PHYSICAL RECREATION AND MUSCULAR CHRISTIANITY IN GLASWEGIAN CHURCHES, 1865 - 1929

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Abstract

This study fills a gap in the understanding of Muscular Christianity and church use of physical recreation in Scotland. From the research conducted it can be claimed that Glasgow, during the mid-to-late Victorian era and the early twentieth century, embraced and contributed to the Muscular Christian movement in multiple ways. This was notably the case with the Boy's Brigade which was a fusion between the Christian Militarism and Rational Recreation of the local Volunteer force. However, there were numerous other manifestations of Muscular Christianity in Glasgow such as Young Men's Clubs, Church Football Leagues and Christian footballers. Amongst these groups it was hoped that sport could develop the moral character of the participants but in an environment separated from cultural vices, and also as means to attract young men to other religious activities. Muscular Christianity in Glasgow may have been part of a wider mission to the city's working class as indicated by the statements of supporting clergymen and the growth of church football teams. Interestingly, local clergymen were divided on attitudes towards sport in the 1890s. However, the Muscular Christian position overcame opposition and remained active from the pre-war era onwards.

Contents

List of Abbreviations

BB	Boys Brigade
EU	Evangelical Union
FC	Free Church
GDCL	Glasgow & District Churches League
GSEU	Glasgow Students Evangelistic Union
GTA	Glasgow Temperance Athletic
GUYMCA	Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association
LRV	Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers
LYMC	Lansdowne Young Men's Club
QPEUFC	Queens Park East United Free Church
RYMC	Renwick Young Men's Club
UA	United Abstainers
UF	United Free
UP	United Presbyterian
VBSR	Volunteer Battalion Scottish Rifles
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YMCU	Young Men's Christian Union

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Introduction

The phenomenon understood as 'Muscular Christianity' in Britain grew from multiple locations and took on a variety of different brands. Perhaps the earliest was a literary movement spearheaded by Rev. Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, which intended to portray Christianity as a manly and socially active religion.[1] These literary sentiments combined with popular attitudes of public school rectors such as Edward Thring, the headmaster of Uppingham School from 1853 to 1887,[2] and Hely Hutchison Almond, headmaster of Loretto School from 1862 to 1902,[3] who wished to use games as a means to instil Christian ethics in upper middle class boys. Simultaneously, various congregations across England, particularly from Broad Church Anglican groups, began to use sport as a healthy amusement.[4] The common goal of the Victorian Muscular Christian movement, that moral manliness must be instilled in men and physical activities such as sports were an effective means of doing so, was soon used as justification for these ventures.[5] Sport was also used as an evangelistic tool, the missionary activities of cricketer C. T. Studd in the mid-1880s being a notable example.[6] Non-conformist groups were mostly ambivalent towards sport, with many viewing it as a worldly distraction from the word of God and expressing concern about the vice-ridden spectator culture that accompanied it.[7] However, McLeod finds that by the 1890s these groups too had embraced what he terms

[1] Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.6-7.
[2] Donald P. Leinster-Mackay, 'Thring, Edward (1821–1887), headmaster,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004); accessed 29.09.2019, DOI: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27389.
[3] M. C. Curthoys, 'Almond, Hely Hutchinson (1832–1903), headmaster,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004); accessed 29.09.2019, DOI: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e.
[4] Hugh McLeod, 'Sport and Religion in England, c. 1790-1914,' in *Sports and Christianity, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,* ed. by Nick J. Watson and Andrew Parker (Routledge: London, 2013), p.116.
[5] Ibid., p.115.
[6] Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp.149-150.
[7] McLeod, 'Sport and Religion in England,' pp.116-117.

'Chapel Sport' and its Muscular Christian rationales.[8] While Chapel Sport continued to grow after the First World War, Muscular Christianity's cultural capital had begun to decline.[9] Persistent gambling, intemperance and professionalisation within sport caused alienation and anger amongst its former religious allies.[10] Mangan finds that the Muscular Christianity of the English public school was declining in the face of a more aggressive social Darwinian philosophy.[11] Vance notes that the outlook's attachment to Christian militarism repelled many after the Great War.[12] Nevertheless, Delap does note that Anglican men's groups often revived the Victorian themes of Christian manliness throughout the twentieth century.[13] Moreover, Vance claims that, 'Physical manliness was still serving Christianity well as an Evangelical instrument … in Scotland',[14] referring to the popularity of Christian athlete Eric Liddell. This raises a question as to what the Scottish experience of the Muscular Christian movement.

Studies regarding the literary dimension of Muscular Christianity were greatly advanced through Norman Vance's volume *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*. Vance considers the label Muscular Christianity an inaccurate reflection of the views of authors Hughes and Kingsley, favouring their own chosen label 'Christian manliness' instead.[15] Vance finds that the movement was a reaction to the perceived other-worldly outlook of neo-catholic and evangelical nonconformist groups, which were criticised for failing to engage with the social deprivation and class division of the mid-nineteenth century; in contrast the proponents of Muscular Christianity proposed a world (and fleshly) affirming, liberal

[8] Hugh McLeod, '"Thews and Sinews": Nonconformity and Sport,' in *Modern Christianity and Cultural Aspirations,* ed. David Bebbington and Timothy Larsen (Sheffield Academic Press: London, 2003), p.30.
[9] Mcleod, 'Sport and Religion in England, c. 1790-1914,' pp.123-124.
[10] Ibid.
[11] J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of the Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp.135-136.
[12] Vance*, The Sinews of the Spirit*, pp.200-206.
[13] Lucy Delap, 'Be Strong and Play the Man': Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century,' in *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain,* ed. Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)*,* pp.137-139.
[14] Vance*, The Sinews of the Spirit*, p.169.
[15] Ibid., pp.2-3.

theology which placed an emphasis on social action.[16] Vance claims the willingness to act on the world's struggles was the hallmark of manliness for these writers.[17] Among other influences, Vance argues that Muscular Christianity inherited its world-affirming outlook from the Christian Socialist movement which, in reaction to the violence of the Chartist movement in the 1830s, believed that social deprivation and class division within Britain must be addressed for the nation's survival.[18] Both Kingsley and Hughes supported Working Men's colleges, with the latter teaching boxing at them.[19] However, the literary movement should not be viewed as egalitarian. *Muscular Christianity, Embodying the Victorian Age*, edited by Donald E. Hall, focused on the movements class, racial and gender prejudices.[20] In his own contribution, Hall argued that the literature of both the Christian Socialists and Muscular Christians contained efforts to 'reproduce social hierarchies.'[21] Hall argues that the frequent use of body metaphors for nationhood within the literature, which proposed that each class and occupation was part of a larger national organism, were an effort to diminish cross class antagonism by grounding working class identity in patriotism.[22] Consequently, respect for class hierarchies was presented as an act of self-discipline: through patient self-improvement and education the working class would earn their political rights.[23] These previous studies raise another question: did the muscular Christian movement in Scotland attempt to address class division?

While Muscular Christianity was partly founded as reaction against evangelical other-worldliness, as noted above MacLeod has shown that the Chapel Sport approach was widely used amongst nonconformist churches by the late Victorian era. Through analysing nonconformist church magazines in Northampton, such as the *Northampton*

[16] Ibid., pp.42, 52-55.
[17] Ibid., pp.6-7.
[18] Ibid., pp.52-59.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Donald E. Hall, 'Muscular Christianity: reading and writing the male social body,' in *Muscular Christianity, Embodying the Victorian age,* ed. Donald E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.5.
[21] Donald E. Hall, 'On the making and unmaking of monsters: Christian Socialism, muscular Christianity, and the mataphorization of class conflict,' in *Muscular Christianity, Embodying the Victorian age,* ed. Donald E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.46.
[22] Ibid., pp.49-51.
[23] Ibid., pp.47, 54.

Nonconformist, McLeod proposed a five phase development of Chapel Sport, starting with the 'spontaneous formation' of clubs for the purpose of fellowship, followed by efforts to retain teenagers leaving bible classes, then as an effort to attract outsiders and provide healthy amusement, after which ministers began to argue that sport was vital for a 'good life'; finally Chapel Sport was taken for granted as part of wider church activities.[24] Crucially, McLeod resists the accusation that Chapel Sport was a 'surrender' to secular culture, arguing that it was part of a moral 'package' which supported trade unions, the temperance movement and anti-gambling efforts.[25] However, Dominic Erdozain has challenged this by arguing that evangelical adoption of sanctified leisure had huge secularising implications.[26] Erdozain first notes the early nineteenth century evangelical tendency to view how an individual used their leisure time as an indicator of that individual's salvation, with peaceful family oriented activities for the saved, and aggressive intemperate activities for the unsaved.[27] While this externally led to the Anglican Muscular Christian reaction, internally the evangelical drive for sanctified leisure sport was eventually appropriated by many as an evangelistic and moral development tool.[28] The subsequent, and failed, backlash to these experiments, notably articulated by Archibald Brown in *The Devils Mission of Amusement*, argued that through the attempt at providing a sanctified leisure, religion was becoming focused on ethical actions rather than personal justifying faith.[29] Erdozian finds merits in their concerns and argues that the evangelical shift towards holy activities amounted to a secularisation of Christianity from within.[30]

Care must be taken when deciding upon a precise definition of the term 'Muscular Christianity.' McLeod defines Muscular Christians as 'Christians … who claimed that sport,

[24] McLeod, '"Thews and Sinews': Nonconformity and Sport,' pp.28-32.
[25] Ibid., pp.44-46.
[26] Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Studies in Modern British Religious History; Illustrated Edition, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p.38.
[27] Ibid., pp.68-69.
[28] Ibid., p.155.
[29] Ibid., pp.240-256.
[30] Ibid., p.270.

and physical exercise more generally, were not only fun, but had moral, religious and social value, and should be actively promoted by the church.'[31] This is a useful definition as the inclusion of 'physical exercise' allows non-sporting activities such as military drill, gymnastics and weight-lifting to be considered. Perhaps more importantly, this definition appreciates that Muscular Christian initiatives had a number of goals varying in moral intensity. Therefore, the use of sport as character development or for simple congregational socialisation can be considered part of the same phenomenon, although it will be noted that examples of the former are more morally intense than examples of the latter.

This dissertation begins from the recognition that there has been little study of Muscular Christianity and church use of physical recreation in Scotland. What literature does exist has mostly focused on three phenomena. First, the rise of the Boys' Brigade (BB) in Glasgow, Britain and across the world, strongly influenced by Muscular Christianity, has been well documented. Springhall, Fraser and Hoare's history of the brigade detailed its growth from the 1st Glasgow Company in Hillhead to having 2,257 companies nationally in 1930.[32] Crucially, they argued that the brigade's central focus was to expose boys to religion, rather than to militarise the population, although it undoubtedly also contributed to the latter.[33] Additionally, Bilsborough's survey of Glaswegian sport recorded the extensive sporting activity of the BB Glasgow Battalion and argued that it was instrumental in the spread of competitive football playing in the city.[34] Second, Mangan has argued that the physical programme implemented by Hely Hutchinson Almond at Loretto School inspired other Scottish academies to implement similar regimes,

[31] Hugh McLeod, 'The "Sportsman" and the "Muscular Christian": Rival ideals in nineteenth-century England,' in *Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe: Beyond the Feminization Thesis*, ed. Patrick Pasture (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), p.86.
[32] John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael E. Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (London: Collins, 1983), p.258.
[33] Ibid., pp.97-98, 107.
[34] Peter Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow, 1850-1914' (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Stirling, 1983), p.148.

suggesting that this brand of public school Muscular Christianity also had influence.[35] Third, there has been some comment on the relationship between Christianity and sports clubs in Scotland during the late Victorian era and early twentieth century. Studies by Murray and Finn have noted the Glaswegian Catholic church support for Irish-Catholic sporting clubs as means of encouraging group cohesion.[36] However, Finn's observation that there has been 'little exploration' of the connections between Protestant churches and sport appears to still stand.[37] Consequently, this dissertation lacks a Catholic dimension and focuses primarily on Protestant denominations.

Brown's research into the tensions between Scottish Presbyterianism and the growing leisure culture in Scotland suggests an antagonistic relationship between churches and sport with general church attendances as well as youth church attendances declining during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century while sports spectator culture increased.[38] However, Brown also notes the adoption of sport among suburban churches in the late Victorian and inter-war era,[39] indicating the need for discussion about what qualified as acceptable and unacceptable physical recreation and when these attitudes gained prominence. However, Weir's attempt to gauge the opinions of Protestant clergymen found that no official position on sport was taken by the main Presbyterian denominations; instead 'an ambivalent confusion' on the matter pervaded.[40] While some ministers made Muscular Christian arguments in support of amateur sports, others bemoaned its obsessive and immoral effects upon young men.[41] This study seeks

[35] J. A. Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto: Scottish Educational Visionary and Reformer,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no.1-2 (2010), p.304.
[36] G. P. T. Finn, 'Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society – i: the Historical Roots of Prejudice,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no.1 (1991), p.92; William Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* (rev. ed., Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2000), p.17.
[37] Finn, 'Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice,' p.81.
[38] Callum Brown, 'Popular culture and the continuing struggle for rational recreation,' in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, ed. T. M. Devine and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp.214-217.
[39] Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (rev. ed., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p.129.
[40] John Weir, 'The Clergy and Early Scottish Football' in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, ed. John Weir (Stewart Davidson: Renfrew, 1992), unpaginated [p.46].
[41] Ibid., pp.44-45.

to build upon these prior investigations and to challenge Weir's scepticism that the topic can ever been 'definitively summarised',[42] at least regarding the city of Glasgow.

The timeframe of study, generally the years 1865 to 1929, was chosen to mirror the timeframe of studies of the origins of the movement in England. However, this period was a time of great organisational division in the Scottish Kirk. In 1833 The Church of Scotland General Assembly attempted to resolve disputes regarding patron nomination powers by passing the Veto Act, which allowed congregations the ability to reject the presented minister.[43] The legality of this was questioned and multiple disputes were taken to the Court of Session between rejected minsters and congregations.[44] The evangelical wing of the Church, which favoured direct and emotional preaching viewed this as the Court asserting dominance over the Church and were incensed when the Court passed interdicts in December 1839 and February 1840 which denied the Church's attempt to depose seven ministers in Auchterarder for their acceptance of the vetoed presentee Robert Young.[45] The Church of Scotland appealed to the House of Lords for intervention, only to have the chamber declare in 1839 that the Veto Act an over-extension of church powers.[46] Meanwhile, the Court of Session continued to side with vetoed ministers, notably ruling that the Auchterarder Presbytery needed to compensate Young and his patron £15,000 in damages.[47] The Church of Scotland's subsequent appeal to parliament, which argued that the 1707 Act of Union assumed the ecclesiastical independence of the Church of Scotland, was also rejected in January 1843.[48] The same month the Court of Session ruled that satellite churches (quoad sacra parishes) which had been granted their own ecclesiastical powers in the 1834 Chapels of Ease Act, were to be deprived representation in the church courts.[49] Consequently, many ministers lost their position at the General Assembly,

[42] Ibid., p.47.
[43] Stewart J. Brown, 'The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption of 1843,' in *Scotland in the age of the disruption*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp.6-7.
[44] Ibid., pp.10-15.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., p.18.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., p.19.

leading to a Moderate majority which was prepared to accept the government's decision.[50] In retaliation, 474 ministers (40% of the Church of Scotland total) of the 'non-intrusionist' party declared their resignation from the Church at the May General Assembly and formed the Free Church of Scotland.[51]

Despite viewing themselves as the true national church, the Free Church operated like a dissenting church, relying on voluntary financial contributions.[52] Nevertheless, by 1847 they had created 730 places of worship, a national system of schools nearly equal to the original Church of Scotland schools, and had begun establishing colleges for ministers.[53] However, by breaking the dominance of one Church over all others in Scotland, the Disruption greatly contributed to institutional secularisation. Notably, in 1845 churches lost control of poor law relief while the Education Act of 1872 brought primary education under state control.[54] The church divisions also reinforced class identities, with an aspiring middle and skilled working class supporting the new Free Church, but the traditional landed and professional class remaining within the established church.[55] After an initial existential crisis the established church began to lean towards a socially liberal theology and focused upon working class conditions, while the Free Church remained focused on individual salvation and discipline.[56]

The United Presbyterian Church was the third largest Presbyterian denomination in Scotland during the late Victorian era. The church was formed from two pre-existing seceder churches. The first was the Seceder Church, which originally broke from the Church of Scotland in 1733 over the issue of the right of local patrons to nominate ministers over the congregation.[57] However in 1747 this church split itself over the issue of the Burgess Oath, which would have implied recognition of the Church of Scotland as

[50] Ibid., pp.21-24.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Century, 1991), pp.399-400.

the established church.[58] The Anti-Burgess and Burgess groups split again in 1798 and 1806 into 'New Licht' and 'Auld Licht' camps, the former implying focus on personal salvation and the latter holding fast to original covenanter commitments.[59] In 1820 the respective 'New Licht' groups joined to make the United Secession Church which later joined with the dissenting Evangelical Relief Church, set up in 1761, to make the United Presbyterian Church in 1847.

The Free Church united with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church in 1900.[60] By the turn of the century the Free Church had become increasingly accepting of a voluntarist position, had cooperated with the United Presbyterians on numerous home and foreign missions, and shared its middle class values and focus on self-discipline;[61] thus union became a logical option. The vast majority of the United Free Church later united with the Church of Scotland in 1929. The gap between the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland had narrowed through a series of reforms which virtually disestablished the latter, most notable of which being the Act of 1925 which moved the ownership of churches from burgh councils and heritors to church trustees.[62] Additionally, the churches faced the common challenges of missionary stagnation, loss of working class loyalty to the Labour movement and increasing Irish-catholic immigration.[63]

The focus of this dissertation is the three main Presbyterian denominations; however, it also discusses the involvement of other Protestant denominations with Muscular Christianity, notably the activities of J. W. Arthur who was a Baptist, and the Congregationalist assembly of 1896.[64] The Baptists and the Congregationalists, characterised by their strong emphasis on congregational independence, emerged from the evangelical campaigns of the Haldane brothers in the 1790s, who in 1808 split their

[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Brown, *Religion and Society,* p.27.
[62] Ibid., p.145.
[63] Ibid., pp.131, 141.
[64] See Chapter 1, 'Scottish and Glaswegian Muscular Christianity,' pp.19-23, 39-40.

own movement over the issue of infant baptism.[65] The Congregational Union of Scotland was formed in 1812 and gained foothold in Glasgow.[66] The Scotch Baptist Union was formed in 1835, followed by the Baptist Union of Scotland in 1843, and faced 'fluctuating fortunes', until achieving a steady membership after 1900.[67]

Glasgow was chosen for the focus of this study for numerous reasons. During the Victorian era, and down to the present day, Glasgow was the largest city in Scotland, with a diverse range of social classes and religious denominations.[68] The 1851 religious census illustrates Glasgow's strong denominational diversity. The Church of Scotland had 20% of church attenders, the Free Church 22% and the United Presbyterian Church 23%.[69] The Congregationalists had 5% and the Baptists 3%, both higher than their Scottish national percentage of 4% and 1%.[70] Notably, Roman Catholics made up 16% of Church attenders, 11% higher than the national proportion. Furthermore, a strong sporting culture existed in Glasgow during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century,[71] signified by the successful football clubs Rangers and Celtic.[72] A religious response to sport culture would be more expected in the city than anywhere else in Scotland. Additionally, as Hillis finds, by the late nineteenth century, women within Glasgow church congregation membership outnumbered men.[73] If Muscular Christianity was initially a reaction against a feminine church, as some have suggested,[74] then this could be evident in Glasgow. Finally, the emergence of the Muscular Christian BB in Glasgow suggests an interest in the ideology amongst the city's churches.

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[65] Callum Brown, 'Religion and the development of an urban society: Glasgow 1780-1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1981), vol.2, pp.87-89.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Nicholas J. Morgan, 'Building the city,' in *Glasgow,* vol.2*: 1830 to 1912*, ed. T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.8-10.
[69] Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.50.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Brown, 'Popular culture,' p.214.
[72] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' p.122.
[73] Peter Hillis, *The Barony of Glasgow: A Window onto Church and People in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007), p.110.
[74] McLeod, *Religion and Society,* pp.157-159.

The research was conducted in three phases:

The first phase involved an archival search for churches that engaged in any form of physical recreation between the years 1865 and 1929. Monthly congregational newspapers, annual reports and club minutes were the main sources consulted. While making reference to others, this study explores the activities of five Glasgow congregations in particular: Renwick Free Church, Camphill United Presbyterian Church, Caledonia Road United Free Church, Lansdowne United Presbyterian Church and Queens Park United Free East Church. These churches were chosen because, from the documents in the Glasgow City Archives, they had the most records pertaining to Church physical recreation. This study was unable to attain similar records of church sport from a Church of Scotland congregation. While the denomination has no case study representation in this dissertation, it is clear that it did engage in physical recreation, as shown by the presence of Church of Scotland teams in religious football leagues in the early twentieth century.[75]

The second phase consisted of consulting print publications such as sports newspapers and national newspapers. National newspapers such as *The Scotsman* and *Scottish Referee* and local newspapers such as *The Glasgow Herald* and *Glasgow Evening Citizen* were analysed. Editions of the *Scottish Football Association Annual* from seasons between 1879/80 and 1892/93 were another useful resource. Literary works from the late ninetieth and early twentieth, such has Henry Drummond's *Baxter's Second Innings* (published 1891) and Rev. Herbert Reid's *Play the Man* (published 1900) were reviewed due to their use within the BB.[76]

The third phase concerned archival research of religious institutions. The *Boys Brigade Gazette* and Glasgow Battalion annual reports were consulted to gain insight into the

[75] See Chapter 2, 'Glasgow Churches and Physical Recreation, 1867 – 1929,' p.56-57.
[76] Henry Drummond, *Baxter's Second Innings: Specially reported for the school eleven* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1892), p.5; Rev. Herbert Reid, *Play the Man: Talks with Boys on The Battle of Life* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900), p.xii.

operations of the organisation as well as the opinions of the officers. The annual reports of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association were also consulted.

Each chapter below seeks to address the different research objectives of this study. Muscular Christianity in Scotland grew from multiple locations and took on a variety of different brands. Any detailed discussion about this phenomenon in Glasgow would be difficult to conduct without taking account of the city's relationship to the wider Scottish experience. The 'Scottish and Glaswegian Muscular Christianity' chapter accounts for the major manifestations of Muscular Christianity in Scotland and explores their particular Glaswegian aspects. It will be argued that the public school brand of Muscular Christianity, first popularised by Almond, may have been present at Glasgow Academy, as evidenced by the curriculum changes of Rector Donald Morrison and the activities of the school's former pupil J. W. Arthur. The city then produced its own contribution to the movement in 1883 with the creation of the BB which became a rallying point for Muscular Christians across Scotland such as Henry Drummond and Herbert Reid. By the 1890s Scottish Presbyterianism had become split over the issue of 'popular sports' like football, condemning associated vices such as violence, intemperance, gambling and Sabbath breaking. Many, such as Rev. W. W. Beveridge, argued for reconciliation between sport and the church, noting that if sport could be divorced from immorality then much could be gained from it. Three ecclesiastical meetings from the years 1895 and 1896 within Congregationalist, United Presbyterian and Free Churches illustrate the divisions amongst clergy towards sport. This is also mirrored in discussions in the Church of Scotland's Glasgow Presbytery. Finally, Muscular Christianity may have maintained a strong cultural capital in Scotland during the inter-war era as churches began to use sporting heroes such as Eric Liddell as representatives of a Christian manliness. It will be argued that Rangers football player Allan Morton, among others, can be considered a Glasgow based equivalent of Liddell through his involvement with the D. P. Thomson's missions in the 1920s. However, many of these football players were professionals, a

development opposed by earlier Muscular Christians, suggesting that the original values of Muscular Christianity had loosened.

