work; the Wardens similarly took responsibility for hospital and Infant Health visiting. Similarly, the Club Superintendant's role broadened from the original job description. In addition to developing the two Girls' Clubs into multifarious Children's, Boys', and Married Women's groups, Miss Lochhead was occasionally called out to help start up girls' clubs as far afield as Dunblane. However her sphere of involvement remained principally within Anderston and increased as she chose. She undertook rent-collection for the tenement property, and later took over its management from Miss Amelia Watson; she became a health visitor and proposed an extension of the work by offering to attend the doctor's baby clinic to get to know the mothers.

This is not to imply that trained and paid professional social workers assumed greater standing and responsibility than the rest. There was a 'continuum' in social service between voluntary and paid workers. Hilda Cashmore defined a social worker as 'a man or woman who specialises in some expert branch of social service of the country, professionally or voluntarily'.[83] Expertise was important, not a salaried position. Indeed, much depended upon the voluntary work continuing; Anne Summers states that 'many of the earliest state welfare provisions were predicated upon the continuing existence of a substantial workforce of voluntary women visitors' and because there were relatively few paid posts available, 'the volunteer army was in little danger of being transformed into regulars'.[84] Glasgow had a hierarchy of women involved across the spectrum of social work who became professional either by training and qualification, or by long-term involvement in a particular field. The Wardens were always on hand because they lived on the premises, but they were simply 'first among equals', while the survival of the Settlement depended

[82] *GH, 3 Feb. 1919.*; GUA, 49.22/99, Anderston Girls' Club Magazine, 1919.
[83] Cashmore, *Notes on Training*, 2.
[84] Summers, '"A Home from Home"', Burman (ed.), *Fit Work for Women*, 57.

upon a 'hard core' of women, some of whom gave years of service and effectively ran the various branches. For example, Lucy Johnstone, through her work with both the GUWW and the Settlement's Skilled Employment Committee, joined the Advisory Board to the Glasgow Juvenile training Committee of the Labour Exchange when it came under state control in 1911; Miss Mary Snodgrass, the indefatigable QMS Treasurer, also ran the CSB for many years.

The development represented by the School of Social Training had major implications for the future direction of the QMS. In 1912 the feeling was expressed that the QMS's original vision was being hijacked by the emphasis upon training. 'The Council would emphasize that the main aim of the Settlement's existence is not to train professional workers. Settlements were founded to bring about between different members of the social world a more friendly relationship ... and so lead to kinder mutual understanding, based upon real knowledge gained at first hand.'[85] Yet the importance of training could not be overlooked; at the same meeting Mrs Hannay spoke of 'the development of social work among women and the ever-increasing need of a large body of efficient trained volunteer workers in order that social legislation can be fully carried out'. Training was not the stated priority, yet it held the key to the future in two ways; by ensuring the Settlement's own survival, and by providing a very useful springboard into further unpaid service or professional advancement for many women who worked there.

A further significant development was the increasing use made of the QMS as a base for inquiries into social conditions. This recalls a discussion in the opening chapter on the rising school of 'Progressive' thought. The traditional COS view that poverty was caused by weakness in character was superseded by the broad church of Progressive reformers who agreed that character was important, but that the individual was sometimes at the mercy of forces outwith his control. Tawney maintained that 'the problem of poverty is not a problem of individual character and its waywardness but a problem of economic and industrial organisation'.[86] The existing social and economic system required some adjustment, but not radical alteration, in order to allow all to compete fairly. Investigations into the problems of poverty had to take place on a local scale and the QMS was repeatedly pressed into service as a local base for inquiries in Anderston. Mr John Mann's description of the QMS as a 'sociological laboratory' in 1908 probably sounded a little fanciful to a Council preoccupied with premises and personnel, but by 1913 similar descriptions carried more conviction as speakers repeatedly underlined the scientific nature of social inquiry. For Miss M. M. Paterson, 'one of the most important parts was to give workers the opportunity, not only for philanthropic effort but also for scientific inquiry.' The Revd. John White spoke of the greatest need being the scientific study of social problems.[87] The QMS proved its value to such studies over the years; the Warden was approached for her assistance with various researches for the Christian Social Union and the the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, in addition to the small-scale studies undertaken by diploma students in their second year, and the large-scale dietary study for Professor Paton.

