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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY  
IN THE WESTERN PROVINCE (ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESES  
OF GLASGOW, MOTHERWELL, AND PAISLEY) 1878 - 1962.

by

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CSO</b>	<b>Central Statistical Office</b>
<b>GAA</b>	<b>Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive</b>
<b>SCA</b>	<b>Scottish Catholic Archive (Edinburgh)</b>
<b>SCD</b>	<b>Scottish Catholic Directory</b>
<b>SED</b>	<b>(Scotch) Scottish Education Department</b>
<b>WCC</b>	<b>Western Catholic Calendar</b>

## ABSTRACT

The thesis assesses the development of the Catholic community in the Western ecclesiastical province of the Catholic Church in Scotland. It examines ecclesiastical developments, and also the specific impact of the Irish Catholic migrant: why, and when they came, in what numbers, and what reaction they received from native Scots Catholics and society at large. The response of the church in providing places of worship and clergy is discussed; as are the provision and impact of education and social welfare, and the consequent financial burden.

The ability of the church to confirm and retain the religious commitment of its community is also examined, in the context of such problems as leakage and non-practice, and in the face of the perceived threat represented by socialist, communist and secular ideologies. Through societies like the League of the Cross, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Catholic Truth Society, the Catholic community sought to provide an all-embracing community life and ethos.

And yet the thesis questions how effective such a policy could be in practice. Given the existence of issues like Irish Home Rule presenting an alternative focus of political loyalty, and the impact of gradual social and occupational change upon its adherents, a policy of exclusiveness could not prevent the permeation among the Catholic community, and its leaders, of the ideals and expectations of the civil society in which that community was placed. As in other cultures, the Catholic community in West Central Scotland had to resolve its own internal dissensions and difficulties, and to define its relationship with society at large.

## PREFACE

Preaching at Bellahouston Park during his visit to Great Britain, Pope John Paul II told the Catholics of Scotland that they originated "in a glorious past"; a past in which Bishops like Robert Wishart of Glasgow had played a prominent part in the Scottish Wars of Independence. Others, like Bishops Wardlaw, Turnbull and Elphinstone were linked with university foundations, while Scottish scholars such as Duns Scotus, Richard of St. Victor and John Major gained international repute for their learning.

The Reformation of the sixteenth-century almost, though not quite, swept away the medieval church from Scotland. In 1603, on the death of Archbishop Beaton in Paris, the hierarchy became extinct. Catholicism continued to survive only in certain specific districts of the Western Highlands within the Kirk synods of Glenelg and Argyll, and in parts of north-east Scotland.

Scotland, in the eyes of the Church, became a mission territory. To remedy the scarcity of priests, Pope Clement VIII founded the Scots College in Rome, and other seminaries were established elsewhere on the continent, including Paris. The Religious Orders too, released members for this missionary work, which, after some dispute, was formally placed under the jurisdiction of a Vicar-Apostolic.

Initially, Scotland was treated as a single entity until, in 1727, two separate Vicariates-Apostolic were formed: the Highland Vicariate, embracing all the Gaelic-speaking north-west of the country, and the Lowland. This two-Vicariate arrangement lasted for one hundred years, until 1827; when John Menzies of Pitfodels' generous gift of his Blairs estate and mansion to the Catholic Church in Scotland, made it advisable to make a further division so as to ensure the presence of a third trustee for the property.

The greatest change however, and one which, more than any other, would alter the pattern of post-Reformation Catholicism in Scotland, was the phenomenon of Irish immigration, which made additional demands on the Scottish Mission for chapels and for priests. Money also had to be found; not only to pay clerical salaries, but also to



provide the necessary places of worship in the developing urban, industrial, centres of Glasgow, Paisley, and the neighbouring counties. Thus early did finance loom as a major problem to be faced.

After the division of 1827, Irish migrants were concentrated in the Western District. This District, centred on Glasgow, also comprised the counties of Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Bute, southern Invernesshire, Argyll, and the Western Isles. From some of these counties, in 1878, would be created the Archdiocese of Glasgow, and Western Province of the Catholic Church in Scotland.

This thesis assesses the development of the Catholic community in the West of Scotland, with particular reference to this Province and Archdiocese during the years between the restoration of a Scottish Catholic hierarchy in 1878 and the calling of the Second Vatican Council in 1962. The term 'community' is used advisedly, for this is not a study solely concerned with internal ecclesiastical developments, though such elements are fully treated within it. Instead, it seeks also to consider the numbers, occupations, concerns, and social integration of Catholics. Research on the impact of the Irish migrant in other religious and civil host societies, for example in North America, also highlights the necessity to place this local study within a broader perspective. Sheridan Gilley in his article on "The Impact of the Nineteenth Century Irish Diaspora" demonstrates the existence of internal ecclesiastical tensions, and an ambivalent attitude towards social assimilation. Developments within the Scottish Catholic community cannot be viewed in isolation.

The thesis draws primarily from original sources: the Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive; the Scottish Catholic Archive; the Catholic Press; Strathclyde Regional Archive; and also from official Government reports. Relevant secondary sources were also consulted. The development of the thesis was aided immeasurably by the guidance and advice of my supervisor, Dr. James Treble; and by Mrs. Jean Fraser who produced the finished typescript. Mr. Stewart Fraser reproduced the figures. I offer them my most sincere thanks. Acknowledgement must also be made to Mr. Bryan Bett; and of the encouragement and financial support received from the Archdiocese of Glasgow, and the trustees of the Columba and Mackintosh Trusts.

It quickly became apparent that though the year 1878 possessed a particular significance in relation to a specific ecclesiastical development - the restoration of a Scottish Catholic hierarchy - in other respects it proved an arbitrary date. Many of the attitudes, policies and problems of the Catholic community in the West of Scotland had emerged prior to 1878, and remained relevant in the post-restoration century. For this reason, the thesis first examines the pre-1878 era, including the influx of the Irish migrant, in order better to understand the subsequent development of Catholics and Catholicism in the Province of Glasgow.



## CHAPTER 1

### THE LOWLAND, AND WESTERN DISTRICTS: AN INTRODUCTION

#### 1. The Glasgow Mission

From our twentieth-century standpoint, it is perhaps difficult to imagine a time when Catholics in Glasgow and district numbered only a handful. And yet when Bishop George Hay took his census of the Lowland District in 1780 this was indeed the case. Though he himself had celebrated Mass in a house next to the College Kirk in High Street two years before, Glasgow did not even merit a separate mention. The census does however name two Catholic families, the Bagnall's and the Sinnott's, as being resident in the town, and further states that the latter came originally from Ireland. Bagnall who lived at the east end of Gallowgate, and in whose house Mass may have been celebrated in 1779, was presumably a member of the former family. With the exception of an unspecified number of Highland migrants, these two families represented virtually the total complement of the Glasgow Mission.<sup>1</sup> These few Catholics in Glasgow were served from Drummond Castle, near Crieff. In southwestern Scotland as a whole, Dumfries, believed to have 308 Catholics, and Munches (Dalbeattie) with 168, were, apart from Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Crieff itself, the only missions outwith the Catholic strongholds of the Western Highlands, and the North-East.<sup>2</sup>

By 1781, religious provision was being made for the Glasgow Catholics by means of occasional pastoral visits from Bishop Geddes, coadjutor to Bishop Hay, at intervals of several months. They now gathered together in a room belonging to the Misses Fletcher of Dunans, a convert family from Argyll. Matters improved in 1783 when the bishop's brother, Dr. Alexander Geddes, a biblical scholar, came north from London to consult some Hebrew manuscripts in the University, and was able to minister to them. However, his presence was not altogether an unmixed blessing for, as he himself realised the "little flock here will get into a bad habit of hearing Mass every Sunday, and will take ill [with] their old period of six months".<sup>3</sup> Even so, a resident priest was not appointed until 1792.

While Dr. Geddes ministered to the Glasgow Catholics, a few additions were made to their number. By 23 October 1785, numbers had increased from five to fifteen, and the following Sunday he hoped for "a full score." Eight had received communion.<sup>4</sup> By 1786, some estimates put the Catholic population of Glasgow at about seventy.<sup>5</sup>

Interestingly, in view of later conflicts within the Western District, Alexander Geddes initially demonstrated some antipathy towards the Irish migrants arriving in Glasgow. Thus, he instructed the Misses Fletcher that he gave them "carte blanche to augment the congregation as they think proper, but exclusive of all Irish," for he would "absolutely have nothing to do with them."<sup>6</sup> His attitude though, seems to have quickly softened, for by November 1785 he admitted that he had been obliged to break his resolutions "of admitting no Hibernians".<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, he was still cautious enough to hope that "no bad consequences" would follow, and he had emphasised the need to practise the virtue of prudent behaviour. It is not clear whether Geddes had any specific reasons for his mistrust of the Irish. Rather, he seems to have shared that caution which had become ingrained among the priests of the Scottish Mission towards change, howsoever caused, which might disturb the developing understanding between the Scottish Catholic Mission and the civil authorities. Public, or at least official, tolerance of Catholics was it seems, increasing, and with it the hope of establishing permanent missions.

## 2. Migrants from Ireland

Though the Sinnott family seem to be among the earliest post-Reformation Irish Catholic migrants, links between Scotland and Ireland were of much longer standing. In the fourth century, Scots from the north of Ireland established a colony on the Kintyre peninsula, and controlled the district later known as Argyll; while, in the fourteenth century, some Irish chieftains offered the Irish Crown to Edward, brother of Robert, Bruce. Trade and political change also encouraged close contacts, as the increased commercial activity generated by the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707 brought benefits to the cattle trade between the north of Ireland

and south-west Scotland. Movements via Portpatrick, of both cattle and horses, increased rapidly in the second half of the eighteenth century, and Irish livestock remained a prominent feature of Galloway and Ayrshire fairs until a direct, regular, cargo service by steamer to Glasgow was established about 1830.<sup>8</sup> Also in Galloway, agricultural improvements initiated by Craik of Arbigland (1703-98), and adopted by some of his contemporaries, provided work for Irish labourers in digging, draining, and hedge-planting.

While Galloway was the only part of Scotland where the Irish settled in considerable numbers as agricultural labourers, others came each season to help with the harvest. Such temporary migration provided a useful additional income to supplement peasant earnings, and was especially attractive to those from counties such as Connaught and Ulster where there were many small-holders, and few large farms to provide work. In the wheat-growing areas of Ireland itself, mainly in the east, and in Munster, local harvest employment was more readily available. Seasonal migration before the famine therefore was closely tied to Irish land distribution and local economic structures,<sup>9</sup> and such migrants were virtually all young men. Very few women came, and even fewer children.

Short-term migration received a further indirect stimulus from the gathering pace of industrialisation and urbanisation. Agricultural production increased to supply the needs of the growing towns and cities, and crop yields improved due to the application of new techniques such as crop rotation. More importantly however, the very existence of the seasonal migrant, with his aspirations for a better life, helped to create the psychological preconditions for permanent migration by bringing home knowledge of the opportunities available in other countries. In 1836, Commissioners investigating the Irish poor in Great Britain still wrote of migrants' wishes to "improve their condition." A Wexford labourer, who chose to settle in Liverpool, asserted that most of his countrymen expected in Britain to receive higher wages, and to find employment for their children.<sup>10</sup>



While seasonal migration was primarily thirled to agriculture, permanent migration was largely a phenomenon created by industrialisation. Nonetheless, both types of migrant were greatly aided by the development, from the early nineteenth century onwards, of regular steamboat services. These commenced on 13 June 1818 when the *Rob Roy*, sailing between Glasgow and Belfast, offered passengers the choice of a single fare, with cabin, costing one guinea, or steerage at 14s.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter additional vessels appeared regularly on the Glasgow-Ireland routes, and by the 1830s some nine or ten boats sailed from Glasgow to Belfast and Derry twice or three times during the harvest period, and once a week, in winter. The fares at this time were:<sup>12</sup>

	Cabin	Steerage	Deck Passage
Belfast	£1 (+2s)	3/-	
Dublin	£1 5s.		10/-
Derry	16 s.	5/-	

However, these fares were rapidly reduced, until a passage from Belfast could be obtained at a cost of 10s.6d. for a cabin and 2s.6d. steerage.<sup>13</sup> Competition on the Derry route reduced the steerage fare to one shilling.<sup>14</sup> Routes at the same time were being extended. A sailing to Newry was begun in the summer of 1833, while, in 1836, the Dublin service was extended to include Waterford and Cork. By the same date, six steamers provided eighteen crossings per week between Glasgow and Belfast; twelve crossings each week to Derry; and six crossings each week to Dublin.<sup>15</sup>

Permanent migration from Ireland prior to the famine, as with its seasonal counterpart, also varied by county, and by social status. The first to leave were the Scoto-Irish artisans and small farmers in the north, followed by the farmers of the east and south-eastern areas. The landless labourers and cottiers of the west and south-west were among the last to be affected by the desire and ability to move overseas, partly because they were initially isolated from what Lees called the "fever to leave" by their language, their culture, and their relative lack of dependence on commercial agriculture.<sup>16</sup>

The first choice destination for the Irish migrant was the United States. By 1790, around 250,000, originating mainly from Ulster, lived there,<sup>17</sup> and Ireland continued to provide proportionately more settlers in America, certainly during the first half of the nineteenth-century, than any other European country. Of the more than two million European migrants who arrived there after the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Ireland supplied one-third, ten times more than her population share would lead one to expect.<sup>18</sup> In addition, perhaps another 600,000 Irish chose to settle in Great Britain in the three decades between 1815 and 1845.<sup>19</sup>

It appears that only the relatively affluent could afford to make a transatlantic crossing. In 1816, the minimum fare from Belfast to Quebec was £6, plus the additional cost of any necessary provisions,<sup>20</sup> and, in general, the cost of a passage normally fell within the £4-£8 range.<sup>21</sup> Given that the annual earnings of a pre-famine labourer averaged only £10-£15, one might suppose that the poorest sections of the population would effectively be prevented from leaving. Newspaper reports tend to confirm this impression by identifying migrants as "the strong and active farmers, tradesmen, shopkeepers and even professional men," and many Ulster farmer-weavers left between 1816-17 attracted by jobs at wages anything from two to four times higher than those which could be earned at home.<sup>22</sup> The ending of tariff protection for Irish textiles and crafts, which occurred in the 1820s, provided an additional encouragement to migrate. Even so, it is important not too readily to assume that it was always the economically productive who left, for doubtless many, chiefly among the weavers and textile workers, had been rendered unemployed prior to their departure due to the slump in their industry.

As well as the availability of work, and the need to be able to raise the necessary fare, sex and age also influenced a migrant's choice of destination. Before the famine, overall, fewer women left than men, but among those travelling alone movement overseas was dominated by men. This may partly be explained by the fact that Irish women could still find work within the country, especially in domestic service. However, in the case of those Irish women who did travel unaccompanied, these,



certainly when migrating to America, tended to leave at an earlier age than their male counterparts.<sup>23</sup> Many such single women were still in their teens.

Lynn Lees asserts that these young, single, people, of both sexes, came to dominate the migratory flow to both North American and British cities.<sup>24</sup> However, the evidence for America casts some doubt on this view, for families, defined as people with the same surname travelling together, outnumbered unaccompanied migrants. These family units though, tended to be atypical of the population at large, on average numbering only two or three individuals.<sup>25</sup>

The census evidence for Scotland on this point can, at best, only be described as very inconclusive.<sup>26</sup> If the term "young" is, in this case, taken to mean those under the age of 20, than at no time did this group predominate. Further, as no census until that of 1961 subdivided the under and over-20s age groups, it is virtually impossible to draw definite conclusions with regard to the age structure of the migrants. In 1961 the majority of migrants, whether from Northern Ireland or the Republic, were aged 30 or over, and marginally more came from the Republic than the North, except in the over-65 age group where the Northern Irish held the majority.

The 1961 census is also the only one to give any indication as to marital status. The largest group comprised married couples, then the single, and the widowed. Divorced immigrants from Ireland formed a very small minority. Not surprisingly therefore, there was no great difference in the numbers of male and female migrants in each age-group, not even among the children. However, more single people, both males and females, migrated from the Republic, than from Northern Ireland.

Given the limited nature of the census evidence, Lees' assertion cannot, at least with regard to Scotland, be substantiated. Clearly, by 1961, the young and the single did not form the dominant groups of Irish migrants into Scotland, and possibly had never done so. However, the census figures do indicate that the proportion of Irish female migrants aged more than twenty, declined relative to male Irish migration throughout

the period 1861-1901, though with a sustained upward trend thereafter. By 1961 more females than males migrated from Ireland. Nevertheless, the correspondence between Irish male and female migration into Scotland, particularly during the nineteenth century (Table 3), when taken in conjunction with Ó'Gráda's conclusions concerning average size of migrant families entering North America may lend some cautious support to Lees' belief that families with young children were more likely, at that time, to settle somewhere in Great Britain.<sup>27</sup>

Although considerably fewer Irish migrants chose to settle in Great Britain in comparison with the United States,<sup>28</sup> the level of Irish emigration was so great that their numbers were sufficient to create large Irish communities, both in Scotland and England. In 1834, George Cornewall Lewis calculated that outwith south-western Scotland, immigrants numbered about 70,000. In the south-west itself, he estimated that a large part of the population of Ayrshire, at least two thirds of the population of Wigtownshire, and a large part of Kirkcudbright were Irish, or of Irish extraction.<sup>29</sup>

As with their counterparts in England and the United States, Irish migrants to Scotland tended to concentrate in certain specific districts, most notably in the counties of Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire and Ayrshire (Table 4). It was in these counties that the availability of work was believed to be greatest. The earliest arrivals in the Kyle district of Ayrshire were employed as weavers, and labourers, in coal-mining, salt-making, and agriculture. The women generally worked as weavers. In Maybole and Girvan, the Irish worked as weavers, shoemakers, and labourers. Indeed in Girvan in the early 1830s it was believed that the Irish comprised at least three-quarters of the population, while in the town's chief trade, cotton-spinning, they accounted for four-fifths of the weavers.<sup>30</sup> In the village of Crosshill, near Maybole, approximately 800 of the 1,000 inhabitants in 1838 were Irish or of Irish extraction,<sup>31</sup> as were the majority of the miners in the coal mines at St. Quivox. Irish inhabitants in and around the town of Ayr worked as colliers, labourers and weavers, while many of the same trades attracted others to Kilmarnock. In Ayrshire villages, such as Catrine and Mauchline, cotton-spinning was the main source of employment. The mid-nineteenth century saw expansion in both the Scottish coal and iron industries.



However, as in Lanarkshire, Irishmen occasionally had their introduction to work, for example in the mines, as strike-breakers.

By 1841, Renfrewshire had the second highest percentage of Irish-born immigrants, its percentage of 13.2% being surpassed only by Wigtownshire, while its numerical total of 20,500 was second only to that of Lanarkshire.<sup>32</sup> The Irish in this county were concentrated in Paisley, and in the nearby towns, such as Barrhead, Johnstone, Neilston, Renfrew, Lochwinnoch, Greenock and Port Glasgow. Irish communities also existed in the villages of Pollokshaws and Eaglesham. Only the weaving town of Kilbarchan had few Irish inhabitants.<sup>33</sup> In the 1821 census, when the birthplaces of every household in the town of Paisley were ascertained, the Irish-born accounted for 11% or 5170 of Paisley's total population of 47,000,<sup>34</sup> while Irish households exceeded those of all other immigrants from Scottish counties.<sup>35</sup> Of the clusters of Irish who had settled at the ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow, many came from Donegal, and the other northern Irish counties. By the early 1830s they represented 14.5% of Greenock's total population, and 7.1% in Port Glasgow.<sup>36</sup> Some migrants found employment in the cotton trade, and as labourers on developments such as the cutting of the Glasgow Paisley and Johnstone Canal, while others became itinerant hawkers, small traders, or dealers in cloth, second-hand goods and provisions. Greenock offered "very considerable" opportunities for employment.

The chief branches of manufacture are wood and iron ship-building, sugar refining, iron and brass founding, coppersmithing, chain and anchor making, also worsted, cotton, flax, paper, rice, rope and sail making, bagging,...and flour mills, chemical works, machine making, pottery, cooperages, tanneries, breweries, distillery, bread and biscuit making, soap and candle factories, and brickmaking. In addition, "a large amount of shipping is owned in the town" which "transacts a very large trade with America."<sup>37</sup>

In the neighbouring county of Dunbartonshire, the Irish were located in the Vale of Leven, in and around the town of Alexandria, Bonhill, Renton, Old Kilpatrick and Dumbarton, where employment could be had in the bleachfields, printfields, dyeworks, cotton mills, and in chemical manufacture, whisky distilling, and

shipbuilding. Other Irish migrants settled in the towns and villages of Kirkintilloch, Croy and Lenzie.

By far the greatest concentration of Irish migrants though, was to be found in the emerging industrial cities and towns of Lanarkshire, in places like Airdrie, Bellshill, Blantyre, Bothwell, Cambuslang, Coatbridge, Hamilton, Lesmahagow, Lanark, Mossend, Motherwell, Shotts, Wishaw, and in the city of Glasgow itself. In these districts, as in others, employment was forthcoming in cotton-spinning, weaving, and dyeing, and for men and boys, in the building trade, the coal mines and the iron works. In Coatbridge especially, the proportion of Irish colliers and miners was substantial. Between 1841 and 1851 the percentage of Irish in Coatbridge leapt from 13.3% to 49.1%.<sup>38</sup> This dramatic increase coincided with that decade which saw not only the famine in Ireland, but also the intensive development of Coatbridge's collieries and ironworks. By 1851 fewer than 50% of the colliers and miners in Coatbridge were Scots-born,<sup>39</sup> and even among those of Scots birth doubtless some were the children of Irish immigrants. By contrast, in nearby Larkhall, at no time were less than 80% of the miners born in Scotland.<sup>40</sup>

The Irish therefore showed a tendency to cluster, not only in certain areas, but also in specific trades and workplaces. The evidence from Coatbridge is confirmed by an instance from Port Glasgow, where "with the exception of about fifty Scots, all the 1200 employees at a hand-loom weaving factory and bleaching establishment...were Irish."<sup>41</sup> Similarly, in Greenock, they dominated the workforce in the sugar industry. However, such dominance occurred partly because the native population of the town, and other migrant groups such as the Highlanders, would not tolerate the conditions of work in the sugar refineries, particularly the stifling heat. As a result the sugar manufacturers came to depend on their Irish workforce in order to maintain production.<sup>42</sup> However, the Irish were clearly valued, not only for their willingness to work, but also for their acceptance and perseverance "in the severest, the most irksome and most disagreeable kinds of coarse labour."<sup>43</sup> Ample evidence exists to demonstrate that the Irish were concentrated in the more unpleasant, low skill, and low status, occupations. Thus in both Coatbridge and Larkhall, the Irish-born formed a



significantly higher percentage of the ironstone miners than the coal miners. Ironstone appeared in narrower seams than coal, sometimes less than two feet thick, and was harder to cut. As the Mining Commissioner commented "the labour of the ironstone miner is often worse than that of the colliers,"<sup>44</sup> and such arduous employment was evidently easier for the Irish to obtain. In the Greenock docks in 1851, Irish-born males comprised 64.8% of the labourers, and by 1891 they still accounted for 49.5% virtually half, of this labour force.<sup>45</sup> In Paisley too, most of the Irishmen worked as labourers to masons, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and "navvies" on building works.<sup>46</sup> Even in occupations such as transportation, where both Highland and Irish migrants found, and accepted, employment, the latter were under-represented among the skilled, professional, and commercial grades. Among women, Highlanders overwhelmingly entered domestic service, while their Irish counterparts tended to work in factories. By 1851, in Greenock, Irish women accounted for about 50% of the female workforce.<sup>47</sup>

Differences in employment opportunities for Irish migrants therefore occurred not only between, but also within, industries. They tended to be the most disadvantaged group in the population, even relative to other migrants such as the Highlanders. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that some Irish migrants, albeit a minority, could be found among the professional and skilled tradesmen of a town such as Greenock. Irish men provided a significantly high percentage of the labour force in such trades as shoemaker, tailor, sawyer, and mason, while throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century their numbers serving as sailors or mariners rose steadily. During the same period, they also increased their representation in the ranks of the Custom Service from 4.5% in 1851 to 15.9% in 1891, although they continued to be under-represented relative to the native-born population of Greenock.<sup>48</sup>

A relatively poor immigrant population, whether from the Highlands or from Ireland, inevitably sought the cheapest housing, as did any section of population whose economic position was unstable. The Irish in Paisley lived in decayed areas such as the Sneddon, where there were tenements wholly inhabited by Irish migrants and



known as "Wee Ireland", and also in parts of the New Town.<sup>49</sup> The location of Irish communities in these damp, dirty and unhealthy parts of towns was common throughout Scotland. So asserted Dr. Daniel McKinlay who attended many of the Irish cases in Paisley during the cholera epidemics in 1831 and 1832.<sup>50</sup> He also found that their homes lacked furniture, and housed large numbers of individuals.

The poverty of the Irish immigrant into Scotland was a common theme even in the eighteenth century, with complaints being made about Irish beggars arriving in the country. Similar concern was also evident during the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Glasgow magistrates adopted the policy of deporting such beggars back to their own country. Accusations were also made that immigrants were an avoidable drain on the system of parish poor relief.

Nonetheless, it appears that these claims, though not necessarily unfounded, were greatly exaggerated. Of the nine parishes covering Glasgow city in 1833-34, a total of 1373 adult individuals were in receipt of poor relief. Of these the Scots numbered 1130 or 82.3%, and the Irish only 232 (16.9%). The remainder were accounted for by nine English and two West Indian, paupers. In only one parish, Gorbals, where they represented 128 (71.9%) of the total of 178 paupers did the Irish form a substantial majority of those claiming relief. Only thirteen children appeared in the city's poor rolls,<sup>51</sup> half of whom were Irish, while of the forty-eight in the neighbouring parish of Govan, most were said to be of that race. Of Govan adults claiming poor-relief, 27.4% were Irish. The corresponding figures for Paisley (16.9%), Greenock (6.7%), and Ayrshire (19.7%),<sup>52</sup> also confirm the Glasgow evidence. In general therefore, it appears that the Irish immigrant was not receiving an excessive share of parish relief. Even so, a belief in the feckless character of some Irish persisted.

The Irish migrant was also subject to hostility on economic and social grounds. During the industrial depression which followed the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars, it was alleged that the immigrants obtained work by undercutting wages, and thus caused unemployment among the native Scots population. However, as the

occupational evidence presented earlier suggests, in certain grades of occupations the Irish and the native-born were simply not in competition, partly through the latter's own choice. The migrants were also, often unfairly, variously accused of adding to the criminal and prison populations, and of being particularly addicted to the evil of drink. In Greenock, there appeared to be a tendency to view the years of the late-eighteenth century as a period of tranquility, which was disturbed by Highland, but particularly by Irish, immigration in the early years of the nineteenth century. Perhaps this feeling lay behind the desire expressed by the Greenock magistrates in 1818 to prevent any further influx of Irish labourers, even though their assessment was based on a very flimsy foundation.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, though some Irish were involved in illegal distillation of whisky, drunkenness was also a problem among the native Scots who needed no encouragement from the immigrants.