The second chapter, 'Glasgow Churches and Physical Recreation, 1867–1929', seeks to detail how, when and why churches in Glasgow used physical recreation. Football was being used by the Glasgow Union of Young Men's Christian Associations (GUYMCA) as early as 1867, and in 1883 they founded a short-lived team, which appears to have disbanded by the late 1880s, perhaps falling casualty to the debates regarding popular sport amongst Presbyterian denominations. Thereafter, the BB took up the Muscular Christian cause with a wide range of sporting competitions. This had several aims: to attract new members to the organisation, to conduct sport in a safe setting and to develop the moral character of the participants. The existence of Young Men's clubs among Glasgow churches in the 1890s shows that the BB was not alone in its use of physical recreation to attract young men to the church. While these groups were far less sophisticated than the BB, the creation of the Glasgow and District Churches League (GDCL) in 1908 was an attempt to achieve similar goals to the BB, applied to young men rather than boys. The GDCL's success indicates that a conciliatory position towards sport had won out amongst Presbyterians in Glasgow. After the First World War, church sports continued to grow, evidenced by the proliferation of church athletics clubs in the city. However, congregational socialisation appears to be the central goal of these groups rather than moralistic character development or the need to host sports in safe environment.

The third chapter, 'Muscular Christianity, Christian Militarism and Cross Class Identity', explores whether Muscular Christian initiatives in Glasgow, like those in parts of England, were connected to wider attempts to address working class agitation and standards of living. It will be argued that the Christian Militarism propounded by Glasgow Volunteer Corps chaplains promoted a cross class 'esprit de corps' identity and attempted to instil respectable values of discipline within the members, many of whom would have been skilled-working class. This was also an attempt to present a moral masculinity to men, thus overlapping with the goals of Muscular Christianity at that time. The BB was the

eventual fusion of these two ideologies, and both its secular and ecclesiastical supporters intended it to have goals of class reform. Initiatives such as sports clubs, Boys' Rooms and the Employment Register appear to have been particularly aimed at reforming working class boys away from problematic street youth culture. Finally, church footballing initiatives, such as the GDCL, may have had class interests, indicated by their support for the Temperance Movement and their engagement in industrialised areas.

Scottish and Glaswegian Muscular Christianity

Hely Hutchinson Almond and the Origin of Public School Muscular Christianity in Scotland

At first a literary movement spearheaded by Kingsley and Hughes, Muscular Christianity soon gained adherents in public schools, such as Uppingham School whose headmaster, Edward Thring (in post from 1853 to 1887), wished to use games as a means to instil Christian ethics into upper middle class boys.[1] Scottish public schools experienced a similar phenomenon with a particular brand of Muscular Christianity originating at Loretto School in Musselburgh under headmaster Hely Hutchinson Almond.

Hely Hutchinson Almond was the headmaster of Loretto School near Edinburgh from 1862 to 1902 and is considered one of the earliest and sophisticated advocates of Muscular Christianity in Britain.[2] He had previously been a tutor at Loretto School in 1857 before becoming the second master at Merchiston Academy in 1858.[3] While at Merchiston, Almond encouraged participation in rugby and cricket.[4] This promotion of physical exercise and team games would continue when Almond returned to Loretto as headmaster. Every day, each pupil was required to exercise for a minimum of three hours, which included a half-mile walk or run before breakfast, recreational games and exercise in the gymnasium.[5] Almond regulated the pupils' diet and introduced comfortable uniforms for optimal mobility.[6] Finally, Almond was keen to expose pupils to the elements, a notable example apart from outdoor sports being his insistence that dormitory windows should be left open at night, in order to strengthen the body.[7]

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[1] McLeod, 'Sport and Religion in England, c. 1790-1914,' pp.115-116, 119.
[2] Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto,' p.298.
[3] Curthoys, 'Almond, Hely Hutchinson (1832–1903).'
[4] Ibid.
[5] Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto,' p.299. The claim that 'each pupil was required to exercise for a minimum of three hours' represents the adding together of the time allocated to physical activities across the day provided by Mangan in this article.
[6] Ibid., p.300.
[7] Curthoys, 'Almond, Hely Hutchinson (1832–1903).'

Almond became closely associated with the Muscular Christian movement. The Presbyterian journal *The British Weekly* published an endorsing review of his book 'Christ the Protestant, and other Sermons' in 1899, comparing him to the movement's other heroes Thomas Arnold and Edward Thring.[8] Indeed, the Muscular Christian archetype had already been attributed to him in *Steady and Strong*, a novel reminiscent of *Tom Brown's School Days*, published by R. H. Freeman in 1891.[9] Almond also had considerable influence upon Scottish public school education. Merchiston Academy persisted with the schemes Almond experimented with when he was second master. Mackenzie notes that many staff who were present at Loretto during Almond's tenure went on to implement similar systems at other Scottish academies, such as Wilfrid Richmond, the Warden of Glenalmond in 1881 and Mr. Gray of Blairlodge.[10] At Fettes College, Charles Cotterill attributed his physical education programme to the advice and inspiration of Almond.[11] Therefore, any study of Muscular Christianity in Scotland should take interest in Almond's vision for the movement.

Almond's brand of upper-middle class public school Muscular Christianity foreshadowed what would later emerge in other sectors of Scottish society. For Almond, Christianity was entirely compatible with the masculinity of physical strength. Like Kingsley, Almond detested an ascetical and overly-spiritual interpretation of Christianity; he thought that a strong healthy body was pleasing to God as it meant the person could fully and efficiently carry out the divine will.[12] As he explains in a sermon titled *The Duty of Strength*, 'when men fight with their hands and pray with their hearts, faith nerves the arm and clears the judgment.'[13] Additionally, physical activity itself could support the development of moral qualities. For instance, team games like rugby and cricket taught

[8] 'Literature, Loretto Sermon,' in *The British Weekly*, no.681, vol.32, 16th November 1899 (accessed via National Library of Scotland (NLS), GIVB.3/57), p.104.
[9] Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto,' p.303.
[10] Robert Jameson Mackenzie, *Almond of Loretto: Being the life and Selection from the letter of Hely Hutchinson Almond* (London: Constable, 1905), p.242.
[11] Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto,' p.304.
[12] Ibid., p.302.
[13] J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, vol.2 (London: Frank Cass, 1998), p.27.

cooperation, loyalty and leadership skills, while also improving mental quickness.[14] Almond viewed his Spartan-like curriculum as a means to producing optimal officers of the British Empire. On the basis of his sermons to pupils Mangan concludes that Almond was a British supremacist who believed that God had chosen the nation to guide world history.[15] Physical and psychological strength developed in the gymnasium and on the playing field would assist in fighting off foreign diseases and enduring harsh climates, capabilities he believed that bookish pupils from other schools lacked.[16] Almond prefigures the non-sectarian nature of later Muscular Christian groups. Although an Episcopalian, Almond was hostile to the dogmatic restrictions of denominational Christianity. Writing to a pupil who was soon to be confirmed, Almond claimed that the essential feature of the religion is belief in Christ's atonement; everything else was an 'open question.'[17] Therefore, Almond's thought reflects later Muscular Christian beliefs that Christianity could be reconciled with sporting masculinity and that physical recreation could have moral benefits. His imperialistic outlook also complements Muscular Christianity's longstanding association with patriotic militarism. Finally, his personal focus on Christ's atonement over and above other elements for the Christian foreshadows future Muscular Christian's lack of interest in Protestant sectarian divisions.

Public School Muscular Christianity Comes to Glasgow

The public school brand of Muscular Christianity, originating from Loretto, may have been the earliest version of the ideology to emerge in Glasgow amongst the middle class public school elite. Originally, Glasgow High School and the University of Glasgow were the educational institutions favoured by this elite. The creation of Glasgow Academy and Kelvinside Academy expanded educational opportunities to more upper-middle class and

[14] Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto,' p.301.
[15] Mangan, *The Games Ethic*, p.26.
[16] Ibid., p.28.
[17] Hely Hutchinson Almond, 'To A. M. Paterson, 1882,' in *Almond of Loretto: Being the Life and a Selection from the Letters of Hely Hutchinson Almond,* ed. Robert Jameson Mackenzie (London: Constable, 1905), pp.355-356.

middle class citizens, also expanding their economic and institutional opportunities.[18] Amongst the institutions that may have adopted public school Muscular Christianity was Glasgow Academy under Donald Morrison.

Morrison became the headmaster of Glasgow Academy in 1861, a post he would hold until 1899.[19] Under his tenure school games proliferated. The academy was the first school in Glasgow to adopt rugby, cricket and athletics in 1865, 1866 and 1868 respectively.[20] Morrison was also keen that students should participate in a gymnastics session at least once each day.[21] If he received a good report about a class he would let them go out and play football for the day.[22] In 1866 the academy purchased the Burnbank Coup Playing Field and in 1868 the first annual sports day was hosted there;[23] sports days have been held consistently every year since.[24] Former pupils Lord Lindsay of Birker, Douglas Miller and A. S. Wallace were all taught under Morrison's tenure; all recalled the abundance of sports at the school.[25] In 1866 a group of former pupils founded the Glasgow Academicals sports club.[26] To support of the endeavour, Morrison was the chair at the first meeting.[27] The rugby section was the first team to be officially connected with an academic institution in Glasgow; Glasgow University and Kelvinside Academy would later follow.[28] Meanwhile, in cooperation with four other Scottish clubs, the Glasgow Academicals were instrumental in arranging the first international rugby match against England.[29] Morrison's

[18] Richard H. Trainor, 'The Elite' in *Glasgow,* vol 2: *1830 to 1912*, eds. T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.244-245.
[19] Iain MacLeod, *The Glasgow Academy: 150 Years* (Glasgow: Glasgow Academicals' War Memorial Trust, 1997), pp.16, 61.
[20] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' pp.107, 111, 126.
[21] MacLeod, *The Glasgow Academy*, p.21.
[22] Ibid., pp.25-26.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Lord Lindsay of Birker, A. S. Wallace and Douglas Miller, 'Academy Memories,' in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years,* ed. C. A. Campbell, W. Barradell-Smith, T. R. Innes and Arthur G. Murray (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd, 1946), pp.76, 79-80, 107-112.
[26] Sir Tennant Solan, 'The Glasgow Academicals Club,' in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years*, ed. C. A. Campbell, W. Barradell-Smith, T. R. Innes and Arthur G. Murray (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd, 1946), p.160.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' p.111.
[29] Solan, 'The Glasgow Academicals Club,' p.168.

athletic programme at Glasgow Academy appears, therefore, to have contributed significantly to the growth of upper and upper middle class sport in Glasgow and Scotland.

There is sufficient reason to reflect upon the presence of Muscular Christianity within Morrison's sports regime. Bilsborough considers Morrison himself a Muscular Christian due to comments he made regarding the purchase of Burnbank Coup, arguing that games were key to character development.[30] However, the endorsement of games as character building, although closely linked to Muscular Christianity, does not provide evidence that Morrison found in them any religious connection and, unfortunately, there is no available comment from Morrison linking the two. Nevertheless, former pupils' memories of Morrison depict him as a 'high-minded Christian gentleman' who would quiz boys on religion and advocate memorising whole chapters from the New Testament.[31] Iain MacLeod notes that the school prospectus for the 1862-1863 session was the first designed by Morrison.[32] It indicated an increase in religious activities and studies within the programme. Classes began every morning with scripture reading and prayer, while a course in religious instruction was introduced.[33] Furthermore, in 1870 the directors of the school employed a former Loretto fencing and gymnastics instructor, suggesting a desire to emulate Almond's vision.[34] That Morrison introduced these changes whilst also promoting the moral benefits of sports suggests that he considered them interlinked, making it possible that he, and the Glasgow Academy directors, held a Muscular Christian outlooks.

J. W. Arthur was a former pupil of Glasgow Academy and can be considered the school's own contribution to wider Scottish Muscular Christianity. Throughout his life Arthur had a deep association with sport, particularly rugby, and along with other former pupils he

[30] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' p.136.
[31] John King, Sir Tennant Sloan, Lord Lindsay of Birker, 'Academy Memories,' in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years,* ed. C. A. Campbell, W. Barradell-Smith, T. R. Innes and Arthur G. Murray (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd, 1946), pp.62, 89, 77.
[32] MacLeod, *The Glasgow Academy*, p.20.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., p.29.

was instrumental in creating the Glasgow Academicals in 1866.[35] The club was key to maintaining the playing of sport beyond school for many upper middle class Glaswegians. Between 1867 and 1882 the rugby section played 145 matches and was the first Scottish club to send a team to play in England in 1870.[36] Arthur played a central role in the development of rugby in Scotland. As captain of the Glasgow Academicals, he worked with Almond and the captains of Edinburgh Academicals, Merchistonians, St Andrews University and West of Scotland club to arrange the first match against an English team in 1871.[37] As a result he would have been one of the signatories of the invitational letter sent to English clubs for the game.[38] Arthur and six other Glasgow Academicals would later play in this match.[39] Arthur also appears to have promoted sport among pupils at the Academy, as in 1894 he was a match official at the Academy's annual sports display.[40] He would later become president of the Academy in 1912, a position he held until his death in 1921.[41]

Arthur's sporting involvements extended beyond rugby. 1870 saw him appointed an office-bearer for the Glasgow Skating Club and 1896 he was appointed to the committee of an amateur rowing club.[42] *The Glasgow Evening Post* notes that he played tennis for the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers in 1886 while the *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping*

[35] Solan, 'The Glasgow Academicals Club,' p.160.
[36] Ibid., pp.167-168.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Sandy Thorburn, *The History of Rugby* (London: Cassel, 1980), p.18.
[39] Solan, 'The Glasgow Academicals,' p.168.
[40] 'Glasgow Academical Club,' *Scottish Referee*, 7th May 1894, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001876/18940507/035/0003).
[41] David E. Brand, 'Foreword,' in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years,* ed. C. A. Campbell, W. Barradell-Smith, T. R. Innes and Arthur G. Murray (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd, 1946), p.16.
[42] 'Glasgow Skating Club,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13th December 1870, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18701213/017/0004); 'Amateur Rowing Club,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette*, 23rd March 1895, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/18950323/062/0002).

Gazette frequently notes his involvement in local golf tournaments in the 1890s.[43] He was also apparently involved in angling and cycling.[44]

Of interest to this study is Arthur's equally heavy involvement in religious activity. Sometime between March 1895 and February 1896 he became the Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association (GUEA), taking over from John R. Miller.[45] He held this role until mid-1912 at least, as the *Bellshill Speaker* notes his presence at a funeral in May 1912, attributing the office to him.[46] This means that he would have played a central role in the revivalist campaign amongst Presbyterian churches in 1899 to 1900.[47] Indeed, *The Glasgow Herald* reported that it was Arthur who wrote to the Church of Scotland Glasgow Presbytery in July 1899 seeking cooperation for the future project.[48]

Arthur was already active in religious affairs before his role in the GUEA. As early as 1875 he was elected the director of a new Young Men's Christian Union (YMCU) at Hope Street Baptist Church.[49] The stated object of the YMCU was the 'religious, moral, intellectual, social and physical improvement of young men.'[50] The inclusion of 'physical improvement' is indicative of the Glaswegian YMCU's interest in sports before the rift between the

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[43] 'Cycling,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 6th September 1886, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001964/18860906/059/0003); 'Golf Tournament,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette*, 28th September 1896, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/18960928/044/0002);'The History of Golf in Greenock – Interesting Statement by the Secretary of the Golf Club,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette* 18th March 1895, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/18950318/072/0003); 'Golf Match,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette,* 1st May 1899, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/18990501/046/0002).

[44] W. Barradell-Smith, 'The Glasgow Academy: An Historical Sketch,' in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years,* ed. C. A. Campbell, W. Barradell-Smith, T. R. Innes and Arthur G. Murray (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd, 1946), p.16.

[45] 'Glasgow Evangelistic Association,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 5th March 1895, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18950305/031/0008); 'Glasgow Evangelistic Association,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 18th February 1896, p.7 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18960218/019/0007).

[46] 'The late Rev. John Harper – Memorial Service in Glasgow,' *Bellshill Speaker*, 3rd May 1912, p.3(https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001524/19120503/073/0003).

[47] Callum Brown, 'Religion and the development of an urban society' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1981), vol.1, p.448.

[48] 'Ecclesiastical, Established Presbytery of Glasgow, The Evangelistic Campaign,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 3rd August 1899, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18990803/025/0008).

[49] 'Young Men's Christian Union,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 9th April 1875, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18750409/006/0004).

[50] Ibid.

larger YMCA and 'popular sports' in the 1890s. Arthur also appears to have had an association with the Glasgow Young Women's Christian Association as he was noted to have attended and spoken at some of its annual meetings in the late 1880s and early 1890s.[51] Other organisations in which Arthur was included were the Glasgow Bible Training Institute, the Glasgow West End Christian Union and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Christian Endeavour Union.[52] In 1888 Arthur became the Sabbath School Superintendent at Hillhead Baptist Church, thereafter speaking at meetings of the Baptist Union of Scotland, frequently urging the use of blackboards as a means of teaching.[53] Arthur's attachment to Hillhead is significant because in the late-Victorian era Hillhead Baptist Church was particularly active, founding two mission churches in Port Dundas and Partick in 1886 and 1899 respectively.[54] Bebbington tracks the expansion of Hillhead Baptist Church from 300 members in 1888 to 639 by the end of the century, making it the largest Baptist church in Glasgow.[55] Throughout his adult life, Arthur appears to have been intensely involved in religious activities.

As with Morrison, there is no statement from Arthur connecting his sporting and religious activities. However, just as it was likely that Morrison saw a connection between the Christian and sporting aspects of his curriculum, it is also likely that Arthur saw a unity

[51] 'Glasgow Young Women's Christian Association,' *The Glasgow Herald,* 23rd January 1889, p.9 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18890123/046/0009); 'Glasgow Young Women's Christian Association,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 1st February 1893, p.10 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18930201/028/0010).
[52] 'Glasgow Bible Training Institute,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 31st January 1899, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18990131/005/0002); 'Cambuslang, Evangelistic Meetings,' *Lanarkshire Upper Ward Examiner*, 13th December 1890, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001011/18901213/010/0001); 'Glasgow Society of Christian Endeavour,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13th June 1893, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000060/18930613/006/0003).
[53] 'Vale of Leven, Christian Conference,' *Lennox Herald*, 30th June 1888, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0002399/18880630/040/0004); 'Conference of Sabbath School,' *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 6th March 1891, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000962/18910306/151/0008); 'Baptist Union of Scotland,' *Hamilton Herald and Lanarkshire Weekly News*, 24th October 1890, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0002073/18901024/076/0004); *These Fifty Years - The Jubilee Story of Hillhead Baptist Church 1883 – 1933* (Glasgow: Hillhead Baptist Church, 1933), pp.13-15 (Made available by the current secretary of Hillhead Baptist Church, Anne Muir).
[54] D. W. Bebbington, *The Baptists in Scotland: A History* (Glasgow: Baptist Union of Scotland, 1988), pp.171-173.
[55] Ibid.

between the two. Furthermore, Arthur was a supporter of the Muscular Christian BB, being an inspecting officer at a display of his local Hillhead branch in 1889.[56] Therefore, there are grounds to believe Arthur was a Muscular Christian himself and an example of a continued interest in both religion and sport amongst the Glaswegian upper-middle class and beyond the public school.

The Boy's Brigade as a Rallying Point for Muscular Christianity

William Alexander Smith, founder of the Boys' Brigade (BB), may be responsible for much of the success of Muscular Christianity not only in Scotland but throughout the world. Prior to the creation of the BB, Smith was a Sabbath school teacher at the Free Church North Woodside Mission in the West End of Glasgow.[57] He found that boys tended to lose focus during classes, often interrupting teaching, and that teenage boys tended not to be involved in any church activity.[58] In 1883 Smith, influenced by his membership of the 1st Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteers, experimented with a Thursday night military-style parade class, hoping that it would keep boys engaged.[59] Considering it a success he proposed the idea of creating a boys' brigade to Rev. George Reith and other officer bearers at the Free Church College.[60] The object of the organisation was defined as 'The advancements of Christ's Kingdom among boys and the promotion of habits of reverence, discipline, self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.'[61] The raison d'être of the BB was therefore akin to that of the wider Muscular Christian phenomenon: the reconciliation of contemporary masculinity and Christianity in the hope of engaging the male population in religion. Indeed, Smith himself commented in 1888 that by associating Christianity 'with all that was most noble and manly in a boy's sight' the brigade could dispel the widespread perception that religion was weak and feminine.[62] Smith argued

[56] '76Th Company Boys' Brigade,' *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 19th April 1889, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001458/18890419/077/0003).
[57] Springhall, Fraser, and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast,* p.23.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., pp.31, 39.
[60] Ibid., p.39.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., p.25.

that Christians must 'appeal to a boy's imagination, and awaken in him that esprit de corps which a soldier feels for his regiment.'[63] The brigade, with its patriotic militarism, seen in its drill displays, parades and seasonal camps, was intended to do just that.[64] Furthermore, as discussed in the next chapter, many BB officers, including Smith himself, believed drill itself could develop the character of the boys.[65] Smith believed that the activity would develop 'minor morals' such as time keeping, cleanliness and discipline.[66]

While the Muscular Christianity of the BB was mainly rooted in patriotic militarism, it quickly embraced an approach to physical recreation similar to that of Almond. It was from 1889 the BB Glasgow Battalion began to host sports competitions such as swimming galas and inter-company football tournaments.[67] Leaders and officers of the BB believed that these initiatives could be used both to attract boys to the organisation and to develop values of team work and patience.[68] Smith endorsed these efforts, affirming that athletics were 'absolutely essential for growing boys' while competitive sports were an opportunity 'for the moral as well as the physical training of our boys.'[69] Officers of the BB also argued that its sports competitions might have a 'purifying effect' upon games such as football by producing respectful players.[70] Smith appears to have also held this view; at the 'Scottish National Conference of Young Men's Christian Associations' in 1891 he defended sports against critics, arguing that recreations like football and cricket were a necessary part of a boy's life, and that the task of the YMCA was therefore to encourage 'boys to put Christ into their football and cricket clubs as well as into their life generally.'[71] The

[63] William Alexander Smith, 'The Boys Brigade: Its Organisation and Methods,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.10, vol.1, 2nd February 1891 (accessed via Glasgow City Archives [hereafter GCA], TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.168-169.
[64] Springhall, Fraser and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast,* pp.56-57, 64-65.
[65] Major-General Gildea, 'Drill and Discipline – Their Use and Value,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.1, vol.1, 1st March 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.5-6.
[66] Smith, 'The Boys Brigade: Its Organisation and Methods' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.168-169.
[67] J. Berend Shaw, *Glasgow Battalion, the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1983), pp.19-21.
[68] 'Football in The Boys' Brigade,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.3, vol.2, 1st February 1892 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/2), p.54.
[69] Smith, 'The Boys Brigade: Its Organisation and Methods' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.168-169.
[70] 'Football in The Boys' Brigade' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), p.54.
[71] 'Young Men's Christian Associations of Scotland,' *The Scotsman*, 11th September 1890, p.5 (https://www.proquest.com/docview/487935496/F2F54DE5113944BAPQ/3?accountid=14540).

vision of the BB, with its fusion of militarism, athletics and religiosity, can thus be considered a comprehensive manifestation of the Muscular Christian ideal.