At the same time, Settlement initiatives became useful as pilot studies. 'The Settlement afforded an opportunity badly needed for doing experimental work ... where new ideas could be tested on a small scale from which ideas could be applied to a wider

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[85] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR 1911/12*

[86] Quoted in E. T. Young and A. F. Ashton, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1967) Chapter 4. See also Chapter 4.

[87] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR 1912/13.*

sphere.' The speaker cited the examples of the Skilled Employment Committee and the Invalid Children's School 'largely initiated by the Settlement [now] passed out of their control into a wider sphere'.[88] Miss Helen Story argued similarly; 'the volunteer ... brings the personal touch to bear, can try schemes which need development before recognition by the State as deserving State support, and bring pressure to bear on the state to amend existing or introduce new provision for social needs'. She also quoted Sidney Webb, 'We need the voluntary workers to be the eyes and fingers of the Public Authority'. Furthermore she emphasized the need to publish and disseminate the results; 'there is a wide service too, to perform in educating public opinion – getting people to see what is wrong and to want to have it different. That is the only way to build effectively and permanently, for you may have the clearest vision yourself, but if you cannot convince other people you will remain on your mount of vision alone.'[89]

One of the many effects of the Liberal welfare reforms upon the QMS was that it extended some branches (Infant Health visiting, social work training) and curtailed others which had been very dear to many workers (Invalid Children's school, Skilled Employment). The main loss to the QMS in the later years was a large part of the work of the Skilled Employment Committee. During the lean years of the depression, the Committee had extended its brief to find suitable posts for all school-leavers, not just former Invalid-school pupils. About a dozen applications were received per month; the boys went to apprenticeships in shipbuilding-yards, or to be machinists, while the majority of girls went into service or were apprenticed to dressmakers. Miss Bannerman, who had done much to extend the work, resigned as Convener in Autumn 1909 and was succeeded by Miss Lucy O. Johnstone, a member of the GUWW like Miss Bannerman, and also the GUWW representative on the Settlement Council. Unusually, she was active both in the QMS (by convening this committee) and in the GUWW (where she was Secretary for the National conference held in Glasgow in 1911), which later placed her in a slightly awkward position.

At the end of 1910 the QMS Secretary reported that various organisations had been invited to send representatives to the Glasgow Juveniles' Training Advisory Committee at the Labour Exchange, and that she had written to London outlining the work done by the QMS and asking if it might be represented. The Council agreed that if asked, Miss Johnstone should go.[90] The Board of Trade denied the request but mentioned that the GUWW had adopted Miss Johnstone as its representative. The QMS secretary retorted that that was incidental: the impression given in the Minutes is that the QMS's experience in this field was being overlooked. Nonetheless, Miss Johnstone's position on the Advisory Committee did enable the QMS to co-operate with the Labour Exchange, although the Skilled Employment Committee had difficulty in working out a new role. The QMS Secretary consulted with the Central Apprenticeship Committee in London and the WUS in Southwark for advice on co-operation with the Juvenile Advisory Committee, but a report in 1911 indicated its uncertainty: 'When the new Advisory Committee on Juvenile Employment has found its feet and decided on its course of action, the future of this committee will be determined for it.'[91]

In fact the relationship between the QMS and Labour Exchange worked out satisfactorily for the Settlement. The Skilled Employment Committee became the nucleus of the

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[88] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR 1912/3*, Councillor Marr, Manchester.

[89] Young, *Elma and Helen*, 19.

[90] GUA, *QMCSA Minutes, 13 Dec. 1910.*

[91] GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.*

Advisory Committee for Anderston, while the QMS became the local base of the Labour Exchange for registering juvenile applications for work; it also received from the Labour Exchange lists of available posts and sent children along to see if they were suitable. However the opening of the Labour Exchange to juveniles in 1910 halved applications to the Skilled Employment Committee, from 128 in 1909/10 to 64 in 1910/1911, many of whom were physically or mentally defective children. Thus the Committee reverted to its original work of finding employment for invalid children, although again it would not handle mentally-defective cases, insisting that they should go 'to the parish'. This still left the Committee under-employed, which was solved by taking on work as the Anderston After-Care Committee. This was described in a subsequent report as 'the most necessary and most interesting part' because it addressed the problem which the Skilled Employment Committee had already encountered, of keeping an eye upon apprentices to ensure that they completed their training.[92] At a monthly meeting at the Settlement, the After-Care Committee received from the Labour Exchange the names of school-leavers, and appointed a visitor for each child. Twenty visitors covered 120 children. At the first visit, some were found to be in good homes and satisfactory employment so visits were discontinued; however 'many are in what should be regarded as "temporary " work, and they are visited and advised till they are settled in some suitable occupation'.[93]