Most antipathy however, was directed against those migrants, be they Highland or Irish, who could be identified as Catholics. Thus in 1779 Mr. Bagnall's house, warehouse, and pottery works were destroyed by a rioting mob. In 1814 when the erection of St Andrew's in Clyde Street was begun it was found necessary to defend the growing structure, and even after completion its windows were often smashed. Hostility was also made evident in the form of pamphlets issued by William McGavin, Glasgow agent of the British Linen Bank. These pamphlets, under the title of *The Protestant* eventually became so particularly and personally defamatory that, in 1821, Bishop Scott, then Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland District, successfully sued the author for libel.<sup>54</sup>

A most crucial question therefore relates to the religious affiliation of the Irish immigrants into the West of Scotland. The small number of Catholics in Glasgow and district in the late eighteenth century has already been mentioned, and in neighbouring counties such as Renfrewshire the same situation applied. In 1791, the entry in the First Statistical Account for Scotland for the parish of Neilston (including Barrhead) noted only "one Roman Catholic, a woman, wedded by one of our young men when in Ireland;" while in Paisley there were only "perhaps two or three Papists."<sup>55</sup>



The so-called *Massacre of the Diamond*, which occurred in 1796 resulted in large-scale Catholic emigration from Ulster, which received a further impetus from the failure of the United Irishmen's Rising in 1798.<sup>56</sup> This is confirmed by Parliamentary Reports of the early nineteenth century in which 1799 is given as the date when "a prodigious influx of Irish" began to arrive in the town of Paisley.<sup>57</sup> When St. Mirin's chapel in Paisley was opened in 1808, some eight years before St. Andrew's in Glasgow, it was found that there were 801 Catholics in the town, a considerable increase in their numbers of less than twenty years before. By 1816, this figure had grown to more than 1,000.<sup>58</sup> The number of baptisms administered in St. Mirin's also grew. During the period 1808-14, the average annual number of baptisms was about sixty, but subsequently rose rapidly to reach 326 in 1821.<sup>59</sup> For the Glasgow mission too, baptismal numbers increased rapidly (Table 5), though sustained growth does not appear to have begun till 1803.

The Glasgow statistician, James Cleland, attempted in 1819 to estimate the number of Irish Catholics in the city, and suggested that they numbered 8245 (54.2%) of the total of 15,208 Irish immigrants. In 1831, when the population of Glasgow had reached 202,426, he gave the total number of Irish as 35,554, of which 19,333 (54.4%) were Catholics. However, in these calculations Cleland only took account of the native-born Irish, thus excluding those second-generation Catholics of Irish extraction. After examining the Catholic register of births and baptisms, he revised his estimate upwards to give, for 1831, an Irish Catholic community of 26,965, and later, for 1836, of 46,238.<sup>60</sup>

Cleland obtained his figures, not by conducting a census or enumeration, but by multiplying the number of births given in the Catholic register by a factor of 29.27 persons for every birth, "a principle which holds good for the entire community."<sup>61</sup> Canon Michael Condon later adopted the same method in order to obtain his estimates of Catholic numbers (Table 10c), even though he asserted that there was no certainty as to what should be the multiplication factor: "some would multiply our baptisms by 30; others by 27; others by 25; others by 24.7, and others by 20 or less." For his

own part, he admitted that he had obtained his figures "more from a knowledge of the missions than from any rigid rule of calculation."<sup>62</sup>

However, both the method and the various conclusions to which it gave rise had been criticised by the Presbytery of Glasgow, which appointed a committee of inquiry to ascertain the number of Catholics within its jurisdiction. From returns made by parish ministers, both within and outwith the city, and which were based on "actual enumeration," the Presbytery concluded that only 19,484 Catholics were contained within its boundaries. Even allowing for two small districts which had not reported, it could "be safely said that, in a population of 270,000, the Roman Catholic population did not exceed 20,000" (7.4%) as late as 1840.<sup>63</sup> In support of their conclusion, the Presbytery cited the work of the Religious Instruction Commissioners who, it was claimed, had reached a similar result. In Greenock, it was suggested that the estimated Catholic population should be reduced by nearly one-half from the Catholic estimate of 4,000, to 2282.<sup>64</sup> These estimates are therefore greatly at variance, not only with Cleland, but also with the total of 50,000 which the Catholic community presented in its own evidence before the Commissioners as being the Catholic population in the city of Glasgow alone.

The Presbytery of Glasgow made public the results of its enquiry, partly to aid the efforts of the Protestant Association. This Association was formed in Glasgow, in 1835, in response to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829, the continued growth of Irish immigration, and the interest of many of these immigrants in the political fate of their native country. Its objects were, by means of public meetings, pamphlets, and through the Press, to "expose the errors and pernicious tendency of the Popish system," and to present a centre of unity to those who desired to preserve the Protestant character of the British Constitution which had been recognised since the Reformation. The Glasgow Catholic Schools Society was a particular target for harsh criticism, led by Colquhoun of Killermont, one of the chief members of the Association. He achieved considerable success for, after its revival in 1838, the Society's subscriptions quickly fell from £400 to £60.<sup>65</sup>



One important aspect of this hostility towards Catholics found expression in the appearance in Scotland of the Orange Order. Shortly after 1808, Lodges had been established in Girvan, Maybole and other Ayrshire towns, chiefly those which had attracted weavers from the north of Ireland.<sup>66</sup> Indeed it has been estimated that as many as one-quarter to one-third of the migrants from this region may have been non-Catholics.<sup>67</sup> Father Bremner, Catholic clergyman in Paisley stated in 1834 that "there are not a few Irish here professing the Protestant and Presbyterian religion."<sup>68</sup> The restoration of the English Catholic Hierarchy in 1850, brought a further reaction to the so-called "papal aggression" from within the Protestant community. James Begg, a former Church of Scotland minister, who had seceded in the Disruption of 1843, later edited, with other Free Church ministers, *The Bulwark*. This monthly journal, founded in 1851, was devoted entirely to "the Romanish controversy".<sup>69</sup> It continued to be published as recently as 1985, though as a bi-monthly, and with a very small circulation compared to its readership at the time of its foundation.

The Catholic community could not have been unaware of these, and other, instances of Protestant antipathy towards them, and Bruce asserts that the strongest opposition came from the skilled manual working class<sup>70</sup> in those areas, most notably employment, where they feared competition from Irish Catholics. It is therefore useful to assess, as far as one can on the available evidence, whether Catholics were more disadvantaged, not only in relation to the population as a whole, but also relative to other Irish migrants. It has to be said at the outset that the available evidence, as presented in Tables 6 and 7, is limited in scope and extent. The figures contained therein were compiled from what appear to be a Petition to Parliament for Roman Catholic Relief, presented in 1825 from the Catholics of Glasgow and Paisley, and all those who put their name to the petition were men. It therefore yields no information concerning female occupations, while the low total number of petitioners suggests that the signatories are also unlikely to account for even the total male population of either mission. Subject to these reservations however, certain tentative conclusions can be put forward. The dominance in both missions of weavers (22.5% in Glasgow, 20.6% in Paisley), and labourers (21.3% and 17.7% respectively) is readily apparent. In Glasgow in particular, these two groups alone account for nearly half of the specified



occupations. In the same mission, a considerable number were involved in various aspects of the cotton industry with spinners forming a clear majority. Among those trades associated with the same industry which had distinct titles, such as carder, joiner/piecer, clothlapper, stretcher, warper, and twister, the number of Catholics was fewer. This would seem to confirm that Catholics, as for Irish migrants as a whole, were concentrated in low status, unskilled occupations. Even in the weaving trade, they specialised in producing plain, rather than specialised fabrics. Further, though weaving as such may have been a skilled trade, in the nineteenth century it was also a declining one, with falling wages and the prospect of unemployment. In addition, when compared with those trades in Greenock where Lobban describes Irish representation as "significant," the same term cannot be applied to Catholics. Of those who signed the petition, tailors accounted for 5% in Glasgow and 10% in Paisley; masons for 2.8% and 2%; shoemakers for 3.43% and 8.8%; and sawyers, only 1% in both missions. In this respect therefore, it does seem that Catholics may well have been under-represented, even in relation to their Irish migrant peer group, in the more professional, and skilled, trades.<sup>71</sup>

### 3. The Impact of the Irish on the Catholic Mission

The arrival of these relatively poor and disadvantaged Irish Catholic migrants, and in such considerable numbers, was, as Dr. Geddes had perhaps foreseen and feared, to have a profound impact on the development of the Scottish Catholic Mission. The geographical balance of Scottish Catholicism was irrevocably altered, away from its former post-Reformation strongholds in the Western Highlands, and in districts like the Enzie in Banffshire, to the industrial West. Nonetheless, the permanence of this change only gradually became evident during the early decades of the nineteenth century. When Alexander McDonnell<sup>72</sup> arrived in Glasgow in 1792 to become the town's first resident priest since the Reformation, he came in response to the needs of his fellow Highlanders, many of whom were crofters dispossessed by the Highland Clearances. His primary concern was to alleviate their suffering, which led him to form a Catholic regiment, the Glengarry Fencibles, in 1794. Its formation was at once an expression of Catholic loyalty to the Crown and of growing universal toleration, but it also provided much-needed employment for an impoverished

people.<sup>73</sup> However, McDonnell became so actively involved in this venture that he was increasingly absent from his mission, a fact that generated a letter of protest to the Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Hay, on 21 November 1794, from five representatives of the Glasgow congregation.<sup>74</sup> An early problem therefore which the Lowland District had to address was that of finding clergymen both able and willing to serve the scattered Catholic communities of the West of Scotland. In two cases, Ayr in 1805, and Paisley prior to 1808, religious provision was first made by French refugee priests such as Mr. Francis Nicolas, and Mr. Depredotte.<sup>75</sup> The latter celebrated Mass in a place called "Wee Steeple", Orr Street, off Paisley High Street, and he was also reputed to have conducted a school in the same room.<sup>76</sup> This quasi-chapel subsequently moved to the garret of a large building fronting Lawn Street, which served as a Mass centre until a permanent chapel was erected. Clergymen, it seems, were generally reluctant to face the hardships of these growing industrial centres, an attitude reflected by Mr. John Farquharson, McDonnell's successor in Glasgow. He found the cost of living very high, with a peck of oatmeal costing fifteen pence. By comparison, the North-East, from where he had come, seemed to be "literally the land of plenty."<sup>77</sup>

Though not enamoured with his new position, Farquharson nevertheless made a significant contribution to the development of the Glasgow mission. McDonnell had managed to fit up a hall in Mitchell Street, known as the Tennis Land, or Court, as a temporary chapel, and Mass had first been celebrated there in October 1792.<sup>78</sup> However, there had latterly been some difficulty in paying the chapel rent, and this, combined with the increasing number of Catholics in the city, forced Farquharson to look for a larger and more permanent place of worship. In 1797, he erected the Boarhead Lane chapel,<sup>79</sup> capable of accommodating 400 people, and for nineteen years this building served the spiritual and educational needs of the Glasgow Catholics. Not until 1812 did Mr. (later Bishop) Scott, who succeeded Mr. Farquharson in 1805, begin to plan the erection of a larger church, on finding the chapel too small to meet the needs of his growing congregation.



The extent to which the congregation had grown was measured in a census taken in 1808. Its importance is twofold; firstly it divides the Catholic population, albeit very roughly, by the area in which they lived. More importantly, it differentiates not only between adults and children but among the adults, it counted only communicant numbers, rather than giving an estimate of adherents. Thus in 1808, the figures given were as follows:-<sup>80</sup>

	Communicants	Children	% children in relation to communicants
Glasgow & suburbs	1417	1044	73.68
Country district	237	171	72.15
Paisley	406	395	97.29

Certain points are worthy of note, particularly the high proportion of children in relation to communicants, which shows the youthful nature of the Catholic population. In order to provide for the Glasgow mission Bishop Cameron, Hay's successor as Vicar-Apostolic, at the request of Mr. Scott ordered the architect James Gillespie Graham to draw up plans for a new church. However, when the project proposed turned out, in his opinion, to be too grandiose, Scott proved reluctant to support it until specifically ordered by his bishop to do so.

His reluctance can better be understood when one realises that the estimated cost of St Andrew's church amounted to £15,000. In the context of the period, it was an enormous sum. Just how enormous can be gauged from the fact that at the same time the Glasgow magistrates, with the resources of the town behind them, were only prepared to pay £7000 for a church building to serve the new city parish of St. John's.<sup>81</sup> Scott would also be aware that the French Revolution had caused the loss to the Scottish Mission of much of its traditional income, and that the burden of debt would lie heavily upon his congregation. For a while the mission income was not sufficient to pay the interest and uphold the establishment. However, within two years "by very moderate living, and hard working and gathering and leaving no locality, however small...unprovided with collectors...the top of the hill" was



reached.<sup>82</sup> The "hard working and gathering" also included appeals to Glasgow merchants and manufacturers, and to Ireland and England, for donations.<sup>83</sup> Nor was such support new, for as early as 1793, and again in 1797, Glasgow businessmen had made donations towards the upkeep of the Catholic chapels.<sup>84</sup>

By 1816, the year in which St. Andrew's church was solemnly opened, three missions served the spiritual needs of the Catholic community: Glasgow itself, and Greenock where, as with St. Mirin's, Paisley, the baptismal registers of St. Mary's date back to 1808. The Catholics of Greenock had obtained the services of a priest, Mr. John Davidson, as early as 1801. He commenced the erection of the first church, although the building was completed by his successor, John Gordon, who paid off the outstanding expenses. Gordon, who also built a presbytery and a school (with schoolmaster's house), was responsible for the opening of the fourth mission, St. Patrick's, Dumbarton, in 1830. After his death in 1833, William Gordon temporarily took charge, before returning permanently in 1852. He established Greenock's second mission, St. Lawrence's, in 1855, and also replaced the original chapel of 1816, which was converted into schools.<sup>85</sup> In the city of Glasgow itself, the initiative behind the foundation of its second mission, St. Mary's, Calton, was taken in 1839 when Bishop Scott authorised Rev. Peter Forbes, then one of the clergy stationed at St. Andrew's, to solicit alms in Ireland to provide for the erection of churches in the West of Scotland. Forbes was evidently successful in his appeal for, in a few years, sufficient was raised to purchase, on the east side of Abercromby Street, ground for a church, presbytery, and Catholic cemetery, with the new church being solemnly opened on 15 August 1842.<sup>86</sup> On the south side of the river too, some religious provision had been made when a former Lancastrian school,<sup>87</sup> in Portugal Street, in the Gorbals district, was purchased in 1825 by Bishop Scott. It re-opened in September 1826 as a school-chapel, St. John's, with two Masses being celebrated each Sunday by priests from St. Andrew's. Not until twenty years later, in 1846, was St. John's erected into a separate mission with resident clergy. In the county of Lanarkshire, its first mission, that of Airdrie, was not established until comparatively late, in 1836, although prior to that date priests, again from St. Andrew's, had held

regular services in the town. Airdrie represented only the fifth mission to be established in the Lowland area of the Western District, but as Table 8(b) demonstrates, growth in the number of missions was subsequently extremely rapid, with no fewer than forty-one additional missions being created by 1869.<sup>88</sup> Of these nine were in Glasgow City, six in suburban areas which later came within the city boundary, seven in Renfrewshire, eleven in Lanarkshire, and four each, in Dunbartonshire and in Ayrshire. By 1869 too, forty-seven chapels providing at least 29,214 sittings were in use;<sup>89</sup> though many of these structures also served as schools. Comparisons of Tables 8 and 9 however, also show that the date for the provision of the chapel need not coincide with that for the foundation of the mission. The reason for this discrepancy is simply that foundation dates are normally taken as from the appointment to a mission of its first resident priest.

The desire to have a resident priest to serve a community, and the consequent dismay when one could not be supplied, is well illustrated by the Catholics of Ayr. In 1813, Bishop Cameron was petitioned to send a priest, particularly as the 27th Regiment was based in the town and seemed set to stay for some considerable time. Unlike their colleagues, Catholic soldiers were not ordered to march to divine service, and, in consequence, they "loitered about."<sup>90</sup> The petitioners assured the bishop that a salary of £50 per annum for the clergyman would be guaranteed, and further, in these pre-Emancipation times, the commanding officer and adjutant of the 27th would "be particularly solicitous for [his] protection and welfare."<sup>91</sup> This appeal evidently proved of no avail, for nine years later, in 1822, Bishop Cameron was still being requested to place a priest in the town of Ayr. The Catholic Committee of Ayr, comprising twenty-two men, repeated the earlier belief that a priest could be supported financially, and, to emphasize the point, claimed that £40 had been collected in the space of a few weeks," with the expectation of having a Pastor shortly."<sup>92</sup> Mr. Caven, clergyman at Paisley, who, it seems, came to Ayr every six weeks, received "of collection £5 sterling," a sum which could also be devoted to the support of a resident priest in Ayr.

Paisley had been considerably more fortunate than Ayr, having gained its first permanent priest, Mr. Paterson, as early as 1812; although Mr. William Rattray had



been resident in the town since 1808. Permanence however, could often seem a very relative term, for the appearance in the baptismal register for St. Mirin's of the names of temporary priests from Glasgow or Greenock bear witness to the frequent absences of the permanent clergyman. Such absences though, could very often be caused by the priest having to visit the outlying areas of his mission, and when one considers that, until the foundation of the Ayr mission in 1822, the territory covered by Paisley extended as far south as Kirkcudbright, their occurrence becomes easier to understand.<sup>93</sup>

An alternative reason for a clergyman to be away from his mission, often for a considerable period, was the relatively common practice of undertaking begging trips in order to raise funds to offset the debts incurred in opening and supporting the mission. The Catholics of Ayr, having campaigned so long and assiduously for a priest, decided, in 1824, to approach Bishop Cameron once more, this time to renew their request that their clergyman, Father Thomson, be granted leave of absence to enable him to undertake such a trip, as several clergy and many lay persons in Ireland had promised financial aid to the mission. Such aid was essential, as the Ayr Catholics were evidently finding it impossible to finance the building of a chapel, notwithstanding the fact that some "Gentleman of respectability" in the town had already offered to contribute subscriptions for the purpose.<sup>94</sup>

Priests in greater numbers were therefore required, not only to give many districts their first resident clergyman, but also to cover for the often unavoidable absences of their colleagues. By 1831 (Table 10a), clergy in the Western District numbered twenty-five, or 43%, of the total clerical complement of the Scottish Catholic Mission. However, of these twenty-five, no fewer than sixteen were normally located in the Highland areas of the District, leaving only nine priests to serve the expanding Catholic community of the Lowlands; and the Highlands continued to have a majority of priests throughout the 1830s.<sup>95</sup> By 1844 however, this position had been reversed, due to the influx into the Western District of Irish-born clergy. By 1845, four of the eight priests resident in St. Andrew's, Glasgow, were Irish - Patrick Hanly (ordained



1842), Thomas Cody (1844), M. O'Keeffe (1845) and James Danaher (1845). Hanly was a native of Limerick town, Cody of Tipperary, and the latter two came from Co. Limerick. In the same year, four of the five priests serving St. Mary's, Calton, were Irish-born, the only exception being the missionary rector, Rev. Peter Forbes,<sup>96</sup> a native of Banffshire. Irish priests, and ecclesiastical students, received further encouragement to serve in the Western District when, in December 1847, Bishop Murdoch, Vicar-Apostolic of the District, applied to All Hallows College, Dublin, seeking additional priests, partly to replace some of his clergy who had died in the typhus epidemic of that year. Indeed during the period 1842-60, about thirty priests arrived in Scotland from All Hallows, the most notable being Michael Condon.<sup>97</sup> The continuing need for their services is demonstrated by Bishop Murdoch's assertion that in 1850 numerous groups of Catholics in various localities were still without a priest,<sup>98</sup> and by his belief expressed in 1857 that "pastors, tho' of late much increased bear no proportion to our Catholic population."<sup>99</sup> This statement seems to be borne out by Table 10d which shows that although the number of priests in the District had increased by more than fourfold between 1831-67, from 25 to 106, the average population served by each priest had actually increased slightly from 1920 to 1981. However, the numbers serving Highland missions remained unchanged from the 1831 level, while the total of clergy serving Lowland areas had increased, according to Condon, by tenfold.<sup>100</sup> Without the assistance received from Ireland, such an increase in clerical numbers would not have been possible, as the Catholic community in the west of Scotland was unable, for a considerable period, to generate sufficient vocations to meet the demand for priests. In 1833, the Western District had only 19 students undertaking training at the various seminaries: 8 in Blairs, 3 at Douay, 2 in the Scots College, Rome, 2 in the Propaganda [Propagation of the Faith] College, also in Rome, 2 at Valladolid in Spain, and 2 at Ratisbon, all of whom, without exception were native-born Scots, chiefly from Highland and North-Eastern districts.<sup>101</sup> By 1867, Scots-born priests accounted for just over half the clergy of the Western District, and over the half-century from 1817-66, second-, or subsequent, generation Irish migrants contributed 21 ordinations towards that total.<sup>102</sup> Over the same period 80 Irish priests, including 8 members of religious orders, served in

the Western District,<sup>103</sup> some permanently, others on periods of temporary attachments of varying duration.

The continuing shortage of clergy in the Western District meant that priests could expect to be given responsibility for a mission if not immediately, then within a very few years, after ordination. Thus, Rev. John Carolan, ordained in 1842, having served briefly as assistant priest in Paisley, Airdrie, and St. Mary's, Calton, was appointed as early as 1846 to take charge of, and indeed establish, a Catholic mission in the town of Port Glasgow.<sup>104</sup> Rev. Michael Condon, ordained in 1845, served two years as assistant in St. Mary's, Calton, before receiving his first charge, that of St. Kieran's, Campbeltown, in 1847. Three years later, on 23 May 1850, he was moved again, this time to take interim charge of the Hamilton mission, the affairs of which his predecessor, Rev. J. Smith, had left in some confusion.<sup>105</sup> The appointment was subsequently made permanent.

Condon celebrated his first Sunday Mass at Hamilton on 26 May 1850. He appears to have found the attendance of 100 or so disappointing, for he comments in his *Memoirs* that he "preached to a very sparse congregation,"<sup>106</sup> and he resolved to urge the Catholics of his mission to attend better to Mass and their religious duties. However, his experience of the seeming indifference, and indeed religious ignorance, of many Irish Catholic migrants was evidently not unique. Marist priests in the East End of London in the mid-1850s deplored the lack of awareness, particularly noticeable among first-generation Irish migrants, of "the most essential truths of our Religion," and added that almost no migrants had made their First Communion.<sup>107</sup> In Richmond in 1851 the priests found it impossible to get poor Catholics living two or three miles away to come to the chapel, while attempts to establish a mission in Rotherhithe in 1853 were hindered by the mixture of "indifference, apathy and neglect"<sup>108</sup> displayed by the local Catholic community.

In Glasgow too, as in Hamilton and London, levels of religious practice were relatively low. In the mid-1830s, Bishop Murdoch estimated that about 12,500



Catholics habitually attended Mass. However, "habitually" did not necessarily mean weekly, for the bishop also believed that only about two-thirds of this group came regularly each week to Sunday Mass.<sup>109</sup> Given the lack of agreement with regard to the total Catholic population mentioned previously, it is impossible to say with any certainty what proportion of Glasgow Catholics the regular attenders represented, but it may have been about, or less than, 30%. In the winter, this proportion was believed to have declined still further to around 20%,<sup>110</sup> an average rate for winter attendance which approached the lowest attendance rates recorded in Northern Ireland in 1834. These Glasgow rates are also consistent with those recorded for Irish immigrants in the boom towns of northern England between the 1790s and 1840s.<sup>111</sup>

However, in certain geographical areas of Glasgow city, the rates of Mass attendance were around double those for the Catholic population as a whole, and well above the rates of religious observance for Protestants residing in the same district. Most notable was Anderston where, in 1836, though one and a half miles from St. Andrew's church, 57.2% of its Catholic community were described as being habitual Mass goers.<sup>112</sup> This represented the highest proportion in the city, higher even than those for the Central and High Street areas which were closer to St. Andrew's. Fewer Catholics from the eastern and western districts attended Mass, though even these attended more assiduously than the average for the Catholic population as a whole.<sup>113</sup>

It seems therefore that distance from church was one contributory factor governing church attendance, as the more outlying areas of the city, in general, provided fewer attenders. However, the relatively high proportion attending from Anderston, particularly in relation to the Central and High Street areas demonstrates that distance alone was not the sole determinant. A further influence was noted by Bishop Murdoch in the mid-1830s when he asserted that differences in religious commitment among Catholics were affected by their social and occupational position in society. In the 1830s and 1840s, the 200 to 300 Catholic families classed as "better-off", mainly those of publicans and shopkeepers, were unusually attentive to their religious duties. Of those residing in the districts around St. Andrew's in 1834, 68.4% attended



church, and a remarkable, if unlikely, 93.8% of the Mass goers were claimed also to have received communion.<sup>114</sup>

Differences in levels of religious practice were also apparent, not only between working and non-working class Catholics, but also within the working-class group itself. Bridgegate district, in the Central area, had the greatest concentration of Catholics in Glasgow, and here about two-thirds of working-class Catholics were believed to be regular Mass goers, with 71.4% of these receiving Communion when they attended Mass. However, it appears that about 39% of the Catholics in this district were so poor that it is doubtful whether they properly belonged even to the working-class.<sup>115</sup> Of this group only 48.2% seem to have been church goers, and only 10.9% received communion.<sup>116</sup> They were also much less likely to go to the effort and expense of renting a seat in church.

Hugh McLeod, in his study of Victorian London, reaches broadly similar conclusions, asserting that there were "many whose connection with Mother Church [was] very slight."<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to realise that these Irish Catholic migrants in Britain were simply continuing a tradition of intermittent religious practice to which they had become accustomed in their native Ireland. Before about 1850, the Catholic church in Ireland as a whole had only very partially succeeded in introducing among the population acceptance of the religious practices decreed as long as three centuries before by the Council of Trent. Thus, Bishop Kinsella of Ossory in July 1835, might claim that "there was no better Catholic than the Irishman," and cite in support of this view the evident attachment to Catholic rites of passage, the absence of significant irreligion, and the peasantry's resistance to the nineteenth century missionary efforts of evangelical Protestants. However, he also had to concede that his countrymen and co-religionists could "be ignorant, violent, intemperate, and as incapable of resisting the first impulse as savages."<sup>118</sup> Kinsella particularly condemned wakes at funerals, and he deplored what he regarded as, in general, a lack of civil virtues.