After a slow start the brigade grew rapidly. By 1888 there were 206 companies (the BB's name for branch) in Scotland, ninety-three of which were in Glasgow.[72] The organisation was not restricted to any particular Protestant denomination, and often companies were founded by combinations of churches such as in Beith where all three main Presbyterian denominations (Church of Scotland, Free Church and United Presbyterian Church) supported a BB company.[73] The brigade remained particularly strong in its origin city of Glasgow. Shaw records that in 1896 the Glasgow battalion numbered 4,211 boys in total.[74] According to the battalion's annual reports this had risen to 7,523 officers and boys in 1905, then 12,501 in 1915 and then 14,845 in 1925.[75] By the turn of the century the brigade had spread to the rest of the UK and held branches in South Africa, America and Australia.[76] Smith and the Glasgow-born BB can therefore be held to have contributed to the spread of Muscular Christianity throughout Britain and the world.

Table 1. Approximate Boys Brigade Membership and Bible Class Attendance, 1887-1925.

Year	Companies	Boys and Non-Commissioned Officers	Officers (inc. Staff Sergeants)	Boys and Officers	Companies hosting bible classes	Bible Class attendance	Bible Class attendance as % of members
1887	63	3,213	206	3419	22	508	14.86%
1895	87	3,845	300	4,145	41	'2000'	48.25%
1905	128	6,652	871	7,523	91	3,476	46.20%
1915	160	11,156	1,345	12,501	142	6,138	49.10%
1925	208	13,063	1,782	14,845	N/A	10,420.16	70.19%

Note: See Appendix A for further explanation.

Source: Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Second Annual Report, 1886-87, May 1887 (GCA, TDBB1/1/2), pp.2-3; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Tenth Annual Report, 1894-1895, May 1895 (GCA, TDBB1/1/10), pp.6-11; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Twentieth Annual Report, 1904 -1905, May 1905 (GCA, TDBB1/1/20), pp.7-8; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Thirtieth Annual Report, 1914-1915*, May 1915 (GCA, TDBB1/1/30), pp.13-14; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Glasgow Battalion the Boys Brigade, 1924-1925*, May 1925 (GCA, TDBB1/1/40), pp.4-5.

[72] Springhall, Fraser and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast*, pp.46-47; for the claim that 'ninety-three of the BB companies were in Glasgow, see ibid., p.47, Table 1.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Shaw, *Glasgow Battalion,* p.6.
[75] See Table 1, p.25.
[76] Springhall, Fraser and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast*, p.73

The BB became a rallying point for those who believed Muscular Christianity to be the solution to the decline of male religious participation in Scotland. Another highly significant figure with connections to the BB was the evangelist Henry Drummond. After earning a degree in divinity at New College, Edinburgh, Drummond became a lecturer in natural science at the Free Church College in Glasgow.[77] Much of his life was invested in evangelistic and humanitarian efforts within the city such as the Possilpark Mission and Glasgow University Settlement.[78] Drummond was a strong supporter of the early Glasgow BB, later being dubbed the 'Apostle of the Boys' Brigade.'[79] He viewed the organisation as a means to spread Christianity amongst the officers as well as the boys.[80] However, much of Drummond's activity can also be termed 'international.' He visited the continents of America, Australia and Africa for both evangelistic preaching and scientific investigations.[81] His writings, such as *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and *The Greatest Thing in the World* gained immense popularity, with the latter having sold over 185,000 copies six months after its first publication at Christmas 1889.[82]

Vance notes that numerous Muscular Christian novels were produced by members of the BB.[83] Drummond may have been one of the earliest BB novelists; in 1891 he made a particular contribution to British Muscular Christianity through a book titled *Baxter's Second Innings*, which was given out as a Christmas gift book across branches that year.[84] Here Drummond uses cricket as an analogy for 'the game of life.'[85]

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[77] D. W. Bebbington, 'Drummond, Henry (1851–1897), writer on theology,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004); accessed 13.07.2020, DOI: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8068.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] D. W. Bebbington, 'Henry Drummond, Evangelicalism and Science,' in *Henry Drummond: A Perpetual Benediction: Essays to Commemorate the Centennial of His Death*, ed. Thomas E. Corts (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), p.29.
[81] Bebbington, 'Drummond, Henry (1851–1897)'
[82] Thomas E. Corts, 'Introduction: who was Henry Drummond,' in *Henry Drummond: A Perpetual Benediction: Essays to Commemorate the Centennial of His Death*, ed. Thomas E. Corts (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), pp.xxix-xxx.
[83] Vance, *The Sinews of the* Spirit, p.173.
[84] Drummond, *Baxter's Second Innings: Specially reported*, p.5; Henry Drummond, *Baxter's Second Innings: The Christmas Gift-book for the Boys Brigade* (Glasgow: Boys' Brigade, 1891), p.1.
[85] Drummond, *Baxter's Second Innings: Specially reported,* p.16.

The story follows young Baxter, who is a batsman for his local cricket team. In his first innings he underestimates the ability of the bowler and is subsequently knocked unconscious by the ball.[86] Later, Baxter is bed ridden, however his captain decides to pay him a visit. The captain proceeds to explain the function of the bowler, drawing an analogy with spiritual temptation. 'Life is simply a cricket match – with temptation as bowler.'[87] He compared the three wickets with three virtues: truth, honour and purity, and explained that the bowler-temptation has three ways of throwing the ball: swifts, slows and screws.[88] The captain details what forms these methods of temptations may take in life using anecdotes, and how to defend against them. Baxter is disheartened by the description of the bowler-temptation's powers and loses confidence in his ability.[89] However, the captain argues that facing temptation is the only way to develop character, like developing muscles by using dumb-bells.[90] Additionally past mistakes in the game can be forgiven.[91] Finally, he notes that 'your captain never lost a match,' referring to Christ.[92] This gives Baxter the confidence he needs and the following Saturday he puts in an excellent performance at the match.[93]

Drummond's story contains notable Muscular Christian themes and motivations. The book makes use of a metaphorical comparison between cricket and the battle with the bowler-temptation. The common themes of sport's character-building benefits are also present. However, there also appears a less obvious endorsement of football. When the captain explains 'swifts' to Baxter, he tells a story of when he was buying 'some lemons for a football match.'[94] That the moral paragon of the story, the captain, intended to attend a football match suggests that Drummond had a generally positive view of the sport. This is significant since, as discussed below, numerous Scottish Protestant groups condemned

[86] Ibid., p.11.
[87] Ibid., p.17.
[88] Ibid., p.18.
[89] Ibid., p.42.
[90] Ibid., pp.48-49.
[91] Ibid., p.54.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., pp.57-58.
[94] Ibid., p.19.

the sport due to its association with vices such as crowd violence and intemperance. Drummond may have held a conciliatory position on this question, and have believed that the sport itself, were it able to be divorced from a vice ridden culture, could be of moral benefit. *Baxter's Second Innings* also shows the Muscular Christian desire to combat Christianity's apparent feminine image. When speaking of 'screws' the captain tells the story of a boy named Bob, who had had a bright future but later succumbed to alcoholism. He notes that one of Bob's biggest mistakes was that he did not pray, remarking that 'perhaps he thought that was only for women.'[95] Bob's fate may have been intended to act as a rebuke to boys who considered religiosity feminine. Drummond's writings to young men and boys exhibit some of the common features of Muscular Christianity, notably the desire to display religion as masculine through the use of sports.

Baxter's Second Innings appears to have had a considerable impact on British Christianity. By 1893 the book had sold 25,000 copies and had received many positive reviews.[96] Nevertheless, there were some detractors who complained that the book, while appearing to be about sport, was in reality a 'goody-goody evangelistic story.'[97] Despite this, both religious and secular sectors of society made use of the novel. In 1915 a Portsmouth minister preached a sermon on the story, while in 1892 the *Aberdeen Free Press* noted that after a cricket match between 'Haddo House' and 'Grammar School' the wining team was presented with copies of the novel by Lord Aberdeen.[98] This response suggests that much of the British public were receptive to Drummond's sporting Christian themes.

Another Scottish literary contributor to the BB was the Rev. Herbert Reid. Reid was a Free Church (and later a United Free) minister and an avid supporter of the BB.[99] He was

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[95] Ibid., p.39.
[96] 'Literature, Art, Music,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 5th June 1893, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001965/18930605/122/0008).
[97] 'The Lorgnette,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 14th June 1893, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001965/18930614/018/0002#).
[98] 'Popular Mid-week Lantern Service,' *Portsmouth Evening News*, 6th April 1915, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000290/19150406/034/0002); 'Cricket, Haddo House v. Grammar School,' *Aberdeen Free Press*, 4th May 1892, p.6 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001507/18920504/070/0006).
[99] John Alexander Lamb, *The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland 1900-1929* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956.), p.162.

originally ordained in Thurso but later moved to Port Glasgow, in 1903.[100] Reid enlisted to be a chaplain in the First World War, later being awarded the military cross.[101] Between 1901 and 1903 he was the editor of the official BB magazine.[102] Reid published *Play the Man* in 1900 which contained a series of addresses to 'the boys of Thurso.'[103] These texts frequently reference Muscular Christian figures both historical and fictional, such as Tom Brown, 'Fred' Baxter (of *Baxter's Second Innings*) and Charles Kingsley.[104] An address of interest was 'How to be Men.' Here Reid argues that the mark of manhood is heroism, and the spirit of heroism is found within Christianity. To demonstrate this Reid notes that boys' enthusiasm for sports like football, originates from a heroic sentiment.[105] However he remarks:

> [W]hat fills me with sad amazement is that these very lads who enjoy with so much zest the keenness of the contest in the one case should often be found so indifferent to the other …. They cannot understand any fellow being so keen in the Christian life; that they should even be found to think sometimes that to be a Christian is weak and womanish …. You do not perceive that the spirit you admire so much in these manly contests is the very spirit which breathes through the whole life to which Christ is calling you. Only, this is a contest on an infinitely higher plane, with results that are of eternal consequences.'[106]

Like Drummond, Reid viewed sport as a symbol for a Christian life. It is also used to show young men that Christianity is compatible with contemporary masculinity. Reid argued further in his address that the courage required for Christian living was inherently masculine.[107] However, although they endorsed sports as 'heroic' Reid, like Smith and others in the BB, wished contemporary sports culture would move away from immorality.

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Reid, *Play the* Man, p.xii.
[104] Ibid., pp.8-9, 97, 150-151.
[105] Ibid., pp.3-4.
[106] Ibid., p.6.
[107] Ibid., pp.6-7, 11.

This is revealed later in Reid's addresses with an anecdote of a cricket captain at Eton College named 'Coleridge Patterson', who was prepared to leave his club after an 'objectionable song' was sung at the annual dinner.[108] Reid's addresses therefore provide another instance of Muscular Christian ideas being disseminated within the brigade.

Assessing the Boys' Brigade Bible Class in Glasgow

As noted above, the BB's intended mission was to provide boys and young men with religious teaching. Indeed, Smith had founded the organisation as a remedy for the absence of boys and adolescent males in Sabbath schools; he later expected that the BB should act as an 'auxiliary' to Sabbath schools and desired every company to host a weekly class.[109] It may be impossible to determine whether the BB as a whole was successful in using Muscular Christianity as means to expose boys to any sophisticated religious instruction. Certainly, religion was a major aspect of the battalion's regular activities. All officers were required to be members of a church.[110] Religious addresses were to be given at each company meeting.[111] Boys were actively encouraged to participate in Bible class examinations and become members of the Glasgow Union of Young Men's Christian Association's (GUYMCA) or a local church's young men's society. However, the BB frequently had to defend itself from accusations of being focused primarily on militarism and having only a superficial Christianity.[112] This is visible on a congregational level: the author of the Camphill United Presbyterian Church (located in Glasgow's southern suburbs) 1908 annual report was compelled to address those who thought the BB 'savours too much militarism' by noting that the 'Bible class is the very root and foundation of our organisation.'[113] As Smith himself desired the BB to supplement Sabbath school

[108] Ibid., p.21.
[109] Smith, 'The Boys Brigade: Its Organisation and Methods' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.168-169.
[110] Springhall, Fraser and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast*, p.43.
[111] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Third Annual Report, 1887-88*, May 1888 (GCA, TDBB1/1/3), p.4.
[112] Waldo McGillycuddy Eagar, *Making Men: The History of Boys' Clubs and Related Movements in Great Britain* (London: University of London Press, 1953), p.325.
[113] Camphill United Free Church, *Thirty sixth Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church, 1908*, January 1909 (GCA, CH3/1470/26), p.37.

attendance through its own bible classes, a measurement of attendance would reveal if the BB's Muscular Christian activities were achieving their goal.

The Glasgow Battalion annual reports show that the local BB initially struggled to gain success with its Bible class programme; however, it eventually reached a stage where the majority of boys were attending classes. In 1887 the annual report recorded that there were 3,419 boys and officers in the battalion.[114] However, there was the average Bible class attendance was 508, representing only 14.86% of all officers and boys.[115] In fact, only twenty-two out of the sixty-three companies had Bible classes.[116] Nevertheless, Smith continually attempted to persuade companies to make attendance compulsory.[117] There seems to have been some acceptance of this: in 1895, forty-one out of eighty-seven companies were hosting classes with an average attendance of '2,000' of 4,145 officers and boys (48.25%),[118] and by 1905, ninety-one out of 128 companies were hosting bible classes. However, growth in average attendance had stagnated, reaching 3,476 out of 7,523 officers and boys (46.20%).[119] Ten years later this had risen to 142 out of 160 companies hosting classes, with an average attendance of 6,138 out 12,501 officers and boys (49.10%).[120] After the war there was another strong increase in Bible class attendees. While the annual report for the 1924-1925 session does not state the number of companies holding classes, it does indicate an average attendance of 70.19% (approximately 10,420.16 out of all 14,845 officers and boys).[121]

From these figures it can be claimed that the BB eventually achieved Smith's goal of having BB boys receive a religious education. However, the claim made in the Camphill Presbyterian Annual Report that its BB company's 'Bible class is the very root and foundation of our organisation' was not well reflected in the initial years of the

[114] See Table 1, p.25.
[115] See Table 1, p.25.
[116] See Table 1, p.25.
[117] Shaw, *Glasgow Battalion*, p.14.
[118] See Table 1, p.25.
[119] See Table 1, p.25.
[120] See Table 1, p.25.
[121] See Table 1, p.25.

organisation, with only a small minority of boys attending classes in the 1880s. Much of this was due to the lack of companies hosting Bible classes. The 1894 annual report notes that this was due to 'want of accommodation' and 'difficulty in arranging.'[122] However, Shaw notes the Bible Class Sub-committee in 1893 felt compelled to inform officers that 'Drill is only [the] secondary object' when trying to convince companies to make classes compulsory.[123] This suggests that some officers viewed the religious objectives of the brigade as fulfilled within the general church setting of the organisation or secondary to providing boys with an experience akin to the volunteer force. The battalion seems to have devoted considerable effort in correcting this, as shown by the strong increase of average attendances by 1896. Indeed, the Church of Scotland, reporting on the *Religious Condition of the People* in 1896, identified BB Bible classes as one of the few successful means of preaching to the youth.[124] Nevertheless, the most frequent religious activity for most BB boys in the late Victorian era still would have been the religious 'short addresses.' The average attendance of over 50% in the 1910s, rising to a 70% average attendance in the 1920s, indicates the achievement of Smith's original goal. This contrasts with the general decline of Sunday school adherence between the late 1800s and interwar years. Brown finds that in 1891, 53% of Scottish children aged 5-15 were members of a Sunday school in one of the three major Presbyterian denominations.[125] By 1931, this had fallen to 38%.[126] Therefore, it can be claimed that the BB's brand of Muscular Christianity allowed for many Glaswegian boys to receive a religious instruction they otherwise might not have had.

[122] See Table 1, p.25.
[123] Shaw, *Glasgow Battalion*, p.14; Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Eight Annual Report, 1892-1893,* May 1893 (GCA, TDBB1/1/8), p.13.
[124] Rev. John Marshall Lang, 'Report of the Commission of the Religious condition of the people,' in *Reports of the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1896* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1896), pp.849-850.
[125] Brown, 'Popular culture and the continuing struggle for rational recreation,' pp.216-217.
[126] Ibid.

Muscular Christianity and Wider Protestantism

It would be a mistake to think that outside Scottish public schools and the BB there were no other concerted efforts to promote Muscular Christianity in Scotland during the nineteenth century, although there does appear to be a stagnation in the Scottish movement. The Muscular Christianity found in English public schools was accompanied by a highly productive literary movement led by Kingsley and Hughes in the 1850s and 1860s, which achieved considerable support amongst Broad Church Anglican clergymen who used sports as a means to connect with their congregations.[127] Furthermore, Christian sportsmen, like cricketer C. T. Studd, were used to promote an image of religious masculinity.[128] However, within Scotland there appears very little comment on the possible religious use of sport during the 1860s and 1870s. Aside from the short lived Glasgow United YMCA football team in the mid-1880s,[129] there appear to be very few sports groups with explicitly Protestant religious origins. Instead, it was urban Irish-Catholic groups in Glasgow and Edinburgh who adopted sport as a means to retain group cohesion in the 1880s.[130] The reason for this may have been that some within Scottish Presbyterianism viewed athletics and sports as a magnet for immorality for much of the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, in 1853 the Stirling-based evangelical Peter Drummond published a tract on 'Races, Games and Balls' condemning local games as distractions from religion:

> The modern foot-race and games are peculiarly disgraceful … are these exercises becoming in rational creatures? Are they becoming in Christians? … they are engaging in amusements which the light of reason and the Word of God expressly condemn.[131]

[127] McLeod, 'Sport and Religion in England,' pp.115-117.
[128] McLeod, *Religion and Society in England,* pp.149-150.
[129] See Chapter 2*,* 'Glasgow Churches and Physical Recreation, 1867 – 1929,' pp.48-49.
[130] Murray*, The Old* Firm, pp.11-12, 47.
[131] Peter Drummond, *Races, Games and Balls,* November 1853 (accessed via University of Stirling Archive, Stirling Tracts, Drummond 0,00.9515/1849/339), p.4.

The lack of comments on the relationship between athletics and religion generally continued until the late 1880s and 1890s when fierce debates over the church's position on popular sport, like football, appear. By this time spectator sport was rapidly becoming a huge cultural event. This is indicated by the increase of attendances at Scotland versus England international games in Glasgow, with 11,000 attending in 1886, 57,000 in 1896 and 100,000 in 1906.[132] At the same time spectator culture had become associated with numerous vices such as gambling, intemperance, violence, foul language and Sabbath violation, thus were condemned by many Presbyterian groups across Scotland. Indeed, from the late 1880s onwards crowd fights at football matches were becoming more common.[133] There was also a concern about the effects of professionalism, fearing that it may make idols out of sportsmen.[134] At the 1890 conference of the Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA) and Fellowship Unions of Scotland, three speakers raised concerns of the effect of football upon young men, fearing that it led to an association with non-Christians and the practice of betting, indicating that the national YMCA was becoming more sceptical about the sport than it previously had been.[135] *The British Weekly*'s reaction to the 1902 Ibrox disaster revealed the extent to which these criticisms were held. Despite showing sympathy for those killed and injured, the paper took the opportunity to condemn all that they saw negative about sport. The crowds of spectators were described as 'unmanly' mobs associated with betting culture while the setting itself was compared to a Spanish bullring.[136] The paper concluded that 'the game, like horseracing, draws together the roughest and least responsible classes.'[137] Such a position was not confined to *The British Weekly* editorship; as Dr. Atkin of Ryehill Church in Dundee also took the disaster as motivation for a sermon against football crowds,

[132] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' p.230.
[133] Matthew Lynn McDowell, 'The origins, patronage and culture of association football in the west of Scotland, c. 1865-1902,' unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2010), pp.198-199.
[134] Weir, 'The Clergy and Early Scottish Football,' [p.44].
[135] 'Young Men's Christian Associations of Scotland,' p.5.
[136] 'Notes of the Week, The Glasgow Football Disaster,' in *The British Weekly*, no.806, vol.31, April 10th 1902 (NLS, GIVB.3/57), p.469.
[137] Ibid.

comparing them to the masses of people who would visit the Colosseum in ancient Rome.[138]

There were critics of popular sports amongst Glaswegian Protestants as well, particularly regarding the issue of Sabbath desecration. Murray notes a Renton minister writing in the *Glasgow Evening News* in 1893 complaining about the effect of football upon the city's population.[139] He apparently received considerable support from other contributors claiming that a consequence of football fanaticism was the desecration of the Sabbath because people were too tired from the excitement of the previous day and would obsess over it in their conversations. Likewise, in 1896 Rev. Jas Primrose of Cathedral Square United Presbyterian Church stated that he regretted his footballing past as the sport, having 'such as grip of a man', drove people to play on a Sunday.[140] Later, the Sunday Observance Committee of Glasgow and the Glasgow Working Men's and West of Scotland Sabbath Protection Association, in 1896 and 1897 respectively, both found that football was a common cause of Sabbath breaking, with the former concluding that 'the great devotion to athletics on the Saturday was incompatible with a proper observance of the Sabbath.'[141] The general culture of football was also condemned. At an 1896 meeting of Glasgow Free Presbyterian the report of the committee on religion and morals concluded that 'young men of Christian character should take their stand against betting, profanity, and professionalism' and avoid matches where these took place.[142]

The Rev. W. W. Beveridge may have been the most active proselytiser of Muscular Christianity in Scotland out with public schools and the BB. Throughout his ministerial career Beveridge would speak on the subject and would sometimes entitle his public

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[138] 'British Table Talk, Scotland,' *The British Weekly,* no.807, vol.31, April 20th 1902 (NLS, GIVB.3/57), p.469.
[139] Murray, *The Old Firm*, p.40.
[140] 'A Glasgow Minister Condemns the Football Craze,' *Falkirk Herald*, 26th December 1896, p.7 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000468/18961226/054/0007).
[141] 'Sunday Observance Committees, Glasgow,' *The Scotsman*, 7th October 1896, p.8 (https://www.proquest.com/docview/484855943/A0B8BC2AC49C4005PQ/1?accountid=14540); 'Scottish Sabbath Protection Association,' *The Scotsman*, 21st December 1897, p.7 (https://www.proquest.com/docview/488136157/4450B6413D5448EBPQ/2?accountid=14540).
[142]'Glasgow Ministers and Football,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 4th March 1896, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000452/18960304/051/0004).

lectures 'Muscular Christianity.'[143] He is one of the more self-aware figures of the movement, explicitly espousing its ideals. During his theological studies at Glasgow University he became a renowned athlete,[144] earning three Scotland international caps in football and being three times the 100 and 400 yards sprinting champion between 1879 and 1881.[145] In 1883 Beveridge became the minister for Princes Street United Presbyterian Church in Port Glasgow,[146] and continued to judge at athletics events throughout the rest of his life.[147] Like Reid, Beveridge also served as a chaplain during the First World War .[148] He died in 1941 while giving a children's address in Gourock.[149]

The *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette* reported on an 1886 YMCA meeting in Greenock at which Beveridge delivered one of his earliest lectures on the relationship between athletics and Christianity.[150] The article's summary of the lecture provides insight into how Beveridge articulated his beliefs about Muscular Christianity. The lecture proclaimed King David of the Old Testament to bean 'athlete alike by nature and by training,' shown by his ability to defeat his enemies, including the 'Syrian lion', in hand-to-hand combat.[151] Beveridge used this as biblical justification for his belief that individuals with a strong physique will be better equipped to serve God and country. Concurrently, he claimed that the idea of a saint's being 'necessarily a person who is weakly and feeble' was a 'delusion.' Furthermore, athletics itself could develop morals.