The experience of the Skilled Employment Committee indicates that working out a role in such a period of rapid change could be a very uncertain and sometimes painful business. Miss Sharpley, Warden of the WUS in London, acknowledged this when she spoke to the QMS in 1910; '... uniformity in Settlements is undesirable. One of the most important qualities is mental alertness, readiness when a fresh need arises, when an old one is satisfied and when the Settlement ought to turn its hand to a fresh experiment. When a branch is ready to be cut, they should be willing to cut it adrift, no matter how fond they were of it.'[94] Although it must have been a wrench to lose control, it was vital that the QMS was never allowed to stagnate. Its continued usefulness depended upon constant adaptation to changing circumstances and it flourished because it was suited to the general intellectual, political and social fluidity of its age. Admittedly the rate of change was very rapid in this decade but nevertheless the QMS strove to keep pace and remain relevant and succeeded rather well. In the year in which the QMS and the School of Social Studies officially separated, the suggestion of the nursery school arose.[95] The initiative seems to typify the QMS; it was a response to a gap in provision, it aimed to do something worthwhile with children, it involved official co-operation with the Glasgow School Board and it was a first for Scotland, by implementing the method of Dr Montessori ('not yet put into practice in Scotland ... it would be a valuable experiment to see how far it could be adapted to children of the north').[96]

In conclusion, it has been demonstrated that the QMS played a significant part in establishing social work as a profession in Scotland. Aspects of the Settlement's own genesis and development, in particular the influence of the WUS and the COS from its own senior members, encouraged the trend towards training. Moreover the QMS was well-

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[92] See Chapter 4.

[93] GUA, *QMCSA 16th AR, 1912/13.*

[94] GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR 1909/10.*

[95] See Chapter 5.

[96] *A Pioneer of Catholic Teacher-Training in Scotland*, Studies from the Notre Dame Archives, vol. 1, Autumn 1978, 41-2, notes that the Infant Mistress of Notre Dame School, Glasgow, anticipated to some extent, the Montessori method around 1897.

placed to advance training by its relations with College and University, and again its links with the COS and WUS, and because its women were treated with respect in the city. However it is paradoxical that the middle-class, educated, dynamic women who built the QMS were at once its greatest asset, seeking to develop and expand the work and learn more about social conditions, and also its weak link by being unavailable all year round, which accelerated the drive towards paid professionalism. The training programme was fuelled by the enormous demand from external groups through the innovative changes in state welfare. It also had the effect of widening the Settlement's workforce to include men, and women from lower social strata than the first QMS workers, providing them with the opportunity to enter a paid profession. Furthermore, it is apparent that although the School of Social Studies separated from the Settlement, it continued to have a great impact on it, by providing a ready supply of workers, continuing the momentum, and ensuring its continued usefulness.

7: Conclusion.

This study has examined the formative years of the QMS in Glasgow, from its inception in 1897 until the outbreak of war in 1914. In conclusion, four main questions will be considered about the QMS in this period: how did the QMS fit Barnett's original Settlement ideal, and consequently how many of the criticisms levelled at Barnett's Toynbee Hall were equally valid for the QMS? how far did the QMS fulfil its original aims? what was the impact of the QMS upon Anderston? and what the effect of the QMS upon the lives of those women who had worked there?

In brief, the hallmarks of Barnett's Settlement were that it should maintain a residential base in a poor district, in which (men) students could live as neighbours to the local people, establishing natural friendships with them. In this way, the divisions between classes which had resulted from the rich moving out of cities to separate residential areas would be overcome; university students would gain first-hand knowledge about the life of the poor which would stand them in good stead when they became civic and national leaders, and they could exert a natural ameliorative influence in the neighbourhood to raise the cultural and social aspirations of the local people. Education was crucial, both formal (in taught classes) and informal (in teaching sportsmanship and standards of behaviour); religion less so (except insofar as it followed naturally from the example of the Settlers themselves) because it thwarted the goal of equal 'connection' between local and Settlement men.