By 1851, in which year a religious census was included as part of the national decennial census, some slight improvement in attendance may have taken place, with about 40% of Catholics in the Western District (excluding the Highlands and Islands) attending church at some point on census Sunday.<sup>119</sup> However, even this figure may represent an over-estimate as the nature of the services held in some chapels could result in double-counting. Thus the same individual might attend Mass in the morning, devotions in the evening, and perhaps even Sunday school as well.

The census also makes one doubt whether the mere provision of churches and priests was sufficient to encourage the Irish to practise their faith. Accommodation, certainly in the three counties of Dunbartonshire, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire appeared to be adequate for those wishing to attend, and only Lanarkshire seemed to have immediate problems.<sup>120</sup> However, some of the principal burghs, such as Dumbarton, Glasgow, and Port Glasgow were apparently in difficulty, while others, including Airdrie, had little or no margin to provide for any increase in numbers.<sup>121</sup> Only in the town missions, unlike those in the surrounding hinterland, could lack of accommodation have acted as a positive disincentive to attendance.

The question of the Catholic church's ability to influence the religious behaviour of the migrants must therefore be assessed in terms of two Catholic populations, a minority of active, regular, participants, and the majority whom the priests either saw irregularly between the ceremonies surrounding birth, marriage and death, or not at all. As a result, attempts in the mid-nineteenth century to transform migrants into "good Catholics" necessitated a major change in their religious behaviour. To try to facilitate such a change, priests like Father Peter Forbes of St. Mary's, Calton, introduced new devotions, most notably to Our Lady, and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.<sup>122</sup> These Marian devotions included the recitation of the Rosary, and the establishment of confraternities and societies like the Children of Mary. Similarly, in Hamilton, Rev. Michael Condon established a Sodality of the Rosary, while also seeking to involve his congregation in the life of the mission through the appointment of clerks to assist at Mass, the formation of a chapel committee whose primary objective was to liquidate the mission debt, and by reconstituting the choir.<sup>123</sup> These



commitments were often further consolidated by social gatherings such as the parish *soirée*.

Many of these innovations in mission life were imported from Europe. The celebration of the Forty Hours' Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, begun in Milan as early as 1527, was introduced, again at St. Mary's, Calton, by the Rosminian Fathers in 1853; later, other religious orders such as the Vincentians and the Passionists spread into the West of Scotland the popular piety of Italy which had earlier been introduced into England by the Oratorian priest, Rev. Frederick William Faber.<sup>124</sup> The most popular means of disseminating these new devotions was by conducting a concentrated and intense period of religious preaching, exhortation, and observance, an undertaking for which the most common description, somewhat confusingly, was the holding of a mission.

The Vincentian Order arrived in the Western District in 1859, and established a community at Lanark. The same year also saw the arrival of the Jesuits, who were given charge of the parish<sup>125</sup> of St. Joseph's, in the Woodside district of Glasgow, and a mission, in its latter sense, was quickly held. During this mission, 1265 adults were "reclaimed", a term which probably means that they returned to the practice of their faith, and nearly 4000 confessions were heard.<sup>126</sup> The Passionists, who assumed charge of the parish of St. Mungo's in 1865 from the secular clergy, subsequently conducted many similar missions, including one lasting three weeks, at Airdrie in 1871 during which some 3,500 communions and 540 confirmations were claimed, and another, in the same year, at Barrhead.<sup>127</sup> The whole mission movement was reinforced in 1867 when the Redemptorist Order opened a house at Kinnoull, outside Perth. In 1870, they preached two missions at St. Andrew's; and subsequently in other parts of the Western District, including Kilsyth, Kilmarnock, and Anderston.<sup>128</sup> Such missions were aimed at both the committed, where they could reinforce beliefs and established habits of regular religious practice; and at the lapsed, in the hope that many, as in Woodside, might return to the church.



The Catholic parish however, cared not only for the spiritual welfare of its members, but also increasingly for their material and social needs in an era when public provision either did not exist or was difficult to obtain. In 1854, Father Galletti of Pollokshaws, with the assistance of a layman, Mr. Richard Guirbara, established the Pollokshaws Catholic Provident yearly (Mission) Society, which it was hoped would perform much good as a Savings Bank, a Sick Fund, and a Loan Fund.<sup>129</sup> In St. Mary's, Calton, a Savings Bank and Building Society evolved from a mutual benefit and burial society within the Catholic Young Men's Society, which had been established in 1856. By 1858, the organisation was not only making donations in support of other worthy causes, but was also co-operating with Father Forbes in his efforts to improve the housing conditions of his parishioners. By 1860, Forbes was seeking the admission of women to the Society, and the halving of the weekly contribution from one shilling to sixpence. The result was a dramatic increase in membership from 16 to 101.<sup>130</sup> The motivation behind these undertakings lay chiefly in the promotion of such virtues as thrift and self-help, which were common and popular ideals within Victorian society, as was that of temperance. Priests in London regularly attempted to reform Irish drinking habits to try to reduce the ill-effects of excessive alcohol consumption, with parish organisations spreading both religion and the pledge totally to abstain from alcohol except when medically prescribed.<sup>131</sup> In the West of Scotland, St. Mary's, Calton, was once more in the forefront of this movement, particularly when the noted Irish temperance campaigner, Rev. Theobald Matthew, agreed to preach the sermon at the opening of the new church in 1842.<sup>132</sup>

One of the major channels through which Catholic beliefs and social virtues could be introduced was by education, both formal and informal. A debating society was formed at St. Margaret's in Airdrie in 1852, while in Glasgow a Catholic literary society was established. A Catholic Commercial Association had been set up in 1847, and the St. Vincent de Paul Society, though having the care of the poor as its primary objective, also organised libraries and helped to encourage Catholic devotions.<sup>133</sup> In addition, Sunday schools, "for the education and religious instruction of the children,"<sup>134</sup> were an important feature of parish life. In Pollokshaws, adults also

attended.<sup>135</sup>

Influential laymen like Robert Monteith of Carstairs, who made frequent contributions to the benefit of the Hamilton parish, believed that education was essential for Catholic survival. Bishop Murdoch and his coadjutor Bishop Smith were far less convinced as to the accuracy of this assessment, with the former believing that the most talented and enterprising Catholics invariably re-migrated to America.<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, by 1850, in addition to the two schools attached to St. John's, one for boys, the other for girls, there were "several schools" in Glasgow for the education of Catholic children. Coatbridge, Barrhead, Greenock and Paisley had also been provided with schools.<sup>137</sup>

The earliest formal Catholic educational provision came not from within, but from outwith the Catholic community, when in October 1817, Kirkman Finlay, MP for the City of Glasgow, presided at the first meeting of the Glasgow Catholic Schools Society. He was aided in this endeavour by other business colleagues and employers who desired to make some provision for the welfare of those Irish migrants on whose labour their firms had come to rely. By August 1818 the Society was educating 700 children in two schools with three teachers, and hoped to open a third in Bridgeton.<sup>138</sup> By 1825, five schools existed offering day and evening instruction to 1400 pupils whose ages ranged from six to twenty years.<sup>139</sup>

However, Catholic attitudes to this venture were always ambivalent. Thus, though collections were taken up to support the schools, Father Scott in 1826 opened the former Lancastrian building in the Gorbals as a Catholic school independent of the Society. In Anderston, the Catholics of the district, by raising subscriptions and contributing weekly penny collections, were able to support a separate teacher.<sup>140</sup> Misgivings among the Catholic community seem to have arisen because no formal creed was taught in the Society's schools, and the Scriptures were read in the Protestant version. Some funding too, also came from non-Catholic sources, including an annual charity sermon delivered by Dr. Thomas Chalmers, minister of the



Tron parish. Given his earlier attitude, it is probably significant that Father Scott's elevation to the episcopate in 1828 coincided with the last recorded meeting of the Society; which did not revive until 1838, two years after Scott had retired to Greenock. On its revival, Scott's successor, Bishop John Murdoch accepted office in the Society as a Vice-President. However, during this ten-year hiatus, schools which had hitherto belonged to the Society had come under the control of the Catholic clergy, and thus the basis on which these schools were now founded clearly no longer commended itself to the support of non-Catholics.<sup>141</sup>

The need to provide schools laid an additional burden, especially in financial terms, on the clergy of the Western District. Most parishes already had to service the debt incurred in the building of the chapel; and to raise sufficient income to cover normal running expenses. In Hamilton, for the year 1850, these expenses amounted to £92.7.4, including household expenses and payments to the choir and servers, the priest's salary, taxes and feu duty, repairs to both house and chapel, and the cost of using gigs to take the priest to sick calls. The income of £105.2.4, made up chiefly of door, Christmas and Penny Collections, as well as Quarterly Collections, baptismal and marriage offerings, and seat rents was clearly sufficient;<sup>142</sup> but it provided very little margin for incurring further commitments, such as supporting a school, or for contributing to the reduction of the overall parish debt. By 1853 however, the Hamilton mission had been able to establish a school, partly due to a grant of £20 from the District Fund, some of which was used to furnish the school, while two-thirds was retained to pay the teacher's salary, which was also supplemented by fees of 2d or 1d, paid weekly by each of the pupils.<sup>143</sup>

The idea of such a fund, with the aim of assisting existing parishes and of enabling new ones to be established, had first been mentioned in a Pastoral issued jointly by Bishops Murdoch and Smith in August 1850.<sup>144</sup> An additional motive for its establishment was also provided by the need to meet the annual interest payments on the £8400 which had been spent on the purchase of the Dalbeth property. Bishop Murdoch, and Bishop Gillis of the Eastern District, had intended to sell their interest in

Blairs College to Bishop Kyle of the Northern District, so that each could provide a seminary in his own District. When Kyle withdrew from the scheme, the idea of a Western District seminary had to be reconsidered, and some means found to pay off the debt on Dalbeth.<sup>145</sup>

The capital for the fund, initially called the District and College Fund, was to be raised through an annual collection among the Catholics of the Western District, who were believed to number 100,000. Of these, the two Bishops expected that at least 40,000 would contribute one shilling per year, thus enabling an annual sum of £2000 to be raised. However, it quickly became clear that the Bishops had seriously over-estimated the degree of support which might be forthcoming. In its first year, as few as 8,000 individuals contributed to a total of £465.14.3 ; and in its second year the fund's income dropped still further to only £274.9.4.<sup>146</sup> This disappointing result was attributed to the lack "of proper machinery to work the District Fund Collection; to the wants of each mission; and to the frequency of other Collections."<sup>147</sup> It is also probable that the degree of non-attendance noted earlier, also served to reduce the level of income which could be generated by this Collection.

Nevertheless, though he himself admitted that this initial attempt had failed, Murdoch did not completely abandon his hopes for a District Fund, and the initiative was re-introduced in a letter to his clergy, of 12 December 1859,<sup>148</sup> in which he chided those priests who had earlier shown "little, or no interest" in the scheme. He was also evidently annoyed at having allowed himself to be discouraged. This revived Fund was, as before, to be based on a congregational Collection, and the Bishop suggested that this time priests should organise a group of collectors, as had been done for other purposes, to gather the annual contribution of one shilling. However, individuals could "pay their shilling" in two equal instalments, if this would spread their financial burden more evenly, and thus help them to contribute. One obvious difference was that no portion of this new District Fund would be devoted to founding a seminary, for that idea had been abandoned. In 1851, Good Shepherd Sisters from the Order's Convent in Hammersmith had, at the urging, and possibly with the financial



assistance, of Mr. Monteith of Carstairs purchased the Dalbeth property from Bishops Murdoch and Smith to set up a home for poor penitents. By 1859, Dalbeth Reformatory for girls as it had become, formed, along with West Thorn Mills for boys, part of the provision made by the Western District for Catholic juvenile offenders.

The single priest, in a mid-nineteenth century parish in the Western District therefore faced a myriad of competing, and not always entirely compatible, claims on his time and attention. He had to attempt to promote parish life and minister to the needs of his congregation, while trying to ensure the financial solvency of his charge. The extensive territory covered by many parishes meant that some activities, such as sick calls, posed a particular problem. Transport, in the form of a buss or a gig was often necessary to allow such calls to be answered quickly, but the cost thereby incurred was a frequent drain on parish finances. When Bishop Murdoch examined the Hamilton accounts for 1850, he was less than satisfied with the poor credit balance, and objected to Condon having spent 4d. on a buss to Motherwell on his way to a sick call at Cleland.<sup>149</sup> Such calls could hamper the parish and the priest in other respects too, for, if made on the "eves of Holydays and other days generally devoted to the confessional," or on Saturdays and Sundays, they temporarily occasioned the absence of the priest and thus affected the devotional life of the parish. A disappointed Bishop Murdoch was also aware that some priests would walk up to twelve miles to a sick call, charge the expenses to the parish, but in reality keep the money for themselves.<sup>150</sup>

The evident inequality in clerical salaries may in part provide an explanation as to why some clergy availed themselves of the sick call expenses. In 1860, for example, Rev. Michael Cronin at Eaglesham received an annual salary of only £58.2.4d., while Rev. Michael O'Keeffe at Coatbridge received the sum of £152.10s.<sup>151</sup> Such variations encouraged complaints that some priests were better off than others, and that episcopal control was deficient in so far as this situation had been allowed to occur at all. Discontent had also been generated previously by a decision in 1849 to replace the former system of devoting Quota Fund allocations selectively to those parishes in

greatest need, with a new practice of paying every parish an equal share irrespective of need.<sup>152</sup> However, this does not seem to have been carried out consistently, for Bishop Murdoch obliged the senior priests of Glasgow, Greenock, and Airdrie to take their full salaries from their parishes, and to pay their junior priests from the same source, thus enabling him to divert their quotas to other District purposes.<sup>153</sup>

This exclusive episcopal decision-making contributed to a growing resentment over the financial management of the District, which was felt to be too secretive. Sections of the Irish clergy in particular, believed both that they were excluded from any effective role in deciding how the limited financial resources of the District should be spent, and also that they were discriminated against by persistently being given the poorest missions. Their dissatisfaction became increasingly evident during the 1850s and 1860s in a series of disagreements, expressed both publicly and privately, which have been collectively termed the Scoto-Irish dispute, one climax to which came on 27 January 1864, when twenty-two of the Irish clergy met to draw up a set of resolutions and grievances in the form of a Memorial to be presented to the bishop.<sup>154</sup> Irish complaints also found expression in the columns of the *Free Press* newspaper, which Michael Condon had helped to establish in February 1851.<sup>155</sup> In 1859, James Danaher used the medium thus provided to make public his opposition to Bishop Murdoch's attempts to remove him from St. Joseph's, Glasgow, to St. Mary's, Hamilton;<sup>156</sup> and between 1862-68 under the editorship of Augustus Henry Keane, a native of Cork and a former clerical student, the paper pursued an avowedly Irish Nationalist stance, and also actively campaigned for the establishment of a Scottish Hierarchy.<sup>157</sup>

This conflict has been subject to much attention and interpretation. Handley while demonstrating some sympathy for the Irish priests' case, believed that their complaints owed much to personal pique;<sup>158</sup> and he especially deplored what he regarded as the threat to ecclesiastical authority represented by the twenty-two priests who, on obtaining no satisfaction from Bishop Murdoch, appealed directly to Rome for redress of their grievances.<sup>159</sup> More recently, David McRoberts placed the blame squarely on what he perceived as a small minority of Irish malcontents unsupported by the



majority of their compatriots and co-religionists in Scotland. In his opinion, the crux of the quarrel involved nothing less than the survival of the historical identity of Scottish Catholicism for, if the Irish gained a foothold, especially among the bishops, it would only be a matter of time before the native-born Scots would be reduced to the status of aliens in their own land.<sup>160</sup>

The appointment of an Irish bishop, however, an outcome strongly supported by the *Free Press*,<sup>161</sup> was relatively quickly achieved. In 1862, Rev. John Gray was appointed bishop, and succeeded to the governance of the Vicariate on Murdoch's death in 1865. His own continued poor health though, intensified the need to provide him with a coadjutor with right of succession, and the Scots worst fears seemed to be realised when in 1866 an Irishman, James Lynch, rector of the Irish College in Paris, was appointed coadjutor-bishop to Gray in the Western District. The appointment was hardly likely to commend itself to the Scottish bishops whose own three candidates had been bypassed,<sup>162</sup> though Gray, after an initial spell of indignation, seems to have accepted the arrangement as an attempted, but misguided, compromise on the part of the Roman authorities.

Lynch seems to have been a man of some ability, but his appointment catapulted him into a conflict which had existed for many years before his arrival, and which he was never really given the opportunity to understand properly. He quickly made it evident however, that he too, was unhappy about the financial management of the District, and in 1867 he obstructed the signing of the necessary authorisations concerning the Mitchell Bequest.<sup>163</sup> This Bequest had been made to the Scottish Mission by Captain Thomas Peter Mitchell, and amounted to £52,000.<sup>164</sup> It had been the specific intention of the donor that this sum should be used to make provision by means of an asylum, for aged and infirm clergy. However, in 1865, the Scottish Vicars-Apostolic acting as a committee of three had arbitrarily decided that the donation would be diverted to other uses,<sup>165</sup> an apparent breach of trusteeship with which Lynch was unwilling to become involved. His action led to accusations that, as a result, the District finances "must end in bankruptcy."<sup>166</sup> Not only was the Mitchell money itself necessary, but the evident alienation between Lynch and Gray had created a crisis of confidence

among those creditors who had made deposits with the District. Many "apparently in disgust or fear" had withdrawn their deposits and more would probably follow suit.<sup>167</sup>

Lynch's refusal to sign the necessary authorisations therefore occasioned great resentment, but the strict correctness of his behaviour, can better be understood if one makes allowances for the different assumptions which underlay both points of view. For Gray, as with his predecessors, Scott and Murdoch, solvency was a paramount concern. When setting up a mission, a church would not be erected until a basic sum could be raised. Thereafter, a loan would be taken out for the balance of the cost, and would be secured by a bond on the building.<sup>168</sup> Congregational offerings too had to be assured, a situation which often did not apply. Population movements, occasioned by fluctuations in trade, could often affect the viability of a mission, as happened at Chapelhall in 1868.<sup>169</sup> Similarly, in the 1870s, slum clearance by the Glasgow Improvement Trust led to a fall in the population of St. Alphonsus' parish, and a reduction in the number of baptisms administered from its peak of 830 in 1850 to 329 by 1877.<sup>170</sup> Money, from whatever source, was therefore always most welcome. When Rev. John Carmont of Blairgowrie in the 1880s took his complaints over the administration of the Mitchell Bequest to the civil courts, and then, successfully appealed to the Roman authorities against his suspension and excommunication, he accepted the good intentions of the bishops, and conceded that the diverted Bequest had indeed been applied for the benefit of the Scottish Mission.<sup>171</sup> However, as with Lynch and others among the Irish clergy, Carmont also concluded that such arbitrary episcopal control was simply not an acceptable method of financial administration.

For the bishops of the Western District, the practice of exclusive episcopal decision-making enabled them to switch money easily between different purposes,<sup>172</sup> with, for example, a proportion of the income of an established mission like Paisley being used to subsidize its poorer colleagues.<sup>173</sup> The income so obtained could also be devoted to the foundation of new missions. It is probable though that such benefits could only be obtained by leaving the debts of the larger missions inadequately serviced.<sup>174</sup> With few resources at their disposal, bishops like Murdoch attempted to be prudent in their



application. He was therefore keen that annual returns made by the clergy for each mission should be as complete and as accurate as possible, as the comments in the returns ledger make clear. It appears that he was often disappointed, for in 1859, St. Alphonsus', Airdrie, Ayr and Chapelhall submitted imperfect returns, while Wishaw, and Eaglesham (Michael Cronin) submitted no returns at all. The most common omission seemed to be in providing either no details, or manifestly inaccurate information, concerning mission debts. In the case of Campbeltown (Francis McCulloch) the return was described as "bearing the plain impress of a manufactured account."<sup>175</sup> The Memorialists therefore erred in claiming that Murdoch was not consistent in requiring accounts of income and outlay from every clergyman, for the bishop, it seems, did desire such co-operation from his priests as being an important means of ensuring the solvency of the various missions, and of the District.

The individualistic nature of the system of financial management, coupled with the overriding concern over solvency, led to accusations that the Western District bishops were reluctant to over-commit themselves with regard to the building of permanent churches.<sup>176</sup> To the Irish this could seem like deliberate discouragement,<sup>177</sup> but to the Scots-born bishops and clergy, who as late as 1867 still believed that Irish immigration was a transitory phenomenon, it was simply a prudent policy to be followed.<sup>178</sup> The Irish also took exception to what they regarded as a "policy of nepotism"<sup>179</sup> in making ecclesiastical appointments, and to Scottish opposition to their political aspirations. The latter charge appears to be based on firmer ground than was the former. Of the Council of Five clergy administrators whom Murdoch nominated to help him disburse the District Fund, two were Irish,<sup>180</sup> thus giving the Irish clergy some limited input into the decision-making process, although they were excluded from appointments as Trustees for District properties and institutions such as reformatories and orphanages, perhaps for the same reason as motivated the cautious policy of church building. However, Irish priests were not necessarily given the poorest or most inadequate missions, nor did they always receive the lowest salaries. Thus although in 1860, an Irishman, Michael Cronin at Eaglesham, was the lowest paid priest in the Western District, some of his countrymen such as James Danaher at Hamilton (£133.17.8) and Daniel Gallagher at Partick (£140) received salaries which

were similar to, and in some cases higher, than their Scots-born colleagues such as Andrew Black at Rothesay (£145.11.2), James Cameron (£110) at Maryhill, and John McLachlan (£118.19.9) at Kilmarnock.<sup>181</sup> However, the Irish priests tended to devote a lower proportion of their mission income towards salaries than did their Scottish brethren. In terms of the ability of individual missions to meet their financial obligations, St. John's, Glasgow, served by a Scots priest, Valentine Chisholm, bore the heaviest debt in the District, and though some Irish priests, like Francis Danaher in Duntocher, and Michael Cronin in Eaglesham, had small congregations and comparatively low mission incomes, the degree of debt to be financed was also less. When one considers the level of debt in proportion to the annual income of these missions, the Irish clergy again do not emerge as being particularly disadvantaged. Michael Cronin whose debt was about 300% greater than his annual mission income, was clearly in a better position than James Cameron at Maryhill where the mission debt was nearly 500% in excess of annual income, or Valentine Chisholm at St. John's (334%); while in terms of population in relation to debt, Irish-born Francis Danaher in Duntocher had, proportionately, the least debt.<sup>182</sup>

Politically however, there is no doubt that some Irish-born priests and laity were out of sympathy with the Scots and clashed openly with them, especially James Danaher and his congregation in St. Joseph's who made their disapproval of British rule in Ireland all too clear.<sup>183</sup> This was probably the cause of Bishop Murdoch's decision to move Danaher in 1859. Similarly, Rev. Thomas Donnelly, assistant in Airdrie, assured his congregation in the 1860s that, so long as they avoided taking secret oaths, he would take a lenient view of their political activities.<sup>184</sup> Such activities caused dismay among the Scots who, as with Geddes more than half a century before, continued to see no reason to run the risk of helping to generate public intolerance towards Catholics.

Misconceptions also contributed to the bitterness of the dispute. The Scots clergy tended to associate the opinions expressed by some of their Irish brethren, with those carried by the *Free Press* newspaper. And yet even the Rev. Bernard Tracy, one of the signatories to the Memorial, denounced the *Free Press* editor for troublemaking and



assured him that he did not have the support of the Memorialists.<sup>185</sup> This separation of interests was not perceived by the Scots who continued to regard the invective of the *Free Press*, the Memorial sent to Rome by the twenty-two Irish priests, and Lynch's appointment, as elements in a concerted campaign.<sup>186</sup> Lynch, by some of his actions, like his support for Irish nationalism and his decision to live in the West End of Glasgow rather than with Bishop Gray in the chapel house at St. Andrew's,<sup>187</sup> can hardly be said to have contributed to an improvement in mutual understanding. Nor would his suggestion that the Scottish bishops should become subordinate to the English Hierarchy as a means of solving the organisational problem<sup>188</sup> have endeared him to the native Scots in the Western District.