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[143] 'Sermon, Lectures, &c,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette*, 27th November 1908, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/19081127/103/0004?browse=False).
[144] 'Scottish University Sport,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 25th March 1879, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000162/18790325/023/0003); 'Athletic Sports, The University Sports at Oxford,' The Sportsman, 25th August 1879, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001055/18780318/023/0003).
[145] 'Football Players and the Church,' *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 28th February 1940, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000461/19400228/150/0008).
[146] Lamb, *The Fasti*, p.162.
[147] 'Sprints,' *Scottish Referee*, 15th July 1901, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19010715/036/0002); 'Mainly about Players,' *Scottish Referee*, 29th July 1912, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19120729/008/0001).
[148] 'Chaplains to the Forces,' *Daily Record*, 2nd February 1918, p.6 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000728/19180202/142/0006).
[149] 'Gartmore, Obituary,' *Stirling Observer*, 30th January 1941, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000474/19410130/067/0004).
[150] 'Rev. W. W. Beveridge on Athleticism,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette*, 20th January 1886, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/18860120/042/0002).
[151] 1 Samuel 17: 34-36, King James Version.

Echoing Almond, Beveridge argued that a healthy body would lead to a healthy mind as, in order to achieve athletic strength, one must discipline one's self against excesses. He drew upon Saint Paul's use of athletic metaphor to justify this point, quoting, 'every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things.'[152] For Beveridge, religious training and physical training had both metaphorical and literal parallels. As the article summarised: 'Physical training is directly antagonistic to every from of sinful and enervating indulgence'; indeed, Beveridge would later encourage football players and athletes to give up smoking and alcohol in order to improve their performances.[153] From this point Beveridge sought to reconcile Christianity and sporting masculinity asking, 'were there anything in Christianity at variance with such manly sports?' However, Beveridge attacked some aspects of the culture of football such as the obsession some have with the sport which dominates 'their conversation on the Sabbath' and the profanity uttered by spectators.[154] Later he would add gambling and intemperance to that list of vices.[155] Therefore, Beveridge's sermon can be considered an early version of the conciliatory position regarding popular sports which argued that sports themselves could be morally good as long as the associated culture was pure.

In the 1890s Beveridge became the leading voice in Scotland arguing for reconciliation between popular sports and Scottish Protestantism. In 1894 he announced in a *Scottish Referee* article that he was conducting a series of lectures across the nation addressing the growing rift between Presbyterian clergymen and Scottish football culture.[156] Again, Beveridge argued that sports could improve both the health and ethics of men as they could develop 'moral virtues like self-control, unselfishness and self-denial.' He reiterated his calls for a unity of alcoholic temperance and athletics, arguing that athletes would improve their performance; however, Beveridge acknowledged his fellow

[152] 1 Corinthians 9:24-25, King James Version.
[153] 'The Clergy and Football,' *Scottish Referee*, 23rd March 1894, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/18940323/031/0002).
[154] 'Rev. W. W. Beveridge on Athleticism,' p.2.
[155] 'The Clergy and Football,' p.2.
[156] Ibid.

clergymen's aversion to football matches, explaining to audiences that they were not against the game itself but had an aversion to its 'harmful' associations. Indeed, Beveridge argued that players should 'set their faces like flint against roughness, drinking, profanity, betting and every other evil abuse that makes it difficult for Christian ministers to identify with the sport', while ministers should be interested in the 'young men' of their congregations and their 'pastime.'

Many Glaswegian Protestants embraced the conciliatory position towards popular sports. As previously mentioned, W. A. Smith allowed the implementation of sports leagues within the BB and defended their use at the Scottish YMCA conference in 1891.[157] At an 1895 Glasgow Free Church Synod, Rev. Mr. Brown of St Peter Church defended the creation of a football club in his church by claiming that it 'fed the church and bible class' with new members.[158] While the Glasgow Free Church's Committee on Religion and Morals did condemn football culture in 1896, Dr. Duff of St Georges Church hoped it was 'possible to make the best of football' by divorcing it from intemperance, profanity and gambling.[159] Perhaps the most outspoken defender of sport amongst the Glasgow clergymen was Rev. A. R. McEwan of Anderston United Presbyterian Church.[160] As early as 1887 McEwan defended football against his colleagues asking them if they would prefer young men to 'be in the public houses or billiard saloons, or loafing about the corners of the street?' rather than on the football field.[161] At the 1892 United Presbyterian Church Guild conference McEwan claimed that the sport had improved the 'manners and conduct' of young men.[162] McDowell identifies McEwan as the president of a local junior club, however his enthusiasm for the sport is further shown by his appearance at the Glasgow

[157] 'Young Men's Christian Associations of Scotland,' p.5.
[158] 'Glasgow Ministers on Football,' *Dundee Courier*, 10th April 1895, p.5 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000162/18950410/066/0005).
[159] 'Glasgow Ministers and Football,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 4th March 1896, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000452/18960304/071/0004).
[160] McDowell, 'The origins, patronage and culture of association football,' p.57.
[161] 'A Minister on Football,' *Yorkshire Gazet*te, 1st January 1887, p.6 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000266/18870101/028/0006).
[162] 'A Glasgow Minister on Football,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 26th October 1892, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000452/18921026/014/0002).

Charity Cup presentation ceremony in 1896, where he praised the sport as 'one of the best forms of athletics' but encouraged clubs to enforce rules against spectator drunkenness.[163]

The divisions over the issue of sports are visible from reports on church assemblies for the years 1896 and 1897. During the General Council of the United Presbyterian Church Guild in Edinburgh in 1897, Beveridge presented to fellow minsters a defence very similar to the arguments presented in his public addresses.[164] He stated that sport, and football in particular, could be both physically and spiritually healthy, associating this position with the term 'Muscular Christianity.' As might be expected, he also condemned the sport's connection with public houses and obsessive, foul-mouthed spectators. Despite receiving a round of applause for this presentation, other minsters at the council provided detractions, with Rev. John McColl of Paisley, while not condemning the sport itself, voicing concern that publicans were using it as an opportunity to draw people into their establishments.[165] He also urged the Council to oppose professionalism, something which Beveridge defensively predicted would decline in the coming years. Rev. Pollock from Glasgow noted that in his city, football was 'coming to be looked upon as an evil,' perhaps referring to the rising violence between fans of Rangers Football Club and Celtic Football Club.[166] Finally, Rev. Stevenson from Leith argued that the church should focus less on amusements and encourage young people to direct themselves towards religion.[167]

A similar debate occurred at a meeting of ministers of the Congregational Union of Scotland the following year when Rev. H. Herbert Snell from Glasgow presented a paper on 'Christ and Recreation' arguing that at all ages in life, physical games such as football

[163] McDowell, 'The origins, patronage and culture of association football,' p.57; 'A Glasgow Minister on Football,' *Perthshire Advertiser*, 11th September 1896, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000458/18960911/083/0003).
[164] 'United Presbyterian Church Guild,' *The Scotsman*, 17th November 1897, p.7 (https://www.proquest.com/docview/488139094/A2CA64A93872493CPQ/1?accountid=14540).
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.

could strengthen health and character.[168] He celebrated the rise of sport amongst young boys and girls but he also condemned the associated vices which sport had become associated with, along with the 'worship of athletics' and Sabbath desecration. Very few of the recorded opinions were disapproving of Snell's position. Some argued that people spent excessive time on sports and that as many of these games entailed physical danger they should be avoided. [169] The majority agreed with Snell yet were keen to qualify their support with comments that sports should be enjoyed in moderation.[170] A Dunfermline minister commented that the church's stance on sport needed to be defined to young people in order to keep them engaged with the church, suggesting that some may have perceived a wedge between the two spheres in wider society.[171]

A similar debate occurred at the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1896. This event is of particular interest as three Glasgow minsters made comments on football and 'popular sports.'[172] First, Rev. Dr. George Reith spoke of an experience at a football match with his sons: he was not concerned about the enthusiasm boys and young men had towards the sport and thought that there was 'nothing wrong in the game' but he was affronted by the foul language used by spectators.[173] It is perhaps unsurprising that Reith, who approved of the BB, displayed a conciliatory tone towards football. Of greater interest are the comments regarding the Church's investigation into physical recreation. The report was read by the Rev. John Burnett who noted the complexity of determining an educated opinion on the issue.[174] In the right context, sport could be of great physical and mental benefit. However, he emphasised that it was not the Church's role to provide amusements and was concerned also that there were many evils linked to sport, such as

[168] 'Congregational Union of Scotland and Amusements,' *The Scotsman*, 29th September 1898, p.11 (https://www.proquest.com/docview/484755823/545BB3E31CEA4FD5PQ/1?accountid=14540).
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] 'Free Church,' *The Scotsman*, 27th May 1896, p.11 (https://www.proquest.com/docview/488066563/E8F9B95AF7EE439CPQ/2?accountid=14540).
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.

drinking, swearing and excessiveness.[175] Nevertheless he insisted there was 'no inherent evil in popular games' and was pleased that many football clubs had implemented regulations to curtail certain vices.[176] The Glaswegian minister, Rev. Dr. Walter Ross Taylor commended the report for 'its sympathetic tone … towards popular sports' noting that the Church had previously tended to 'discourage' its congregations from popular sport.[177] The 'mischievous consequence of this was that young people had developed a false impression of Christianity and allowed once innocent amusements to be influenced by 'evil accompaniments.'[178] Taylor asserted that simple denunciation would not counter these problems and his belief was that 'the Christian manly athletic standing up for what he believed to be true and good' would do 'more among young men than fifty sanctimonious recluses.'[179] Taylor's remarks are particularly revealing as they suggest that many within the Free Church had held a negative view of popular sports in the past, only for these now to be reassessed. That these three speakers were from all Glasgow suggests that a conciliatory position towards popular sports may have been especially pervasive within Free Churches in the city.

While it is unclear whether the later United Free Church or Church of Scotland embraced Beveridge's conciliatory position towards sport, this outlook certainly appears to have prevailed in Glasgow. While there were many critics of sport within the city, numerous clergymen came to its defence. The steady increase of church use of physical recreation facilities in young men's clubs during the 1890s and the founding of a large amateur football league, the Glasgow District and Churches League, in 1908 suggests a victory for the likes of Dr. Ross Taylor and Rev. McEwan.[180] These developments experienced within Glaswegian Presbyterian churches appear similar to non-conformist groups in England who

[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' *Scottish Referee*, 6th January 1911, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19110106/004/0001?); See Chapter 2, 'Glasgow Churches and Physical Recreation, 1867-1929,' pp.56-57.

were divided over the question of sport until a favourable sentiment won out in the late nineteenth century.[181] McLeod argues that the use of sport by such groups in the 1890s was not simply to exploit the interests of young men nor was it a surrender to pervasive culture.[182] Instead, it was part of a 'package' of moral initiatives such as temperance and anti-gambling.[183] Certainly, the moral justifications for physical recreation accompanied Glaswegian churches' eventual adoption of sport, perhaps being an unlocking requirement. The development of this phenomenon will be explored in detail in the following chapter. However, the next topic about the popularity of Christian athletes, many based within Glasgow, in the inter-war years supports the view that Muscular Christianity had found a home in Glasgow.

Running the Race and Playing the Game

By the 1920s Muscular Christianity had begun to lose its cultural capital in England.[184] This is not to say that church use of physical recreation had declined; quite the opposite. For instance, in Bolton in 1930, 45% of cricket teams and 48% of football teams had some connection to a religious organisation.[185] Moreover, the propaganda use of Christian sportsmen continued (and arguably continues today).[186] However, McLeod notes that growing football professionalisation was alienating Muscular Christians from endorsing the sport culture in the same way as before.[187] Meanwhile, Mangan finds that the Muscular Christianity of English public schools was declining in the face of a more aggressive social Darwinian philosophy.[188] Finally, Vance argues that the experience of the First World War disillusioned many about the themes of Victorian manliness associated with Muscular Christianity.[189] In contrast, divisions between sports culture and the major Presbyterian

[181] McLeod, 'Sport and Religion in England,' pp.116-117.
[182] McLeod, '"Thews and Sinews": Nonconformity and Sport,' pp.44-45.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid., p.124.
[185] Ibid., p.121.
[186] Ibid., pp.123-124.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School,* pp.135-136.
[189] Vance*, The Sinews of the Spirit*, p.200-206.

groups in Scotland had always existed, but evidence suggests that after that First World War those divisions were closing rather than widening. As Vance observes when noting the popularity of Christian athlete Eric Liddell: 'Physical manliness was still serving Christianity well as an Evangelical instrument … in Scotland.'[190]

During the interwar years, Liddell became strongly associated with the term Muscular Christianity. Son of a Congregationalist minister and missionary, Liddell famously refused to run in the 100 metre sprint heats in the 1924 Paris Olympic Games because they were to be hosted on a Sunday.[191] Instead, Liddell competed in the 400 metre competition and won a gold medal, making him an international hero of Christian athleticism (famously depicted in the 1981 film 'Chariots of Fire').[192] Thereafter, Liddell graduated from Edinburgh University, spending the following year studying theology and participating in evangelistic campaigns before going as a missionary to China.[193] He died in 1945 during the Second World War in a Japanese internment camp.[194]

Of interest to this study is Liddell's contribution to evangelistic campaigns. D. P. Thomson, founder of the Glasgow Students Evangelistic Union (GSEU) and active home missionary, frequently made use of sportsmen during his campaigns.[195] His recruitment of Liddell was perhaps the most successful. Liddell's first involvement in such an event was in 1923 during a mission to Armadale, in West Lothian, by the GSEU.[196] In order to attract more men to their meetings the group successfully invited Liddell to speak at one event: he had already earned seven caps for the Scotland international rugby team and was considered a sporting celebrity.[197] After his Olympic success, evangelistic groups

[190] Ibid., p.169.
[191] Magnus Magnusson, 'Liddell, Eric Henry (1902–1945), missionary and athlete,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* (23 September 2004); accessed 13.07.2020. DOI: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37676.
[192] Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit*, p.171; *Chariots of Fire.* Directed by Hugh Hudson (London: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 1981), DVD, 2002.
[193] Magnusson, 'Liddell, Eric Henry (1902–1945).'
[194] Ibid.
[195] David Patrick Thomson, *Eric H. Liddell: Athlete and Missionary* (rev. ed., Crieff: The Research Unit, 1971), p.34.
[196] Ibid., pp.34-37.
[197] Ibid.

continued to use Liddell's star power. For example, Liddell was advertised to be involved in a football match and relay race in Irvine as part of a home missionary campaign.[198] Liddell's sporting status was thus exploited to attract men to evangelistic meetings, exemplifying the Muscular Christian desire to reconcile sporting masculinity and Christianity. He played a similar role as headline speaker in a 'Manhood' campaign across Britain in 1925.[199] Liddell would continue to participate in these events until his departure for China in 1940.[200]

Alan Morton, a Glasgow Rangers player and Scotland football international, may be considered the Glaswegian equivalent of Eric Liddell. Morton was signed from Queens Park to Rangers in 1920 and went on to make 498 appearances for the club before he retired in 1933.[201] He was well known for his role in Scotland's 5-1 victory over England in 1928.[202] Despite this, Morton only trained part time as he was also a mining engineer.[203] Alongside Liddell, Morton assisted Thompson's campaigns in 1920s.[204] During one of Thomson's campaigns in Linlithgow in 1926, Morton sent a letter to be read by Thomson. The Linlithgowshire Gazette recorded part of this message~~,~~ which was reminiscent of the metaphorical sentiments of *Baxter's Second Innings*:

> We are all playing a game – the game of life. How are we playing? Do we play the game like the sons of a king? If not we should be, as all are sons of the King of Kings. A better captain than Jesus we cannot possibly get. It is therefore up to

[198] Ibid., p.45.
[199] Ibid., p.162.
[200] Magnusson, 'Liddell, Eric Henry (1902–1945).'
[201] William Murray, 'Morton, Alan Lauder (1893–1971), footballer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004); accessed 13.07.2020. DOI: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-58828
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.
[204] 'Kilsyth Churches United Campaign,' *Kirkintilloch Gazette*, 26th November 1926, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001607/19261126/016/0001).

every sportsman to follow the captain's lead, so that in our everyday life our actions will show whose we are and whom we serve.[205]

Morton was not alone in his evangelistic contributions. During the early 1930s his fellow Rangers players Jimmy Fleming and George Brown also made church appearances.[206] All three of them, along with players from Airdrieonians, Albion Rovers and Arbroath, participated in a Coatbridge church service in 1932.[207] The sermon preached by the minister Rev. R. Adam Smith included numerous Muscular Christian themes. Smith drew a parallel between the desire of the Rangers players to win the Scottish cup and Revelation 21, 'He that overcometh shall inherit all things.'[208] The Christian life was depicted as a challenge; just as the Rangers team had achieved success from their 'will to win', so too the team of Christ can achieve spiritual success.[209] Smith's mention of the drive to 'win noble manhood' also indicates the typical attempt to combine sporting masculinity with Christianity. From these instances it can be argued that Muscular Christian ideas may have remained popular amongst Scots throughout the inter-war years, while they had begun to dwindle in England. Furthermore, the city of Glasgow continued to export Muscular Christian figureheads to the rest of Scotland.

The inter-war popularity of Muscular Christianity in Scotland is not without caveats. As noted, the overwhelming majority of BB members attended weekly Bible classes during the 1920s. In addition, church sports clubs proliferated, though there was a greater focus on congregational socialisation over character development in these groups. This will be

[205] 'Linlithgow Churches' Effort,' *Linlithgowshire Gazette*, 15th October 1926, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001907/19261015/017/0002).
[206] For Jimmy Fleming: 'Temple,' *Milngavie and Bearsden Herald*, 8th March 1929, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0002008/19290308/034/0004); 'Perth Y.M.C.A. Notes,' *Perthshire Advertiser*, 3rd February 1934, p.21 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000458/19340203/219/0021?).
For George Brown: 'Craigneuk Parish Church,' *Wishaw Press*, 30th November 1934, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0002750/19341123/062/0005); 'General Assembly Arrangements,' *Dundee Courier*, 2nd May 1933, p.7 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000564/19330502/118/0007).
[207] 'Sports Service in Maxwell Church,' *Coatbridge Express*, 27th April 1932, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002710/19320427/013/0002).
[208] Revelation 21:7, King James Version.
[209] 'Sports Service in Maxwell Church,' p.2.

explored in the following chapter, but it serves as an indication that later manifestations of Muscular Christianity did not propound the same moral values as before. For instance, many of the footballers appropriated by Scottish churches during the inter-war years will have been professionals. Alan Morton, for instance, was rumoured to be paid £4,000 annually.[210] Therefore, the previous Muscular Christian objection against professionalisation, notably held by Beveridge, seems to have become less important. An ideology which intended to change sport culture was itself changed by sports culture.

Conclusion

The key features of Almond's brand of Muscular Christianity were shared by many of his counterparts. The majority of groups and individuals mentioned above, from the 1860s to the inter-war era were keen to reconcile sporting masculinity with religion. This was seen most prominently in Beveridge but was exemplified by Liddell. There was a common argument that should sport be divided from a vice-ridden culture, it could develop the character of the participants, as discussed in the Congregationalist, United Presbyterian and Free Church denominations in the 1890s. Almond's attachment to patriotic imperialism was echoed in the Christian militarism so often associated with the Scottish Muscular Christian movement, seen strongly in the BB.

Glasgow experienced much of this phenomenon, producing its own examples and exporting them to the rest of the country. The public school brand of Muscular Christianity was present at Glasgow Academy as evidenced by the curriculum changes of Morrison and the activities of Arthur. The BB, originating in Glasgow, became a rallying point for likeminded Muscular Christian supporters across the country such as Drummond and Reid. Its own brand of Muscular Christianity brought numerous Glaswegian boys into contact with religious instruction. Meanwhile, the conciliatory position on football may have found particular adherence in Glasgow. Finally, the use of Glasgow Rangers players, such

[210] Murray, 'Morton, Alan Lauder (1893–1971).'

as Morton, in church services indicates Muscular Christian themes were still useful within the inter-war era, even if its original morality had been altered.

Glasgow Churches and Physical Recreation, 1867 - 1929

Sports and physical exercise amongst Glaswegian Protestantism, 1867-1914

One of the earliest recorded examples of religious groups using sport in Glasgow may be the use of football by the Glasgow Union of Young Men's Christian Association (GUYMCA). Queen's Park Football Club (QPFC) was the first Scottish football club, formed in 1867 after the club's founders' played a game against the local YMCA at Glasgow's south side park.[1] The long established theory that YMCA played a role in founding QPFC can be robustly challenged by referring to statements by the club's creators such as honorary club secretary, Archibald Rae, who said in 1874 that the YMCA's 'muscular Christianity … was not always in favour' with the QPFC team, revealing an early distinction between secular and religious attitudes to the use of sport.[2] Nevertheless, an entry in the 1879–1880 *Scottish Football Association* (SFA) *Annual* on the origins of QPFC by an author named 'An old Black-and-White' (referring to the club's strip patterns) notes that the club drew its rule codes from the editor of *Cassell's Paper* and *Sporting Life*, as these publications were the 'chosen literature of the GUYMCA', indicating a degree of communication.[3] This also reveals that the Glaswegian YMCA was involved in sport as early as the 1860s.