Certainly the QMS came closer to fulfilling Barnett's ideal than either of the other Glasgow Settlements. The QMS always sought to maintain a residential centre in the district of work, even when that involved a considerable financial undertaking. For various reasons, though, the residential Settlement was never fully realised; at Elliot Street the rooms were unattractive, at Port Street residents were forthcoming but these were all women with salaried posts in the QMS or Anderston, or social studies students undertaking their training. However, the chief cause was the Scottish university tradition of non-residence, in contrast with the English College Settlement which was seen as an extension of College life. The QMS's emphasis upon education was very broad; it did not evangelise its neighbours, in contrast with the GUSS (although the women viewed their work as part of their Christian duty), nor did it operate university extension courses (as Toynbee House in Glasgow, or Toynbee Hall in London, although Barnett expressed misgivings about them).[1] QMS initiatives in formal education arose where gaps were apparent, as for example in the establishment of the Invalid Children's School, in which the emphasis was as much upon restoring health as catching up on education, and in the Montessori Nursery School to cater for the pre-school child. In the Clubs, the QMS concentrated upon practical lessons which it deemed equally important: dressmaking, cookery, physical fitness, 'healthy amusement'. However, the QMS deviated from Barnett's model in one special regard, in that it was entirely run and staffed by women. Barnett envisaged Settlements as only for men, but by the time of the QMS, women's Settlements were established and accepted. The WUS in Southwark (founded in 1887) was a dynamic and innovative organisation, and a great inspiration to the QMS. Indeed, the QMS's female workforce gave it a certain strength because they formed a reasonably reliable core who were less likely than men to leave the city after graduation in order to pursue a career, although they were liable to be called away to help their families. The QMS gave them

[1] See Chapter 1.

a focus for their considerable talents and energies and they made it an effective and innovative organisation, well-respected in Glasgow and beyond.

However, by the turn of the century (shortly after the foundation of the QMS but as Toynbee Hall approached its twentieth anniversary), Barnett's Toynbee Hall was subject to critical scrutiny by visitors and residents alike.[2] One of the most impassioned criticisms came from its current sub-warden, E. J. Urwick, in an address to the Federation of Women's Settlements in 1902. He contended that the idea of 'simple neighbourliness' was confounded by the simple need to bring people in, and in order to 'make a brave show of what was being done'.[3] In Barnett's view, 'a mission creates organisation, institutions and machinery. A Settlement uses personal influence and tends to human contact.'[4] For Urwick, such contact required organisations which then acquired a momentum of their own. 'Settlements ... have become centres of machinery, and the machines are running away with the inventors.' This was justified by the need to be seen to be active. 'The insidious question ... "what do we do at the Settlement?" We have allowed the outside world to judge us by results, we appeal to our works as a proof not of our faith but of our energy.'[5] Similarly in Anderston, the QMS women created a network of clubs from the original Girls' Club, but there is no sign that they agonised about it. Organisations were necessary and most effective; the shared experience of working together with the girls to produce plays or handicraft exhibitions, gave the QMS women a much better means of connection than simply living in the area might have done.[6]

Similarly, Settlements were designed to be 'simply the restoration of natural conditions [of social intermixing] which natural life assumes'.[7] Urwick criticised this too as unrealistic; '[they are] in the district but not of it'.[8] In fact, it was more nearly true in Anderston. For example, the QMS provided a focus for Mary Snodgrass to work for the people who also worked in her father's factory (J. and R. Snodgrass) in Anderston; several other QMS women were daughters of partners in shipping lines which also operated on the Clyde. Moreover, housing areas in Glasgow were not as widely separated as in other cities; the wealthy Park area (home to the Anderson, Lindsay, Bannatyne and Younger families, among others) was within a short walking distance of Anderston, so while the districts were separate, they were not remote. Urwick also reiterated a problem common to most Settlements (including the GUSS above) that they were intended for 'the most unsettled class of all, young people from Universities who have not yet settled down to anything'.[9] As noted above, the QMS women were less transitory than most student populations, and although some left Glasgow after graduation, the majority were resident in

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[2] See Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, Chapters 4 and 5.