However, Lynch's implicit suggestion that an impartial outside view was necessary to a resolution of the conflicts and difficulties facing the Western District was acted upon by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, with Archbishop Manning being dispatched from Westminster to conduct a Visitation. He quickly assessed the situation as critical and gravely damaging to the interests of religion. A solution was made even more urgently necessary since Bishop Gray had become prematurely senile, and suffered frequent lapses of memory. Unless decisions and arrangements were recorded, they could go by default, and this was a frequent source of complaint. Only the fact that Gray's removal would have allowed Lynch to succeed, had prevented the Scots clergy from making the position clear to Rome.<sup>189</sup>

On 2 December 1867, Manning submitted his Report to the Cardinals, concluding that both Lynch and Gray must be replaced, and by an impartial outside bishop. He further asserted that such disputes could only be avoided in future by the restoration of a normal hierarchy in Scotland, a suggestion which fulfilled one of the Memorialists' principal demands. Manning however had a further reason for recommending the re-establishment of a hierarchy for he believed, as did Cardinal Wiseman, that "the dominant Presbyterianism of the country has had its influence also on the Catholics, who have consequently lost their fervour in many ways, and in particular show little liking for episcopal rule."<sup>190</sup>

The Scots Vicars-Apostolic had been aware even prior to Manning's Visitation that a territorial, or diocesan, hierarchy could have been established whenever they wished. Pope Pius IX was anxious to grant it, the Congregation of Propaganda earnestly desired it, and such information had been officially communicated to John Strain, Vicar-Apostolic of the Eastern District, by Cardinal Barnabo, the Cardinal Protector. However, a hierarchy would not be forced upon the Scots, who were expected to "take the initiative and ask for it."<sup>191</sup> However, such a request, given the confused situation of the late 1860s, especially with the pending vacancy in the Western District, was highly unlikely. In addition, Bishop Kyle, Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District was firmly opposed to such a move, as he believed that the creation of diocesan bishops would place intermediaries between Scots Catholics and the Holy See.<sup>192</sup>

The choice of a new bishop for the Western Vicariate was therefore of considerable importance, not only for that District, but for the Scottish Catholic community as a whole. George Errington, titular Archbishop of Trebizond, and first choice of both Manning and the Cardinals of Propaganda, declined the appointment, partly due to internal tensions within the English Catholic community,<sup>193</sup> but also he may have remained apprehensive about his possible reception by the clergy. As a result of his refusal, the position was offered to Monsignor Charles Eyre, Vicar-General of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, who was consecrated at Rome on 31 January 1869 as titular bishop of Anazarbus, Administrator-Apostolic of the Western District, and Apostolic Delegate to Scotland.<sup>194</sup>

Rev. Alexander Munro, priest-in-charge of St. Andrew's, and formerly Gray's secretary, sought to assure Eyre that "the large body of the clergy were anxious to receive him," in obedience to the wishes of the Holy See, and as the means of uniting the clergy.<sup>195</sup> Munro also believed that "the general impression in England is...much too unfavourable as regards affairs here."<sup>196</sup> He therefore expressed the hope that Eyre would "find the work both easier and more pleasant than you had been led to expect."<sup>197</sup> Munro could also have added that one potential source of disruption, in the



shape of the *Free Press* newspaper, had been removed from the scene. On 16 January 1868 Cardinal Barnabo, the Cardinal Protector, had advised the Scottish bishops to take such action as they thought necessary to remedy the evils caused by the writings in the *Free Press*. As a result, a Pastoral Letter read in all churches on 9 February 1868, forbade the Catholic community to read or encourage the *Free Press* in any way. It effectively sounded the paper's death-knell.<sup>198</sup> The attitude of the Irish clergy also, at least initially, was favourable to Eyre's appointment. Michael Condon, though previously deeply involved with the Memorialists as their Secretary, and in supplying information to Bishop Lynch, seemed hopeful about the new regime, and prepared to suspend judgement. His hopes were evidently soon disappointed, not only because of the confidence which Eyre appeared to place in Munro, whom Condon believed to be utterly unworthy,<sup>199</sup> but also, on occasion, the new Archbishop seemed less than sympathetic to some of his Irish clergy. One such was a former Memorialist, Thomas Keane in Barrhead, who was deeply wounded by Eyre's assertion that the financial affairs of his mission were not in a healthy state. Keane was also irritated by the delays and confusion, some attributable to the Archbishop's neglect of correspondence, which dogged the affairs of Barrhead school. Indeed, so disillusioned did he become over the school problem, that he seriously considered leaving the Scottish Mission to go to America, where he had relatives.<sup>200</sup> Though Michael Condon states unequivocally that Eyre was prejudiced against Keane, it remains possible that Eyre did not intend to cause distress to the Barrhead priest, and that both Keane and Condon simply misinterpreted the Archbishop's actions. Some support for this latter view is contained in a remark made to Keane by the Secretary, Father Howley, at a Clerical Friendly Society meeting in 1870. In Howley's view, Eyre "only wanted to introduce order into the administration by a general surveillance, so that new building [including the Barrhead school] could not be undertaken without permission."<sup>201</sup> Nor was Barrhead unique in coming under the Archbishop's scrutiny, for other missions, including Coatbridge (St. Patrick's), Wishaw, and Dalry, were evidently required to submit financial statements.<sup>202</sup> Eyre's establishment of a Finance Board in 1869,<sup>203</sup> was a further reflection of his desire to fulfil that aspect of his dual commission as Archbishop which required him to restore order and ecclesiastical authority within the Western District, and by 1876 the clergy of the District in an

address to the Archbishop acknowledged the improvements, including the establishment of a Diocesan Seminary at Partickhill in 1874, which had been introduced since his arrival seven years before. However, the real significance of the address probably lies not in the compliments paid or in the pious hopes expressed, but in the three representative signatories. Two were Scots-born, William Gordon, the Chairman, and Alexander Munro, the Secretary, but the Treasurer was James Danaher, another former Memorialist, and previously a strong critic of Bishop Murdoch.<sup>204</sup> His involvement probably signifies that Eyre was gradually succeeding in uniting his Scots, and Irish-born, clergy into a more coherent whole.

Eyre had also been appointed however, with the aim of preparing the way for that restoration of a Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland which the Roman authorities clearly desired but were unwilling to impose. The nine-year delay between Eyre's appointment and the restoration being effected does not admit of any easy explanation, though it was probably partly due to his initially having to concentrate most of his attention on the immediate problems of the Western District. In addition, unlike their counterparts in both East and West, some of the clergy of the Northern District, even after Bishop Kyle's death in February 1869, remained unconvinced of the need for a diocesan hierarchy.<sup>205</sup> However, by October 1877, after further prompting by Propaganda, the three Scots bishops, including John MacDonald, Kyle's successor, submitted their joint report on the proposed restoration of the Hierarchy to the Roman authorities.<sup>206</sup> Six dioceses were suggested, a proposal which was ultimately adopted. Nevertheless, although the boundaries of these new dioceses were settled with relatively little disagreement, except for some compromises which were made to accommodate the wishes of Catholic nobles such as the Marquis of Bute and Lord Lovat,<sup>207</sup> the question of the titles to be given to the new sees gave rise to considerable debate. Unlike their English counterparts, the Scottish bishops were free to adopt the medieval titles if they so desired, as the relevant section [XXIV] of the Emancipation Act (1829) had been repealed in 1871.<sup>208</sup> Bishop John Strain of the Eastern District campaigned vigorously for the use of the ancient titles, but with only limited success. However, closely linked with the question of titles, was the issue of which of the new dioceses should enjoy the dignity of a metropolitan see. Bishop Strain strongly



favoured Edinburgh, the Scottish capital, with the addition of St. Andrew's to its title, while the Marquis of Bute and Archbishop Eyre supported the claim of Glasgow, which Irish immigration had made the largest centre of Catholic population in Scotland.<sup>209</sup> In the event, both Glasgow, and St. Andrews and Edinburgh, were given metropolitan status, although not until 1948 did Glasgow have any suffragan sees. Many names of potential bishops seem to have circulated, including those of Englishmen and Anglo-Scots, and Bishop John MacDonald of the Northern District deemed it advisable to warn the Congregation of Propaganda Fide that the new bishops must be Scotsmen. Though an Englishman, Eyre, had been appointed with conspicuous benefit to religion, his appointment had resulted from quite exceptional circumstances, and neither English, nor indeed Irish, nominations would normally be acceptable to the Scottish Catholic community.<sup>210</sup> Propaganda seems to have heeded the warning, and the three additional bishops were all Scots priests. On 4 March 1878, by the Apostolic Letters *Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice*, Pope Leo XIII restored a diocesan hierarchy to Scotland, with Eyre himself being translated from his titular see, to become Archbishop of Glasgow. His new Archdiocese, the forerunner of the present Western Province, was not territorially coterminous with the former Western District, for the Western Highlands and Islands were now included in the diocese of Argyll and the Isles, while Ayrshire south of the Lugton Water became part of the diocese of Galloway. After 1878, only the northern Ayrshire missions of Dalry, Kilbirnie, Largs and Saltcoats remained within the Archdiocese of Glasgow, an anomaly which was not corrected until seventy years later.<sup>211</sup> However, the new Archdiocese did contain the bulk of the Western District's Catholic population and personnel. It also inherited many difficulties and problems which would recur to present not only Eyre, but also his successors, with a continuing challenge in the decades to come.

## REFERENCES - CHAPTER 1

1. GAA-WD5/3 Memoirs of Rev. Michael Condon (hereafter *Condon's Memoirs*), Book 3, p.352. In 1779 Mass was also celebrated in the house of Donald Macdonald, at the foot of the Saltmarket. James Handley, *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1848*, (Cork, 1945), p.288.
2. *Condon's Memoirs, ibid*, p.351.
3. Alexander MacWilliam, "The Glasgow Mission 1792-1799", *Innes Review*, Vol.IV (1953), p.85.
4. *ibid*
5. Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), p.249.
6. MacWilliam, *loc. cit.*, p.85.
7. *ibid*
8. James E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.* p.84.
9. Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin, Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester University Press, 1979), p.37.
10. *ibid*, p.35.
11. James E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, p.24.
12. *ibid*, p.30. The additional 2s. represented the steward's fee.
13. *ibid*
14. *ibid.*, p.32.
15. *ibid*
16. Lees, *op.cit.*, p.37.
17. *ibid.*,
18. Cormac Ó Gráda "Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to America, 1800-50", in *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850*, T.M.Devine and D.Dickson, (eds.) (Edinburgh, 1983), p.118.
19. *ibid.*,
20. Lees, *op.cit.*, p.38.
21. Ó Gráda, *loc.cit.*, p.121.
22. Lees, *op.cit.*, p.38.
23. Ó Gráda, *loc.cit.*, p.119.



24. Lees, *op.cit.*, p.44.
25. Ó Gráda, *loc.cit.*, p.120.
26. See Tables 1 and 2.
27. Lees, *op.cit.*, p.43.
28. *ibid.*, p.42.
29. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, p.91.
30. *ibid.*, p.95.
31. *ibid.*
32. *ibid.*, p.97
33. *ibid.*, p.98.
34. Mary McCarthy, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, (Paisley Public Libraries, 1969), p.107.
35. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, p.98, claims that Irish households formed one-ninth of the 5,730 families in Paisley.
36. *ibid.*, p.104.
37. GAA-WD5/1 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 1, p.203.
38. Alan B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners - A Social History of their Trade Unions, 1775-1874* (Edinburgh, 1979), p.178.
39. *ibid.*
40. *ibid.*
41. Scottish Catholic Archive (hereafter SCA), HC35, *History of St. John the Baptist's, Port Glasgow*, p.1.
42. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, p.104.
43. *Parliamentary Commission for the State of Irish Poor in Great Britain, 1834*, quoted in McCarthy, *op.cit.*, 107.
44. Campbell, *op.cit.*, pp.178-179.
45. R.D.Lobban, *The Migration of Highlanders into Lowland Scotland (c.1750-1890) with particular reference to Greenock*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, October 1969, p.133.
46. McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p.107.
47. Lobban, *op.cit.*, p.137.

48. *ibid.*, p.134.
49. McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p.109.
50. *ibid*
51. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, pp.187-89.
52. *ibid.*, pp.190-92.
53. Lobban, *op.cit.*, p.190.
54. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, pp.295-96.
55. SCA, HC35, *Solemn Opening of the New Church of St.John Barrhead*, 29 October 1961. Souvenir Brochure, p.12.
56. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, p.86.
57. McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p.104.
58. *ibid*
59. *ibid.*, p.107.
60. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, pp.108-09.
61. *ibid.* When one multiplies the 1320 baptisms for 1831 (see Table 5) by 29.27, the figure arrived at is 38,636, or 11,671 more than Cleland's estimate for the Irish-born.
62. GAA-WD5, statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon, (loose sheet), p.10.
63. Supplement to the Article "Glasgow", *New Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, Lanark[shire], (1845), p.902.
64. *ibid.*, p.903.
65. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, op.cit.*, pp.299-300.  
For further information on the Society, see pp. 29-30 of this thesis.
66. *ibid.*, p.306.
67. *ibid.*, pp.108-09.
68. McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p.107.
69. Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome* (Edinburgh Mainstream 1985), p.32.
70. *ibid.*, p.28.



71. Even among other relatively large occupational groups, especially in Glasgow, one must be careful not to be misled by titles. "A merchant" sounds impressive; a "travelling merchant" is most probably a euphemism for a hawker. For Lobban's data, see pp. 10-12 of thesis.
72. MacWilliam, *loc.cit.*, p.90a. Later Bishop of Kingston in Upper Canada.
73. James M. Lawlor, "Benefactors of the Early Glasgow Mission: 1793-97", *Innes Review*, Vol.XXXV, (1984), p.24.
74. *ibid* The five were James McLaurin, Simon Soreck, John Skene, John Lamont, and John Bowman.
75. It is not clear whether his name was Depredotte, Depredeau, or Deprau, McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p.131 further confuses matters by calling him Despreaux.
76. GA-WD5 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 2, p.111.
77. MacWilliam, *loc.cit.*, p.89.
78. GAA-BY14 *St Andrew's Cathedral 150th Anniversary* booklet (1966), p.9. The exact date for the first Mass in the Tennis Land was Sunday, 21 October 1792.
79. Lawlor, *loc.cit.*, p.24.
80. SCA-IM14/1 Status Animarum, Glasgow, and Paisley, Catholics 1808.
81. John F. McCaffrey, "The Stewardship of Resources: Financial Strategies of Roman Catholics in the Glasgow District, 1800-70" from *Studies in Church History No.24: The Church and Wealth* (Oxford 1987), W.Sheils and D.Wood,(eds.) p.361. (hereafter "Stewardship") Estimates of the cost of St.Andrew's do vary. 150th Anniversary booklet, *op.cit.*, mentions £13,413 ls. 10d.; the Religious Instruction Commission 2nd Report, p.36 (McCaffrey) quotes £17,000; while Johnson, *op.cit.*, p.155 suggests £22,000. However, Bishop John Murdoch in a letter of 16 January, 1851 to Rev. Michael Condon at Hamilton confirms McCaffrey's conclusion, GAA-WD5/4, *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", p.66.
82. WD5/4, *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", Bishop Murdoch to Condon, 16 January 1851, pp.66-7.
83. McCaffrey, "Stewardship," *loc.cit.*, p.361.
84. Lawlor, *loc.cit.*, p.22.
85. *History of the Missions of the Archdiocese*, (typescript original in SCA, with copy in GAA), pp.89-90, (hereafter, Typed History); Condon - (WD5/1, p.215) suggests that Mr. Davidson did not arrive in Greenock until 1808.
86. *Typed History*, *ibid*, p.5.

87. These schools took their title from their founder, Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker educationalist.
88. St. Simon's, Partick was established in 1855, but was merged into St. Peter's, Partick, in 1858. Not until 1955 did St. Simon's once more become a separate mission.
89. See Table 9b for Lowland parishes only. The figures for each area were:

Glasgow City: Chapels	8	Sittings	10,850
Suburban	5		2,550
Lanarkshire	9		c.3,410
Renfrewshire	9		5,920
Ayrshire	12		4,034
Dunbartonshire	3		1,350

90. SCA IM2/1/2 - Ayr Catholics and Members of the 27th Regiment, petition for a priest, to Bishop Cameron, 13 June 1813. Signatories: Matthew Quinn (to whom any reply should be directed); Hugh Bolton; John Quinn; D. Shields, Paymaster Ayr 27th Regiment.
91. *ibid*, the two officers had also sanctioned the application to the Bishop.
92. SCA-IM2/1/3, Ayr Catholics [to Bishop Cameron] complaining that they have no priest, 6 August 1822.

**Catholic Committee of Ayr comprised:**

Hugh Bolton	Daniel McLaughlin
Matthew McQueen	Robert McQueen*
Henry Garland	Bernard McLosky*
John Bryan	Michael Kelly*
Cornelius [?]	Bernard McPheely*
James Duffy	Terence O'Neil*
Alexr. McCausland	James [?]*
Charles McSparran	John Bolton*
James Cain*	Peter O'Hara*
Arthur Devlin*	
John McCartney*	
James Stot*	
Neil McGauchy*	

\*(some names seem to be signed by one individual)

93. *Typed History, loc.cit*, p.137.
94. SCA - IM2/1/4 Ayr Catholics to Bishop Cameron, 22 September 1824. The request was repeated on 18 January 1825.
95. Scottish Catholic Directory (hereafter SCD), 1831-38.
96. GAA-WD5/3 *Condon's Memoirs* Book 3, pp.354-57. It was Father Forbes who recruited Michael Condon (1845) for the Western District.



97. Rev. Bernard Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979), p.48. Bishop Murdoch would later view with dismay the advent of priests from All Hallows, thirteen of whom would sign a Memorial critical of the administration of the Western District.
98. WD5/2 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 2, p.267 Bishops Murdoch and Smith Pastoral Letter, 1 August 1850.
99. WD5/2 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 2, p.306 Bishop Murdoch Pastoral Letter, 12 March 1857.
100. GAA-WD5 Statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon, (loose sheet), p.1.
101. SCA-OL2/10/1 - List of Western District Students, 1833 [see Appendix 1].
102. GAA-WD5 Statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon (loose sheet), p.8.
103. *ibid*  
Note: In Table 10a, Condon's figures for the numbers of Irish clergy serving in the Western District in any one year always includes a number who were only on temporary attachments.
104. WD5/1 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 1, p.139.
105. Canning, *op.cit.*, pp.48-54. GAA-WD5/4 "Hamiltonia", details pp.1-40.
106. GAA-WD5/4 *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", p.6.
107. Lees, *op.cit.*, p.172.
108. *ibid.*, p.174.
109. William Sloan, Senior Seminar Paper, University of Strathclyde. Private communication.
110. *ibid.*,
111. Gerard Connolly, "Irish and Catholic - Myth or Reality? Another Sort of Irish and the Renewal of the Clerical Profession among Catholics in England, 1791-1918" in *The Irish in the Victorian City* Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.) (London, 1985), p.229. In Manchester, Liverpool, Wigan, Huddersfield, Leeds, Bradford, Sunderland, and Newcastle, possibly fewer than 30% of migrant Catholics practised.
112. Sloan, *loc.cit.*
113. *ibid*
114. *ibid.*
115. *ibid*
116. *ibid*

117. Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City*, (London, 1974), p.75.
118. Stephen Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845*, (New York, 1982), p.1.
119. Calculated using Tables 10c and 11.
120. See Table 11.
121. *ibid* The burgh totals in the census include what are termed 'Sunday scholars'.
122. Bernard Aspinwall, "The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland: Some Preliminary Outlines" (hereafter "Formation..."), *Innes Review*, Vol. XXXIII (1982), p.51.
123. GAA-WD5/4, *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", p.69.
124. Cooney, *op.cit.*, p.66.
125. It was thought advisable to introduce the term "parish" at this stage to avoid confusion. Nevertheless, canonically-erected parishes were not established in the Province of Glasgow until 1946. John Cunningham, "Church Administration and Organisation" in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, (Glasgow 1978), David McRoberts, (ed.) p.80.
126. Bernard Aspinwall, "Formation...", *loc.cit.*, p.51.
127. *ibid.*, p.50.
128. *ibid.*,
129. GAA-WD5/1 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 1, p.602.
130. Aspinwall, "A Glasgow Pastoral Plan 1855-1860: Social and Spiritual Renewal", *Innes Review*, Vol. XXXV (1984), p.35.
131. Lees, *op.cit.*, pp.207-212 - detail the efforts of the London clergy to promote the cause of temperance.
132. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, *op.cit.*, p.265-66.
133. Aspinwall, "Formation...", *loc.cit.*, p.51.
134. SCD, 1850, p.84.
135. *ibid.*, p.81.
136. Aspinwall, "Formation...", *loc.cit.*, p.48.
137. SCD, 1850, *op.cit.*, p.80.
138. J. Michael Black, "The Glasgow Catholic Schools Society, established 1817: An Experiment in Non-Sectarian Education", January 1974 - typescript in Scottish Catholic Archive, Edinburgh.



139. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, *op.cit.*, p.126.
140. Black, *loc.cit.*, p.20.
141. *ibid*, p.22 - the clearest demonstration of this is the effectiveness of Colquhoun's attack upon the Society - p.14 of this thesis.
142. GAA-WD5/4 Condon's Memoirs, "Hamiltonia", p.62 - the balance for 1850 amounted to £12.14.11 .
143. *ibid.*, p.197.
144. See p.48, reference 98.
145. GAA-WD5/4, *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", p.46.
146. *ibid*, pp.49-50.
147. *ibid.*, p.125.
148. SCA-OL7/2/3 "Ad Clerum" from Bishop John Murdoch, 12 December 1859.
149. GAA-WD5/4, *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", p.65.
150. *ibid.*, p.66.
151. GAA-WD2/1 Annual Returns of Missions, Population and Temporalities for 1857-61, pp.8 and 9.
152. McCaffrey, "Stewardship", *loc.cit.*, p.366.
153. GAA-FR17/9 "History of the Scottish Clerical Quota Fund", (by Bishop Hay), 1772; to which is added "*Observations on Quota Fund*", by Rev. John Carmont, p.16.
154. GAA-WD5/2 *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 2 - handwritten text of memorial to Bishop Murdoch, (without demand for an Irish bishop), pp.148-154; *Free Press* print inserted at p.211.
155. GAA-WD5/4, *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", p.59.
156. James Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork 1947), pp.60-2.
157. *ibid*, pp.64-87 give a detailed account of the paper's activities and attitude.
158. *ibid*, 88-92; also McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (hereafter "Roman Catholics...") in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol.XXI Part 3, 1983, pp.178-9.
159. McCaffrey, *ibid*, p.279.
160. David McRoberts, "Restoration of the Hierarchy", (hereafter "Restoration...") in *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878-1978*, David McRoberts (ed.) (Glasgow 1979), p.12.

161. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics...", *loc.cit.*, p.280. The degree of the paper's support for this policy can be seen in its unilateral amendment of the Memorial. See also reference 154.
162. McRoberts, "Restoration...", *loc.cit.*, p.14. The candidates suggested by the three Scottish Vicars-Apostolic were all Scots: Rev. John McLachlan (Kilmarnock); Rev. John Shaw (Rutherglen); and Rev. James Cameron (Maryhill). Bishop Strain had initially wanted to submit the name of an Irishman, Patrick Hanly, (Port Glasgow), but his name had been dropped before the terna was submitted to Rome.
163. *ibid.*, p.20.
164. McCaffrey, "Stewardship," *loc.cit.*, p.369. GAA-WD9 - a "pencilled note by Archbishop Eyre" gives the Mitchell total as £80,000.
165. McCaffrey, "Stewardship," *ibid.*
166. McRoberts, "Restoration...", *loc.cit.*, p.19.
167. *ibid.*
168. McCaffrey, "Stewardship", *loc.cit.*, pp.364-5.
169. GAA-BY14, "St. Aloysius, Chapelhall, Centenary 1859-1959", Souvenir brochure, p.16 - When in 1868 local deposits of iron ore ran out, and iron works closed down, families migrated to Mossend; also Aspinwall, "Formation...", *loc.cit.*, p.44.
170. McCaffrey, "Stewardship", *loc.cit.*, p.368.
171. *ibid.*, p.369.
172. *ibid.* p.366, but exclusive episcopal control over finances was not a feature confined to the Bishops of the Western District. See Chapter 4, p. 200.
173. *ibid.*, p.365; and see Chapter 4, p.197 on St. Andrew's and St. Mary's.
174. *ibid.*, p.366.
175. GAA-WD2/1 - Annual Returns of Missions, Population and Temporalities for 1857-61, p.5.
176. McCaffrey, "Stewardship", *loc.cit.*, p.366.
177. *ibid.*, p.368.
178. *ibid.*, p.366; and McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics...", *loc.cit.*, p.283; also GAA-WD10, "Memoranda for the Apostolic Visitor", p.10.
179. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland.*, *op.cit.*, p.88.
180. GAA-WD5/4 *Condon's Memoirs*, "Hamiltonia", pp.50-1. In 1863 however, Bishop Murdoch declared himself to be the best judge of such [District Fund] allocations.



181. GAA-WD2/1 - Annual Returns of Missions, Population and Temporalities for 1857-61, pp.8-9.
182. *ibid*, for example, Danaher with a mission population seven and a half times smaller than Chisholm's had a debt level nine times smaller than that at St. John's.
183. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics...", *op.cit.*, p.281; Canning, *op.cit.*, pp.72-3.
184. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics...", *ibid*
185. *ibid*, p.282; also GAA-WD10 - Rev. B. Tracy, Pollokshaws to Keane, 15 November 1864 - this letter also appeared in the Tablet of 19 November 1864, and in the *Telegraph*
186. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics...", *ibid*
187. McRoberts, "Restoration...", *loc.cit.*, p.17.
188. *ibid*, p.22.
189. GAA-WD10, Rev. Alexander Munro to Archbishop Manning, 25 October 1867; quoted in McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics..." *loc.cit.*, p.286.
190. John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy - Pope John Paul II's Visit in Perspective*, (Edinburgh, 1982), p.40.
191. McRoberts, "Restoration...", *loc.cit.*, p.24.
192. Cooney, *op.cit.*, p.40 - Kyle seems to have been ultra-montanist in outlook.
193. Vincent Alan McClelland, "Documents relating to the Appointment of a Delegate-Apostolic for Scotland, 1868", *Innes Review*, Vol.VIII (1957), pp.93-8. On the question of Errington's declining the appointment, McClelland attributes great importance to the influence of William Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, and a member of one of the "Old Catholic" families.
194. Eyre entered upon his duties as Administrator-Apostolic of the Western District on 16 April 1869, by which date Bishops Gray and Lynch had resigned. James Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland, a biographical list 1683-1985* (Glasgow 1986), pp.21-2.
195. GAA-GC1/7/1 Rev. Alexander Munro to Mgr. Eyre, 15 January 1869.
196. *ibid*
197. *ibid*
198. Cooney, *op.cit.*, p.41; Handley, *Irish in Modern Scotland*, *op.cit.*, p.87.
199. GAA-WD5 Rev. Michael Condon to Archbishop Manning, 2 September 1867, and 4 November 1867.

200. GAA-WD5/1, Keane's Mission Book of Barrhead, - quoted in *Condon's Memoirs*, Book 1, pp.342-438, p.407.
201. *ibid*, p.422.
202. GAA-GC1, correspondence for 1869.
203. See Chapter 4 for further information on the Finance Board.
204. GAA-WD11 printed address "to the Most Reverend Charles Eyre, Archbishop of Anazarba, Administrator of the Western District, from the Clergy of the Vicariate," Glasgow 4 July 1876 (single page).
205. GAA-HP1, Bishop John MacDonald to Archbishop Eyre, 20 November 1877 - commenting on the joint report made by the Scots Bishops to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (de Propaganda Fide), MacDonald stated: "it would perhaps be nearer the truth to say that a portion of the clergy of the Northern Vicariate would seem to incline to the opinion that things had better remain as they are."
206. GAA-HP1, Joint Report of the Scots Bishops to the Sacred Congregation (de Propaganda Fide) 25 October 1877, compiled "in answer to your communication of May 24."
207. McRoberts, *loc.cit.*, p.25.
208. *ibid*, p.26.
209. *ibid*
210. *ibid.*, p.28.
211. *ibid*, pp.28-9. (The annual returns for these four missions and related stations served from them, from c.1878-1948 are retained in the Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive.)