In 1883 the GUYMCA created its own athletic club with cricket, football, tennis and gymnastics sections.[4] The club acquired a field at Kelbourne Street with its own clubhouse which would later be referred to as 'GUYMCA Athletic Club Park.'[5] Their gymnasium was situated at Rosemount School on Sauchiehall Street.[6] The SFA annuals provide insight into

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[1] McDowell, 'The origins, patronage and culture of association football in the west of Scotland,' p.8.
[2] Ibid., p.45.
[3] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1879–1880*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co., 1880), p.84.
[4] Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, *Annual Report, Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, 1883*, March 1884 (accessed via University of Glasgow Archives (UGA), MU22-D.13), pp.15-16.
[5] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1885–1886*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co., 1886), p.57.
[6] Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, *Annual Report* (UGA, MU22-D.13), pp.15-16.

the club's football section. The 1884–1885 annual notes that the YMCA only played twelve football matches, winning eight of them.[7] By 1886 membership had risen from fifty-five to 120, indicating that it was a sizeable club, larger than Partick Thistle's eighty members.[8] Sometime within the following year the YMCA football section may have either disbanded or greatly downsized as it does not appear on the 1887–1888 list.[9] Instead, a new club, Kelvinside Athletic, played at the GUYMCA Athletic Club Park.[10] The change in both honorary and match secretaries indicates that this was probably an entirely new club rather than a reformed entity. Indeed, the 1892–1893 annual shows that the ground had changed name to Kelburn Park.[11]

There is no visible reason for the disappearance of the GUYMCA football club; membership had been increasing, and YMCA gymnastics section continued to be active until the end of the century. It is possible that the GUYMCA took note of the criticism football was receiving from the wider YMCA and Scottish Presbyterianism and thus acted on moral grounds;[12] however, there is no recorded statement showing this to be the case. Certainly, in the late 1880s, divisions between football and Christianity were widening. For instance, McDowell notes an 1887 *Scottish Athletic Journal* entry praising Kelvinside Athletic as 'fine specimens of Muscular Christianity,' but comments that such accolades were becoming more uncommon within the game.[13] This would continue into the 1890s, shown by the debates within Presbyterian churches over the morality of 'popular sports', as detailed in the previous chapter.[14] The disappearance of the GUYMCA football club hints that it had become difficult for a religious-centred club to operate.

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[7] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1884–1885*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co., 1885), p.56.
[8] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1885–1886*, p.57.
[9] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1887–1888*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co., 1888), p.56.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1892–1893*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co., 1893), p.88.
[12] See Chapter 1, 'Scottish and Glasgow Muscular Christianity,' p.34.
[13] McDowell, 'The origins, patronage and culture of association football,' p.42.
[14] See Chapter 1, 'Scottish and Glasgow Muscular Christianity,' pp.39-41.

Despite Presbyterian debates regarding sports in the 1890s, there was already an attempt to reconcile football with religion within Scottish churches. In 1889 the Boys' Brigade (BB) Glasgow Battalion had formed the Recreation Sub-committee which later sanctioned numerous inter-company sport competitions, most prominent of which was the football knock-out tournament created in 1890.[15] Never before had football been conducted on such a scale by Glaswegian churches. In 1893 an inter-company league was established, with a second division added in 1894 and a third in 1902.[16] By 1910 there were fifty teams (spread across three age brackets: under-thirteen-and-a-half, under-fourteen-and-a-half and over-fourteen-and-a-half) playing across the competition.[17] In 1913 eighty-three companies ran football teams and the following year it was noted that close to '1,300' boys were playing across a season.[18] Intercity battalion games were also being played, notably against the Sheffield battalion in 1893 as part of the first annual match.[19]

BB sports were not limited to football. Swimming was another popular activity, with the first battalion swimming gala being hosted in 1889.[20] In 1890 eighty-six boys participated in the gala, rising to 124 in 1899.[21] In 1902 twenty-one clubs were hosting swimming classes, rising to sixty-three in 1914.[22] Meanwhile, a small cricket league was created in 1894 whose 'membership fluctuated between six and ten teams through the period up to 1914.'[23] Finally, athletics was also a popular activity of the brigade, which hosted annual sports days.[24]

Brigade officers had multiple motivations for their sports programme. *The Boys' Brigade Gazette* contained articles written by officers and supporters of the organisation. It gives insight into the attitudes of the brigade. Through this source Bilsborough found that

[15] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' pp.144–146.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., pp.144-145.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

officers understood sport and recreation as a means to attract boys to the company, presumably to expose them to Bible classes, the original raison d'être of the brigade.[25] This is confirmed by A. F. Peterson, captain of the Glasgow 76th Company who wrote that 'Recreation in the Boys Brigade forms an attraction … to boys to join our ranks' and that many of the officers in his own company who originally joined as boys did so to 'get a place in its cricket or football team.'[26] W. A. Smith perceived a connection between battalion sports and Bible classes in an 1889 *Gazette* entry in which he recalled attending a battalion football match.[27] He noticed after the game that players were reminding each other to attend that week's Bible class the following day. Smith wrote that 'here is the whole idea of the Boys' Brigade in a nut shell … taking up everything that should enter into a healthy boy's life, and consecrating it all in the service of Christ.'[28]

Second, the BB attempted to place youth sport within safe and respectable parameters. An 1892 *Boys' Brigade Gazette* entry discussing the creation of an Edinburgh football team illustrates this.[29] It notes that officers had judged it better to start football teams within the brigade than let boys go to other football clubs 'where the play and language were often of a rough nature.'[30] The author comments: 'Boys *will* play football, whether we like it or not, and the choice therefore lies between leaving them to play it outside the brigade, and beyond its control; or providing facilities for their playing it inside the brigade.'[31]

Finally, sport could develop moral character. Bilsborough has already identified this position within the Glasgow Battalion annual reports.[32] However, a more moralistic Muscular Christian position is recorded in the *Gazette*. In 1889 an uncredited author noted

[25] Ibid., p.147.
[26] A. F. Peterson, 'The Officer's Part in providing Recreation for His Boys' in *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, no.4, vol.5, 1st December 1896 (GCA TDBB1/4/1/1/4), p.52-53.
[27] Smith, 'The Boys Brigade: Its Organisation and Methods' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.168-169.
[28] Ibid.
[29] 'Football in The Boys' Brigade,' in *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, no.3, vol.2, 1st February 1892 (GCA TDBB1/4/1/1/2), p.54.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Bilsborough, 'The Development of sport in Glasgow,' pp.146-147.

the perceived division between sporting masculinity and Christianity.[33] He proceeded to rebuke both the secular sportsman who thinks 'true manliness is inconsistent with devotion to Christ' and the religious sceptic about sport who believes 'that true religion is inconsistent with manliness,' arguing against both that 'that no one can be a true man, who is not seeking to follow Christ' and that sport is one way of promoting that form of masculinity.[34] He countered that under the supervision of brigade officers, playing sports could teach boys valuable lessons, such that 'it is better to be honourably and fairly beaten than to win by the help of the umpire, or by a doubtful action', or the need to 'keep your temper' and to 'be true and honest' when appealing to the umpire.[35] Here, the BB athletic programme appears to take inspiration from the Muscular Christian and Presbyterian conciliatory position towards sport.[36] Therefore, officers' motivation for embracing sports fell into three broad categories: to attract new members (and ultimately to provide them with religious teaching), to conduct sport in a safe setting and to develop the moral character of the participants.

All BB companies were attached to a church.[37] Therefore, the activities hosted within the brigade indicate that sports, in this setting, had become acceptable to many Glaswegian churchmen by the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the BB was not the only example of physical recreation organised by churches.

In 1876 the Southern Reformed Presbyterian Church based in the south side of Glasgow joined the Free Church.[38] The same year it changed its name to Renwick Free Church, after the prominent covenanter James Renwick. Its *Monthly Record* reported to the congregation on upcoming church events and programme alongside annual society

[33] 'Athletics and the Boys' Brigade,' in *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, no.3, vol.1, 2nd September 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), p.43.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] See Chapter 1, 'Scottish and Glasgow Muscular Christianity,' pp.36-38.
[37] Springhall, Fraser, Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast*, p.43.
[38] Renwick United Free Church, *Renwick United Free Church Monthly Magazine*, July 1922 (GCA, TD 396/39/30), p.1.

reports. Of interest is the Renwick Young Men's Club (RYMC), founded in 1890,[39] which was hosted on Tuesday nights and initially open to boys above the age of sixteen, that is, those nearing the end of their time in the BB.[40] The club was hosted separately from a youth Bible class, suggesting a difference in emphasis, with physical exercise playing a large role in its activities.[41] The June 1891 *Record* notes that although the first hour of the meeting was geared towards non-physical games, the second half involved activities with iron and wooden dumbbells, Indian clubs and 'sword sticks.'[42] Between April and June the RYMC became a swimming club and met at Gorbals swimming baths.[43] During 1896 the club started swimming competitions, publishing the results in the *Record*.[44] In 1897 the ordinary club reached a peak average monthly attendance of sixty-nine, with the swimming club reaching a peak of thirty-four in 1899. In the same year the record remarks that 'about half a dozen clubs' modelled on the RYMC had been created in other churches.[45] Indeed, records at Camphill United Presbyterian Church show similar developments.

Camphill United Presbyterian Church was founded in 1873. By 1886 the membership had reached 900 and then 1,040 in 1899. Camphill United Presbyterian had three mission churches: one in Crossmyloof from 1878, a second in Tradeston between 1884 and 1917, and a third in Potterfield between 1884 and 1906.[46] Like Renwick, Camphill appears not to have adopted any physical recreation before the 1890s; however, in 1893 the Crossmyloof mission set up both a reading room and a gymnasium to be used by young

[39] Renwick United Free Church, *Renwick United Free Church Monthly Magazine*, January 1823 (GCA, TD 396/39/31), p.2.
[40] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly of Home and Foreign Missionary Record, Renwick Free Church*, February 1891 (GCA, TD 396/39/1), p.3.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, June 1891 (GCA, TD 396/39/1), p.5.
[43] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, April 1891 (GCA, TD 396/39/1), p.2.
[44] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, May 1896 (GCA, TD 396/39/6), p.4.
[45] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, August 1897 (GCA, TD 396/39/7), p.3; Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly,* July 1897 (GCA, TD 396/39/9), p.4.
[46] Camphill United Free Church, *Fiftieth Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland, 1922*, January 1923 (GCA, CH3/1470/28), pp.7, 9; Camphill United Free Church, *Forty Fifth Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland*, *1917*, January 1918 (GCA, CH3/1470/27), p.5.

men.[47] The three next annual reports note the success of this gymnastics club and mention that through annual displays it had raised money for the mission.[48] Initially, the club was consistently commended for its good attendance, given as thirty 'senior lads' in 1900.[49] However, by 1905 attendance was apparently poor and reports in following years do mention neither the club nor the Crossmyloof mission.[50] Nevertheless, the Tradeston mission set up a 'Lads club' in 1905 alongside its previously established BB company. Meeting on Monday nights, this club used the Tradeston mission's gymnasium while also providing board games and magazines.[51] The 1909 report notes that the club was well attended; however it could not find a regular gymnastics instructor. The same report also observes that a swimming club had been set up at the Kinning Park Swimming Baths with an average attendance of between thirty and forty.[52] During the First World War many of the church's activities appear to have been curtailed, with the loss of the Tradeston mission in 1917 to another church due to lack of staff.[53]

Renwick Free Church and Camphill United Free's use of swimming is indicative of a wider acceptance of that activity amongst Glasgow churches. Bilsborough argues that Glasgow was the 'focal point' of Scottish swimming.[54] This was because the local corporation, noting the poor public health and hygiene of Glaswegians in the late 1870s, embarked upon a scheme of building new swimming baths and encouraging citizens to use them. Between 1870 and 1913, six private and forty-four public swimming pools were built, and

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[47] Camphill United Presbyterian Church, *Twenty First Annual Report of Camphill, United Presbyterian Congregation, 1893*, January 1894 (GCA, CH3/1470/25), p.31.
[48] Ibid; Camphill United Presbyterian Church, *Twenty Third Annual Report of Camphill, United Presbyterian Congregation, 1895*, January 1896 (GCA, CH3/1470/25), p.27; Camphill United Presbyterian Church, *Twenty Forth Annual Report of Camphill, United Presbyterian Congregation, 1896*, January 1897 (GCA, CH3/1470/25), p.27.
[49] Camphill United Free Church, *Twenty Eightieth Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland, 1900*, January 1901 (GCA, CH3/1470/25), p.33.
[50] Camphill United Free Church, *Thirty Third Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland, 1905*, January 1906 (GCA, CH3/1470/26), p.33.
[51] Camphill United Free Church, *Thirty Forth Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland, 1906*, January 1907 (GCA, CH3/1470/26), p.25.
[52] Camphill United Free Church, *Thirty Seventh Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland, 1909*, January 1910 (GCA, CH3/1470/26), p.34.
[53] Camphill United Free Church, *Forty Fifth Annual Report of Camphill United Free Church of Scotland, 1917*, January 1918 (GCA, CH3/1470/27), p.5.
[54] Peter Bilsborough, 'School Sport for Boys in Glasgow, 1866–1914,' in *Physical Education Review* 11 no 2, 1988, p.101.

between 1888 and 1891 local schools were given free access to the Gorbals and Greenhead swimming baths.[55] In 1885 there were sixteen swimming clubs across the city, rising to forty-five in 1900 and 109 in 1914.[56] Congregations from all denominations in Glasgow embraced this development. In 1887 students at the Free Church Training College created Woodhead Swimming Club, and in 1889 Fairfield Swimming Club was founded by members of Fairfield Free Church.[57] Just outside Glasgow, Rutherglen Free Church also founded a club which swam in the Glasgow Corporation baths and the Saint Clair Street mission branch of the Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society (GFBRS) connected with Adelaide Place Baptist Church to host swimming galas as early as 1884.[58] Evangelical Union congregations also participated in swimming, with the Montrose Street church south-side mission hosting classes for children, shows and competitions throughout the 1890s and into the twentieth century.[59] Similarly the Claremont Wesleyan Swimming Club, which swam at Cranstonhill baths, was active in the late 1890s and early twentieth century.[60]

The Young Men's Clubs phenomenon in the 1890s shows that church physical recreation did exist outside of the BB. These groups may have hoped to emulate the success of BB sport to eventually bring boys into Bible classes and wished to implement a similar approach aimed at boys above the brigade age bracket. The RYMC's stated benefit was that it was very good at 'keeping the lads together' through social and recreational

[55] Peter Bilsborough, *One Hundred Years of Scottish Swimming* (Scottish Amateur Swimming Association), 1988, pp.4-6.
[56] Ibid., pp.6-8.
[57] Ibid., p.8.
[58] 'Splashes and Spurts,' *Scottish Referee*, 16th July 1909, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/18911116/045/0004); 'Swimming,' *Glasgow Herald*, 7th October 1889, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000060/18891007/038/0008).
[59] 'Splashes and Spurts,' *Scottish Referee*, 16th November 1891, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/18911116/045/0004); 'Swimming,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 18th October 1892, p.6 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001965/18921018/100/0006).
[60] 'Splashes and Spurts,' *Scottish Referee*, 10th October 1898, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/18981010/060/0004); 'Splashes and Spurts,' *Scottish Referee*, 7th October 1898, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/18981007/025/0002); 'Splashes and Spurts,' *Scottish Referee*, 26th March 1900, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19000326/065/0004?browse=False).

activities.[61] The Camphill United Presbyterian annual report notes that the object of the Crossmyloof mission gymnasium was to inspire attendees to 'live higher lives.'[62] The same series of reports explained that the motivation for setting up a gymnasium at the Tradeston mission was to help members develop a healthy mind and body.[63] These outlooks are similar to the BB's desire to use sports in a church setting to attract boys to religion and instil Muscular Christian values. Indeed, the fact that Camphill included gymnasiums when planning their mission churches suggests it was viewed as an attraction. However, Young Men's Clubs in the 1890s appear far less sophisticated than the BB both in organisation and objectives. Renwick United Free 57th Glasgow BB Company provides a useful illustration of this contrast. The company was founded in 1899 and within its first session had gained fifty boys.[64] The company's gymnastics class reveals this particular commitment to improvement. The 1905 record notes that at the beginning and end of the session boys had their chest, shoulders, upper arms, forearms, and calves measured to evaluate growth.[65] This contrasts with the RYMC which used physical activity primarily to bring the male youth of the church together,[66] and while Camphill United Free did have a Gymnastics class there is no record of muscle measurements, suggesting that the BB had a greater devotion to tracing physical improvement. Additionally, it appears that, unlike the BB, church Young Men's Clubs did not host inter-church competitions. Therefore, while the Young Men's Clubs show the prevalence of church physical recreation outside the BB, they do not appear to have had the same sophistication.

The establishment of the Glasgow and District Churches League (GDCL) signified a rapid growth in congregational sports before the First World War. Founded in January 1908 by eight church football clubs, the GDCL intended to inspire 'habits of discipline' and sobriety

[61] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly,* February 1905 (GCA, TD 396/39/5), p.3.
[62] Camphill United Presbyterian Church, *Twenty First Annual Report of Camphill*, January 1894 (GCA, CH3/1470/25), p.31.
[63] Camphill United Free Church, *Thirty Forth Annual Report of Camphill*, January 1907 (GCA, CH3/1470/26), p.25.
[64] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, October 1899 (GCA, TD 396/39/9), p.2.
[65] Renwick United Free Church, *The Missionary Record of the U.F Church of Scotland and Congregational Supplement of Renwick Church, Glasgow*, November 1905 (GCA, TD 396/39/15), p.3.
[66] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly,* February 1905 (GCA, TD 396/39/5), p.3.

in the young male demographic of the church.[67] The eighteen teams that participated in the first season show the cross-denominational nature of the organisation: United Free, 'Established' (Church of Scotland), Congregationalist, Evangelical United, Episcopalian, Wesleyan and Baptist groups are listed.[68] Alexandra Parade United Free were the first champions and thereafter the league rapidly grew in popularity.[69]

The following season the number of teams participating had risen to twenty-four, and so the league was split into two sections.[70] In 1910 a reserve section was added.[71] In 1911 the *Scottish Referee* claimed that the league had 'over a thousand' members and 'almost 400 players [were] engaged Saturday after Saturday.'[72] The GDCL inspired numerous other church football leagues with the Churches Union, the Churches Federation and the Churches Guild League being founded in the following years.[73] These were made up of teams which could not play in the GDCL due to its large size or were from outside of Glasgow; meanwhile a localised league was set up for Govan district.[74] When the number of teams across these leagues is counted in 1910 a number of seventy-nine can be reached, not including reserve leagues.[75] Newspaper reports of the GDCL ceased during the war, suggesting suspension, with a reappearance in the 1920s, while church annual reports on their clubs indicate that the league survived until the Second World War.

The motivation for establishing the GDCL appears to have been similar to that which underpinned the BB. The stated goal of inspiring 'Habits of discipline' is reminiscent of the object of the BB ('The advancement of Christ's kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends

[67] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' p.1.
[68] 'Glasgow and District Churches League,' *Scottish Referee*, 16th November 1908, p.6 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19081116/106/0006).
[69] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' p.1.
[70] Ibid.
[71] 'Amateur Leagues,' *Scottish Referee*, 1st August 1910, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19100801/006/0001).
[72] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' p.1.
[73] 'Amateur Leagues,' p.2.
[74] Ibid.
[75] See Appendix B.

towards a true Christian manliness'), suggesting a desire to emulate the organisation.[76] Indeed, the remark of sobriety suggests that this was another effort to conduct football in safe space, away from the intemperance of association football. The annual reports of Lansdowne United Free Church provide further insight. In 1906 the church set up the Lansdowne Young Men's Club (LYMC) 'with the object of the religious, intellectual, social and physical improvement of its members.'[77] The emphasis on 'improvement' suggests a greater sense of purpose than its Camphill and Renwick predecessors. In 1908 the club was divided into three sections: a drill class, a football team in the GDCL, and a Bible class which was viewed as the 'central point in the work among young men.'[78] This suggests that the use of football was seen as a means to draw people into more religious activities, as had been done with the BB. Therefore, as with BB, football appears to be used as a means to attract members, develop moral character and conduct the sport within a safe space.

The growth in church physical recreation from the 1890s to the First World War indicates that the conciliatory Presbyterian position towards sport had gained success despite its sceptics. The previous chapter noted discussions at both the Free Church General Assembly in 1896 and the United Presbyterian Church Guild in 1897 where the issue of popular sports was debated, with some ministers proposing an effort to engage with church youth through this avenue. That GDCL teams from United Free Churches formed the largest group in the first league (eight teams out of eighteen) suggests that the views of Taylor and Beveridge had gained greater support amongst church members. In order for a team to be admitted to the GDCL the consent of the church session and minister had to be gained, suggesting the need for widespread support for the initiative.[79] However, it is unclear whether or not approval was renewed annually; if so, this would

[76] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' p.1; Springhall, Fraser, Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast*, p.39.
[77] Lansdowne United Free Church, *Annual Report of the societies connected with Lansdowne United Free Church, Glasgow, for the year 1906*, January 1907 (GCA, CH3/662/16), p.54.
[78] Lansdowne United Free Church, *Annual Report of the societies connected with Lansdowne United Free Church, Glasgow, for the year 1908*, January 1909 (GCA, CH3/662/16), p.54.
[79] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' p.1.

reinforce the ecclesiastical endorsement of the league. Nevertheless, the GDCL's popularity, with seventy-nine church linked teams in 1910, would be highly unlikely in a hostile environment. Furthermore, rather than being disinterested, some ministers were enthusiastic about the league, as in 1908 a social meeting was held at Saint Mark's Church Hall in Cranstonhill when various ministers and church members representing Wesleyan, United Free, Church of Scotland and Congregationalist congregations addressed an audience of 400.[80] When the continual growth of the BB inter-company sports leagues is also considered, it can be claimed that before the First World War many Glaswegian churches embraced sport within their activities.

The Post-War Proliferation of Church Athletics Clubs

After the First World War church use of sport proliferated. In 1921 Queen's Park East United Free Church (QPEUFC) set up an amateur athletics club with the hope of forming sections around various sports, and the football section was the first to be created.[81] Members had to be already a member of the church, be aged over sixteen years and not be a member of the BB.[82] The club chose King's Park as their ground, and purchased a pavilion for ninety pounds.[83] The team soon joined the Langside and District Churches Football League. A 'B' team was later created, allowing the club to also play in the GDCL.[84] By 1924 QPEUFC had ladies' hockey and rambling sections alongside its football teams.[85]

The phenomenon of congregational sport after the First World War appears widespread. In the QPEUFC *Record* magazine and the club's minute books, copies of the Langside

[80] 'Churches' Football League, Social Meeting,' *Scottish Referee*, 23rd November 1908, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19081123/005/0001).
[81] Queens Park East United Free Church, *Our Monthly Record, Queens Park East United Free Church,* January 1922 (GCA, CH3/1471/31), p.2.
[82] Queens Park East United Free Church, *The Year Book (Fifty Sixth) of Queen's Park East United Free Church For 1922*, January 1923 (GCA, CH3/1471/26), p.57-58; Queens Park East United Free Church, *The Year Book (Fifty Seventh) of Queen's Park East United Free Church For 1923*, January 1924 (GCA, CH3/1471/26), p.80.
[83] Queens Park East United Free Church, *Our Monthly Record,* February 1922 (GCA, CH3/1471/31), p.4.
[84] Queens Park East United Free Church, *The Year Book (Sixty Second) of Queen's Park East United Free Church For 1928*, January 1929 (GCA, CH3/1471/26), p.22.
[85] Queens Park East United Free Church, *The Year Book (Fifty Seventh)*, January 1924 (GCA, CH3/1471/26), p.36.

league table and upcoming fixtures were provided. This creates a picture of how popular sport had become in churches in the South Side of Glasgow, with seventeen identifiable teams made up predominately of United Free and Church of Scotland teams.[86] In 1925 QPEUFC had 116 members, sixty-nine of whom were active players.[87] That same year the LYMC reached a 'roll' of 100 for their connected Bible class and had to expand their pavilion at Possilpark due to the rise in attendances.[88] Also in 1925 the RYMC had reached an average monthly attendance of 151, split across three groups for the age brackets twelve to fourteen, fourteen to seventeen and seventeen plus.[89] A notable church athletic club was founded at Caledonia Road United Free in 1922, and that church'es *Record* notes that it aimed to start 'cricket, tennis, football, hockey, bowls, and swimming' sections.[90] Later *Record* entries indicate that all of these, except for bowls, were achieved. Within a year of inception the club had a membership of 112.[91] The Church *Record* commented that the chairman of the club 'saw no reason why Caledonia Road should be behind other churches in a matter of this kind.'[92] For many, church athletics clubs were becoming par for the course within Glasgow.