[3] E. J. Urwick, 'The Settlement Ideal,' paper to the Federation of Women's Settlements, London, 5 Feb. 1902, *COR*, vol. 9, 1902, 121.

[4] See Chapter 1.

[5] Urwick, 'Settlement Ideal', 125. Urwick became the first Director of the Dept. of Social Science and Administration at the L. S. E. in 1912. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 109.

[6] The QMS were certainly of this opinion. 'Many women simply wish to know how best to help their neighbour, how to turn to best account the education and advantages they have had, where they can get to the bedrock of human relationships more successfully than by simply living in a poor district of a large town.' GUA, *QMCSA 13th AR, 1901/10.*

[7] Holland, *Memories*, 91.

[8] Urwick, 'Settlement Ideal', 121-122.

[9] Urwick, 'Settlement Ideal', 121.

the city and continued their Settlement service until marriage or work intervened.[10] Moreover, the trend towards professional training for social work and the use of Settlements as a base for social investigations compromised the aim of equality between the Settlement and its neighbours.[11] Certainly the QMS actively promoted professional training for social workers and encouraged both student research and large-scale social investigation at its Anderston base. Yet the QMS's concern for training arose naturally from its own workforce. These women had gained greatly from their experience of higher education so they valued education and training for any work worth doing. In addition, the QMS utilised the results of the investigations to confirm and extend the insights gained from its own visiting schemes to build up a detailed picture of local life. With this knowledge the QMS was able firstly to target problems more effectively within the locality, and secondly to use it (and a growing national reputation) to influence policy decisions at a higher level.[12]

By 1900, too, the Settlement ideal was being challenged by newer concerns: the drive for national efficiency, a more radical Christian Socialist movement, and by new sociological theories.[13] Some Settlements discarded the old ideal of 'connection' in favour of modern scientific social inquiry. In the Bristol Settlement in 1910 'all improving traditions were determinedly thrown away. Hilda Cashmore's Settlement was devoted to social work.'[14] Again, this is not evident in the QMS because they had kept abreast of the times. The QMS retained 'improving traditions' in the Clubs, judging them still to be necessary, and at the same time pioneered professional training and social study in Glasgow as a natural growth of its own development. Perhaps the QMS's roots in Glasgow's own 'rediscovery of poverty' and its geographical isolation from other Settlements freed it from such critical self-appraisal. There is one recorded instance where the Council expressed the concern that 'the main aim of the Settlement's existence is not to train professional workers',[15] but otherwise there was no obvious anguish on the part of the QMS as to its future direction. The women may have been exceptionally uncritical, but more likely they were simply pragmatic. They too had gone to bridge the social gap but they had found that there were so many gaps in working-class lives that they turned their attention to the most 'effective' forms of help. The roots of the QMS lay in a heritage of religious philanthropy but the women's concerns carried them forward into pioneering professionalism.

The original aims of the QMS in 1897 were to 'promote the welfare' of the local people, especially women and children, working on the lines of the COS, and to maintain a centre of work in the district. 'Promoting the welfare' of women and children was a deliberately vague term which allowed the women to develop the work as they wished within a defined sphere. Most QMS initiatives were directed at children (and through them, to their parents) and came to encompass Invalid Children's Aid, the Apprenticeship

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[10] Urwick went further, to criticise the artificiality of the Settlement community as 'a collection of segregated spinsters ... a club of possibly discontented bachelors', instead of a microcosm of real society 'in which men and women, single and married had a place'. Urwick, 'Settlement Ideal', 126. This was radical, and went further than any British Settlement was prepared to go.

[11] 'Professionalisation was alien to the ideals of the movement.' Rose, *The Settlement House and Social Welfare*, 2.

[12] As noted in Chapter 6, the Warden was increasingly called to serve on national committees because of her extensive knowledge.

[13] Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 86-110.

[14] Helen E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City 1870-1914* (London, 1976) 197.

[15] GUA, *QMCSA 15th AR, 1911/12.* See also Chapter 6.