## CHAPTER 2

### THE GROWTH OF THE PROVINCE, 1878 TO VATICAN II AND ITS IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH

One immediate, but continuing task that had to be pursued was the development of missions to serve the perceived needs of the Catholic population of the West of Scotland. In 1869, within the territory which later formed the Archdiocese of Glasgow, the number of missions stood at forty-six.<sup>1</sup> By 1878, the figure had risen to fifty-six,<sup>2</sup> and this total continued to increase throughout the period under discussion.<sup>3</sup> Many of these foundations stemmed in part from the conscious policy, begun by Murdoch and now adopted by Eyre and his successors, of attempting to divide into smaller, more manageable units, missions which were considered to be too large either in terms of territory or population. The Airdrie mission established in the mid-1830s covered a large area of Lanarkshire, and by 1844 the Catholic population had become so numerous that it was deemed necessary to divide the mission and to provide a new centre at Coatbridge, which was separated from Airdrie in 1845. However even this division offered only temporary relief, for a gallery later had to be erected to extend the capacity of the Airdrie church, while in 1856 half an acre of ground belonging to the Lauchope Estate, Chapelhall, was feued, with the intention of providing a new school-chapel and house.<sup>4</sup> During Eyre's period as Archbishop, further divisions took place with a school-chapel being opened at Longriggend on 18 August 1879, and in 1897 the creation of the district known as Meikle Drumgray or Greengairs lying to the east of Airdrie, as an independent mission. In addition, the Coatbridge mission, originally served from Airdrie, was itself divided many times with the establishment of missions at Eastmuir/Shettleston in 1857, Whifflet in 1874, St. Augustine's, Coatbridge (1892), and a mission station at Glenboig in 1880. Eastmuir/Shettleston also received territory and population from St. Mary's, Calton. It too was subsequently divided, with three missions being separated from the original foundation, Cardowan/Stepps (1875), Baillieston (1880), and Tollcross (1893).<sup>5</sup> The pattern, and extent, of this policy of sub-division of missions can be more clearly seen by referring to Figures 1-4 which include virtually all missions established between

1792-1907 within the territory covered by the Archdiocese.

In the case of Airdrie, the creation of new missions appeared to prove an effective method of reducing both the numbers within, and the geographical extent of, the mission, and by 1898 the Catholic population had been halved from its level of forty years earlier.<sup>6</sup> St. John's, Gorbals, also saw its estimated population of 18,000 souls in 1867 reduced to less than half that total within a decade<sup>7</sup> due in part to the creation of the missions of St. Francis (1867) under the charge of the Franciscan Order, and Our Lady and St. Margaret's, Kinning Park, in 1874. However, with regard to St. Andrew's Cathedral, the erection of new missions was not sufficient in itself to cause a reduction in population. Even after the last of its six direct foundations was detached in 1850, numbers within the Cathedral mission continued to rise for a further two decades to reach a claimed peak of 15,500 in 1870. Only thereafter did this total fall steadily and dramatically to a level of 4,100 by 1902,<sup>8</sup> a drop caused, as with St. Alphonsus' in the 1870s,<sup>9</sup> by urban redevelopment. Lynn Lees suggestion, based on her study of the London Irish, that migrants' mobility partly depended on local economic and employment factors<sup>10</sup> makes it unlikely that those individuals and families thus displaced from St. Andrew's moved far away from their original homes, partly because they lacked the resources to do so, but also it was convenient to live in proximity to the workplace. The experience of missions close to St. Andrew's, and indeed the pattern of mission development within the Archdiocese as a whole up to about 1920, offer some support for Lees' conclusion. The population of St. Patrick's Anderston seems to have doubled during the three decades covering the period of the Cathedral's initial decline,<sup>11</sup> while within Glasgow city, no new mission was established at a distance greater than three miles from the city centre. Similarly, in Lanarkshire, missions continued to cluster around St. Mary's Hamilton, Coatbridge and Airdrie itself. In Dunbartonshire four missions, Clydebank, Dalmuir, Renton and Croy were established. Of these, Clydebank was an offshoot from St. James' Renfrew, with Dalmuir appearing as a later division of the Clydebank mission itself. Renton was an offshoot from Alexandria. In none of these cases, do the distances involved suggest any major movement, whether voluntary or involuntary, of



population. Given a ferry across the river, it no longer seems surprising that Clydebank was originally part of the Renfrew mission. Croy too, was geographically close to its parent mission of Kilsyth, though the latter was part of the Archdiocese of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. In Renfrewshire, the post-1869 foundations of St. Charles, Paisley, Renfrew itself, St. Conval's Linwood, and St. Ninian's, Gourrock were all established within a maximum distance of four miles from their parent mission.

Not until 1920, probably as a result of the municipal housing programmes which would transform working-class housing in the city, did the population of inner-city missions hitherto unaffected by redevelopment or sub-division commence a sustained decline. The Catholic population with little representation in the middle or upper end of the social or income spectrum, had been almost totally unaffected by the middle-class migrations to the city's periphery which had taken place during the period of Glasgow's pre-1914 prosperity. This middle-class migration had followed the railway lines and tram routes westwards to Jordanhill and Bearsden, or south to the developing residential districts of Cathcart, Shawlands and Newlands.

However, throughout the 1920s, a series of Housing Acts provided for the building of local authority, or public sector, homes by agencies such as Glasgow Corporation, although progress was initially quite slow. Not until 1930 did the Labour Party shift the emphasis to wholesale slum clearance and rehousing in the new estates like Blackhill, Riddrie and Camtyne. Sufficient new house building had however taken place by 1931 to occasion some comment in the census for that year. All the more centrally situated wards in the city without exception showed a decline from their 1921 population levels, the greatest percentage decreases having occurred in Blythswood (20.5%), Mile End (18.3%), Sandyford (15.8%) and in Cowcaddens and Exchange (both 15.7%). Of these five wards, only Exchange and Sandyford had shown any loss of population in 1921.<sup>12</sup>

By comparison, the greatest increases were recorded in wards at or near the city boundary where house building, whether private or public, had been most active.

Cathcart ward virtually doubled its population which had increased within a decade by 83.6%. In Whiteinch the increase amounted to 66.7%, in Ruchill 54.8%, in Pollokshields 40.4%, in Provan 35.7%, while Shettleston and Tollcross, Springburn, Kelvinside, and Dennistoun wards all expanded by more than 20%.<sup>13</sup>

The church attempted to meet the needs of this shifting population by founding new missions. St. Thomas', established in 1924, served the new housing scheme of Riddrie, while its chapel of ease, St. Bernadette's, from 1934 provided a Mass centre for the Carntyne district.<sup>14</sup> St. Ninian's (1927) served the council scheme at Knightswood; St. Teresa's (1932) fulfilled a similar role for Possilpark; Christ the King (1934) for King's Park/Cathcart; and St. Philomena's (1939) for Provanmill. Whiteinch was already catered for by St. Paul's mission, established in 1903. Shettleston, Tollcross and Springburn were nineteenth century foundations, as were St. Anne's, Dennistoun, and St. Charles', Kelvinside. However, not until 1965 was St. Albert's parish created in Pollokshields.

The establishment of these post-First World War missions is also significant because they mark the end of a hiatus in mission creation. For fourteen years, between 1907-21, no new mission had been established within the Archdiocese with the exception of St. Bride's, Bothwell in 1910. Foundations in Dunbartonshire ceased with the provision of St. Stephen's Dalmuir in 1907, and did not resume until 1945. The creation of St. Constantine's, Govan, in 1921 signalled the beginning of the end of this fallow period,<sup>15</sup> to which the financial and administrative problems faced by the Archdiocese had, in large measure, contributed.<sup>16</sup> The resolution of these difficulties, which is discussed at length in the subsequent chapter on finance, played an important part in enabling Archbishop Donald Campbell massively to increase the total of parishes in the Archdiocese in the aftermath of the Second World War, particularly after war-time restrictions on the use of certain building materials had been relaxed, and finally abolished, in the mid-1950s.<sup>17</sup> Public policy, in the form of the New Towns programme encouraged, as in the 1920s and 1930s, a further movement of population away not just from the old industrial areas of the city, but from the city itself. The parish priest of the only Catholic parish in Cumbernauld, Sacred Heart,



reported an estimated Catholic population of only 213 in his first annual return in 1958.<sup>18</sup> By 1972, parishioners numbered nearly 5,000,<sup>19</sup> and the continued development of the town had already led to the creation of a second parish, St. Joseph's in 1967, followed by St. Lucy's, Abronhill in 1973, and a fourth, serving Condorrat, a year later.

A policy of mission development however, whether effected through choice or necessity, could not be carried through successfully without a sufficient supply of priests, a problem of which Eyre had been keenly aware. As a result, in 1874, he purchased two villas in Partickhill, and established a senior seminary to train ecclesiastical students in philosophy and theology. He also continued to make use of contacts forged during his tenure as Vicar-General of Hexham and Newcastle, by accepting for his Archdiocese students trained at the English College, Bruges. This College had only a brief life-span, having been founded by an English convert, Sir John Sutton in 1858-59, and lasting only until his death in 1873. Nevertheless it was used by most of the English and Welsh Bishops during that period, with at least 120 English priests being ordained, or receiving part of their training, there.<sup>20</sup> The number initially accepted by Eyre does not seem to have been large. Only five individuals have been identified as having been trained at Bruges, four of whom served in the Western District, and subsequently in the Archdiocese (Charles Brown, Peter Evers, Peter Terken, and Hubert Van Stiphout).<sup>21</sup> More importantly however, even after this link had ceased Belgian, Dutch and German priests, including Octavius F. Claeys, Joseph Van Hecke, Emile and Louis de Backer, Peter Hilgers and Joseph Sieger, continued to be accepted for service in the Archdiocese of Glasgow.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, the number of continental clergy coming to serve in the Archdiocese paled into relative insignificance when compared with those arriving from Ireland. In 1875 Eyre had written to Bishop George Conroy of Ardagh seeking priests, since St. Peter's at that point in time had only first and second year students. Conroy was unable to oblige as he had "at present, no priest unoccupied."<sup>23</sup> However, other Irish bishops, such as Daniel McCarthy of Kerry, were able to release newly-ordained priests, usually for temporary service, in the Archdiocese since no vacancies were

available for them in their native dioceses.<sup>24</sup> In the decade following Eyre's request to Conroy, a further twenty-five priests came from Ireland. Of these, thirteen came on loan, six from the diocese of Kerry itself, three from Waterford and Lismore, two from Ross and one each from Cashel, and Cloyne.<sup>25</sup> Of the remainder, three were specifically ordained, not for an Irish diocese, but as priests, either for the Western District or, after 1878, for the Archdiocese; while the others spent their entire clerical career within the Western Province, and had therefore probably obtained *exceats* from their Irish diocese to enable them to become permanently engaged (incardinated) as priests of the Archdiocese of Glasgow.<sup>26</sup> Such incardination could not even be considered under the rules laid down by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, unless the clerical applicant had served an obligatory temporary engagement of three years.<sup>27</sup>

As a result of his various efforts, Eyre by 1886 seemed to have obtained sufficient priests to meet the existing needs of his Archdiocese. In May of that year, he refused to accept the services of two students from St. Patrick's College, Thurles, who had offered "themselves as subjects of Glasgow." Five priests from the diocesan seminary were also due to be ordained the following month, and the diocese would "be amply provided with clergy."<sup>28</sup> Two applicants from Maynooth, Hugh O'Reilly and Michael Keane, were also turned down.<sup>29</sup> This sufficiency of priests allowed Eyre both to be selective in accepting Irish clergy for service in the Archdiocese, and to be firm with those, of whatever nationality, who broke the terms of their engagement. Rev. William Van Wyk on applying for readmission, was advised that it was "quite contrary to his [Eyre's] custom to receive back into the Archdiocese priests who have chosen for reasons of their own to leave...before the time agreed upon for their stay is completed."<sup>30</sup>

Although clerical numbers were adequate by 1886, this position could only be maintained by the continued acceptance of Irish priests on loan, and over the next four decades a further 225 came to work in Glasgow,<sup>31</sup> from twenty-two Irish dioceses.<sup>32</sup>



However five of these, Cloyne, Kerry, Killaloe, Waterford & Lismore, and Derry, supplied more than half (61.3%) of the total. Priests on loan vastly outnumbered those Irish students who were specifically ordained for the Glasgow Archdiocese. These totalled only fifty-nine over the same forty-year period, with the majority of such ordinations taking place between 1913-26.<sup>33</sup> In addition, during the years 1886-1926, only eleven individuals sought *excats* from their native diocese to become incardinated in the Archdiocese - five from Kerry, two from Ross, two from Cloyne, and one each from Killaloe, and Achonry.<sup>34</sup>

By 1886, 112 clergy ministered to the needs of an estimated Catholic population of 220,000, a priest to people ratio of one priest to every 1964 Catholics.<sup>35</sup> This clergy total, perhaps surprisingly, had increased by only six from that recorded almost twenty years previously for the Western District, and by 1888 the number of priests had fallen back to 109, only three above the 1867 level.<sup>36</sup> In 1894, 134 priests served in the Archdiocese, and the figure continued to steadily increase thereafter, to 244 in 1919.<sup>37</sup> Some of this improvement can be attributed to the efforts not only of the diocesan seminary, St. Peter's, but of the various colleges abroad, including the Scots Colleges in Rome, and at Valladolid in Spain. By November 1898, St. Peter's had trained eighty-nine priests, of whom seventy were actively working within the Archdiocese. Four had died, while the relatively large number of fifteen were employed in other dioceses.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, without the continued influx of Irish clergy, these colleges could not, for a considerable period, have supplied the ongoing need for priests. Tables 12a and 12b, taken together, emphasize the essential contribution made by Irish-born priests. During the period 1883-1926, they never accounted for fewer than 24% (in 1896) of the priests currently serving in the Archdiocese: and sometimes supplied as many as 45% (1906); while in some years, such as 1897 and 1900, they accounted for more than 75% of ordinations in those years, among new priests then serving in the Archdiocese.<sup>39</sup>

One great benefit of the Irish-born and trained clergy therefore lay in their immediate availability, which provided successive Archbishops of Glasgow with the means of

responding more flexibly than would otherwise have been the case to meet the perceived needs of the Catholic community. Though the number of clerical students for the Archdiocese increased to more than 100 in the early twentieth century<sup>40</sup> there was normally a considerable delay between admission to a Seminary and eventual ordination. There were also inevitable losses due to students either choosing or, on occasion being requested, to leave. The standard course could involve five, occasionally six, years in the Scottish Junior Seminary at Blairs, followed by two, later three years study of philosophy, and four years of theology at a senior seminary, usually St. Peter's. Some students however, depending on ability, the wishes of the bishop, and the availability of places, were sent to continental colleges, such as the Scots Colleges in Rome, and Valladolid in Spain, and to French Colleges, while a handful received their training at the college belonging to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, in Rome. However, departures from the more normal course pattern do seem to have occurred, with headings like Classics, including Rhetoric and Poetry, and Syntax making intermittent appearances up to 1912. It is not altogether clear where these specific classes fitted into the seminary programme, for not all colleges made provision for them in the same year. Only for Valladolid in Spain does the heading "Classics" appear with any consistency. However, such classes were consistently located in the curriculum of the Senior Seminary. When provided in the pre-1907 era they appear to have displaced the fifth year in Blairs.<sup>41</sup> Whatever their nature and purpose therefore, it is probable that these classes did not add to the length of a seminarian's course.

Of particular relevance to the question of ordination, were those students who were in their final year of study, normally fourth theology, although in 1902-03, 1910-11, and 1929-30, St. Peter's, and Valladolid, appeared to include a fifth year of theology.<sup>42</sup> It was unusual for the total of final year students to reach double figures, and prior to 1924 this situation only occurred on three occasions.<sup>43</sup> The subsequent improvement not only in the figures for fourth-year theologians, but in student numbers as a whole, can be attributed in part to the continued contribution from Ireland. Students in Irish colleges were free to select a country in which they wished to serve after ordination, and five colleges - St. Kieran's, Kilkenny; St. Patrick's, Carlow; St. Patrick's,



Thurles; St. Peter's, Wexford; and St. John's, Waterford; - had as their chief purpose the training of priests for service in English-speaking countries. Glasgow drew heavily on all five sources and, to a much lesser degree on Mount Melleray, and All Hallows, Dublin.<sup>44</sup> Such Irish students were normally now wholly trained in Ireland, though some, as in the nineteenth century, continued to come to St. Peter's, Bearsden, for their final year of study.

However, these Irish students and their successors, unlike the majority of their earlier counterparts, were permanently attached to the Archdiocese of Glasgow, for the era of the temporary priest on loan was drawing to a close. By the 1930s, Glasgow had an adequate supply of priests, and Archbishop Mackintosh in 1938 refused an application for a temporary appointment from Rev. C. Lawn of Waterford and Lismore. Additional priests were not required, "especially in view of the fact that Dumbarton has already one too many" and "a significant number of young priests [were] due in July 1938."<sup>45</sup> Examination of the ordination figures for various years also suggests that the previously urgent need for Irish clergy, whatever their terms of engagement, had declined, while vocations among individuals born within the Archdiocese increased. Consistently from the 1930s onwards, the majority of ordinations were provided from among the latter. In 1936, no fewer than eight of the eleven ordinations (73%) were of clergy born within the Archdiocese. Only two were Irish-born and trained, while one, Rev. John Haran, was from England. In subsequent decades, this pattern continued. Of the 12 individuals ordained in 1946, 8 (67%) were natives of the Archdiocese, one, Rev. Donald McKinnon was a Highlander, while three were Irish-born. In 1956, the Archdiocese, and one of its suffragans, Motherwell, drew most ordinands from within their own boundaries, though Paisley drew some from England. Of the seven priests ordained for the dioceses of the Western Province in 1966, all were Scots-born, while 1976 saw only one Irishman ordained, for service in the diocese of Motherwell.<sup>46</sup> As Bernard Canning rightly remarks "it was the end of an age."<sup>47</sup>

There can be little doubt that the influx of Irish-born clergy into the Archdiocese of Glasgow was considered, on the whole, to be mutually beneficial. Writing to the

Glasgow Archdiocesan Secretary, Canon John Ritchie, in 1910, Bishop Michael Fogarty of Killaloe stated his belief that the young priests of his diocese were "much improved by their work in Glasgow" and claimed there was "no diocese where [he] would so much desire them to get temporary work."<sup>48</sup> For the Archdiocesan authorities, this ready supply of Irish priests enabled one necessary condition for mission development to be fulfilled. By comparison, the contribution made by the regular clergy towards the increase in clerical numbers was relatively small. Moreover it was not spread evenly throughout the Province. By 1868, the Jesuit, Passionist and Franciscan Orders had communities within the city of Glasgow; while Lanarkshire had only one, the Vincentian house at Lanark. With the exception of the opening of a Jesuit house in Bothwell in 1917, and the Mill Hill Missionaries at Lochwinnoch in 1936, no new foundations were made until 1948 when the Mill Hill Missionaries established a community in Glasgow. Thereafter, the Redemptorists, Servites, Columban Fathers, and Carmelites, arrived in the Archdiocese, some as late as the 1970s. The new diocese of Motherwell saw an increase, both in terms of communities and individuals, with the coming of the Capuchins in 1949, the Xaverians in the 1950s, and the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1956, but only one new Order was introduced into Paisley diocese with the Montfort Fathers arrival in Barrhead in 1961.<sup>49</sup>

Eyre, during his long episcopate of thirty-three years, seems to have displayed a notable reluctance to invite religious orders, whether of priests or brothers, to enter either the Western District, or later the Archdiocese, for no such foundations were introduced during his period as Archbishop.<sup>50</sup> Given his efforts in promoting other areas of Catholic life, the contrast is striking, and it may perhaps be explained in whole, or in part, by the continued need for prudent management of the financial resources of the Archdiocese. As early as 1869, Alexander Munro had laid before the new Archbishop information regarding the burden of debt, which weighed so heavily upon some missions that they could not have supported a priest without help from the Bishop. And yet in several instances, including among the religious orders, great additions to the debt were being made. The Jesuits proposed to commence the building of a new church which, when completed, would leave them with a debt of



over £20,000. The Passionists were already in debt to about the same amount, while the plans proposed by the Franciscans would involve an even greater outlay. The Jesuits, it seems, were in a slightly different position from the other two Orders due to the fact that they were more likely to receive "assistance from abroad." More importantly, they would not "weaken the District by begging through it," while, by contrast, the Passionists and Franciscans had to "live upon the District."<sup>51</sup> Munro, at points, almost seems to be asking Eyre to overturn the very recent Franciscan foundation made in the Gorbals district, on the grounds that it deprived the surrounding missions, including Munro's own mission of St. Andrew's, of a proportion of their congregational income, and thereby could threaten their financial solvency.<sup>52</sup> Though Eyre clearly did not act upon Munro's implied suggestion with regard to the Franciscans, his later policy indicates that he probably subsequently accepted the logic of Munro's argument.

The arrival of the post-Reformation Franciscans marked a further link with Belgium, for, until 1887, the Glasgow foundation remained subject to a Belgian Provincial. In that year, it became part of the United Kingdom province with Rev. Antonine Scannell as first Guardian under the new regime. His Belgian predecessors however had contributed greatly to both the spiritual and material development of the mission. Father Bernard Schulte encouraged the efforts of the Legion of Mary, while Father Innocent Bulens was a talented organist and composer. An Englishman, Rev. George Dowling consolidated the Christian Doctrine Society. When Father Gomair was appointed Guardian in 1874, all efforts in the mission were directed towards replacing the temporary refectory church, with a new building, and the sum of £1500 had been raised and lodged in the City of Glasgow Bank by the time the bank failed in November 1877.<sup>53</sup> This setback however, seems to have been quickly overcome, for the new church was successfully completed barely four years later.

The building of not only churches, but also schools and presbyteries, to serve their missions also exercised the abilities of the Franciscans' colleagues among the secular clergy. Rev. John Scannell, originally on loan from Cloyne and later incardinated into the Archdiocese, "prepared the way for the erection of a church in Larkhall," while his

brother, Rev. Denis Scannell is credited with having built the church of Our Lady and St. Anne, at Cadzow, which was dedicated in 1931.<sup>54</sup> Their efforts, as with those of others, received high praise in the columns of the *Glasgow Observer*. On his death in 1907, Father John Scannell was described as "the ideal of an Irish priest" who demonstrated "to the fullest all the proud and pious traditions of his class and race."<sup>55</sup> Such fulsome tributes were also paid to some priests when they returned to Ireland at the end of their period of loan. When Rev. Timothy O'Shea left St. John's, Port Glasgow, in 1905, the newspaper recorded the dismay of the parishioners, especially of the children.<sup>56</sup>

Such comments, and demonstrations of emotion, only serve to underline the position which the priest came to occupy as the pivotal point in parish life. He assumed the leadership in the mission, and encouraged the various spiritual and parochial activities of his congregation. At occasions like Annual soirées, the parish priest, if it were possible for him to attend, was invariably Chairman of the gathering. Soirées featured prominently in Catholic life. Although primarily social gatherings, often held in conjunction with a concert, they were also events at which priests could raise money for parish causes. At the Sixth Annual soirée and Concert of the St. Mary's Sacred Heart Association in 1911 for example, Father Diamond, the senior curate, raised the question of building a new suite of schools in the parish, "schools which would be second to none in the Archdiocese, nor perhaps even to the schools under the Board, in equipment and efficiency."<sup>57</sup> In Dumbarton, the parish priest, Father Kelly, used a similar occasion, in 1911, to announce the forthcoming arrival in the town of the Sisters of Notre Dame to conduct a higher-grade school for Catholic girls;<sup>58</sup> while in St. Joseph's, Glasgow, social gatherings provided one means for raising money in aid of the new presbytery building fund.<sup>59</sup> The soirée could also be utilised by the clergy to promote social virtues such as temperance and sobriety, as at Wishaw,<sup>60</sup> where Father Van Hecke exhorted all parishioners to join the League of the Cross, a body initially established by Cardinal Manning in his diocese of Westminster in 1872.<sup>61</sup>



Manning set up the League in response to what he regarded as the continued evil of drink which, in spite of Father Matthew's earlier efforts, remained prevalent among the Irish poor. Perhaps even more importantly however, his belief that intemperance had its roots in poor living conditions, implied that improvement could only be brought about by the introduction of social reform as an aid to self-help. In Liverpool too, Father James Nugent, a strong advocate of the temperance cause, arrived at the same conclusion. It was suggested, for example, that shorter working hours, and improved wage-rates, might serve to promote the ideal of Christian family life.<sup>62</sup> Eyre was evidently attracted to the organisation, for he strongly supported its foundation in all the missions of his large Archdiocese. In 1887, a circular was sent to all the missionary rectors emphasising the Archbishop's belief that the promotion and conducting of temperance or total abstinence associations among the people would be greatly helped by more uniformity of action, and encouraging the clergy to establish the League in their mission. Mossend mission however, seems to have pre-empted the circular, for its branch was clearly functioning by December 1887, with a claimed membership of more than eighty, and a management committee of eleven.<sup>63</sup> A hall or room was provided in which the members could meet. This pattern was to be repeated in other missions, such as Our Holy Redeemer's, Clydebank. These rooms were open every evening for the members to read newspapers, and to play what were termed "ordinary domestic games."<sup>64</sup> Games of any kind however, were forbidden on a Sunday evening when the regular weekly meeting took place, and these meetings always began and ended with prayer. Members were also encouraged to attend the Sacraments.<sup>65</sup>

In May 1889, apparently in the belief that he would receive support from sufficient clergy, Eyre finally directed that the League of the Cross should operate throughout the Archdiocese, and three years later in a Pastoral Letter read at all Masses on Sunday, 20 March 1892, he reviewed its progress and made some suggestions for the future. He emphasised that total abstinence, though desirable, could not be imposed upon the people. Nonetheless, he asserted that everyone could and should practise "the virtue of temperance, closely allied as it is with honesty and purity."<sup>66</sup> Indeed, he went so far

as to say that a "man who even occasionally allows himself to be excited by drink cannot be trusted to fulfil his duties as a Christian."<sup>67</sup>

Eyre was therefore pleased to note that during the year 1891-92, the number of League branches had risen from eighty-eight to 128, sixty-four of these for men, forty for women, and twenty-four for children. The members who had "taken the pledge" to abstain from liquor, except when prescribed by a doctor, or permitted by a priest in time of sickness, had risen from 19,700 to 30,000.<sup>68</sup> It deserves emphasis though, that League members "took the pledge" rather than swearing an oath, for the pledge was only binding on them for as long as they chose to remain in the League. This feature combined with the permission to use drink for "medicinal purposes" effectively undermined the League's attempts to combat alcohol abuse. Even so Eyre continued to remain hopeful, particularly about the beneficial effects of children's branches. Many children had promised to abstain from intoxicating liquor until they reached the age of twenty-one, and he desired that they received support in this "good resolution" from the League.<sup>69</sup>

Success in abstaining from alcohol, and thus being "a good member" of the League, received various acknowledgements. On completing twelve months of uninterrupted good membership, each member would receive a certificate, while on the completion of two years a Badge could be awarded. At subsequent intervals of two years, Veterans' Clasps would be granted, and by 1901 the awards included both silver and gold medals, though very few ever received the latter.<sup>70</sup> Some missions performed spectacularly better than others - two, St. Francis, Glasgow, and St. Patrick's, Coatbridge achieved twenty-five gold medallists in 1901, while only five others, St. Anthony's, Govan; St. Aloysius', Garnethill; St. Patrick's, Anderston; St. Columbkille's, Rutherglen; and Cadzow, gained any gold medals in the same year. In the next grade, silver medals, St. Mary's, Pollokshaws, was far and away the most successful with 200 such medallists, while a further 250 received certificates. Alternatively, a handful of missions, such as Cleland, Whifflet, Duntocher and Milngavie could offer few successes beyond a number of claimed "good members" in



the men's branches. Such Lanarkshire and Dunbartonshire missions seem to have consistently recorded much poorer performances than their counterparts in the city and immediate suburbs of Glasgow; or in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire.<sup>71</sup> As Table 13 demonstrates, in virtually every category, with the exception of those admitted to the children's branches, the twenty-two missions in Glasgow District normally accounted for about half, and often considerably more, of the total returned; while the fifteen missions in the counties of Renfrewshire and Ayrshire frequently achieved greater relative success than those in Lanarkshire. When one considers that the number of missions with League branches in Lanarkshire equalled the figure for Glasgow District, and therefore exceeded that for Renfrewshire and Ayrshire combined, Lanarkshire's poor showing, in particular, is only further confirmed.