Tea Parties at the Expense of 'The Ancient Fear of God'

While the widespread adoption of physical recreation amongst Glaswegian churches in the 1920s suggests a victory for the conciliatory Presbyterian position towards sport, it may not have been a victory for moralistic character development. Indeed, the main function of most athletics clubs within churches in the 1920s was predominantly social.

[86] See Appendix C.
[87] Queens Park East United Free Church, *The Year Book (Fifty Ninth) of Queens Park East United Free For 1925*, January 1926 (GCA, CH3/1471/26), p.32.
[88] Lansdowne United Free Church*, Annual Report of the societies connected with Lansdowne United Free Church, Glasgow, for the year 1925*, January 1926 (GCA, CH3/662/17), p.27.
[89] Renwick United Free Church, *Renwick United Free Church Monthly Magazine,* April 1925 (GCA, TD 396/39/33), p.2.
[90] Caledonia Road United Free Church, *Caledonia Road United Free Church, Glasgow, Monthly Record, June, July and August, 1922*, July 1922 (GCA, TD 1903/1/3/15), p.3.
[91] Caledonia Road United Free Church, *Caledonia Road United Free Church, Glasgow, Monthly Record, June, July and August, 1923*, July 1923 (GCA, TD 1903/1/3/16), p.2.
[92] Caledonia Road United Free Church, *Caledonia Road United Free Church, Glasgow, Monthly Record,* July 1922 (GCA, TD 1903/1/3/15), p.3.

The records of QPEUFC remark that the desire of the club was to 'provide for the youth … facilities for healthy recreation'; beyond this the club would host concerts, dances and lectures.[93] These social events were also used to raise money for the club and for the churches' missionary societies. Camphill United Free's 1929 *Annual Report* argues that their new badminton club could be a 'ideal opportunity for the young people to get to know each other.'[94] The object of the Caledonia Road United Free athletic club was especially social, being to 'bring together the young men and women of the congregation under healthy conditions and though the membership is not rigidly confined to the connection with the church, the main purpose is to … promote a spirt of unity.'[95] The club had its own drama section which performed sketch shows and plays in the winter months to raise funds. Like QPEUFC it held dances and jumble sales to help in this effort. There is a noticeable absence of the moralistic justifications for physical recreation, such as character development that had been present before the war. All three of these clubs were directed at young members, or would-be members, of the church, which suggests that while the moral justifications for church physical recreation had declined, the use of it to attract and retain young people within the church, now mainly as a form of socialisation, had remained.

The desire to conduct sports in a safe environment also appears to have become more relaxed. With the rise of dance halls in the 1920s, voluntary organisations which were often attached to the church continued to offer alternative entertainment. This is can be seen mostly amongst temperance groups such as the Good Templars which provided social evenings until the 1930s.[96] The Band of Hope also remained strong in the 1920s.[97] Mention of 'healthy recreation' and 'healthy conditions' in the QPEUFC and Caledonian Road

[93] Queens Park East United Free Church, *The Year Book (Fifty Sixth)*, January 1923 (GCA, CH3/1471/26), p.38; Queens Park East United Free Church, *Our Monthly Record,* November 1922 (GCA, CH3/1471/31), p.5.
[94] Camphill Church of Scotland, *Fifty Seventh Annual Report of Camphill Church of Scotland, 1929*, January 1930 (GCA, CH3/1470/28), p.22.
[95] Caledonia Road United Free Church, *Caledonia Road United Free Church, Glasgow, Monthly Record,* July 1922 (GCA, TD 1903/1/3/15), p.3.
[96] Brown, 'Popular culture and the continuing struggle for rational recreation,' p.213.
[97] Ibid., pp.216–217.

United Free Athletic Club's stated objectives suggests similar motivations. The various social nights attached to these clubs further support this theory, although the moral intensity of this motivation appears to have diminished. The QPEUFC athletic club minute book shows the football section twice considered leaving the GDCL (both in 1925 and in 1928) to join an alternative secular league, such as the West of Scotland Amateur Football League or the 'Newlands League.'[98] These proposals were ultimately rejected not on moral grounds but because of high membership fees and travel difficulties.[99] The protective sentiments of the BB football league and the pre-war GDCL are not visible within the discussions. Therefore, although a desire to have youths socialise in alternative 'healthy conditions' is present amongst the post-war church athletics clubs, the need to be separate from secular activities diminished.

The proliferation of athletics clubs within Glasgow churches in the 1920s is indicative of a general shift of Scottish churches towards becoming partly social centres. Author and minister, Ian Maclaren noted this change in his 1900 book *Church Folk*. He observes the rise of social activities within the church such as choir concerts, tea parties and 'candy pulls' at the expense of 'the ancient fear of God.'[100] He remarks, 'If this goes on, the church will soon embrace a theatre and other attractions which will draw young people.'[101] Brown finds that there was validity to Maclaren's concerns. Near the end of the nineteenth century evangelistic activity had declined as urban middle classes moved into new suburbs.[102] Concurrently, the new generation of upper-middle class business owners showed less enthusiasm for mission activity, particularly home visits, into working class areas.[103] Brown cites the drop in Presbyterian Sunday school teachers as evidence

[98] Queen's Park East United Free Church, 'Meeting of the Committee, 28th of April, 1925,' in *Queen's Park East U.F. Church, Amateur Athletic Club, Minutes Book,* April 1925 (GCA, CH3/1471/40), unpaginated [p.219]; Queen's Park East United Free Church, 'Meeting of the Committee, 19th of May, 1928,' in *Queen's Park East U.F. Church, Amateur Athletic Club, Minutes Book,* May 1928 (GCA, CH3/1471/41), unpaginated [pp.459-460].
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ian Maclaren, *Church Folks: Being practical studies in congregational life* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1900), pp.37–38.
[101] Ibid., pp.42, 47.
[102] Brown, *Religion and Society*, pp.126–128.
[103] Ibid.

of a decline in evangelistic enthusiasm, noting a net loss of 4,000 teachers between the years 1895 and 1910.[104] Concurrently, groups that embraced some form of recreation, such as the Boy Scouts or BB, remained strong at this time.[105] Likewise, middle class suburban churches progressively adopted more recreation and social functions. Brown identifies St Matthew's Church in Morningside, Edinburgh, as a prime example, with its attached golf club and frequent holiday excursions.[106] The proliferation of social functions can also be seen in Glasgow. Returning to Renwick United Free, Business meetings of groups such as the Evangelistic Association were renamed Business and Social Meetings, suggesting a change in character. In the January 1928 *Record* the superintendent of Bible classes, J. S. Paterson published a letter to the 'Young Men and Women' of the church revealing concern about this issue: 'One of the tragedies of the religious life of Glasgow is the dissipation of Christian effort over too many societies in a congregation, and the frittering away of effort between the parent church and outside Christian efforts.'[107] He noted that as a suburban church Renwick had the resources which others did not and so should be active in missionary efforts. Therefore, it is possible that the growth in athletics clubs in the 1920s is part of a larger shift within churches to provide social functions. This may have been to provide morally safe alternative entertainment for their members or to merely gain and retain the loyalty of their congregations.

Conclusion

From accounts of the creation of QPFC, it can be seen that the GUYMCA was using sports as early as 1867. In 1883 the organisation founded its own football team, however this disappeared in the late 1880s just as debates regarding popular sport began to appear amongst Presbyterian denominations.

[104] Ibid., p.130.
[105] Brown, 'Popular culture,' pp.216–217.
[106] Brown, *Religion and Society,* p.129.
[107] Renwick Free Church, *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly of Home and Foreign Missionary Record, Renwick Free Church*, January 1928 (GCA, TD 396/39/36), p.1.

The BB was the most significant religious organisation within Glasgow to make use of sport, with its long-running football, cricket and swimming sections, all associated with competitions. Officers' motivations for embracing sports falls into three broad categories: to attract new members, in order ultimately to provide them with religious teaching; to engage in the sport in a safe setting, and to develop the moral character of the participants. The existence of Young Men's Clubs in Glasgow churches shows that the BB was not alone in its use of physical recreation to attract young men to the church, but these clubs were far less sophisticated than the BB with no inter-church competitions and a lesser commitment to improvement. The creation of the GDCL marked a large increase in the use of sport within churches, shown by the seventy-nine church-connected teams identified in 1910. The goals of the GDCL were very similar to the BB as they too wished to develop character, conduct sport in a temperance setting, and attract people to church Bible classes. The GDCL's success indicates a victory for the Presbyterian conciliatory position towards sport in Glasgow.

After the First World War church sports continued to grow, evidenced by the proliferation of church athletics clubs and the variety of sports they engaged in. Numerous clubs reached over 100 members, such as the QPEUFC and Caledonia Road United Free groups. However, the motivation for these groups was far more grounded in socialisation than moral character development or the need to provide entertainment separate from secular society. This seems to be part of a larger shift by Scottish and Glaswegian churches towards acting as a social centre alongside religious one.

Muscular Christianity, Christian Militarism and Cross Class Identity

Economics, Class, Poverty and the Local Kirk

During the nineteenth century, Glasgow underwent an economic transformation with the emergence of an economically diverse middle class. In the late seventeenth century, local industry and commerce by the Clyde had consisted a small collection of middle class merchants and dispersed working class weaving and mining towns.[1] The city's population has been calculated to have been around 84,000 in 1800.[2] By 1861 this had risen to 396,000, with the development of a huge iron, steel and chemical industry that had largely replaced the weaving sector.[3] In the 1880s the City's shipbuilding industry boomed, with the demand for steel hulled steamships.[4] As a result, more people were drawn to the city and in 1901 there were 762,000 residents.[5] That Glasgow produced 23% of the world's ships in 1913 is a testament to the activity of this industry.[6] These developments gave rise to highly active and enterprising industrialist class.[7] This was complemented by a growing commercial and service sector which was largely made up of the non-industrial lower middle class. For instance, Nenadic found that the majority of middle class families in the late ninetieth century were headed by business owners, of whom about two-thirds could be classed as petty entrepreneurs: either shopkeepers or tradesmen.[8]

Middle class leisure during the Victorian era was often used to complement widespread aspirations of respectability.[9] A key concept was that of Rational Recreation, according

[1] Michael Fry, *Glasgow: A History of the City* (London: Head of Zeus, 2017), p.117; Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p.407.
[2] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p.412.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p.409.
[5] Ibid., p.412.
[6] Ibid., p.409.
[7] Fry, *Glasgow: A History*, pp.56-62
[8] Stana Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Classes,' in *Glasgow,* vol.2: *1830 to 1912*, ed. T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.267.
[9] Ibid., pp.266, 289.

to which leisure time was to be spent in an improvement of self and society.[10] For instance, social clubs, including Masonic Lodges and Gentlemen's Societies, were used to strengthen social and business networks.[11] The Church also played a large role in middle class sociability.[12] The diary of John Smeaton, a manager at the firm R. Whyte, provides insight into a young middle class man's schedule. Nearly all of his social activities were focused on his local church, Gorbals Parish, such as Sabbath School Association meetings.[13] Alongside this, Smeaton would also drink with work colleagues in local whisky shops.[14] From the middle class, it was young men who were most likely to engage in social drinking.[15] However, the Temperance Movement also had a strong presence amongst the middle classes, being another form of self-improvement.[16] The Movement itself offered up numerous alterative amusements to the Public House, such as the Glasgow Athenaeum, which provided informative lectures and theatrical performances.[17]

Poverty was a constant danger for the Glaswegian Victorian working class. In 1842 Edwin Chadwick, reporting on *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* found Glasgow to have some of the worst cases of public health in the country.[18] This was partly due to the rapidly growing population and lack of adequate housing. Furthermore, the report noted abnormal levels of alcohol abuse and large numbers of public houses in the city.[19] The Temperance Movement, largely headed by the professional middle class, attempted to alleviate poverty by inspiring working class men to refrain from excessive drinking and offered alternative amusements to the public house such as teetotal concerts.[20] This was also a way middle class values of respectable self-improvement were

[10] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' p.163.
[11] Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Classes,' pp.288-289.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., p.287.
[16] Ibid., p.291.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Fry, *Glasgow: A History*, pp.158-159.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Elspeth King, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow,' in *The working class in Glasgow 1750-1914*, ed. R. A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p.164.

spread amongst the working class. Indeed, a respectable image was invaluable to aspirational members of the working class who wished to secure specialised (or 'skilled') employment. Employers were more likely to offer their more respectable employees training opportunities. Crucially, references, often from the clergy, were needed to support an apprenticeship application, thus making a good reputation vital.[21] One consequence of adherence to these values was a lack of working class-based political agitation in the late Victorian era and before the First World War.[22] Instead, personal industriousness and nationalism were the political loyalties of skilled working class identity, shown by the pre-war support for the Liberal party and later the Liberal Unionist coalition, which sought to oppose Irish home rule.[23] However, during and after the First World War, as skilled roles declined and housing shortages persisted, much of the skilled working class would switch political loyalties to the socialist Independent Labour Party, thus breaking this political hegemony.[24]

The approach of Glaswegian Presbyterian churches to working class life was a combination of encouraging individual discipline and local community action. Both these approaches were inspired by the Kirk's 'parochial' system, which aspired for Scotland to become, as S. J. Brown states, as a 'godly commonwealth of small independent largely self-sustaining parish communities.'[25] However, in Glasgow, churches' support of the temperance movement also suggests a strong emphasis upon individual discipline. This is particularly visible after 1859, when James Miller, Professor of Surgery at the University of Edinburgh, on the basis of an argument concerning social health, was able to convince the Free Church Assembly to support the temperance and abstinence movements.[26] The United

[21] W. Hamish Fraser, 'The Working Class,' in *Glasgow,* vol.2: *1830 to 1912*, ed. T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.333.
[22] Ibid.
[23] John F. McCaffery, 'Political Issues and Developments' in *Glasgow,* vol.2: *1830 to 1912*, ed. T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.214; Fraser, 'The Working Class,' p.335.
[24] Fraser, 'The Working Class,' p.342-343; Fry, *Glasgow: A Histor*y, pp.265-267.
[25] Stewart J. Brown, 'The Christian Socialist Movement in Scotland c. 1850–1930,' in *Political Theology*, vol.1 no.1 (1999), p.60.
[26] Brown*, '*Religion and the development of an urban society: Glasgow 1780-1914,' p.152.

Presbyterian Church and Church of Scotland were slower to adopt the temperance cause. However, by 1880 they, like the Free Church, had set up their own temperance societies to promote abstinence to their congregations, with non-Presbyterian groups following suit.[27] Callum Brown observes the growing proximity between temperance groups and ecclesiastical authority, noting that in 1859, there was only one minister on the Scottish Temperance League Board, yet by 1905, five of the fourteen board members were minsters.[28] However, Norman MacLeod, minister of the Church of Scotland Barony parish from 1851 to 1877, noted a simultaneous need to engage in social matters, such as public health, housing and schooling, and embarked on numerous community projects, creating affordable schools as an example, to counter working class alienation towards the church.[29] MacLeod wished for amicable cross class cooperation rooted in local loyalty.[30] Both Hillis and Mackay identity John Marshal Lang, Fredrick Robertson and Donald MacLeod (brother of Norman), as continuing MacLeod's social concerns, particularly with regards to poor housing.[31][32] Indeed, Hillis notes that both Marshall Lang and MacLeod viewed growing class divisions and poor living standards within the city as a threat to the church itself, arguing that if the church did not work to create conditions in which a Christian life could be followed, people might turn to socialist political parties for salvation.[33] In 1888, a Church of Scotland report into social conditions concluded that there was a direct link between the non-housed-population and the lack of church attendance and membership.[34] This led the Church of Scotland Glasgow Presbytery to support municipal housing reform projects.[35] However, divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism, particularly between self-disciplinary and collectivist outlooks, prevented a concerted approach to the condition of the working classes. These divisions

[27] Ibid., pp.157-158.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Hillis, *The Barony of Glasgow*, pp.4, 70-78.
[30] Ibid., p.71.
[31] Ibid., pp.66-69.
[32] Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology 1830–1929* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp.53-58.
[33] Hillis, *The Barony of Glasgow*, pp.68-69.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., pp.66-67.

were particularly pronounced within the Free Church (and later United Free Church) compared to the Church of Scotland.[36] However, there were many who shared Lang's and MacLeod's concerns about growing class divisions, including Colin Gibb, who warned the United Free Church Assembly in 1902 that should this issue be neglected, the working class might come to identify with a form of anti-Christian socialism.[37] Against this background, this study asks whether any Muscular Christian initiatives were designed to address the problem of the Glaswegian working classes' standard of living.

The Volunteer Force, Christian Militarism and a Cross Class 'Esprit De Corps'

The Volunteer movement does not appear to have been overtly Muscular Christian as members from the clergy do not appear to link the games played amongst regiments to social or personal moral development. However, the movement did inspire the overtly religious Boys' Brigade (BB) and shared its Christian militarism, thus making it a topic of interest to this study. It appears that the Christian militarism espoused by the Volunteer movement's supporters amongst the clergy was focused upon addressing both class divisions and producing a moral masculinity. Therefore, the ideological forerunner to Glasgow's largest Muscular Christian organisation already oriented towards addressing working class standards of living and working class alienation.

The Volunteer Force was formed in 1859 to create a civilian army to defend Britain from potential French invasion.[38] Until 1907, when it merged with the Territorial Force, the Volunteer Force provided the British army with auxiliary soldiers for conflicts such as the second Boer War.[39] Battalions were often connected to particular localities and institutions and many became respectable social outlets.[40] Crucially, the Glaswegian

[36] McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom,* p.60.
[37] Ibid., p.89.
[38] Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859-1908* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1975), pp.2-9.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.

Volunteer Force contained a broad mix of upper, middle and skilled working class members.

The Glaswegian Volunteer's upper and upper middle class contingent witnesses to connections between Volunteer regiments and local schools. The 1st Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteer's (1st LRV) first drill meeting was on the Glasgow Academy playground on Elmbank Street in July 27, 1859.[41] Thereafter, under the presidency of Charles Hutchinson Smith a meeting was held inside the Academy where the baronet Sir Archibald Islay Campbell of Garscube was recommended to the Lord-Lieutenant for appointment as Captain.[42] In 1901, the directors of the Academy formed a Cadet Corps to be attached to the 1st Volunteer Battalion Highland Light Infantry regiment, which was commanded by a former pupil, Colonel R. C. Mackenzie.[43] However this was not the first such cadet corps: in 1893 Kelvinside Academy had been the first school to create a Glasgow student Cadet Corps, connected to the 4th Volunteer Battalion Scottish Rifles (4th VBSR).[44] Sport could cause the boundaries between such groupings to be permeable: J. W. Arthur, a former pupil of Glasgow Academy, was a member of the 4th VBSR but played tennis for the 1st LRV.[45] In 1901, the 1st LRV created their own Cadet Corps at Glasgow High School.[46] There was also a short lived Corps founded at University of Glasgow made up of professors, graduates and students.[47]

Despite the presence of members of the Glaswegian elite in the Volunteer Force, the movement was mostly made up of the middle-to-skilled-working class. Nenadic finds a

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[41] James Moncrieff Grierson, *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force, 1859-1908* (Edinburgh; William Blackwood and Sons, 1909), pp.220-227.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Colonel F. W. Reid, 'Cadet Corps – Officers Training Corps – Junior Training Corps,' in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years,* ed. C.A. Campbell, W. Barradell-Smith, T. R. Innes and Arthur G. Murray (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd, 1946), pp.47-48.
[44] Colin H. Mackay, *Kelvinside Academy, 1878-1978* (Glasgow: Kelvinside Academy, 1978), pp.42-43.
[45] 'Lawn Tennis,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 6th September 1886, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001964/18860906/059/0003); '76Th Company Boys' Brigade,' *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 19th April 1886, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001458/18890419/077/0003).
[46] 'The Cadet Corps,' in *The First Lanark Rifles Gazette*, no.7, vol.2, 18th December 1902 (NLS, ABS. 4. 80. 4), pp.16-17.
[47] Grierson, *Records of the Scottish volunteer force,* p.221.

remarkable level of 'occupational homogeneity' amongst the officers.[48] While officers of companies like the 6th consolidated battalion of the LRV were made up mostly of iron makers and engineers, the 1st regiment of the LRV was dominated by those in commercial and professional occupations such as merchants, lawyers, jewellers, accountants and 'press-men.'[49] Indeed, W. A. Smith, a ship merchant, was in the 1st LRV's.[50] In contrast, the 2nd administrative battalion of LRVs was made up of those involved in grocery and food trades.[51] 4th VBSRs included skilled working class elements such as the 12th Corps, formed of employees from the Tennents Well Park Brewery, which was given the name 'artisan.'[52] For many, the Volunteer Force was an opportunity to socialise across intra-elite divisions and establish strong–relationships with the higher classes.[53] In the mid-nineteenth century, volunteer marches were also viewed by participants as a chance to display the City's respectable middle class identity.[54] As a result the local Volunteer Force provided another means of cementing amicable relations between the skilled working and middle classes.

Glasgow Churches appear to have endorsed the Volunteer Movement, showing their interest in creating a 'respectable' cross class identity within the City. This is indicated by the association of many Glaswegian minsters with Volunteer Corps. Commission reports from the *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch* show that between 1860 and 1869 at least seventeen ministers served as chaplains for Glasgow based Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer regiments.[55] In 1874, Rev. John Marshall Lang, future Moderator of the Church of Scotland, became the–chaplain for the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers,[56] holding the

[48] Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Classes,' pp.290-291.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Springhall, Fraser, Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast*, pp.30-31.
[51] Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Classes', p.291.
[52] Grierson, *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force,* p.235.
[53] Trainor, 'The Elite' in *Glasgow,* vol.2, *1830 to 1912*, p.246.
[54] Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Classes,' p.294.
[55] See Appendix D.
[56] David Howie, *History of the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers: with list of officers, prize-winners, men present at royal reviews, etc* (Glasgow: D. Robertson, 1887), p.200.

post until 1900, when he was replaced by Rev. T. Martin.[57] The 1st and 3rd LRV's, like the 4th Volunteer Battalion Scottish Rifles (VBSR), held annual church parades.[58] As already noted, J. W. Arthur, a prominent member of the Baptist Union of Scotland, joined the 4th VBSR.[59] Nenadic finds in the diary of John Smeaton that his church, Gorbals Parish, raised funds for a local battalion.[60]

Sermons and writings addressed to volunteers by clergymen in and around Glasgow may indicate a desire to promote a local collective identity, individual discipline and a moral masculinity through the movement. As will be seen, it was hoped that the local and national 'esprit de corps' patriotism found in nineteenth-century Volunteer sermons would help to form a collective identity.