Committee, Playground Games and the Clubs, School Savings Banks and Infant Health Visiting. The QMS was certainly successful in terms of numbers reached: at its peak the Infant Health visiting scheme had thirty-nine ladies visiting almost four hundred babies a year; the Port Street Clubs had just under five hundred on roll in 1913/14, and a further hundred in the 'rougher' clubs at Washington Street.[16] As an interesting aside, the QMS's lack of religious objective also enabled it to reach the poorer girls, who were generally Irish Catholic. At the Girls' Club review in 1904, it was decided to keep the reading room open for the benefit of the 'shawl' girls, 'and as these girls are R.C., no attempt be made to give them any dogmatic religious teaching'.[17] Furthermore, several of the initiatives pioneered by the QMS or its members were later taken over by the State: the Invalid Children's School, the Children's Home Hospital at Aberfoyle, the Apprenticeship Committee. The QMS's gradualist approach to social problems was apparent in their work for children,[18] and with their mothers. It is interesting that the QMS did not open Mothers' Clubs at the outset in Anderston but waited; work with mothers then arose naturally in the wake of the Nurslings' Consultations and subsequent Infant Health Visits, and with the progression of the first generation of Girls' Club members into a Married Women's group. This again demonstrates the highly practical nature of the QMS women; they did not launch Clubs which would demand time of hard-pressed mothers, but supported them in the work they had to do – in caring for their babies (with the watchful eye of the Health visitor), cooking for the family (the Married Women's Club ran simple cookery courses), and managing money (the CSB helped women to exert greater control over the family finances).

The original aim to establish a Settlement in the district was retained throughout the moves of 1907 because its value was proven. A permanent base both provided a focus for workers and enabled a wider range of activities to be undertaken. Latterly, it also proved attractive for social studies students who could live and work in the same place. Furthermore, the combination of home visits made through the COS, CSB, Infant health, and the range of Settlement-based activities built up a intimate picture of the area which went beyond the remit of studies with a specific aim. For example, the middle-classes were often critical of working-class housewives for their lack of culinary knowledge[19] though this could have been due to broken ranges in poor houses.[20] However, as a result of their visiting, the QMS women were aware of the poor standard of local housing, so their cookery course had the basic requirements of 'a good fire and as few implements as possible'.

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[16] It is not clear if some children were 'poached' from the many other charitable institutions in Anderston, although Mrs Chalmers' loyalty to the Wellington Mission suggests not.

[17] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 19 April 1904. The lack of religious objective also offered scope for other activities which were were not available at the missions; for example, Mrs Chalmers recalls that the 'Wellingto mission had in its deeds an embargo on dancing', which was the most popular diversion at the QMS. Letter from Mrs Chalmers, April 1988.

[18] 'The [Infant Health] Visitor's approach is socialistic.... She hardly dares hope for much improvement in the baby she visits, but ... in a future generation of healthy babies whom her preaching may ... have made possible.' GUA, *QMCSA 14th AR, 1910/11.* See Chapter 6. The QMS's concern for girls lay in their future role as the mothers of the next generation. See Chapter 5.

[19] See also Mrs Bosanquet in Chapter 1.

[20] Treble, *Urban Poverty*, 156.

The connection with the COS was established before the QMS formally existed.[21] The QMS began work in Anderston as office-organisers of the local COS branch, and followed this with the CSB to foster thrift. They were reasonably successful in dealing with COS work; a small but regular band of volunteers manned the office and pursued inquiries into applications for help. The number of applications varied widely with economic conditions but only about one-third turned away as 'unhelpable'. Similarly, the increasing popularity of the CSB through the period meant that a surprising amount of money could be saved, to be withdrawn for the summer or for New Year celebrations. The QMS workers remained closely tied to the COS but they went far beyond the COS aims of promoting thrift and self-improvement to use their expertise at civil and national level.

The effects of the QMS upon Anderston are impossible to quantify. The most pressing problems of the area – insufficient and irregular work, and poor housing – were outwith the scope of the QMS. There was no obvious mass raising of character in Anderston which the QMS would have mistrusted anyway. Their gradualist, individual approach worked at a personal level, evinced by those women who as girls came into contact with them. The QMS women undoubtedly had an effect upon the Club girls, precisely because they were not of Anderston. They widened the horizons of girls who could otherwise have spent most of their lives in the same area with the same sort of people, not raising impossible hopes, but offering a glimpse of life outside Anderston. The women raised their expectations of what the girls could achieve, and the girls' behaviour rose to meet it. The effect upon the girls can be measured by the progress in the Clubs; from being a rowdy bunch interested only in dancing[22] they became a self-governing body, capable of arranging and managing their own social functions and raising funds for others. This stood in contrast to the more passive Club life envisaged by the Allans and thus could achieve more. Miss Lochhead's commitment to an active style of Club life was vindicated.