It seems therefore, that the League was least effective in promoting the cause of temperance among those communities which relied on mining, or on heavy industries, such as iron and steel, for their livelihood. Nevertheless, the examples of Cadzow, and St. Patrick's Coatbridge, the latter's success being in particularly marked contrast to the lack of achievement evident for the county in which it was situated, also suggest that the League depended greatly for such progress as it made, on the degree of support forthcoming from the local clergy. The comparatively good results achieved in St. Patrick's, Anderston, with fourteen gold medals awarded by 1901, may be attributed in part to the influence of the rector, Rev. Michael Condon.<sup>72</sup>

In spite of Eyre's initial hopes and expectations therefore, it seems clear that the League performed disappointingly in the matter of promoting long-term habits of temperance. By 1901, barely ten percent of the estimated Catholic community had even a nominally active involvement, and even within this group, very few followed the League programme with unswerving devotion. Less than one per cent would ever receive gold medals, a slightly higher proportion, barely four per cent, could expect to gain silver medals, while only six per cent would achieve even the lowest award of a certificate.<sup>73</sup> Even an apparent membership drive in 1900 had not produced any improvement in the perseverance rate, and the League lost during the early years of the twentieth century any importance it may have possessed. Some of the surviving

League registers, like those of St. Patrick's, Dumbarton,<sup>74</sup> had tapered off by 1924,<sup>75</sup> and, apart from occasional references in 1911, the League does not thereafter figure largely in the columns of the *Glasgow Observer*. By the mid-1920s therefore, the organisation may have ceased to function.

The League of the Cross may have failed partly as a result of competition from other Catholic organisations with similar interests, most notably the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart, a body whose Irish origins would commend it to many. Like the League, it operated by means of men's and women's branches, and their activities, usually reports of monthly meetings such as that at St. Paul's, Shettleston in January 1911, were duly reported in the columns of the *Observer*.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps more importantly however, the Catholic community was far from united on the issue of temperance, the more so as the licensing trade offered an important means of employment and advancement for Catholics since entry could be secured with very little capital. Church leaders also served to undermine their own case by the all too evident inconsistency of their actions, since publicans were a useful source of support for the church.<sup>77</sup>

Discontent also arose concerning the nature of the games rooms provided by the League, which were often located on church property. As early as 1903, bookmakers and others involved in gambling were forbidden to join the League in Glasgow, though a decade later, complaints could still be heard that, rather than reforming them from such habits, the church was instead teaching young men to gamble.<sup>78</sup>

Unlike the League of the Cross, Protestant temperance societies, like the Band of Hope, continued to exist during the inter-war years, a survival which Tom Gallagher suggests resulted from "their greater emphasis on moral reform rather than mere substitutes."<sup>79</sup> However, this conclusion may be less than fair to the League, which attempted to promote regular reception of communion among its members, while its rules stated quite clearly that the League was a religious, as well as a temperance, society. Members after joining were expected to "live as good practical Catholics."<sup>80</sup>



**Any individual absent from the monthly communion for three months or more was excluded from holding office in the society, or from voting in its elections.**

**Some idea of what constituted "a good practical Catholic" by the late-nineteenth century can be gleaned from the requirements, not only of the League, but of other Catholic societies. Regular attendance at Mass and the Sacraments, and at devotions including Benediction, was consistently promoted, and became an accepted ideal; while consideration of broader social concerns of interest to the Catholic community also featured. The activities of the Catholic Young Mens Society in Calton in the mid-1850s were noted in the previous chapter, but by means of weekly lectures, retreats, and study circles, it continued to promote the "religious, moral and social welfare of Catholic Young Men" into the twentieth century. The CYMS also organised regular pilgrimages to Lourdes in the 1930s,<sup>81</sup> at which time there were direct sailings from the Clyde via Dublin to the south of France. Pilgrimages, not only to Lourdes, but also to Iona, and to Walsingham in Norfolk, were also organised by the Knights of St. Columba.<sup>82</sup>**

**The Knights of St. Columba, uniquely among lay foundations, originated within the Archdiocese of Glasgow in 1919. A breakaway group from the Knights of St. Andrew, increasingly mistrustful of a body which they considered to be too closely modelled on the lines of the Masonic Order, resolved to create a new organisation which they hoped would be acceptable to the Catholic community, not only in Glasgow, but throughout Britain.<sup>83</sup> It drew its inspiration from the American Catholic order, the "Knights of St. Columbus" which had won wide recognition among the troops for its welfare work in France during the First World War. The ritual, and much of the constitutional framework, of the new society was also derived from the same source. The Knights emphasized that their order would not be solely religious in nature, but also "benevolent, social and educational."<sup>84</sup> They particularly hoped "to secure for their people the material benefits" of which they considered Catholics had been deprived either through national or religious prejudices.<sup>85</sup> The order spread quickly into England, with the first English council being established in Liverpool in**

1920; and an English Knight, Mr. Nicholas Blundell, Member of Parliament for Ormskirk, was instrumental in ensuring the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926, which removed the remaining Penal Laws against Catholics.<sup>86</sup>

The membership of individuals such as Blundell indicates that the new organisation was particularly attractive to the emergent Catholic middle and upper classes. Mr. W. J. Mooney, for example, became the first Catholic Mayor of Plymouth since the Reformation,<sup>87</sup> while among the earliest members in Glasgow itself were included D.J. Mitchel-Quin, editor of the *Glasgow Observer*, Edward Henry, a solicitor, and Con. H. Horgan, chairman of the Catholic Teachers' Federation and headmaster of St. Columba's school.<sup>88</sup> Such individuals were also to be found among the members of the Catholic Institute, founded in 1912, with the aim of promoting the religious, moral, intellectual and social interests of Catholics in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.<sup>89</sup> Archbishop Maguire greatly encouraged the foundation of the Institute by giving it his patronage. In its lectures, it promoted consideration of social and political issues. Fr. Stratton, S.J., offered a class on Social Study, and also undertook to look after, and develop, the library. Professor Phillimore of Glasgow University, a notable and influential convert, offered a lecture on the "Nemesis of the Reformation," while another lecture delivered tackled the subject of science and religion. Nor were social events ignored, and activities such as billiards, golf, concerts, and most of all the regular Whist Drives were always well patronised. Other Catholic bodies too found the Institute a useful meeting-place. The Central Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society met there, as did the Catholic Truth Society, which at one stage proposed to make the Institute their distribution centre for the West of Scotland. Perhaps more importantly, the Catholic Workers Educational League also used the Institute's premises in Cochrane Street as the base for its lecture programme. The League's programme for early 1923 included lectures by S.N. Miller of Glasgow University on the "Origins of Property;" and by Rev. P.J. Flood of Bridgeton on "The Early Church and Social Reform;" W.E. Brown lectured on "The Economic Conditions of the Middle Ages," while Father Traynor of St. Peter's College offered "The Problems of Modern Sociology." The course fee was three shillings.<sup>90</sup>



The motivation behind such activities is perhaps best summed up by Anthony Ross as the desire among the Catholic community "for peace, and the opportunity to get on in the world,"<sup>91</sup> albeit in a Catholic context. Similar sentiments were expressed by Father Kelly of St. Patrick's, Dumbarton in 1911. Speaking at the annual parish soiree, he claimed that although circumstances had made the Catholic community "hewers of wood and drawers of water...Almighty God never destined them to remain so any more than their neighbours."<sup>92</sup> Given the opportunities, Catholics "were quite as likely to be able to take their stand in the life of the country in which they lived, as those who had received all the benefits of the rates, and endless financial help."<sup>93</sup> The opportunities to which Father Kelly referred were those resulting from both elementary, but particularly post-elementary or "secondary," education, the provision of which is discussed in detail in the following chapter. His delight at the foundation of the higher-grade school for girls at Dumbarton can therefore be readily understood.<sup>94</sup> It is also important to note that, although the 1918 Education Act undoubtedly gave a spur to the upward social mobility of the Catholic community by gradually providing that greater equality of opportunity which Kelly so desired, it did not of itself begin the process. The membership list of the Council and Executive of the Catholic Institute in 1914, perhaps even more than that for the later Knights of St. Columba, reads like a Catholic Who's Who of the most successful individuals within the Catholic community in west central Scotland. Excluding the nine clerics among the forty-seven Council and Executive members, one, Phillimore, was a University Professor, at least four, and very probably more, were lawyers, while no fewer than nine were Justices of the Peace. Their numbers also included one army captain (Captain A. Stirling), and one Doctor (Thomas Colvin).<sup>95</sup> Colvin was also a regular contributor to the columns of the *Glasgow Observer* offering guidance to the Catholic community on matters such as the likely impact of the National Insurance Act of 1911.<sup>96</sup>

Nevertheless, it appears that, particularly in the first three decades of the twentieth century, such Catholic social and professional success remained a relatively rare occurrence. This perhaps accounts for the *Observer's* evident interest in Catholic

achievements. In February 1913, the creation of a new legal firm was noted, the principals being Thomas O'Hare, and James P. Lyons. O'Hare was the younger son of ex-Baillie O'Hare MP, while Lyons was one of the younger sons of Mr. John Lyons of Pollokshaws, headmaster of Our Lady and St. Margaret's, Kinning Park.<sup>97</sup> In 1914, Miss Mary O'Donnell of Maryhill was appointed a Glasgow magistrate, and was the second Catholic woman to be appointed to that position, Mrs. Lindsay O'Connor being the first. Her task was to deal with any Catholic children who came before the courts. A Donegal lady, Miss O'Donnell had lived in Glasgow for about twelve years, and for four years she had worked as Lady Officer with the Catholic Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. Later in the same year, other appointments of new Catholic magistrates and Justices of the Peace were recorded;<sup>98</sup> while in 1926, it was reported that Charles J. Maley, son of Mr. William Maley J.P., and manager of Celtic Football Club., had qualified as an accountant and auditor. One very successful family was that of Mrs. J. P. O'Brien, whose obituary recorded that her five sons included two doctors, two dentists, and a veterinary surgeon, while one daughter had married a Dr. Lavery.<sup>99</sup>

Census evidence, where available, reinforces the belief that upward social mobility was likely to be a very slow process for the majority of Catholics. By 1911, Irish-born men and women formed 6% and 2.6% respectively of the total occupied male and female population in Scotland. In terms of actual numbers employed, Irish-born males were occupied principally in the manufacture of iron and metals (24,813), followed by mining (11,909). Thereafter, the other principal occupations were as general labourers (6,019); in the building trades (4,963); road transport (3,492); agriculture (3,232); railway service (3,071); docks (2,985); and Local Government Service, including gaswork and sanitary services (2,924). However, when one considers what percentage they formed of the occupations in which they were placed, a somewhat different priority emerges. Navvies appear as the dominant occupational group, with Irish-born males accounting for 37.7% of that workforce. Dock workers comprised the second group accounting for 20%, followed by general labourers (17.6%), Local Government Service (including gaswork and sanitary service) 13.5%, iron and metal manufacture (10.1%), and mining (7.6%). In these occupations and in



those connected with transportation, the Irish-born were over-represented, both in relation to the Scottish population as a whole, and to males born in England and Wales.<sup>100</sup> The latter also tended to concentrate in relative excess in the very categories where Irish males were under-represented. Thus, those of English and Welsh birth were more likely to be found in the Civil Service, including the Post Office; in occupations connected with indoor and outdoor domestic service including work in hotels and public houses, and in board and lodging houses; and in commercial occupations such as accountancy and insurance, and as merchants, agents and clerks. In the professions of law and medicine too, English and Welsh migrants were relatively more successful than their Irish counterparts. They enjoyed similar success in the clerical profession, and in the merchant service and shipping, though in the former category the Irish-born too exceeded the Scottish average, and in the latter came close to it. Irish males were also well-represented in the building trades.

Among females, occupational preferences were less clear-cut. Numerically, the largest number of Irish-born women were engaged in domestic service (5604), in textile manufacture (2794), and in the making and selling of clothing (1923). As with the men however, an altered order of importance emerges when one considers female representation in percentage terms. In the clerical profession, 13.9% of the total workforce was Irish-born; among the medical services the figure was 3.5%, while for the teaching profession, and those in domestic service, the figures were 3.22% and 3.17% respectively. In these categories, Irish female migrants, as with their English and Welsh counterparts, were over-represented in terms of the Scottish population as a whole. Only in the Civil and Post Office Services, in occupations connected with art, music and drama, and in commerce, were the Irish under-represented in comparison with both the Scottish population and the English and Welsh migrants. However, the latter did have a greater representation than the Irish in every occupational category, with the exceptions of textile manufacture and agriculture.

As the majority of Irish migrants settled in west central Scotland, it comes as no surprise to find that in this area they accounted for an even larger section of the labour force. In Glasgow city, those of Irish birth represented 10.3% of occupied males, and

5.3% of females, while in Dunbartonshire the figures were 12.1% and 4.46% respectively. In Lanarkshire, Irishmen comprised 11.2% of the male workforce, and 5% of the female, while in Renfrewshire the percentages were 10.5% and 4.7%. Only in Ayrshire were the Irish-born of both sexes, at 5.2% and 2% respectively, under-represented in comparison with their peers in Scotland as a whole.

In terms of occupational choice however, west central Scotland tended to conform to the national pattern,<sup>101</sup> with Irishmen being over-represented in the docks, in the railway service, and among general labourers. Indeed, the degree of over-representation could sometimes be markedly in excess of that for Scotland nationally. In Glasgow for example, Irish males accounted for 39.3% of the dock and harbour labour force, while in Dunbartonshire the figure was 51.7%. In the same county, 41% of the general labourers were Irish-born, while in both Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire they represented 19.6%. Even within occupations, the Irish tended to remain in the lower echelons. For example, in Local Government Service, they were most likely to be employed in the provision of sanitation, which included scavenging; while on the railways, throughout the west of Scotland, their greatest representation occurred among the platelayers and gangers. In Glasgow, they accounted for 67%, and in Lanarkshire for 60% of this group; a group from which the English and Welsh migrants were notably absent, the comparative percentages being 1.8% and 1.4% respectively. In trades connected with engineering and machine-making, Irish males could most often be found among the ironfounders and labourers; and as they outnumbered those of English and Welsh birth throughout the industry, it is probably indicative that only among the erectors, fitters, turners and patternmakers, did the latter exceed the Irish representation. Even among the professions, such as law, where penetration by the Irish-born was minimal, they were more likely to be employed as legal clerks, rather than as advocates and solicitors.<sup>102</sup>

By 1911 therefore, Irish-born males continued to be concentrated in unskilled, or low-skilled occupations, and were at a relative disadvantage in comparison with the Scottish population as a whole, and with other migrants from the British Isles. For Irish females, the position was similar. Even within the Civil and Post Office



Services, where they were already under-represented, Irish women were least likely to be employed as officers, clerks and telegraphists, but to have a greater representation among the "messengers and others." In the west of Scotland too, they were particularly over-represented among domestic indoor servants. However, in the teaching profession, Irish-born females performed almost as well, and in Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire better, than those of English and Welsh-birth.<sup>103</sup>

However, the occupational data is subject to certain limitations. It enumerates those of Irish birth, irrespective of religion, and a specifically Catholic occupational profile cannot be isolated for these twentieth-century migrants. In addition, and perhaps even more important in the context of the social development of the Catholic community, is the fact that the 1911 census includes the descendants of previous Irish migrants within the totals for the Scots-born population. It therefore does not represent the sum of changes over a period of time. Nevertheless, the census evidence does indicate that, as in the nineteenth century, the Irish migrant continued to remain at a relative disadvantage. The persistence of this situation, when coupled with the lack of provision, particularly for secondary education, among the Catholic community, would suggest that the 1911 occupational profile for the Irish-born might reasonably approximate to that for the Catholic community.

Given the opinions of individuals, such as Father Kelly, on the desirability of education, and secondary education in particular, it is probably not coincidental that, for females, the teaching profession offered the most effective route for upward mobility. Such effectiveness continued to increase in the aftermath of the 1918 Act with the development of Catholic secondary education, and also as a result of attempts among Scottish educationalists to make teaching an all-graduate profession. It is possible that by the 1930s, most Catholic female university students intended to pursue teaching as a career. It was initially hoped that some indication of Catholic occupational and social mobility, for both males and females, might be obtained by tracing any changes in the number of Catholic students, but the necessary quantitative evidence did not exist.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, other sources suggest that by 1930, almost 500 Catholic students were studying at Glasgow University, a marked improvement

from the situation obtaining half a century previously, when they numbered only six, five studying medicine, and one studying law.<sup>105</sup> A chaplaincy had been opened in 1925, with William Eric Brown, a convert and former Glasgow history lecturer, as chaplain, and by the 1930s, Catholic societies for men and women were functioning with the aim of encouraging religious and intellectual discussion among, and organising social gatherings for, Catholic students. Regular religious services were held, while study circles and public lectures were promoted. A Catholic Students' Sodality also met in St. Aloysius', Garnethill, and "catered for all students whether...at the University or technical institutions."<sup>106</sup> On graduation, contact with the church could be maintained and developed through membership of professional guilds which had become an important feature of Catholic life. The Guild of SS. Luke, Cosmos and Damien, for Catholic Doctors, established in 1910 constituted "a brotherhood of all Catholic members of the medical profession, of both sexes, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Empire." It offered to practitioners what it termed "mutual assistance in their religious and professional life," and promoted the study of medico-religious questions both between the different branches of the medical profession, and between doctors and clergy. Medical theory and practice were considered in relation to Catholic theology and philosophy, while "the principles of Catholic faith and morality" would be "upheld...against an un-Christian and unscientific materialism." Assistance, where possible, would also be rendered by members to Catholic medical institutions.<sup>107</sup> One instance of the Guild's principles in practice found expression in the columns of the *Glasgow Observer* of 24 January 1931, when it was reported that the Catholic doctors of the Guild had condemned the practice of birth control. Nurses and pharmacists had their own guilds, while Catholics in business tended to join the Knights of St. Columba or the Catenians. The latter also embraced a Children's Fund which secured to the children of a deceased Catenian the education which the father would have provided had he lived, and thus assured them of an "appropriate start in life."<sup>108</sup> For teachers, the Guild of St. John Bosco, established in the 1930s, attempted "to promote and preserve the religious spirit in teaching." Revision of the syllabus for religious instruction was undertaken, as was the inspection of history textbooks in use in schools.<sup>109</sup> The Glasgow Guild also took a special interest in the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Children's Home at



Langbank, raising subscriptions for its support from Guild members. This Guild however, was not the first organised association for Catholic teachers, for Archbishop Maguire (1902-20), had been patron of an earlier body.<sup>110</sup>

Though the guild movement had first appeared among the emerging Catholic middle-class, the efforts of Franciscans, and Jesuits like Rev. William d'Andria, saw it spread from the 1930s onwards to manual workers. D'Andria himself was instrumental in establishing the Transport Workers Guild in 1931,<sup>111</sup> while attempts were made about the middle of the decade to set up a Catholic Post Office Workers Guild. Subsequently, railwaymen, police, miners, telecommunication workers, and Catholic social workers became involved in the guild movement. This increased activity occurred in response to a Papal call for vocational training for those involved in Catholic Action, and the movement was sufficiently advanced by the late 1930s to earn Archbishop Mackintosh considerable praise from the Roman authorities, particularly as his Archdiocese had achieved more success than any other in this sphere.<sup>112</sup>

Catholic Action was, in the words of Pope Pius XI,

"the participation of the laity in the hierarchic apostolate, for the defence of religious and moral principles, for the development of a wholesome and beneficent social action, under the guidance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, outside and above political parties, with [the] intention of restoring Catholic life in the family and in society".<sup>113</sup>

It therefore tended not to be innovative, and would defer to clerical authority. Though the existence of the guild movement offered an alternative point of view to the Catholic worker, guilds were never in a position to supplant trade unions.<sup>114</sup> At most, they simply provided the church with a limited input into the secular, working, life of Catholics, at a time when some effort appeared increasingly necessary to counteract what were perceived as the twin evils of Socialism and Communism. Such fears found expression in the columns of the *Observer* where correspondents discussed matters such as "how to counteract Bolshevism,"<sup>115</sup> while an article by Rev. P. J. Flood attacked Socialism, not only as a political theory and an ideal, but also criticised

what it termed "The Jewish Origin of Socialism" in the person of Karl Marx.<sup>116</sup> The Catholic Union too, opposed both socialist and communist ideology, and during most of 1937, this led to a bitter exchange between the Union's Secretary, John Campbell, and the Labour MP for Shettleston, John McGovern. The dispute arose principally through McGovern's accusation that Archbishop Mackintosh had ordered collections to be taken up in all the churches of the Archdiocese to be used to further the Francoist cause in the Spanish Civil War, and also through his assertion that the Catholic clergy were politically biased against the Independent Labour Party. His opinions were challenged, not only by Campbell, but also from the pulpit of his own parish church, St. Michael's, Parkhead.<sup>117</sup> McGovern continued to protest about what he regarded as the political domination of Catholic voters, insisting that religion and politics should be kept separate. In his view, "no sectarian body should keep an organisation, [the Catholic Union] for the purpose of driving their adherents into a voting pen like sheep being driven into a field."<sup>118</sup>

McGovern's opposition is significant for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is that it presents a very different image of the Catholic community from that portrayed by Catholic Action. That community, faced with the social and political problems of the mid-twentieth century contained within it a variety of opinions as to the means of their solution. Some Catholic students at Glasgow University embraced the theory of Distributism, promoted by writers such as Belloc and Chesterton, which held that personal freedom could only be safeguarded by widespread personal ownership of property. Industrial society, and the urban living to which it gave rise, were viewed as an evil which could only be remedied by a return to small-scale enterprises.<sup>119</sup> Among those influenced by such ideas was Dr. John McQuillan, a lecturer at St. Peter's College, who encouraged a movement back to rural life by establishing a land colony in Lanarkshire, based at Broadfield Farm, Symington. This community, with the support of Archbishop Mackintosh, remained in existence for approximately seven years, from 1931-38, and publications such as *Land for the People*, the quarterly journal of the Scottish Land Association, presented McQuillan's ideas to a wider public.<sup>120</sup> Even after McQuillan's own poor health brought about his departure in 1936, the project still continued, with a successor Rev. John Crerand being appointed.



However, Crerand's premature death in 1936 led to the viability of the whole undertaking being reconsidered, and the decision was subsequently taken to wind up the farm. The closure must have proved a disappointment for McQuillan, the more so as the "Back to the Land" movement had spread into England during the 1930s, while within the Archdiocese itself, a second community at Bonnaughton Farm, Bearsden had been established.<sup>121</sup>

The views of influential writers such as Hilaire Belloc could be disseminated among the Catholic community through the efforts of the Catholic Truth Society for Scotland. It aimed to "assist Catholics to a better knowledge and practice of their faith, and to afford and multiply for non-Catholics opportunities of learning the truth about Catholic Faith and Practice."<sup>122</sup> It did so principally by making provision for the sale and distribution of Catholic books and pamphlets. Gradually, every Scottish diocese had a CTSS branch, governed by a local Diocesan Council, with that in Glasgow having been in operation as early as 1905. The Society's early beginnings within the Archdiocese were not, however, particularly auspicious, for at the Annual General Meeting in 1907, Father Crofton, S.J., presided "over a very meagre attendance."<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, by 1933, a shop was functioning, and was deemed capable in that year of operating as a separate entity, under the guidance of the Shop Management Committee who would determine the pricing and purchasing policy. A branch shop was later established in Greenock, and books and pamphlets for both obtained, either from the CTS in England, or from agencies overseas. In one year, more than a quarter of a million pamphlets were sold in Glasgow alone.<sup>124</sup> Though such a level of sales may at first sight appear satisfactory, the Society itself expressed the view that people were "failing to buy pamphlets." Of particular concern was the performance of the parishes, with only six being said to have done "extraordinarily well."<sup>125</sup> It was therefore suggested that every parish should have a stall for the sale of pamphlets and books.