John Robertson, chaplain to the Glasgow Northern Battalion Rifle Volunteers,[61] gave a series of sermons to members of the Movement, posthumously published in 1865.[62] *The Dundee Courier* published one of these sermons in 1861, in which Robertson praised the movement for creating a 'burning patriotism which animates the breasts of all classes in our beloved country', showing a hope for a cross class identity through the corps.[63] Later, Muscular Christian advocate W. W. Beveridge would speak in similar terms in an 1893 sermon to the 1st Renfrew Rifle Volunteers. While not explicitly mentioning class, the sermon reveals a desire to create a collective identity grounded in patriotism. As the *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette* reports; 'We cannot get away from this

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[57] Rev. John Marshall Lang, 'Resignation of our Chaplain,' in *The First Lanark Rifles Gazette*, no.5, vol.2, 25th March 1901 (NLS, ABS. 4. 80. 4), p.68; Rev. Thomas Martin, 'Chaplain Martin's Address,' in *The First Lanark Rifles Gazette*, no.6, vol.2, 23rd January, 1902 (NLS, ABS. 4. 80. 4), p.10.

[58] 'Rev. Dr. Dods at St. Andrew's Halls,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 28th May 1888, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001965/18880528/021/0003); 'Volunteer Intelligence,' *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 3rd May 1867, p.2 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001458/18670503/028/0002); 'Public Notice,' *Glasgow Evening Post*, 21st May 1887, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001964/18870521/004/0001).

[59] '76Th Company Boys' Brigade,' *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 6th March 1891, p.8 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001458/18890419/077/0003).

[60] Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Class,' p.289.

[61] 'Sermon to Volunteers,' *Dundee Courier*, 12th April 1861, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000160/18610412/009/0003).

[62] 'Sermon to Volunteers,' *Fife Herald*, 22nd June 1865, p.1 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000447/18650622/041/0001).

[63] 'Sermon to Volunteers,' *Dundee Courier*, p.3.

strong tie of blood … It ought to lead us to dare and to endure for the welfare of our kindred and for the welfare of our country.'[64] Finally, Martin, Chaplain to the 1st LRV's, wrote an article in the *First Lanark Rifles Gazette* in 1902, directly endorsing the 'esprit de corps' sentiment: 'the spirit of the society as whole takes possession of the individuals in it, and then the spirit of the individuals reacts powerfully upon the society as a whole. Thus by action and reaction a gathering force of personality is accumulated.'[65] All successful societies, Martin claimed, were 'characterised by a vital esprit de corps,' and the 1st LRV was a prime example.[66] These notions of cross class pride in, and devotion to, one's society may complement the cross class parochialism for which many Scottish Presbyterian clergymen hoped. Glasgow churches may therefore have supported the Volunteer Force an opportunity to create a local identity.

Military training could also produce a self-disciplined populace. Robertson believed that while Christianity was generally against war, it was a current matter of fact, and could 'sometimes [be] conducive to the advancement and welfare of the human race.'[67] This was because there are 'many high qualities of mind which may be called out in the practice of military profession' such as 'truth and honour.'[68] Robertson linked this individual responsibility to the overall morality of the collective, exhorting that because the 'heart of the nation must be sound' volunteers must 'provide therefore for the safety of the nation by your virtues as well as your swords. With every volunteer let it be a matter of the first concern that he shall be himself a true man … ever for God and the right.'[69] In his sermon, Beveridge took the opportunity to promote individual responsibility, warning volunteers not only of enemies outside of the country but those 'within', such as 'ignorance', 'intemperance', 'gambling', 'unbelief', 'selfish luxury and

[64] '1st (Renfrew) V.B.A. & S. Highlanders,' *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette*, 12th July 1893, p.3 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000472/18930712/114/0003).
[65] Rev. Thomas Martin, 'Esprit de Corps,' in *The First Lanark Rifles Gazette*, no.7, vol.2, 18th December 1902 (NLS, ABS. 4. 80. 4), pp.11-12.
[66] Ibid.
[67] 'Sermon to Volunteers,' *Dundee Courier*, p.3.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

dishonest greed of gold' .[70] In 1903, Martin contributed another article on 'Personal Efficiency' to the 1st LRV *Gazette*.[71] Here he emphasised the need to develop the 'Body', the 'Mind', and most importantly the 'Soul', by which he meant 'noble character.'[72] Martin wrote; 'While as Volunteers we should give care to our physical or intellectual training, we should most of all cultivate character – that pureness and nobleness of soul – without which personal efficiency must ever be incomplete.'[73]

Crucially, Robertson, Beveridge and Martin all linked moral development to masculinity. For example, Robertson connected the 'perseverance' of the Movement as an 'an element in real manhood.'[74] Beveridge appealed to the masculinity of volunteers when encouraging them to apply military discipline to religious morality: 'while you are ready to be courageous and play the men in behalf of your country, you ought to be no less ready to be courageous and play the men in behalf of the cause of God.'[75] Martin highlighted the practical need for moral masculinity; 'the big battalions of the strongest army will melt away like snowflakes in the river if moral manhood is not the pervasive force in the ranks.'[76]

Christian Militarism's alliance with Muscular Christianity emerges from this overlapping goal of presenting an attractive religious masculinity. Muscular Christian beliefs in the ability of sport to instil healthy morals and collective spirit mirror Christian Militarist beliefs on the benefits of soldiering. The Volunteer Force also provided outlet for rational recreation, as numerous sports could be played amongst the battalions. Cunningham suggests that many Britons joined the Volunteer Force mainly to play games.[77] While cricket, tennis and athletics were organised by the 1st LRV,[78] football was especially

[70] '1st (Renfrew) V.B.A. & S. Highlanders,' p.3.
[71] Martin, 'Esprit de Corps' (NLS, ABS. 4. 80. 4), pp.11-12.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] 'Sermon to Volunteers,' *Dundee Courier*, p.3.
[75] '1st (Renfrew) V.B.A. & S. Highlanders,' p.3.
[76] Martin, 'Chaplain Martin's Address' (NLS, ABS. 4. 80. 4), p.10.
[77] Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force*, pp.103-104, 112-113.
[78] Howie, *History of the 1s Lanark Rifle Volunteers,* p.166.

popular across the Glaswegian volunteers, particularly in the 3rd LRV which had a successful football club which competed in the Scottish Football League.[79]

The combination of these approaches would eventually culminate in the formation of the BB. As already mentioned, the BB founder W. A. Smith was a member of the 1st LRV. Springhall finds that in the first twenty Glasgow companies, twelve had Captains in the 1st LRV, one was in the regular army, and the remaining seven, who left office by 1889, were all succeeded by former Volunteers.[80] The Muscular Christianity of the Brigade may represent a fusion of the rational recreation and the Christian Militarism of the Volunteer Force. At the outbreak of the First World War many ex-members BB were organised to join the 16th Battalion Highland Light Infantry, complementing the BB's volunteering inspiration.[81] Below it will be argued that the cross class aspirations of the Volunteer Force also crossed over to the Brigade.

The Boys Brigade and the Working Class Boy

It is difficult to construct a definitive picture of the class composition of BB members between its inception and 1929. However, from a sample of twenty-four boys of the 1st Glasgow Company within the 1884-1885 session, Springhall found that fourteen of them (58.3%) were from a skilled working class background, suggesting a strong appeal outside of middle classes.[82] This skilled working class bloc may have persisted into the twentieth century as indicated by Thomas Cuthbertson, an honorary treasurer of the BB in Glasgow, when speaking to the Royal Commission for Physical Training in 1902. He claimed that out of 6,000 boys in the battalion, there was a large contingent of 'sons of the small shop keeper, the artesian, and the unskilled labourer,' but also noted that some boys in his

[79] Ibid.
[80] Springhall, Fraser, and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast,* pp.41-42.
[81] Thomas Chalmers and Robert S. Rait, *A Saga of Scotland: History of the 16th Battalion the Highland Light Infantry (City of Glasgow Regiment)* (Glasgow: John M'Callum & Co, 1930), pp.3-4.
[82] Ibid., p.40.

own company were sons of quay labourers.[83] He also conceded, however, that there were 'a few lower down' who would not consider the Brigade due to the need for obedience.[84]

Articles in the *Boys Brigade Gazette* reveal a clear desire to create a cross class culture. In the March 1889 edition, a copy of speeches made at the first public meeting of the Brigade was published.[85] Three speeches by clergymen are of particular interest. These speeches suggest that, similar to the Volunteer Movement, clergymen hoped the Brigade could create a cross class social consciousness. The Rev. Marcus Dods, wrote that 'a boy must learn … to act in concert with others, and to forget himself in his class, or in his school, or in his city, or in his country or in the human race.'[86] Through Brigade activities a boy would learn that he alone cannot 'march past in a column,' on his own; nor can he 'play more instruments than one in a band'; instead he finds that he is 'dependent upon the rest.'[87] In the same edition, Rev. Donald Macleod argued that, 'It is the bringing of class into contact with class, and the teacher with those boys, in a friendly way' that would create a 'sense of duty towards those who are around us – that we belong to a body, that we have to exercise of spirt of self-sacrifice in relation to duty.'[88] The Rev. John Marshall Lang appropriately attached the label of 'esprit de corps' to this desired sense of social responsibility, viewing it as a benefit to both religious and secular sectors of Glaswegian society:

> The Esprit de Corps that is formed through the companies are consciously and really, in view of the promoters of this movement, to be transferred to the service of Christ and of his kingdom. The boys that are trained here will be the better of

[83] 'Minutes of evidence', in *Royal Commission on Physical training (Scotland)* (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1902), p.562.
[84] Ibid.
[85] 'First Public Meeting of the Boys' Brigade,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.1, vol.1, 1st March 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.4-10.
[86] Rev. Marcus Dods, 'First Public Meeting of the Boys' Brigade, The Boys – What he is, and what to do with him,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.1, vol.1, 1st March 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.4-5.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Rev. Donald Macleod, 'The Boys' Brigade – It's Organisation and Methods,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.1, vol.1, 1st March 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.6-7.

their training when they go into your warehouses, shops and counting-houses, and we trust they will be better churchmen and better Christians.'[89]

Lang's connection of religiosity to a good work ethic reflects the alliance between local churches and respectable culture. Promoting the BB as a mean of opening up better job opportunities for the working class perhaps reflects the need for a respectable reputation to be considered for an apprenticeship.[90] This in turn is a reflection of the already existing cross class identity between the skilled working class and middle class. Therefore, it can be argued that, as with the Volunteer Movement, Glaswegian clergymen viewed the BB as means to reinforce cross class identity.

Secular supporters of the Brigade also identified the organisation as an opportunity to create and strengthen social loyalties. John Neilson Cuthbertson, chairman of the Glasgow School Board, in an address to BB officers in 1889, expressed his hope that the Brigade would encourage politeness amongst the City's youth. He hoped that the same 'physical' and 'moral and spiritual' improvements that the Volunteers had brought about, would also be 'produced upon the boys.'[91] Military drill was viewed as the primary means of producing these civic values. Major-General Gildea explained that drill promoted qualities of 'obedience', 'attention' and 'cleanliness',[92] while discipline was taught not through fear of punishment but through 'a strong sense of Esprit de Corps.'[93] Major C. Russell expanded upon these comments in a later edition. The value of comradeship which drill encourages was an antidote to 'individual self-glorification', for 'to be a celebrity in the ranks … is to be a drill failure.'[94] Similarly, Thomas Cuthbertson displayed an awareness of the link between the ideology of the BB and that of British public school by arguing that the 'Esprit de corps' fostered through drill could create 'the same sort of feeling

[89] Rev. John Marshall Lang, 'The Keynote of the Brigade – The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.1, vol.1, 1st March 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.9-10.
[90] Fraser, 'The working class', p.333.
[91] John Neilson Cuthbertson, 'The Brigade and the Citizens – its Ameliorating Influences,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.1, vol.1, 1st March 1889 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.7-8.
[92] Gildea, 'Drill and Discipline – Their Use and Value' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), pp.5-6.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Major C. Russell, 'Drill and Discipline – their Use and Value,' in *The Boys Brigade Gazette*, no.10, vol.1, 2nd February 1891 (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/1), p.167.

that you have in an English public school.'[95] It can be seen that BB supporters and members displayed an awareness of the local identity they were promoting.

The BB's cross class project was reflected in the numerous activities of the Brigade which appear to attempt to reform working class boys. This is visible within the BB's sport programme. Bilsborough notes that sport had little emphasis in both the Glasgow and Govan School Boards curricula in the late 1880s,[96] so that BB inter-company competitions would often have been the first time that working class Glasgow boys had an opportunity to play competitive sport.[97] Concurrently, the Muscular Christian 'character', intended to be developed in these activities, was deeply attached to notions of middle class 'rational recreation.' Additionally, the 'rough' football culture that BB competitions were intended to supplant, was already associated with working class fans rather than middle class amateur players.[98] Meanwhile, intercity matches against other battalions would have encouraged a civic identity.[99] Values of rational recreation are perhaps seen most clearly with the Brigade's swimming activities, which taught boys valuable lifesaving skills. Spackman finds that the Glasgow battalion commended numerous boys who had used their swimming ability to save others, granting them the Brigades 'Cross for Heroism.'[100] Therefore, it can be argued that the BB's sport programme played a role in its wider goal of working class reform.

Another area of the Brigade which was intended to reform working class boys, was the 'Boys' Room.' Due to cramped housing, the street was the main location of leisure for young working class men in the late Victorian era.[101] However, street promenading was viewed as a danger to public safety.[102] The various 'Boys' Rooms' set up by the Brigade

[95] *Minutes of evidence*, p.562.
[96] Bilsborough, 'The Development of sport in Glasgow', pp.147-148.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow', p.223; 'Football in The Boys' Brigade' (GCA, TDBB1/4/1/1/2), p.54.
[99] Christopher John Spackman, 'The Boys' Brigade and Urban Cultures, 1883-1933: A Relationship Examined' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Portsmouth, 2016), pp.85-86.
[100] Ibid, p.84-86.
[101] King, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow,' pp.144-145.
[102] Ibid.

throughout Glasgow were intended to counter this problem.[103] As the 1914-1915 Annual Report summarises, the Boys Room was 'well fitted to counteract the allurements of our busy streets.'[104] Smith had hoped that boys would make use of these rooms to read, play games or conduct band practice.[105] In the 1897 session, there were twenty-five boys' rooms, increasing to forty in 1907 and forty-four by 1915.[106]

A third agency aimed at working class reformation was the 'employment register.' Created in the 1894-1895 session, this was intended to ensure each boy was employed in a local business. Interested boys would fill an application form and be paired with enquiring businesses.[107] Within the first year there were 146 applications with sixty placed 'in situations directly or indirectly through the efforts of the committee.'[108] The report noted that most of these placements were in 'offices and warehouses' and hoped that the boys had 'an occasional opportunity of learning trade.'[109] Indeed the following year it was admitted that while 'many boys are anxious to learn "their trade" … the committee have hitherto been able to give but little assistance … At the same time, it would be surely better for a boy to take a situation in an office or warehouse, or even as message boys than to be without employment of any kind.'[110] This suggests that the Committee had desired to develop the work skills of the boys, however at that time, the positions available were limited only to unskilled labour. The Annual Reports suggest that while the register was a 'useful' agency, it was often neglected by officers: there are frequent encouragements to companies to remind boys of the service.[111] The employment register

[103] Springhall, Fraser and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast,* p.58.
[104] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Thirtieth Annual Report, 1914-1915*, May 1915 (GCA, TDBB1/1/30), pp.58-59.
[105] Springhall, Fraser and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast,* p.58.
[106] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Twelfth Annual Report, 1896-97*, May 1897 (GCA, TDBB1/1/12), p.40; Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Twenty-Second Annual Report, 1906-1907*, May 1907 (GCA, TDBB1/1/23), p.80; Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *Thirtieth Annual Report, 1914-1915* (GCA, TDBB1/1/30), p.96.
[107] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion Tenth Annual Report, 1894-95*, May 1895 (GCA, TDBB1/1/10), pp.18-19.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion Eleventh Annual Report, 1895-96*, May 1896 (GCA, TDBB1/1/11), p.21.
[111] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Twentieth Annual Report, 1904 - 1905,* May 1905 (GCA, TDBB1/1/20), pp.11, 47.

finally declined during the First World War. In the 1914-1915 report it was noted that there was 'little or nothing to report', and that 'owing to the national crisis, the cooperation with the labour exchange and the school board, which was in completion, has not yet matured.'[112] While the Committee was still listed within the 1916-1917 report, it was absent from 1920s editions.[113] Despite its flaws, the existence of the employment register shows that the Brigade was interested in employment of boys, further indicating an intention to reform the working class towards a respectable and skilled orientation.

Muscular Christian Football and Class Reform

Beyond the BB and the Church of Scotland's endorsement of the Volunteer Movement, it is not obvious whether Muscular Christian initiatives within Glasgow had any particular class-based motivation. It can only be speculated that the Young Men's Clubs that emerged in the 1890s were intended to engage with the working class in particular as there are no statements suggesting as such.

On the other hand, Muscular Christian initiatives in football may have had class-based motivations. The earliest example may be amongst the workers at Fairfield Shipping Engineering Company Yards in the 1870s. John Elder and his wife, motivated by a Christian humanitarian ethic, had promoted sport amongst his workers as a means to develop their health.[114] Thus, the Fairfield sports ventures could be considered as a form of Muscular Christianity. McDowell finds that numerous amateur football clubs were created at Fairfield within the 1870s and the 1880s, such as 'John Elder FC' and 'Fairfield Reverts no.1' and 'Fairfield Reverts no.2.'[115] The football culture at the Govan shipyards ultimately lent itself to support the Ibrox based Rangers Football Club, which later

[112] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *Thirtieth Annual Report, 1914-1915* (GCA, TDBB1/1/30), pp.58-59.
[113] Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Thirty-Second Annual Report, 1916-1917,* May 1917 (GCA, TDBB1/1/32), p.5.
[114] McDowell, 'The origins, patronage and culture of association football in the west of Scotland,' pp.105-106.
[115] Ibid.

became the local vanguard Protestant Loyalist club,[116] which in turn fed the problematic football culture of the 1890s so objectionable to Scottish Muscular Christians.

Temperance football teams may be another attempt at Muscular Christian class reform. Both the Temperance Movement and the Total Abstinence movement, strongly supported by the United Free Church, had attempted to gain a foothold in Glaswegian football with the creation of the United Abstainers (UA) and Glasgow Temperance Athletic (GTA) clubs which appear in the 1887-1888 and 1888-1889 editions of the *Scottish Football Association Annual* respectively.[117] The two clubs had their own grounds, with UA situated at Victoria Park in Crosshill and GTA in Saracen Park, Possilpark.[118] GTA does not appear in any other Annual beyond its initial season, suggesting it had disbanded or dropped out of the Association. UA remained present within the Association until the 1895-1896 season, after which it was 'struck off the roll' after a 'phantom existence', according to *Scottish Referee* in 1894.[119] A temperance club would have found itself out of place during the strong association between the drinks trade and Scottish football clubs in the 1890s.[120] However temperance football returned to Glasgow in the form of the GDCL which hoped to inspire sobriety and 'Habits of Discipline' amongst its members.[121] Churches from industrial areas were well represented in the League,[122] which included numerous teams from the eastern parts of the city such as 'St. Rollox U.F.' and 'Springburn Parish.'[123] Although the location of these teams does not necessary imply that their membership was working class, by 1910 football was widely viewed as a working class dominated sport,[124]

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[116] Ibid., p.107.
[117] *Scottish Football Association Annual*, *1887-1888*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co, 1888), p.56; *Scottish Football Association Annual, 1888-1889*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co, 1889), p.72.
[118] Ibid.
[119] *Scottish Football Association Annual, 1894-1895*, ed. John M'Dowell (Glasgow: H. Nisbet and Co, 1895), p.91; 'Dead and Buried,' *Scottish Referee*, 27th August 1894, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/18940827/011/0002).
[120] John Weir, 'Drink Up and Play the Game,' in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, ed. John Weir (Stewart Davidson: Renfrew, 1992), unpaginated [pp.26-27, 31-32].
[121] 'Churches' League, an Excellent Institution, a Retrospect,' p.1.
[122] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow', p.110.
[123] Aileen Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: North of the Clyde* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2002), pp.59-165; Morgan, 'Building the city,' p.38; Both St. Rollox and Springburn were in the same industrial area, with a near-by sewage works and a locomotive industry.
[124] Richard Holt*, Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp.254-255.

despite its middle class origins. Furthermore, the GDCL was succeeding previous church use of football as a means to engage with the working class, such as John Elder's shipyard teams and the BB football leagues. Indeed, as argued in the chapter two above, the Young Men's clubs from which the GDCL had grown had been created to substitute the Boys Brigade for young men who had outgrown their time in the organisation.[125] Therefore, it is plausible that the GDCL was another form of football being used as a tool to appeal to the working class.

Conclusion

There are instances of Muscular Christian initiatives in Glasgow being aimed at working class reform. The Volunteer Movement, which contained upper, middle and skilled working class members, was supported by local churches. Clergyman argued that the Volunteer Force could create cross class 'esprit de corps' identity and instil values of discipline within the members. The Christian Militarism held by the volunteer Chaplains overlapped with Muscular Christianity, as both intended to present a moral masculinity to men. The Boys Brigade was the eventual fusion of these two ideologies, and it too had class reform goals. Clergy and secular supporters of the Brigade also saw it as a means to create a cross class 'esprit de corps' identity amongst the boys. Furthermore, initiatives such as the sports clubs, Boys Rooms and the Employment Register appear to have been particularly aimed at reforming working class boys away from problematic street youth culture and towards respectable middle class values. Finally, the footballing initiatives of the Muscular Christian movement may have had a class dimension. John Elders' humanitarian efforts to encourage sport amongst his employees may be an early example, while the short lived temperance teams also indicate an attempt at gaining a foothold in Scottish football culture. The GDCL's presence amongst eastern industrialised areas is perhaps an example of the continuation of these efforts.

[125] See Chapter 2, 'Glasgow Churches and Physical Recreation, 1867-1929,' pp.55-58.