The impact of the QMS upon the lives of the women who served in it is perhaps easier to determine. The QMS women were a particular group in Glasgow society, largely drawn from the social, economic and political elite of the city. The study of their social origins in Chapter 2 reveals that their families were closely involved in the public and philanthropic life of the city, and were accustomed to initiate and organise. The tradition of involvement was reinforced by the prevailing attitude of social concern in Glasgow fostered by current local intellectual, religious and civic influences, which gave rise to a number of initiatives (including Settlements) to promote contact between classes and raise the quality of life for the poor. The QMS women were not all public figures; many were ambitious or politically active, pursuing professional training or campaigning for female suffrage, while some remained at home and perhaps later took up a career, but all were infected by the mood of the times. The self-confidence and activism conferred on the women by their background then received fresh impetus by the exhilarating experience of being in the first generation of university women in the west of Scotland. Religion was important to these women, and charitable involvement was normative, but it was their experience in higher education which led them into a professional attitude toward social work. Moreover the QMS women's formal and individual links with the University enabled social-work training to gain university status.

For the women, the QMS in combination with the College experience played a large part in encouraging them to recognise their abilities and to deal with problems in their own way. Janet Galloway's repeated challenge to her students – 'you can do it if you like' – was

[21] See Chapter 4.

[22] GUA, QMCSA Minutes II, 8 Dec. 1903.

exemplified in her own life. 'I do not think the idea of failure in anything she undertook ever seriously disturbed her mind.'[23] Miss Galloway's advocacy of the Settlement idea was partly to encourage her students 'to interest themselves in the larger life around them'[24] although it seems that those who responded most enthusiastically were those who already shared a concern for Glasgow's poor. Nonetheless, the QMS gave them responsibility and expertise in an area of work which carried implications for future public and professional life. As noted in Chapter 3, it is unlikely that Settlement experience was the decisive factor in persuading women to take up a professional career, go to the mission field, or to enter public service, although it may have affected the direction of their work in those fields. It undoubtedly acted as a springboard for those who became active in professional social work and the Civil Service; indeed it became impossible to separate Settlement life from the professional opportunities it created.[25] Ultimately the QMS served with the QMC in widening the opportunities for middle-class women who would formerly have remained at home, and provided a respectable alternative to marriage. The experience of Settlement work provided a means of earning a living in later life; in addition, through the School of Social Studies, it enabled women from less wealthy backgrounds to pursue social-work training for employment. Julia Parker notes that the pioneers of public opportunities for women were small in number, but enough to discredit beliefs in the natural inequality between the sexes which unfitted women for public work.[26] These women were important but could be dismissed as particular women with an unusually high degree of support. The QMS women were actually a more powerful expression of the message because they were the first *generation* of women to seize new opportunities.

Vicinus comments that the idea of effective women's communities could be frightening because they implied that men were dispensable.[27] This does not appear to be true of the QMS. From the evidence of the *Glasgow Herald*, the QMS was admired in the city for its work in Anderston and its co-operation with other city initiatives, and praised for its achievements with the Invalid Children's and Nursery Schools and for the School for Social Studies. The QMS was not perceived as threatening in part because it was not a residential or closed community, nor politically forceful on issues such as women's suffrage. More importantly, the QMS was a *Glasgow* women's community; the majority of women were members of well-known and respected city families with proven commitment to the city. No doubt the QMS women could be criticised for entering Anderston with all the confidence of their class, and for their maternalistic approach,[28] but they could not help their social origin; indeed, this gave the spur to the work. Furthermore, the establishment of the Settlement in Anderston meant that a highly-educated and active set of women were brought into the area with the ability to respond briskly and imaginatively to the

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[23] GUA, QMCSA Minutes IV, 9 Feb. 1909.

[24] *ibid.* Also 'to make the proper compromise between life and letters,' in Chapter 3.

[25] Speaking to the Glasgow Association of Women Graduates in 1911, Miss Macadam of the Liverpool Settlement 'pointed out how useful a department of education was contained in Settlement work.... Some advice was given as to training for professional work of this kind and some information as to openings available.' GUA, Glasgow Assoc. Univ. Women, Minute book 1901-12, 20 Jan. 1911.