The effectiveness of the CTSS was therefore partly dependent, as with other Catholic societies, on the degree of support forthcoming from the parish clergy. Some priests, including Father Stack, and Father Mullin who exerted considerable influence in the

educational debate surrounding the 1918 Act, took a great interest in the work of the Society. Rev. John McQuillan served as a Council member, while Father (later Bishop) James Ward was particularly keen that some provision be made for children. A scheme for a Junior Branch dedicated to St. John Bosco was considered in 1939, but may not have been adopted, as Father Ward continued to appeal for "something for children" in the following year.<sup>126</sup> Successive Archbishops and Bishops also offered support, sometimes directly as in the case of Bishop Henry Grey Graham, or indirectly through the appointment of a Diocesan Visitor for the Society. Rev. P. Bonnyman, St. Paul's, Whiteinch, was appointed to this post in 1939; while Monsignor William Daly served as Chairman of the Archdiocesan Council in 1941; in addition to his other duties as Diocesan Secretary.<sup>127</sup> The Society itself attempted to promote enthusiasm for its work by organising an Annual Rally for its subscribers/members, and by maintaining close relations with other Catholic bodies. Thus when the Joint Council of the Catholic Social Guild and the Catholic Workers' Guild issued tickets for a Workers' Charter [*Rerum Novarum*] Rally in 1946, the CTS bookshop was prepared to help with their distribution.<sup>128</sup>

By the mid-twentieth century however, as McGovern's experience suggests, Catholics were increasingly obtaining their view of the world, and of their role within it, from sources outwith the Church. Indeed, external influences had always intruded to some degree in forming Catholic opinion, perhaps the most notable instance being that of Ireland. When the *Glasgow Observer* commenced publication in 1885 it aimed to provide not only a Catholic, but an "Irish National" newspaper, which was "animated by the conviction that the fulfilment of the programme of the Irish Parliamentary Party is the only scheme which can accomplish the destinies of the Irish race."<sup>129</sup> As a result, the paper strongly supported Home Government for Ireland, and extensively reported the activities of agencies such as the Irish National League. The *Observer* did however seek to reassure the Scots as to its intentions by suggesting that its support for the Irish cause was beneficial to campaigns for reform, including the crofters' agitation, which were prominent in the 1880s.<sup>130</sup> The same decade also saw the growth of Scottish nationalism, which found support among many Scottish aristocratic members of parliament, such as the Earl of Rosebery, and the Dukes of



Argyll and Fife, and from the Convention of Royal Burghs. The creation, as a result of such pressure, of a Scottish Office, represented in the Cabinet by a Scottish Secretary, enabled the *Observer* to argue "that self-government for Scotland will shortly be within the range of practical politics,"<sup>131</sup> and that Scots and Irish therefore had a mutual interest in promoting the cause of Home Rule. Perhaps even more important in this context however, is the fact that though some Catholic clergy, particularly those of Irish origin such as Michael Condon and James Danaher supported the Home Rule movement, they were not its automatic leaders. League meetings, such as that of the Glasgow Home Government Branch, the Northern Branch or the William O'Brien Branch in Johnstone, were chaired by laymen, in spite of the fact that the League, as with the Catholic Union, was organised on a parish basis. In addition, an Ulster Protestant, John Ferguson, was among the most influential individuals in the Home Rule movement.<sup>132</sup>

The Irish question therefore had the potential to represent an alternative loyalty for politically interested Catholics. In England, the Home Rule issue created divisions within the Catholic community, with John Redmond, then the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, attacking his co-religionists in 1910 for what he regarded as their "opposition to the cause of Irish freedom,"<sup>133</sup> as reflected in their increasing support for the Conservative Party. In Scotland however, and particularly within the Archdiocese, an informal understanding between the Irish National League and the Catholic Union, whereby the former contested local and parliamentary elections whereas those for the school board were the responsibility of the latter, helped to avoid such public disagreements. However, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which described itself as "a Society of Catholic Irishmen" did incur ecclesiastical disapproval. In spite of its assertion in 1889 that the Order's main object was "to promote the temporal interests of its individual members,"<sup>134</sup> and to act effectively as an insurance society, the Hibernians were proscribed, both within the Archdiocese, and in Scotland as a whole. It was believed that it represented simply a revival of "Ribbonism," which under the guise of St. Patrick's Hibernian Society, the St. Patrick's Fraternal Society, the "Holy Maguires", and the Ribbon Society itself, had earlier been condemned in 1882 by an Archdiocesan Commission. The secret nature

of such societies, and the oath administered to members, were mistrusted; and doubts were expressed concerning their ecclesiastical and political loyalty for "although the Societies do not profess hostility" to either authority, the members "are under obligation...to carry out orders, even if against both Church and State."<sup>135</sup> Only in 1909, "in view of recent statements, and in view of the reformation of the rules," was the Ancient Order of Hibernians permitted to function in the six Scottish dioceses and even then the Holy Office exhorted the Bishops "to keep a vigilant watch" on the Society's activities.<sup>136</sup>

Catholic leaders therefore tended to approach the issue of Irish nationalism with a degree of caution. They could exercise little control over the Home Rule movement as a whole as it was not confined to the Church, but their actions over the Hibernians suggests a preference for societies, pressure groups, and indeed organised parties, who were prepared to achieve their objectives through the operation of the political system. The efforts of the Irish Parliamentary Party during the passage of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 is a case in point. Catholic attitudes appeared to have changed little from the desire expressed by Bishop Hay in the eighteenth century, that Catholics should be regarded not only as good Catholics but good citizens as well, whose patriotism was not in doubt. Nevertheless, Irish political pressure could, on occasion, prove beneficial to Catholic interests. The apparent contradictions to which this dual approach could continue to give rise are well-illustrated in the columns of the *Observer*. Thus, while in April 1915, the paper could still report the "rousing address" on Irish loyalty delivered in Glasgow by Mr. John Dillon, MP; later in the same year it also supported Archbishop Maguire's appeal for recruits to volunteer for service in the armed forces.<sup>137</sup> Only Lloyd George's attempt to introduce conscription to Ireland and the response of his government to the Easter Rising of 1916, coupled with the influence of its owner, Charles Diamond, later undermined the paper's hitherto willing support for the war effort.<sup>138</sup>

Maguire's appeal, issued in the form of a Pastoral Letter read in all the Churches of the Archdiocese, also evoked a favourable response from Father Gerald Stack, missionary



rector of St. Bride's, Cambuslang.<sup>139</sup> In July 1915, when the Pastoral was issued, the city of Glasgow and its immediate neighbourhood had been requested by the recruiting authorities to raise 300,000 men. Stack, estimating that Catholics constituted about one-fifth of the population in the specified area, suggested to both Archbishop Maguire, and his coadjutor Archbishop Mackintosh, that the Catholic community should be able to provide upwards of 15,000 of the required total. Such a willing response on the part of the Catholic community he believed, would not go unnoticed, and might, indirectly, prove to have a "very considerable" effect upon the settlement of the "School Question." However, Father Stack did not desire that these Catholic volunteers should be absorbed into existing Scottish regiments. Instead he proposed the creation of at least two predominantly Catholic battalions, in which the men would be assured of being amply provided with chaplains. Such regiments would offer Catholic volunteers an alternative choice from some of the Scottish regiments such as the Black Watch, the Gordon, and the Seaforth, Highlanders, though Stack, probably naively, also asserted "that a great number of our young men are hanging back, simply because they do not want to be absorbed into some existing, and probably Protestant Regiment."<sup>140</sup> By 1915, reports in the *Observer* on Catholic casualties at the battle of Ypres, and on the occurrence of what was termed "the deadly tetanus" at the Front,<sup>141</sup> had reflected, perhaps unintentionally, the inglorious nature of war, an image which possibly acted as a greater disincentive to voluntary recruitment.

Father Stack may have based his idea of raising army battalions from among the Catholics of the Archdiocese on the example of James Dalrymple, manager of Glasgow Corporation Tramways, who raised a whole Highland Light Infantry battalion from Tramway Office staff alone.<sup>142</sup> Though his proposal was not acted upon, it was in conformity with the clear support of Catholic leaders for the war effort, though a few discordant opinions were expressed in the columns of the *Glasgow Herald*. For Stack, however, such individuals abused "the honoured name of 'Catholic'," and he was concerned that due to these "unworthy attacks upon Archbishop Maguire, some very false conclusions might be drawn, at least by outsiders."<sup>143</sup>

Catholic Conscientious Objectors, such as Mr. John Boylan of Glasgow, received short shrift in the editorial columns of the *Observer* which asserted that he should accept the teaching authority of the Church as represented by Archbishop Maguire.<sup>144</sup> In offering such unequivocal support for the war effort, the public leaders of the Catholic community were at one with the mainstream of public opinion, for in Britain as a whole protests against the war were few. The invasion of Belgium had led to the collapse of the Liberal pacifist movement, with the majority of the Liberal Party, the Conservatives, newspapers, and other churches, being pro-war. Opposition was largely confined to some on the socialist left, though even here opinion was divided with *Forward* the main journal reflecting the split within the Labour Party, and to a few individual Liberals and United Free Church ministers.<sup>145</sup> Sympathy for Belgium, and for Belgian refugees, also motivated many of Archbishop Maguire's actions, and a few months before his death his efforts on their behalf were recognised by the Belgian Government.

Church support for the war effort also found practical expression by means of collections taken up in the missions of the Archdiocese. In October 1915, the Diocesan Secretary, Monsignor John Ritchie, sent the sum of £715.14.1 to the Scottish Branch of the Red Cross Society for the purpose of providing a motor ambulance launch for the Dardanelles (£600), two hospital beds (£50 each), and a dinner wagon (£12). With Maguire's, and subject to the Society's, approval, Ritchie requested that these items be named "Archdiocese of Glasgow."<sup>146</sup> However, this apparently uncritical support could be tempered with dismay when the progress of the war effort appeared to be detrimental to Catholic interests. In November 1915, the provision made to allow teachers to enlist caused Ritchie to write to Sir John Struthers, permanent secretary of the Scottish Education Department complaining that this could "seriously endanger the educational efficiency of the schools."<sup>147</sup> Catholic schools were not over-staffed, and could ill-afford to lose any teachers. However, the only suggestion which Struthers could offer in response was that any teacher who desired to offer himself for military service should be advised to enrol himself in Section B, Army Reserve, as such call-ups would not be immediate, and cases could be reviewed at a later date.<sup>148</sup> The Sisters of Charity, who ran Smyllum Orphanage,



approached Archbishop Maguire asking him to support an application for exemption from military service for their engineer, Joseph Duddy;<sup>149</sup> while Cardinal Bourne succeeded in obtaining the right to claim exemption from local Appeal Tribunals for clerical students who had entered upon the study of philosophy. In the case of religious however, where there was an interval between their study of philosophy and theology, only those who had begun to study the latter were advised to claim exemption.<sup>150</sup> Appeals against the application of the Aliens Order to clergy of German birth were however unsuccessful, with some, like Gisbert Hartmann, being repatriated.

War-time conditions, meant that difficulties also occurred in making religious provision for the armed services, including for wounded soldiers who had been hospitalized at home. Rev. Emile de Backer informed the Archbishop that no Mass was celebrated in Bellahouston Hospital for the soldiers and nurses,<sup>151</sup> though some provision had been made at others, such as Stobhill, by the creation of local military chaplaincies.<sup>152</sup> Troops on War Munitions guard duty also faced problems in attending Mass. However, the problem of supplying sufficient Catholic chaplains at the Front was even more acute. In 1916, Cardinal Bourne stated that there were "still many vacancies, particularly in France to be filled up," and he was therefore grateful to receive the nominations of three Glasgow priests, Rev. Bartholomew Flynn (Alexandria), John McIlwaine (St. Andrew's Cathedral), and Joseph Doherty (St. Luke's) to act as chaplains.<sup>153</sup> Rev. Stephen Thornton, a Glasgow priest who had served in this capacity since October 1915 also appealed for more chaplains, although he cautioned the Archbishop to follow the example of the Church of England, and insist that such clergy were given contracts of engagement.<sup>154</sup> Others from Glasgow, among them Revv. Octavius Claeys and George Galbraith, also served as chaplains, though the diocese was unwilling to release all who offered their services. In October 1916 alone, for example, seventeen priests had volunteered.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, where possible, the Archbishop was willing to accommodate such requests. An Irish priest on loan, James O'Connor, then serving in Kirkintilloch, resigned to serve as chaplain to the Munster Fusiliers, and was released from the normally obligatory one month's notice.<sup>156</sup> Even after the Armistice had been signed, the need for chaplains did not

immediately lessen, as demobilization of the army took some time to effect. As the number of Catholic chaplains remained inadequate their release was relatively slow, with priority given to those who were specially and urgently needed by their Bishops. Among those given early release was Octavius Claeys, who on his arrival at St. Peter's College, delivered a retreat to returning clerical students. Such retreats, the holding of which was specifically directed by the Roman authorities, were intended to counteract the brutalising effects of war.<sup>157</sup>

Although Church support for the war effort might suggest that by the second decade of the twentieth century the Catholic community was becoming integrated into Scottish society, the *Observer's* sensitivity over Irish conscription, and Stack's suggestion of exclusively Catholic regiments, demonstrate the limits which could be applied to this process. In addition, though the Irish settlement of 1921-22 should have removed one potential source of misunderstanding among Catholics and their neighbours, the industrial depression which followed the war, bringing in its wake increasing competition in the labour market, renewed old discords. For Catholics seeking employment, this was the era of such questions as "what school did you go to?" and "who was your Sunday school teacher?"<sup>158</sup> The educational settlement embodied in the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 gave rise to complaints of "Rome on the rates," with the Scottish Reformation Society complaining of what it regarded as "the manifest aggressive policy of Romanism in the educational sphere."<sup>159</sup> The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland expressed continued concern over Irish immigration which it felt was "lowering the character of the Scottish people,"<sup>160</sup> and as late as 1938 the Church and Nation Committee declared "the elementary right of a nation to control and select its immigrants,"<sup>161</sup> and called the attention of the Government to the problem of unregulated immigration to Scotland from the predominantly Catholic Irish Free State. In Edinburgh, in 1935, anti-Catholic feeling became even more evident, with disturbances occurring in opposition to the holding of a Eucharistic Congress in the city.

The continuance of such antipathy towards the Catholic community probably contributed to what John Cooney has described as the "ghetto" mentality,<sup>162</sup> with the



Catholic community turning inwards on itself. However, such an attitude could also be self-imposed, with clergy campaigning against what were believed to be unwelcome influences such as the cinema, while in 1910, the Glasgow Chapter had attempted to curtail dances on church premises.<sup>163</sup> Similarly, Stack's proposal of Catholic battalions within the British Army lends support to the belief that Catholic leaders remained anxious to maintain the separate identity of their community, not only against what were regarded as the errors of Protestantism and the perceived threat of proselytism, but also in the face of the secularization of society as a whole. In most major areas of life, including education and social welfare, the Catholic community established provision which paralleled that available to their non-Catholic counterparts, in response to such fears.<sup>164</sup>

Professor Phillimore's hope therefore that the mutual sufferings occasioned by the war would lead to a complete, and beneficial, change in Scottish attitudes towards Catholics was not realised. Even though the *Glasgow Herald* as early as 1929 had refuted most of the Protestant misgivings,<sup>165</sup> long-term improvement in community relations was only sustained in the aftermath of the Second World War, when continued employment opportunities, in combination with social and political change, served to undermine the causes of former bitterness. Such a process was also assisted by perceptible changes within the Catholic community itself. In 1947, the *Observer*, which had begun publication as an avowedly Irish paper, carried an article by Patrick Seton, which was scathingly critical of "Scots who want to be Irish," and clearly stated that the Irish immigrants and their descendants "were now Scots and should get on with the job of being Scots."<sup>166</sup> Such an opinion echoed the desire of a correspondent to the *Glasgow Herald* as early as 1926, that all those in Scotland should co-operate for the benefit of the country as a whole.<sup>167</sup> However, Catholic leaders then, and now, would have disagreed that full co-operation of necessity implied the dismantling of the denominational system of education established by the 1918 Act.

In the 1930s, the existence of the Catholic school, supported by the home and parish, coupled with the development of Catholic Action, presented an impressive outward

image of unity. The authority of both bishop and priest was established and apparently accepted, and it was possible to regard the few public critics as being unrepresentative of the Catholic community. In 1939 however, Dr. McQuillan sounded a warning against such complacency by stating that there was a "leak in Peter's barque,"<sup>168</sup> and that people were falling out of it. Leakage as a phenomenon was not new, and had long been recognised as a problem in England. In 1885, a Catholic layman, Edward Lucas, estimated that about a million Catholics had fallen away from the faith since 1841.<sup>169</sup> The perception that the spiritual progress of the faith was satisfactory, had concealed the fact that leakage was vast. However, by the 1880s, the English clergy too, accepted that non-practise of their religion among the Catholic Irish was the central issue for concern; though some comfort could be taken from the fact that levels of practice in northern England, at about 40%-60% of the Catholic population, were an apparent improvement on those for the first quarter of the century.<sup>170</sup> In London, however, the figure settled at around 30% of the community.<sup>171</sup> In Scotland, apart from commentators like Condon,<sup>172</sup> there seems to have been little awareness or acceptance of the problem expressed, though the continued fear of proselytism may provide indirect evidence that such concern did exist.

It is however, impossible to discuss the issue of leakage in any detail, without further comment on the availability and reliability of quantitative evidence. In May 1878, Archbishop Eyre published a small pamphlet entitled *The Catholic Church in Scotland*. The aim of this publication was to present a portrait of the arrangements and statistics of the Church in Scotland prior to the establishment of a diocesan hierarchy. Its two sections - for 1877 and 1878 - were both incomplete, since each lacked full information about the north of Scotland either under its old name of the Northern District or its new one of the diocese of Aberdeen.

For his own Archdiocese however, Eyre was able to offer more detailed statistics. From the Annual Returns submitted by every missionary rector, he obtained baptismal and population figures, and these, together with Eyre's own population estimates, are presented in Table 14. It should be noted that the baptismal totals for each mission include those of the children of mixed marriages. In a footnote, Eyre indicated that he



calculated the estimated population in each mission by multiplying the number of baptisms by a factor of 18 only. He went on to assert that this multiplier was too low a factor for Catholic baptisms. Unfortunately, he does not offer any explanation as to why it was too low, or why, given his misgivings, he continued to use it as an important element in his tables. His choice seems even more strange in the light of his consultations with the Registrar-General for Scotland, whose advice was to take the general factor of the country, which then, with three and a half births to every hundred of the population was one to every 28.6. Eyre was evidently not convinced, although he conceded that 28.6 might be the most accurate factor for multiplying Catholic baptisms in order to obtain a reliable population estimate for each mission. However, he preferred to suggest that a factor of 22 might be the correct figure, although again he offers no evidence or explanation in support of his proposal. Given the national factor, Eyre's multiplication by 18 was probably too pessimistic. Equally, as not every child born of Catholic parents, or parent, would be baptised, he had some justification for not adopting the Registrar's suggestion. The degree of his amendment though, from 28.6 to 22, remains open to doubt.<sup>173</sup>

The question obviously arises as to how much credence can be given to the information contained in Eyre's pamphlet, particularly when the method adopted had already been criticised when applied previously by Cleland.<sup>174</sup> Similarly, Eyre's confusion over what constituted a suitable multiplier reflects that noted earlier by Condon.<sup>175</sup> It should however, perhaps be said, in partial defence of Eyre, that his use of the baptismal statistics for each mission, in the absence of "actual enumeration," was probably the most reliable available alternative. The need for each priest to enter the details of any baptism performed in the relevant Register probably ensured that a mission's baptismal figures were among the most accurate they possessed, the more so as a payment was required to the Vicariate on all baptisms administered, with the exception of those where both parents were non-Catholics.<sup>176</sup>

The same degree of accuracy cannot be ascribed to some of the figures quoted for "returned" populations. If one accepts that the baptismal figures are sufficiently

reliable then, even with continued misgivings over Eyre's choice of multiplier, one can also suggest that the figures given for the estimated populations will probably be both more consistent with each other, and a more accurate, though still deficient, reflection of reality. Support for this view can be derived from observing the substantial discrepancies between the "estimated" and "returned" totals for parishes such as St. Alphonsus' (2), St. John's (3); and St. Patrick's (8). In addition, as James Darragh suggests in relation to the data contained in the *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, a suggestion which can also be applied here, further acquaintance with the Annual Returns produces figures many of which were "little more than propaganda to attract help for poor missions."<sup>177</sup> Alternatively, they were intended to impress the Archbishop, by stating that, in one notable instance, every member of the mission population performed their Easter duties;<sup>178</sup> a manifestly impossible total when one excludes babies, toddlers, pre-First Communion children, and other groups such as the chronically sick, the lapsed, and/or, indifferent Catholics. On the other hand, in most cases, with the exceptions of Our Lady and St. Margaret's, Kinning Park (12), and to a lesser extent, Mossend, Rutherglen, Dalry and Saltcoats, Helensburgh, Eaglesham, Houston, Neilston, Paisley, Pollokshaws, and Port Glasgow; where both figures were given, the "estimated" exceeded the "returned" population. Such under-recording may demonstrate a disinterest in statistics, and a willingness to return any total sufficient normally to pass muster with the bishop. The "returned" populations are therefore always over- or under-estimates, and lack even the internal consistency of Eyre's estimates. They clearly do not suggest any systematic collection of data.

The nineteenth century attempts by Cleland, Condon and Eyre, to arrive at a reliable, and more acceptable, estimate of the size of the Catholic community in the Western Province, were reconsidered in the mid-twentieth century by various commentators, among them McQuillan, and James Darragh. In 1948, in the wake of McQuillan's work, Darragh embarked on a similar undertaking. Initially, he attempted to construct an equation for estimating the Catholic population of Scotland.<sup>179</sup> He conceded that the difficulties involved were considerable, primarily because of the lack of detailed information. However, following Archbishop Eyre, Darragh based his equation on a correlation between Catholic baptismal figures and the national birth-rate. Perhaps



influenced by McQuillan, he also attempted to go further by making allowance for the influence of the Catholic, and the national birth-marriage rates.

Without exception, Darragh's equation obtains figures which approximate to the estimates quoted in the *Scottish Catholic Directory*. Indeed he assessed the validity of his equation by measuring it against the figure of 678,538 Catholics in Scotland listed in the *Directory* for 1946. The equation produced a Scottish Catholic population of 675,000. Darragh also obtained from the three dioceses of the Province of Glasgow their official parochial estimates of population which, with their equation comparisons, comprise Table 15.

Darragh was not unaware of the objections which could be levied at his equation, which rested on the basic, but unproven, assumption that there was a necessary connection between the birth-marriage ratio and the birth-rate. He also considers, that by 1962, the equation had lost much of its validity, due to the changing age structure of the Catholic community. "Baptisms and marriages were not nearly so important...as they once were when the [Catholic] population was largely in the younger age range under 45."<sup>180</sup> Both the equation therefore, and Eyre's method, share the limitation of focusing on the younger age groups within the community. Perhaps then, one should add a further caution concerning the validity of both methods, for it is clear that changes in the birth and death rate, and in the age structure of the population had occurred as early as the mid-twentieth century, when improvement in the treatment of diseases such as tuberculosis were recorded.<sup>181</sup>

Neither method therefore is wholly satisfactory, although Darragh himself stated that the results produced by Eyre's method were much more valid than many of the estimates published in the *Directory*. Why then did he choose to measure the validity of his equation against those *Directory* estimates, which were further criticized by Frank MacMillan in *The Tablet* less than a decade later? MacMillan pointed out that the same figures appeared in the *Directories* year after year, and quite often in round numbers. One was therefore asked to suppose that "losses," whether caused by death or emigration, exactly equalled sources of increase, such as births, or inward

migration. In his opinion, the supposition was "fantastic" even if applied to one parish, and yet "a literal respect for the official statistics would lead one to suppose that this uncanny equation is achieved year in year out in almost the majority of parishes everywhere."<sup>182</sup> Given the unsystematic nature of the population figures quoted in the Annual Parish Returns mentioned earlier, on which the *Directory* totals were based, such scepticism is not surprising.

Perhaps Darragh used the *Directory* estimates as a basis for comparison simply because, for all their deficiencies, they represented the only available point of reference. MacMillan himself made use of them, though he further compounded the confusion surrounding Catholic population data by suggesting that the *Directory* figures were under- rather than over-estimates, and citing in support of his conclusion evidence derived from American sources. In 1957, official American Catholic sources claimed a total population of just under 34.5 million, but figures obtained from a pilot survey conducted by the Census Bureau in Washington suggested that the numbers of those "describing themselves as Catholic" should be about 43.5 million. These additional individuals, whom MacMillan admits would probably not practise their religion, would in certain circumstances, for example on admission to hospital, the military services, or even prison, then record themselves as Catholics.<sup>183</sup> A major difficulty therefore is not simply with inconsistent statistics, but also in attempting to define what constitutes a Catholic, particularly as historians of Irish religious behaviour have highlighted the probable fallacy of identifying non-practice with indifference to Catholicism, or even with irreligion.<sup>184</sup> The same uncertainty is evident in James Darragh's distinction between the "nominal" as opposed to the "active" Catholic. His suggestion that individuals perhaps two or three generations removed from the practice of their faith could still be defined as "nominal" Catholics<sup>185</sup> at first sight seems unacceptable, but within the context of a broader and continuing loyalty to a form of cultural identity, his definition may prove useful, and is consistent with the conclusions of others.

In attempting to consider the issues of "leakage" and "non-practice," the absence of any agreed, reliable, population figure is a severe limitation. One has also to consider



whether the terms "leakage" and "non-practice" should be treated as interchangeable. It may be more useful, and indeed more accurate, to attempt to differentiate between them, and to consider "leakage" as being a longer-term, more permanent, phenomenon, with "non-practice" describing a behaviour pattern of shorter, or intermittent, duration, and one moreover which was capable of being remedied. According to these definitions, one would expect therefore the continued provision of more missions and priests throughout the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries to be reflected in an improvement, as in northern England, in the attendance rates, which in Glasgow in the early- to mid-nineteenth century had ranged between 20%-40%.<sup>186</sup> The Annual Parish Returns once more are only of limited use in assessing any change, principally because they do not record an average weekly attendance. However, they do quote an annual figure for Easter Communicants. As the promotion of Easter Duties<sup>187</sup> became an integral part of Catholic piety, the numbers participating may therefore serve as an indication of levels of attachment to the Church. In St. Andrew's Cathedral in 1869, 26.3% of the estimated population fulfilled this obligation. St. Patrick's, Anderston, claimed 31%, and St. John's, Barrhead, 55.3%. By 1889, the Cathedral's figure had increased to 59%, while Barrhead's remained relatively constant at about 50%. Just over thirty years later, in 1921, both the Cathedral and Our Holy Redeemer's, Clydebank, claimed about 60% had fulfilled their Easter Duties. Such percentages however, as with most statistical information derived from Annual Returns, have to continue to be treated with a certain caution. It is noticeable, for example, that between 1869-89, the Cathedral's Easter Communicants more than doubled, while the estimated parish population over the same period had more than halved to only 37% of the 1869 total.<sup>188</sup> The question obviously again arises as to how much credence can be given to such data. At best, it can only serve as a fairly crude indicator that, as in northern England, some improvement did in fact take place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this case however, qualitative evidence may lend weight to the conclusion that practice rates did indeed rise, at least into the mid-twentieth century. A reporter from the *Glasgow Evening News* in a follow-up to the work of Dr. Hight of Glasgow University on the comparative strengths of the various denominations in Scotland, commented on the packed congregations at the seventy-seven Glasgow churches in 1955, and found it difficult

to believe that they represented only half the possible attendances.<sup>189</sup>

There is some limited evidence therefore, to support the belief that, at least until the 1950s, the provision of more parishes and priests did effect an improvement in at least habitual church attendance. The Parish Register Report of 1967<sup>190</sup> also indicates that this improvement was maintained at least in the immediate aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. The report was compiled by means of detailed questionnaires sent to every parish in Scotland. Among the statistics gathered were those concerning Mass attendance, reception of Holy Communion, and Confession, at three points in the year on 11 June, 20 August, and 19 November. The averages for the counties comprising the Western Province are shown in Table 17. In 1967, the claimed Catholic population of the Western Province was 576,210, and of that number an estimated 52% attended Mass, a figure which is probably the best guide for estimating the active Catholic population. Considerably fewer, 17.4% received communion, a total probably influenced by the continued requirement to fast for twelve hours prior to receiving. Least of all, just over 7%, went to Confession. It can therefore be said that the *Catholic Directory* estimates continued to contain many individuals whose contact with the church had been partially, or completely, severed; and it was probably from this group that more permanent leakage occurred.