Conclusion

Glasgow embraced and contributed to the Muscular Christian movement in many ways. The local YMCA had casually used football as early as 1867, although not making their own official team until 1884. Under Headmaster Donald Morrison in 1865 the Glasgow Academy began to implement a programme similar to that of Hely Hutchison Almond's, inspiring the future activities of Scottish Baptist J. W. Arthur. In 1883 W. A Smith created the Boys' Brigade (BB) at Hillhead Free Church. The Brigade, with its fusion of Christian Militarism and Muscular Christianity, grew from 394 companies nationwide in 1890 to 2,257 in 1930. The main objective of the BB was to attract boys to religious instruction. However, local Presbyterian clergymen, such as Rev. John Marshal Lang, hoped the Brigade would instil self-improvement values and a cross class identity amongst working class boys, just as they had attempted with the volunteer movement. Crucially, the BB was a pioneer of sport for adolescent boys in the city with its numerous inter-company competitions. Sport was used for three main reasons: to attract and retain members, to develop the character of the participants and to play games in an environment separated from cultural vices. Indeed, Scottish Presbyterians were struggling to compose a unified attitude towards 'popular sports', like football. Critics of sport argued that it was the cause of violence, gambling and Sabbath breaking, while advocates of Muscular Christianity like W. W. Beveridge, argued that if the sport was separated from its vice ridden culture it could bring numerous moral benefits. During the years 1895 and 1896 these two views were discussed and debated in the United Presbyterian, Free Church and Congregationalist assemblies. In Glasgow, physical recreation was already beginning to be used within church groups outside of the BB, such as numerous young men's clubs in the city, which made use of physical exercises. In 1908 the Glasgow and District Churches League (GDCL) was created and by 1910, along with other church football leagues, Glasgow had at least seventy-nine church related teams. Like the BB, the GDCL may have had the goals of attracting men to bible classes as well as conducting football in a safe space and developing character. The GDCL was pro-temperance and many of teams came

from churches situated in east-end industrial areas, suggesting the initiative also intended to inspire respectable values in working class church goers. After the First World War Church sport in Glasgow greatly increased, numerous 'Athletics Clubs' being set up and tennis, badminton and ladies hockey being added to the list of activities. However, these church athletics clubs were more focused on congregational socialisation than the male character development goals of their pre-war counterparts. Nevertheless, Muscular Christianity appears to have retained much of its cultural capital in inter-war Scotland signified by the popularity of Christian sportsmen like Olympic athlete Eric Liddell and Glasgow Rangers footballer Allan Morton. However, many popular Christian footballers at this time would have been professionally paid, suggesting that Muscular Christianity had loosened its commitment to amateurism.

In many respects this thesis breaks new ground, notably being the first study of a localised Scottish experience of Muscular Christianity. This naturally prompts comparative comments with previous findings regarding England. Glasgow Presbyterians, and perhaps those across Scotland, appear to have had an experience of Muscular Christianity closer to the English nonconformist than the broad-church Anglicans. This may be due to the strength of evangelicalism in Scotland in the late Victorian era.[1] Within the mid-nineteenth century Evangelicals sought to steer their congregations away from immoral leisure.[2] This later provoked an attempt to provide an alternative moral leisure, such as congregational picnics and concerts.[3] Sport gradually became a popular manifestation of sanctified leisure and despite a backlash in the 1890s, Evangelical denominations eventually came to embrace the use of 'chapel sport', almost taking it for granted.[4] Glasgow Presbyterians appear to have had a quicker version of this, with a general lack of 'chapel sport' outside of the sporadic initiatives of the local YMCA until the adoption of sport by the BB in the late 1880s, followed by the growth of Young Men's clubs in the

[1] Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.132.
[2] Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, pp.68-69.
[3] Ibid., pp.240-256.
[4] McLeod, '"Thews and Sinews": Nonconformity and Sport,' p.30.

1890s. This coincided with a similar backlash among some clergymen, which lost out to a conciliatory position towards sports like football. Like their English counterparts,[5] Muscular Christian initiatives in Glasgow often tried to address the poor standard of living of the working class and provide a cross class local identity. This mostly leaned towards instilling working class members with middle class self-improvement values, seen with the BB's domestic training and employment efforts and the GDCL's commitment to temperance. This study was unable to find any Muscular Christian support for trade unions, in contrast to the support found by McLeod among Northampton Nonconformists.[6] This may be due to the ambivalent relationship between the labour movement and Scottish Presbyterians.[7] This study supports Vance's view that the use of Muscular Christianity in home missions continued longer in Scotland than in England by appreciating the contribution of Christian footballers like Allan Morton, John Fleming and George Brown, alongside athletes like Eric Liddell during the interwar era.[8] This suggests a strengthening of relations between the church and sportsmen, in contrast to a weakening in England.

This study builds upon previous research regarding the relationship between Scottish Presbyterianism and sport. With reference to the *Boys Brigade Gazette* this dissertation supports the argument of Springhall and Bilsborough that the BB used sport to attract boys to the Brigade and develop a moral masculinity,[9] while also noting that sport was used by the BB to locate games in a space separated from cultural vices such as intemperance. The writings of Drummond and Reid also shows the Muscular Christian vision of the Boys' Brigade. Previous authors such as Boyd and Weir have noted the internal debates amongst Scottish Clergymen during the 1890s over the correct attitudes

[5] Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure,* pp.52-53; Donald E. Hall, 'On the making and unmaking of monsters: Christian Socialism, muscular Christianity, and the metaphorization of class conflict,' p.46.
[6] McLeod, '"Thews and Sinews": Nonconformity and Sport,' pp.44-46.
[7] Brown, *Religion and Society*, pp.136-138.
[8] Vance*, The Sinews of the Spirit*, p.169.
[9] Bilsborough, 'The Development of Sport in Glasgow,' pp.147-148; Springhall, Fraser, and Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast,* pp.58, 64.

the church should take to sports.[10] These new findings mean that the 1890s can be viewed as a decade of development for church physical recreation with the growth of Young Men's Clubs alongside BB sport competitions and the increasing success of a conciliatory position amongst clergymen. The subsequent conclusion, that by the 1910s Glasgow Churches had embraced amateur football, addresses Weir's claim that the clergy's position on the sport was undefinable,[11] at least for Glasgow. The study's discovery of a large increase of church athletics clubs after the First World War, which were focused upon congregational socialisation rather than the development of moral character, supports Callum Brown's claim that during the early twentieth century there was a shift within churches, particularly those situated in middle class areas away from mission activity and towards social initiatives.[12]

There are many avenues which this study has not explored. Notably, a study of Muscular Christianity that is limited to Glasgow cannot gain a full picture of the Scottish experience of the movement. For this to be done, case studies of other Scottish localities will need to be conducted. It is possible that the large number of surviving copies of BB battalion reports from cities across Scotland would provide an opportunity for such an in-depth comparative study. An assessment of the religiosity of the Scouts and the Girl Guides would also shed light on whether Muscular Christianity expanded beyond explicitly religious youth organisations. The study is also limited by its time frame. Erdozain has noted the importance of Thomas Chalmers in laying the foundation for a later Evangelical turn towards sanctified leisure.[13] It would be worth exploring whether there was any use of physical recreation by churches in Scotland before the 1860s. Furthermore, the continued existence of the BB, and the appeal of Christian footballers beyond 1929, raises the question of how long the Scottish cultural capital of Muscular Christianity lasted. This study makes no comment on how Scottish Muscular Christianity relates to research

[10] Weir, 'The Clergy and Early Scottish Football,' [pp.43-44]; Kenneth Boyd, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family, 1850-1914* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1980), pp.139-140.
[11] Weir, 'The Clergy and Early Scottish Football,' [p.46-47].
[12] Brown, *Religion and Society,* p.129.
[13] Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, pp.81-82.

regarding secularisation. Erdozain's claim that the Evangelical drive for sanctified leisure subtly developed a morality divorced from faith has been not been addressed.[14] Any future study on Muscular Christianity in Scotland that wishes to capture fully the late Victorian and early twentieth century should address the secularisation thesis, especially if it adventures beyond 1929 and towards the 1960s, a decade of sharp decline in Scottish religiosity.[15] Finally, and unfortunately, this thesis does not explore the female experience of the Scottish Muscular Christian movement. This had been the original intention, but the limited scope of a M(Res) dissertation meant that the context of women in Glasgow in the late Victorian and early twentieth century could not be adequately explored. A future study on the topic would do well to recognise this dimension, and the author fully intends to do so.

[14] Ibid., p.210.
[15] Brown, *Religion and society,* p.159.

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Scriptural References are taken from the King James Version

Appendix A

Tracking Approximate Boys Brigade Membership and Bible Class Attendance, 1887 – 1925.

(As referenced on pages 25, 31, 32.)

Table 1. Approximate Boys Brigade Membership and Bible Class Attendance, 1887-1925.

Year	Companies	Boys and Non-Commissioned Officers	Officers (inc. Staff Sergeants)	Boys and Officers	Companies hosting bible classes	Bible Class attendance	Bible Class attendance as % of members
1887	63	3,213	206	3419	22	508	14.86%
1895	87	3,845	300	4,145	41	'2000'	48.25%
1905	128	6,652	871	7,523	91	3,476	46.20%
1915	160	11,156	1,345	12,501	142	6,138	49.10%
1925	208	13,063	1,782	14,845	N/A	10,420.16	70.19%

Source: Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Second Annual Report, 1886-87, May 1887 (GCA, TDBB1/1/2), pp. 2-3; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Tenth Annual Report, 1894-1895, May 1895 (GCA, TDBB1/1/10), pp.6-11; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Twentieth Annual Report, 1904 -1905, May 1905 (GCA, TDBB1/1/20), pp.7-8; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Thirtieth Annual Report, 1914-1915,* May 1915 (GCA, TDBB1/1/30), pp.13-14; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Glasgow Battalion the Boys Brigade, 1924-1925*, May 1925 (GCA, TDBB1/1/40), pp.4-5.

From 1887 onwards The Boys Brigade annual reports provide information on the total number of members, companies, companies hosting bible classes and the overall bible class attendance across the battalion. From this information the author has calculated the percentage of members attending bible classes in one session.

Some reports list the number of staff-sergeants alongside officers. The above table has added the number officers and staff sergeants together.

These numbers should be views as approximate figures as the reports themselves are not consistent in their presentation. For instance, the report from 1895 states that there was 'about 2000 Boys on the rolls' for bible class attendance rather than giving an exact number.[1] Furthermore, the 1915 and 1925 report list the number of 'Bandmasters' with in the battalion, with sixty-nine listed in in 1915 and 145 in 1925.[2] I have excluded this

[1] Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Tenth Annual Report, 1894-1895,* May 1895 (GCA, TDBB1/1/10), pp.6-11.

[2] Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, Thirtieth Annual Report, 1914-1915,* May 1915 (GCA, TDBB1/1/30), pp.13-14; Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Glasgow Battalion the Boys Brigade, 1924-1925*, May 1925 (GCA, TDBB1/1/40), pp.4-5.

group from the officer overall number as the nature of their membership and their expected attendance at bible classes was unclear.

The numbers for 1925 are calculated differently than the previous years. Rather than give an overall number of Bible Class attendees, the report provides percentage breakdowns for officers, staff-sergeants and boys. They were as follows: 'Officers, 66 per cent. , Staff-sergeants, 67 per cent., Boys, 71 per cent.'[3] The report also provides the number of officers, staff sergeant and boys within the battalion. They were as 1,233 officers, 495 staff-sergeants and 13,063 boys and non-commissioned officers.[4] With these two pieces of information the author reversed the bible class percentages to reach a number approximate to the number of offices, staff-sergeants and boys attending bibles classes. This was found to be 813.78 Officers, 331.65 staff-sergeants and 9174.736 boys and non-commissioned officers. In total this number was 10,420.16. As the total number of Boys and officers was recorded to be 14,845, the author then calculated that the percentage of members attending bible classes from the year 1925 was approximately 70.19%.

Despite only producing approximate numbers, the calculations reveal an initial struggle to grow bible class attendance, followed by a strong but later stagnated increase near the end of the nineteenth century. Thereafter the battalion achieved a majority of members attending bible classes in the nineteen-twenties.

[3] Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report* (GCA, TDBB1/1/40), pp.4-5.
[4] Ibid.

Appendix B

Total Number of Teams Competing in Church Football Leagues for the Year 1910

(As referenced in page 57.)

Scottish Referee often provided the league tables for various different church football leagues such as the 'Churches Union', the 'Churches Federation', the 'Churches League' (Also referred to as the 'Glasgow and District Churches Football League') and the 'Young Men's Guild League'.

The total number of seventy-nine teams was reached by simply adding up the teams listed in these tables for the year 1910.

'Young Men's Guild League' listed teams:

'Govanhill', 'Cumbernauld', 'Dean Park', 'St. Mary's', 'Laurieston', 'St. David's', 'Bellahouston', 'Settleston', 'Blythswood', 'Chryston', 'Townhead' - 11 teams.[1]

'Govan and District Churches League' listed teams:

'Thornliebank Meth', 'Copeland Road U.F', 'Kilbowie St John's Est.', 'Kinning Park Parish', 'St Columba U.F', 'White Memorial U.F', 'Plantation Parish', 'Clydebank Wesleyan', 'Paisley Road U.F', 'Lorne Hall F.B' – 10 teams.[2]

'Churches' League Table' Listed teams:

'Section A'

[1] 'Young Men's Guild League,' *Scottish Referee*, 22nd April 1910, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19100422/101/0004).
[2] 'Govan and District Churches' League,' *Scottish Referee*, 19th May 1910, p.4 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001876/19100519/087/0004).

'Gorbals U.F', 'London Road U.F', 'Bluevale Parish', 'North Kelvinside U.F', 'St. Barnabas' Episcopal', 'Round Toll F.B', 'Barony U.F', 'Sighthill U.F', 'St. James Parish', 'Dalmarnock U.F', 'Bellgrove U.F' – 11 Teams.[3]

'Section B'

'St. Rollox', 'Dennistoun Estab', 'St. Mark's U.F', 'Whitevale U.F', 'Alexandra Parade U.F', 'London Road U.F', 'Pollokshaws Parish', 'W. Maryston B.C', 'Crosshill U.F', 'Hutchesontown Parish', 'Springburn', 'Rutherglen Parish' – 12 teams.[4]

'Reserve League'

'Dennistoun Est', 'Barony U.F', 'Round Toll F.B', 'Alexandra Par. U.F', 'St. Mark's U.F', 'Bluevale Parish', 'West Maryston B.C', 'N. Kelvinside U.F', 'Rutherglen Par', 'London Road U.F' – 10 Teams.[5]

'Church's Union' listed teams:

'Fairbairn U.F', 'Boys' Home', 'Govanhill U.F ', 'St. Columba Episcopal', 'Bridgegate U.F.', 'Govanhill Wesleyan', 'Sandilands Mem. B.C', 'Buchanan Memorial', 'Anderston U.F', 'Elgin Street U.F', 'St. Matthews B.C', 'Govanhill Parish' – 12 Teams.[6]

'Churches Federation' listed teams:

'Paisley St. James', 'Calton Crusaders', 'Newlands Parish', 'Cathcart St. P.S.A'. 'Kilbowie St. John's Est.', 'St Clement's Parish', 'Plantation Parish', 'Gillespie Crusaders', 'White Memorial U.F', 'Greenhead P. Crusaders', 'Tollcross Bible Class', 'Greenhead U.F', 'St. Bernard's Parish' - 13 Teams.[7]

<u>Total Teams: 79</u>

[3] 'Churches' Federation,' *Scottish Referee*, 10th October 1910, p.5 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19101010/077/0005).
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] 'Churches' Union,' *Scottish Referee*, 5th December 1910, p.5 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001876/19101205/083/0005).
[7] Ibid.

Secondary teams: ‘St Columba U.F’, ‘Kilbowie St. John’s Est.’, ‘Plantation Parish’, ‘White Memorial U.F’, ‘London Road U.F’ (x 2), ‘Bluevale Parish’, ‘Round Toll F.B’, ‘Barony U.F’, ‘Dennistoun Estab’, ‘St. Mark’s U.F’, ‘Alexandra Parade U.F’, ‘West Maryston B.C’, ‘Rutherglen Parish’, *‘Govanhill’ – 15.

*As ‘Established’ ‘United Free’ and ‘Episcopalian’ are listed it was deemed highly likely that the team named ‘Govanhill’ in the ‘Young Men’s Guild League’ belonged to one of these churches and was thus secondary team.

Appendix C

Teams within the Langside and District Churches League

(As referenced on page 59-60.)

Within the minute book for Queens Park East United Free Church's Athletic Club league tables of the Langisde and District League have been included. One entry from the '14th April' 1923 lists seventeen teams. They are as follows:

'Queen's Park E. U.F', 'Battlefield Parish', 'S. Shawlands Y.M' , 'Rose Street U.F', 'Victoria U.F', 'Mt. Florida U.F', 'Pollokshaws O.S', 'Crosshill U.F', 'Battlefield U.F', 'Waverley Athletic', 'Langside Parish', 'Albert Crescent', 'Shawlands U.F.', 'Langside Hill U.F', 'Eastwood Parish', 'Shawlands Parish', 'Chalmers'.[1]

Total: 17

'U.F' being the largest group with 8 teams.

[1] Queen's Park East United Free Church, 'Meeting of the Committee, 14th April,' in *Queen's Park East U.F. Church, Amateur Athletic Club, Minutes Book,* April 1923 (GCA, CH3/1471/40), unpaginated [pp.222].

Appendix D

Glasgow Volunteer Chaplains, 1860-1869

(As referenced on page 71.)

The National Newspaper Archive has records of the Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch. Within this publication there are records of appointments, resignations and meetings of members of the volunteer corps, including those stationed in Glasgow. I searched through the record with the key works 'Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers' and 'Chaplain' for the years 1860 to 1869. After making a list of chaplains mentioned in connections to 'Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer' corps I refined the results by eliminating those groups which were stationed outside of Glasgow by looking up their history in James Moncrieff Grierson's *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force, 1859-1908*. Below is the final list.

1860

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 3rd March 1860, p.211 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18600303/022/0006):

'19th Corps (Glasgow 2nd Northern Battalion)… Rev. B. Brown to be hon. Chaplain.'

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 16th June 1860, pp.10-11 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18600616/041/0010):

'1st Lanarkshire Engineer Volunteers (Glasgow)… The Rev. R.T. Jeffery to be hon. Chaplain.'

- 'Scottish Mem,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 8th December 1860, p.110 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18601208/045/0013):

'4th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps - Rev Dr John Robertson to be Hon. Chapl.'

The 4th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps is based in Glasgow, 6th, 7th, 8th, 12th, and 13th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps folded into it on December 12, 1859.[1]

Worth noting John Robertson died in 1865.[2]

1860 total: 3.

1861

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 23rd November 1861, p.78 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18611123/037/0016):

'97th Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteer Corps… the Rev. Duncan M'Nab to be honorary chaplain.'

The 97th were also known as the 'Glasgow Guards' are were amalgamated into the 1st Lanarkshire Engineer Volunteers.[3]

1861 total: 1.

1862

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 28th June 1862, pp.573-574

[1] James Moncrieff Grierson, *Records of the Scottish volunteer force, 1859-1908* (Edinburgh; William Blackwood and Sons, 1909), p.234.
[2] 'Sermon to Volunteers,' *Fife Herald*, 22nd June 1865, p.827 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000447/18650622/041/0001).
[3] Grierson, *Records of the Scottish volunteer force*, pp.27,167.

(https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18620628/042/0013):

'75th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps – The Rev. David Mitchell to be honorary chaplain.'

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 24th May 1862, p.493
  (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18620524/041/0013):

'1st Lanarkshire Artillery Volunteer Corps…the Rev. Norman MacLeod, D.D., formerly honorary chaplain 1st Administrative brigade Lanarkshire Artillery Volunteers, to be honorary chaplain'

1862 total: 2.

1863

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 2nd May 1863, p.446
  (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18630502/060/0016):

'2nd Administrative Battalion Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers – The Rev. James Taylor, D.D., to be honorary chaplain, vice Robert Gillan, D.D., resigned'

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 7th November 1863, p.879
  (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18631107/047/0015):

'86th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps…the Rev. David Brown to be honorary chaplain'.

The 2nd Administrative Battalion was formed in March 1861 when the 86th and 96th Corps were added to the 4th Battalion Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. In 1864 the 88th, and in

1865 the 30th Corps were disbanded, and on 10th May 1865 the battalion was consolidated as the 31st Lanark Rifle Volunteers comprising ten companies, with headquarters in North John Street, Glasgow.[4] For this information it was reasoned that both Rev. James Taylor and Rev. David Brown were Glasgow based.

It is worth mentioning that Rev. Taylor is later mentioned as the chaplain to the 31st Lanarkshire Rifles as well.[5]

1863 total: 2.

1864

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 24 December 1864, p.50 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18641224/047/0015?):

'19th Lanarkshire Rifles…On December 13, the new drill-hall in Parliamentary Road, Glasgow, was formally inaugurated by a grand soiree, concern, and dramatic performance… on the platform were the Rev. Dr Eadie chaplain to the regiment…'

In 1860 the 19th Lanarkshire (also known as the Glasgow, 2nd Northern) comprised of 15 companies.[6] The original 19th corps contained 'artisans in the Western and Clyde Engineering Works'.[7]

- '4th Lanarkshire Rifles,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 31st December 1864, p.73 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18641231/059/0013):

[4] Ibid, pp.265-266.
[5] 'Soiree of the 31st Lanarkshire Rifles,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 20th February 1864, p.175 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18640220/014/0003).
[6] Grierson, *Records of the Scottish volunteer force,* p.258.
[7] Ibid.

'Grande soiree of the '4th Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteers (Glasgow 1st Northern)'. 'Rev. Dr. M' Taggart' is listed in attendance and the chairman's speech does mention 'our chaplain'. Therefore, even if it cannot be confirmed that Dr. M' Taggart is the chaplain we do have confirmation that there is one in place.

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 23 April 1864, p.329 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18640423/082/0013):

'5th Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteer Corps – The Rev William Ferrie Stevenson to be honorary chaplain.'

The 5th Lanarkshire Rifles were formed in 1860. They later merged with the 31st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers in 1873 to make the 3rd '(the Blytheswood) Volunteer Battalion, the Highland Light Infantry', with headquarters in 69 Main Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow.[8]

1865 total: 3.

1866

- '4th Lanarkshire (Glasgow 1st Northern) Rifles,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 29th December 1866, p. 66 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18661229/018/0006):

'4th Lanarkshire (Glasgow 1st) Northern) Rifles. – The annual soiree and distribution of prizes of the 4th Lanarkshire Rifles took place on the 14th instant, in the City Hall, Glasgow… On the platform were the following… Rev. G. S. Burns, chaplain to the corps'

1866 total: 1.

[8] Grierson, *Records of the Scottish volunteer force,* pp.265-267-268.

1867

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 18th May 1867, p.390 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0001104/18670518/080/0014?browse=true):

'97th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps – The Reverend Peter Cameron Black to be honorary chaplain.'

In 1861 the 97th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers was formed. It was also known locally as the 'Glasgow Guards'. In 1863 it joined with the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Lanark Engineers to make the 1st Lanarkshire Engineer Volunteers, with headquarters at 115 West Campbell Street, Glasgow.[9]

1867 total: 1.

1868

- 'Commissions,' *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 12th December 1868, p.26 (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001104/18681212/048/0014):

'105th Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteer Corps -… the Reverend William Ewen Bull Gunn to be honorary chaplain.'

The 105th Lanarkshire rifles volunteers, also known as 'Glasgow Highland', were formed in July 21st 1868 by highland residents in Glasgow. [10]

1868 total: 1.

1860-1869 total: 15

[9] Ibid, p.167.
[10] Ibid, pp.272-273.