[26] Parker, *Women and Welfare*, 4.

[27] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 31.

[28] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 221. 'Middle-class women could safely colonise the slums because they brought with them the structures and beliefs of their own (educated upper-middle) class.'

area's needs.

In 1914 the QMS was emerging from one period of rapid change, only to be catapulted into another; the year was a watershed marking off the world in which the QMS had originated from that which followed. The seventeen years since 1897 had seen momentous change in social-work practice, in the growth of formal professional training, and in the state takeover of many of the QMS's pilot schemes. The QMS survived because it adapted continually to changing circumstances, searching out and responding to further gaps in provision. Yet the expansion of activity led to the QMS's first serious financial crisis in 1914; the Council were told to expect a deficit of £120 on the year's working.[29] 'Many subscribers have felt it necessary to reduce their subscriptions and other have left Glasgow.'[30] Yet the QMS was not impeded in its future plans. In co-operation with the QMC Students' Union and the Glasgow Association of Women Graduates, they organised the first St Nicholas Market and Maytime Revels in May 1914, not to secure existing ventures but to endow the Janet Galloway Memorial Scholarship for Social work. When the Market raised the outstanding sum of £2360 the QMS decided to commence the Montessori Nursery School as well.

However, the outbreak of war three months later caused an unexpected increase in demands on the QMS. It naturally became the local base for much relief work, including the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. The Warden was immediately called to the National Relief Fund, and to serve on several national committees; indeed, the strain of the war years contributed to her premature death in 1919. War also increased demands on the School of Social Study, with which the QMS was closely associated. Moreover, the very women who had been the QMS's strength in the pre-war years were increasingly called away to take up new posts which were previously the preserve of men.[31] The war proved to be the greatest catalyst for increasing the range of opportunity for educated women.

But what of the Settlement's work in Anderston? The basic conditions of poor housing and unsatisfactory work had altered little over the period, but the Warden was justified in 1914 in remarking upon the 'decided improvement in conditions in Anderston than when she came to it fourteen years ago'.[32] The QMS women had done much to counter the deficiencies of life for children and women particularly, and the local community generally, through diverse branches of work, but they were realistic about what remained to be done. At the first wartime General Meeting, Frances Melville restated the vision. 'The needs of war had called out an immense host of volunteer women workers, but the problems and needs which the Settlement faced were just as acute as before the war. Their work had a deep and more lasting significance than war because in it lay the promise of regeneration of the social order.'

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[29] GUA, QMCSA Minutes V, 10 Mar. 1914.

[30] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.* In an attempt to increase the revenue from board, the QMS altered the terms for Settlement residents; they were 'prepared to accept social workers who need not give time to Settlement work'. GUA, QMCSA Minutes V, 13 Jan. 1914.

[31] See Frances Melville's letter to QMS graduates, 1915, cited in Chapter 3.

[32] GUA, *QMCSA 17th AR, 1913/14.*

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This bibliography is organised as follows:

Primary Sources	A1. Manuscript Primary Sources.
	A2. Printed Primary Sources.
	A3. Newspapers and Periodicals.
	A4. Interviews and Correspondence.
Secondary Sources	B1. Books.
	B2. Articles.
	B3. Theses.

A1. Manuscript Primary Sources.

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The Archives of the Greater Glasgow Health Board (which mainly follow under 'Printed Primary Sources') were also obtainable in the GUA.

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Street map of Glasgow.

Overleaf is a street map of Glasgow as it appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century. The numbered red dots indicate the locations of premises related to Settlement activity. They are enumerated below.

1. Elliot Street QM Settlement to 1907.
2. Temporary QM Settlement 1907-8.
3. Port Street QM Settlement 1908 onwards.
4. Washington Street COS Office and Milk Depot.
5. GU Students' Settlement at Garscube Cross.

For the most part, Settlement women lived in the residential areas of Park, Dowanhill, Kelvinside, and Pollokshields. These areas are indicated by light blue shading.


5
2
1,3
4
RIVER CLYDE
KELVINGROVE PARK
RITCHIE PARK
QUEEN'S DOCK
KINGSTON DOCK
KINNING PARK STA.
SHIELDS RD. STA.
WEST ST. STA.
POLLOKSHIELDS