In assessing the likely causes for this phenomenon, McQuillan drew heavily on articles on the subject written by Rev. Alexander Gits, S.J., in the *Clergy Review*. Gits suggested that leakage might be attributed to the influence of factory-work, town-life and industrial conditions. However, neither Gits nor McQuillan found these suggestions wholly convincing.<sup>191</sup> Similarly, while conceding that political doctrines such as Communism had some impact, both men were uncertain as to the degree of threat that they represented.

The only other source of leakage which was probed was the spread of mixed marriages. McQuillan believed that this source of leakage had become a deluge, and viewed such unions as "detestable, abhorrent, and pernicious."<sup>192</sup> The process, it seemed to him, was frequent, clear and understandable. The promises made by the



non-Catholic party that all children of the union would be brought up as Catholics were often not, or only half-heartedly, kept. These children themselves, following the example of their parents, were likely to enter mixed marriages. These marriages it was asserted, "almost without exception, lead to the diminution of Faith until, in the third, or at most the fourth generation, the Catholic Faith was quite extinct."<sup>193</sup> a suggestion which appears to conflict with the conclusions of both MacMillan and Darragh. In Germany too, the belief prevailed that "each year in the whole Catholic world more souls are lost to the Faith by mixed marriages than are gained in the whole field of the Foreign Missions."<sup>194</sup> Pope Pius XI had also joined in the condemnation of these marriages and the loss of the children of such unions to the Catholic church. In Glasgow during the 1920s and 1930s, under the rule of Archbishop Mackintosh, the instructions of the 1907 *Ne Temere* decree on mixed marriages were rigorously enforced, to the dismay of Father Thomas Taylor of Carfin, who felt that such rigidity isolated individuals from the church.<sup>195</sup>

Catholic numbers were therefore shaped by a variety of sometimes contradictory influences. The influx of the Irish into the west of Scotland provided a considerable impetus to Catholic population growth. Indeed, McQuillan rightly claims that had there been no immigration from Ireland there would have been comparatively few Catholics in Scotland.<sup>196</sup> Equally, if that immigration had not continued for a number of years there would have been no sustained growth in the number of Catholics in the country. A more lugubrious thesis advanced by McQuillan was that the cessation of large-scale Irish immigration meant that Catholic growth had been at a standstill for a long time.<sup>197</sup> As an example, he quoted the diocese of Aberdeen where the Catholic population had remained virtually unchanged at about thirteen thousand since the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1878.

McQuillan's thesis appears to be reinforced by the fact that commentators, including MacMillan and Darragh, have assumed a natural rate of increase among the Catholic population in the Irish immigrant heartland of west central Scotland, which contributed to a claimed 148 per cent increase in Catholic numbers in the Western Province from an estimated 210,500 in 1878 to 522,121 seventy-four years later in 1952,<sup>198</sup> an

increase which virtually parallels that for marriages over the same period.<sup>199</sup> Any natural rate of increase could however be inhibited by factors such as migration, and changing social attitudes. Loss of population through migration was evident within the city of Glasgow itself. The 1931 census recorded 246,000 births and 158,000 deaths during the decade 1921-31, which should have resulted in an expected increase in population of about 88,000. However, as the recorded increase was slightly under 37,000, there had been an apparent loss by migration of over 50,000. For Scotland as a whole, net emigration between 1871-1976 exceeded two million and, at its peak during this same decade (1921-31), Scotland's emigration rate was sixteen times that of England and Wales.<sup>200</sup> Emigration continued at a high level even after the Second World War, mainly to overseas countries, whereas the emigration of 1921-31 had been mainly, though not exclusively, internal to other parts of the United Kingdom. The reason offered by the census officials for this migration was the local industrial depression of the inter-war years. The Catholic community was not immune to such influences. In an industrial parish, like Our Holy Redeemer's, Clydebank, the suggested parish population rose by just over 1000, from 5000 to 6119, between 1921-22, and thereafter remained at "over" or "about" 6000 until at least 1932. Such static returns indicate a loss of the natural rate of increase due to out-migration.<sup>201</sup>

When McQuillan considered the official figures of baptisms and marriages published in the *Scottish Catholic Directory* he found that, in spite of Irish immigration, fewer baptisms had been administered in 1938 than in 1900. As the vast majority of Catholic infants were baptised,<sup>202</sup> it could reasonably be assumed that fewer children were being born. Nevertheless, the number of Catholic marriages had continued to increase from 2358 in 1900 to 3759 in 1938. In other words, the birth/marriage ratio was declining. The ratio of births to marriages in Glasgow in 1900 was 5.7; in 1938 it had dwindled to 3.38. In Scotland as a whole, the proportion at the beginning and end of the same period had declined from 6 to 3.33. Hence, by 1938, the average number of children born to each marriage was almost half what it had been at the beginning of the century.<sup>203</sup> James Darragh too concluded that not only had the number of births per marriage declined rapidly among Scottish Catholics during the first half of the twentieth century, but that the Catholic decline was occurring at a much



faster rate than for Scotland as a whole. The Scottish ratio and the Catholic ratio were tending to converge. Equally significantly, this convergence was being caused by the Catholic ratio dropping to the national level.<sup>204</sup> Various explanations were put forward in an attempt to explain this decrease. Some marriages, for whatever reason did not produce children, while the numbers marrying later in life could also reduce the number of children per marriage.<sup>205</sup> But so too could the voluntary use of birth control. The practice of birth control among the Catholic community has perhaps been too readily assumed to be a post-Vatican II phenomenon. In reality, it has been a concern throughout the twentieth century as demonstrated by the Joint Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of Scotland on the subject under the title "A Grave Moral Evil."<sup>206</sup> Though some Catholic professionals, such as the Catholic doctors mentioned previously, reiterated this episcopal condemnation, there can be little doubt that many of their peers supported the practice of birth control, perhaps because a broader acquaintance with the mainstream of Scottish life led some to question the relevance of religious faith itself; while others became alienated from ecclesiastical authority due to political or intellectual disagreement.<sup>207</sup>

Such proposed causes contributing towards deceleration in the natural rate of increase seem likely to persist. So too does the factor implicated as being the principal source of leakage, namely mixed marriages. For Scotland as a whole in the ten-year period from 1966-76, mixed marriages increased from one third of total Catholic marriages to nearly one-half.<sup>208</sup> However, the Western Province of Glasgow, Motherwell and Paisley had fewer mixed marriages, possibly because the larger Catholic population in the West afforded more opportunities for Catholics to meet socially.<sup>209</sup> Even so, in some parishes in the West, mixed marriages form a substantial proportion of all marriages. In 1976, in Sacred Heart parish, Cumbernauld, ten out of fourteen marriages were mixed marriages, while a year earlier, in the same parish, there had been fourteen mixed marriages and only four "Catholic" ones. Similarly, in the suburban parish of St. Matthew's, Bishopbriggs, in 1973, mixed marriages outnumbered "Catholic" by ten to five respectively, while in subsequent years the figures for each were virtually equal. Moreover, this trend seems to have prevailed throughout the Province at least in those areas outwith the inner city. For St.

Patrick's, Dumbarton, the figures for 1975 and 1976 showed ten "Catholic" and eleven "mixed", and fourteen "Catholic" and thirteen "mixed" marriages respectively. In the housing estate parish of St. Jude's the figures for the same two years were ten for both "Catholic" and "mixed" marriages, and subsequently eleven "Catholic" and ten "mixed" marriages. However, in inner city parishes such as St. Alphonsus' and St. John's, marriages where both parties were Catholics predominated, although the total number of marriages was very small. In St. John's the figures for 1975 and 1976 were eight "Catholic" and three "mixed", and nine "Catholic" and two "mixed" respectively. St. Alphonsus' recorded seven "Catholic" and four mixed marriages in 1975, and six "Catholic" and no mixed marriages in 1976.<sup>210</sup> It would seem therefore that movement away from the inner city, even a relatively short distance to a new housing estate, brought with it an increased likelihood of Catholics entering mixed marriages, a pattern which was reinforced outwith the city boundary.

The decline in the number of adult converts being received into the Church, may also partly be attributable to the changes made in the mixed marriage regulations in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. The non-Catholic partner no longer has to sign any promises, and the onus is now on the Catholic party to undertake that any children of the marriage will be brought up as Catholics. Administrative changes as in St. Andrews and Edinburgh mean that priests can receive converts without reference to the bishop, which means that many may go unrecorded. There can be little doubt though that the decline is real. Motherwell's total of 249 converts in 1956 had declined to fifty-five by 1977. The figures for Paisley were seventy-two and sixteen respectively.<sup>211</sup> By 1977, according to a Gallup Poll conducted in that year, the Scottish Catholic population was divided into 94 per cent "born" Catholics and 6 per cent converts.<sup>212</sup> Darragh's conclusion that adult conversion presently plays no significant part in Catholic development<sup>213</sup> therefore seems reasonable. The coincidence between the relaxation of the mixed marriage regulations and the fall in the number of converts indicates that the two developments are closely related. In addition, convert numbers would also be affected by the increasingly secularized society of the late twentieth century in which religion has a declining influence.



As both the Parish Register Report and Darragh admit, the figures quoted in the *Catholic Directory* are theoretical,<sup>214</sup> and, until recently, always assumed a natural rate of increase. But the question obviously arises as to how far "leakage" in particular should be offset against any natural rate of increase. Furthermore, it is important to note that there has never been any agreement either in the nineteenth or the twentieth century, as to what represented a reliable Catholic population estimate, so that modern data may simply be compounding previous errors. In both centuries though, it is clear that a sizeable group, normally about 50%, and sometimes more, had only an intermittent attachment to the church. Research from England suggests that the Catholic community nevertheless has maintained higher rates of regular church attendance by the late twentieth century than members of other major religious groups.<sup>215</sup> Both leakage and non-practice do appear to be constant, and probably cumulative factors, and have to be taken into account in any consideration of Catholic population development. The disproportionate deceleration in the rolls of Catholic schools in the 1970s and 1980s<sup>216</sup> only serves to confirm the continuing existence of such problems, and may suggest a further permanent loss of population. It would probably be a considerable shock to many if the *Catholic Directory's* population figure was ever to drop suddenly and dramatically, although in the absence of further evidence, perhaps in the form of a religious census, such a reassessment is unlikely to take place.

The Catholic community has clearly not been immune to the impact of wars, economic difficulties, emigration and changing social patterns. The "ghetto" has never been absolute. Internally, the 1940s and 1950s also saw changes in Catholic practice which would have been unthinkable previously. Evening Masses were introduced, the Latin dialogue Mass in which the laity were required to speak out the responses was promoted, and the requirement of fasting and abstinence before communion was gradually reduced to only one hour by Pope Paul VI. The termination of the "fish on Friday" rule, probably surprised the bishops by the extent of its impact,<sup>217</sup> and it is doubtful whether recent attempts to reintroduce it, as an optional act of penance will met with success.

The Second Vatican Council introduced even more changes. English replaced Latin in the Mass; altars were turned to face the people; and the laity were encouraged to read the Bible privately at home, and to read the lessons at Mass. The limitations too, of many of the Catholic societies also became apparent.<sup>218</sup> In addition, though new officially-sponsored groups, like the Lay Council, were established, these never really succeeded in drawing more lay people into the Church's work. Perhaps they were too supportive of ecclesiastical authority in an era when the Scottish Catholic Renewal Movement invited theologians, among them Hans Kung, to give lectures in Glasgow.<sup>219</sup> Many of the old guilds and societies do continue to exist, such as the Knights of St. Columba, but others, like the Catholic Union, exist only in name. The Catholic Truth Society is now firmly located in England, with its Scottish Councils ceasing to function in the early 1960s.<sup>220</sup>

The post-Vatican II Catholic, it seems, may be even less amenable to clerical authority. A Gallup Poll Survey conducted in 1978-79 found that while 77 percent of Catholics polled condemned abortion, only 46 per cent disagreed with artificial birth control, and 58 percent saw no wrong in divorced persons remarrying for love. Somewhat surprisingly though, it transpired that Scots Catholics believed more in the infallibility of the Pope than in the Resurrection of Christ, and more believed in papal supremacy than in life after death.<sup>221</sup>

Writing in *The Tablet* in 1981, an Edinburgh priest, the late Father Jock (John) Dalrymple, observed that Catholics were "disproportionately glad to be rising in the social scale from our immigrant origins."<sup>222</sup> This quest for social status at the expense of spirituality has also been noted by Father Anthony Ross.<sup>223</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest that many modern Catholics are selective about the elements of their faith, and bear the authority of the church lightly. Priests are viewed less as individuals apart, although in Scotland they do not appear to have been affected as greatly as their counterparts in Europe by the upheavals which followed Vatican II. What Cooney has called a "crisis of identity" for the priesthood did not trouble the majority of the Scottish clergy, although figures for laicization have never been released.<sup>224</sup> Perhaps the greatest, though indirect, challenge to clerical authority however, continues to



come from those individuals who do not practise and from those who have become totally alienated from the church. And yet, even in this situation, the tendency persists, of belief that the "good Catholic" of Eyre's era and later, still exists.<sup>225</sup> But as has been shown, this image of the "good Catholic", whether occurring in the nineteenth or twentieth century is an over-simplification; and Church leaders cannot afford to be complacent if they wish to spread the Gospel with conviction in a secular society in which Catholics reap many social benefits.

## REFERENCES - CHAPTER 2

1. See Tables 8a and b (includes northern Ayrshire missions).
2. See Table 14 (includes northern Ayrshire missions).
3. To 92 by 1908; 98 by 1928; c.150 by 1948 (but includes chapels of ease and stations); 192 parishes by 1968 (for Western Province). Source: *Scottish Catholic Directory* (SCD) for years mentioned.
4. In GAA *History of the Missions of the Glasgow Archdiocese*. Chapelhall also received territory and population from St. Mary's, Hamilton, pp.125-26, photocopy of item in the Scottish Catholic Archive.
5. *ibid.*, pp.79-82.
6. *ibid.*, p.77.
7. GAA-PR79 St. John's *Annual Returns*, and *Centenary Booklet*. p.9.
8. GAA-PR1 St. Andrew's Cathedral *Annual Returns*
9. See Chapter 1, p.35.
10. Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin - Irish Migrants in Victorian London*, (Manchester 1979), pp.60 and 62.
11. GAA-PRI St. Andrew's Cathedral *Annual Returns*; and PR63 St. Patrick's, Anderston *Annual Returns*.
12. Census of Scotland, 1931, part 2 - Glasgow.
13. *Ibid*
14. In 1950, St. Bernadette's was established as a parish in its own right, with resident clergy.
15. Foundation dates are taken from those quoted in the *Scottish Catholic Directory*.
16. For further on finance, see Chapter 4.
17. SCA-ED14 (part) - concerning Church Building Licensing.
18. GAA-PR97 Cumbernauld, Sacred Heart, *Annual Returns*, 1958.
19. *ibid.*, 1972.
20. M. McHugh, correspondence with Stewart Foster, then assistant archivist, Westminster diocese, 13 and 29 October 1984.
21. *ibid* the fifth, Alphonsus Van de Rydt served in the Eastern District.
22. GAA-CE15 papers concerning colleges, *Propaganda, Bruges and Douai*.



23. Rev. Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979), p.xxiii.
24. *ibid.*, p. xxiv.
25. *ibid.*, and GAA-CL5 printed clergy lists of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1880-1926.
26. One was unspecified.
27. GAA-LB1/7 Letter-Book, 17 February 1886-12 December 1892, various letters, 1880s and 1890s, concerning engagement of priests.
28. GAA-LB1/7/f.67 - James McLachlan, Diocesan Secretary, to Father Jones, President, St. Patrick's College, Thurles, 13 May 1886.
29. *ibid.*, f.82 James McLachlan to Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, 26 May, 1886.  
f.89 James McLachlan to Rev. Michael Keane, 1 June, 1886.
30. *ibid.*, f.26 James McLachlan to Rev. William Van Wyk, 8 March, 1886.
31. Figures obtained using GAA-CL5; and Canning, *op.cit.*, *passim*.
32. *ibid.*, Most came from Cloyne (36)  
   then Kerry (30)  
   Killaloe (25)  
   Waterford and Lismore (24)  
   Derry (23)  
   Cashel (18)  
   Raphoe (18)  
   Tuam (15)  
   Ross (7)  
   Cork (7)  
   Achonry (7)  
   Clogher (3)  
   Dromore (2)  
   Killala (2)  
   Armagh; Meath; Galway; Limerick;  
   Kilmore; Dublin; Down & Connor: Kildare & Leighlin: 1 each  
   Unspecified (6) ; members of Religious Orders (4)  
   Galloway (1)
33. 41 of the 59 (69.5%), were ordained during this period.
34. GAA-CL5, and Canning, *op cit.*, *passim*. For the Irish-born clergy, see also Appendix 2.
35. *Scottish Catholic Directory*, 1886, p.116
36. See Tables 10a and 12a SCD 1888, p.119 claims 120.
37. See Table 12a SCD 1894 claims 127. SCD 1920 claims 241.  
From the effort obviously taken to prepare the printed list in GAA-CL5, it seems reasonable to suggest that those may represent more consistent figures than those quoted in the SCD.

38. GAA-CL5, and marked copies of these lists in SCD 1899 and 1900.
39. Figures obtained using GAA-CL5; and Canning, *op cit.*, *passim*
40. GAA-CE18 *Lists of Students*.
41. *ibid* On one occasion only, the fourth year in Blairs was also displaced. This occurred in 1895-6 when the "Syntax" heading is mentioned.
42. *ibid*
43. *ibid.*
44. *ibid*
45. Canning, *op cit.*, p.xxv.
46. Figures taken, and percentages calculated from the ordination notices/biographies given in the SCD for the relevant years.
47. Canning, *op cit.*, p.xxv.
48. *ibid.*, p.xxiv.
49. G.Mark Dilworth, OSB, "Religious Orders in Scotland 1878-1978" in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, (Glasgow 1978), pp.108-09.
50. *ibid*, conclusion derived from examination of dates quoted.
51. GAA-GC1/7/1 Alexander Munro to Archbishop Eyre, 15 January, 1869.
52. *ibid*
53. SCA-HC35 includes Parish Centenary booklet, "St Francis", p.13.
54. Canning, *op cit.*, pp.350-51.
55. *ibid*
56. *ibid.*, p.322.
57. *Glasgow Observer and Catholic Herald*, 7 January 1911, p.5.
58. *ibid.*, 14 January 1911, p.7.
59. *ibid.*, 7 January 1911; p.5.
60. *ibid*
61. "The Care of the Poor" by V.Rev.Canon John Bennett in *The English Catholics: A Century of Progress*, editor, Bishop George A. Beck, (London 1950), p.581.
62. "The Irish Immigration", by Denis Gwynn, in *ibid.*, p.279.



63. **GAA-RI15 *League of the Cross* printed circular/questionnaire to missions, completed and returned from Mossend mission, 12 December 1887.**
64. *ibid*
65. *ibid*
66. *ibid*, Letter, Archbishop Eyre "to the Faithful of the Archdiocese", 19 March, 1892.
67. *ibid*
68. *ibid*
69. *ibid*
70. **GAA-RI15 Annual Report - *League of the Cross* - 1901; and Table 13.**
71. *ibid*
72. *ibid.*, Condon's support for temperance is noted in Canning, *op cit.*, p.52.
73. **Calculated using figures quoted in Table 13.**
74. **GAA-PR1/2 - Registers St. Patrick's, Dumbarton.**
75. **These registers are retained in the parish.**
76. ***Glasgow Observer*, 14 January 1911, pp.2 and 3.**
77. **Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow - The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester 1987), p.56.**
78. *ibid*
79. *ibid*
80. **GAA-RI15 Archdiocese of Glasgow Branch Rules of the *League of the Cross*, 1892.**
81. **GAA-RI61 *Catholic Young Men's Society Centenary Booklet*, 1849-1949, p.63. Members formed a contingent within the Scottish National Pilgrimages to Lourdes; and Gallagher, *op cit.*, p.110.**
82. **GAA-BY14 *History of the Knights of St. Columba, 1919-1969*, by William J. Loughray, edited by Jack Walsh (Glasgow 1969), p.23.**
83. *ibid.*, p.2.
84. *ibid.*, p.4.
85. *ibid*
86. *ibid.*, pp.11 and 12.
87. *ibid.*, p.41.

88. *ibid.*, p.4.
89. GAA-RI9 *Catholic Institute Secretary's Report*, 30 April, 1914, p.3.
90. *ibid*, Catholic Workers Educational League, scheme for a course of lectures, 1923; Alexander A. Kay to Monsignor J. Ritchie, undated.
91. Anthony Ross, "Development of the Catholic Community" in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, (Glasgow 1979), p.49.
92. *Glasgow Observer*, 14 January, 1911, p.7.
93. *ibid*
94. *ibid*
95. GAA-RI9 *Catholic Institute Secretary's Report*, 30 April, 1914, p.1.
96. *Glasgow Observer.*, 16 March, 1912, p.3.
97. *ibid.*, 1 February, 1914, p.4.
98. *ibid*, 28 February 1914, p.5; and August-December 1914.
99. *ibid.*, 10 April 1926, p.9; and 19 January 1929, p.4.
100. Census (Scotland) 1911.
101. *ibid*
102. *ibid*, only 0.33% of lawyers in the West of Scotland were Irish-born; and 1.3% of legal clerks.
103. *ibid* In the west of Scotland, 9.5% of teachers were of English or Welsh birth, and 8.5% were Irish-born. The county figures were: Lanarkshire, 5.4% and 5.3%; Renfrewshire, 6.1% and 6.6%; Dunbartonshire, 4.2% and 4.8%; Ayrshire, 6.3% and 0.8%; Glasgow City, 6.5% and 5.4% respectively.
104. Glasgow University did not record the religious affiliation of students.
105. SCA-Sm.P11 "The University of Glasgow and the Catholic Church, 1450-1950", pamphlet by James McGloin, p.15.
106. GAA-BY58 *Empire Exhibition Catholic Pavilion Guide*, 1938, section on University Societies, p.59.
107. *ibid.*, p.59 - section on The Guild of St. Luke, SS Cosmos and Damian.
108. *ibid*, p.61 section on The Catenian Association
109. *ibid.*, pp.58-9 section on The Guild of St. John Bosco.
110. See Chapter 3, pp. 137-38.
111. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.124.



112. John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy - Pope John Paul II's Visit in Perspective*, (Edinburgh 1982), p.90.
113. Quoted in *Enclopaedia Britannica*, Vol.5, p.82, section on Catholic Action.
114. Gallagher, *op cit*, p.125.
115. *Glasgow Observer and Catholic Herald*, 2 January 1932.
116. *ibid.*, 9 January 1932.
117. During the sermon, Mrs. McGovern, taking their eight- year old son, walked out of the church.
118. GAA-Catholic Union CU2 - Personal Appeal from John McGovern MP for Shettleston, to the electors of Shettleston and Tollcross Ward, 1937, p.2.
119. SCA-HC10 papers concerning Belloc, Chesterton and Distributism; and Gallagher, *op cit*, pp.115-6.
120. Gallagher, *ibid.*, p.115.
121. Gallagher, *ibid.*, p.117.
122. GAA-BY58 Exhibition Pavilion Guide, 1938, section on Catholic Truth Society of Scotland (CTSS), p.53.
123. SCA-GD11, Records of CTSS Glasgow Council, Minute of Annual General Meeting, 13 November, 1907.
124. Gallagher, *op cit*, p.111.
125. CTSS, *loc cit*, Minute of Meeting, 8 March 1940.
126. *ibid.*, Minute of Meetings, 12 April 1939, and 8 March, 1940.
127. *ibid.*, references in Minute of Meetings, 8 March 1940 and 7 May 1941.
128. SCA-GD20 Catholic Social Guild Minute Book, 1945-46, 12 April 1946.
129. *Glasgow Observer and Catholic Herald*, 18 April 1885, p.4 - leader article.
130. *ibid.*
131. *ibid*
132. Gallagher, *op cit*, pp.62-3.
133. *ibid.*, p.65.

134. GAA-RI9 - "Constitution of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Ireland and Great Britain", approved and adopted 2 March 1889.
135. *ibid*, "Report to His Grace the Archbishop of Glasgow on Secret Societies by the Commission appointed by His Grace", 1882. The Commission members were Rev. Michael Condon (Greenock); Rev. Michael Gleeson (Lanark); Rev. Donald Carmichael (St. Mary's, Glasgow); Rev. Alexander Munro (St. Andrew's, Glasgow).
136. *ibid*, Cardinal Rampolla to Archbishop Smith of St Andrews and Edinburgh, 15 December 1909.
137. On 17 July 1915, p.2, the paper reported Archbishop Maguire's "Appeal for Recruits-Stirring Letter to Catholic Young Men."
138. Gallagher, *op cit.*, pp.86-7; and *Glasgow Observer*, 8,15, and 22 January, 1916.
139. GAA-GC47 - Father Stack to Archbishop Mackintosh, 12 and 13 July, 1915.
140. *ibid*
141. *Glasgow Observer and Catholic Herald*, 2 January 1915, p.7.
142. Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes - Scotland 1914-1980*, The New History of Scotland, 8, (London, 1981), p.11.
143. GAA-GC47 Father Stack to Archbishop Mackintosh, 31 July 1915. Stack himself wrote to the *Glasgow Herald* in an attempt to refute such opinions.
144. *Glasgow Observer*, 6 May 1916, pp.9 and 11.
145. Harvie, *op cit.*, p.12.
146. GAA-GC47 British Red Cross Society to Monsignor Ritchie, 5 and 15 October, 1915.
147. GAA-GC47 Rev. J. Ritchie to J. Struthers, 23 November, 1915.
148. *ibid.*, J. Struthers to Archbishop Maguire, 30 November, 1915.
149. GAA-GC48 Sister Angela to "My Lord Archbishop", 10 May, 1916.
150. GAA-GC48 Cardinal Bourne, printed circular from, 26 January, 1916.
151. GAA-GC48 Rev. Emile de Backer to Archbishop Maguire, 22 June 1916.
152. GAA-GC47 Rev. D. McBrearty, Springburn, to Monsignor Ritchie, 10 December 1915. Similar provision was also suggested for Partick, to cover the Western Infirmary. Nevertheless, the staffing of such chaplaincies by commissioned chaplains was discouraged as such individuals were "urgently needed abroad." (Rev. M. Bidwell, Archbishop's House, Westminster, to "My dear Lord Archbishop", GAA-GC47, 3 December, 1915.)



153. GAA-GC48, Father Kerr McClement, Archbishop's House, Westminster to Monsignor Ritchie, 31 October, 1916.
154. *ibid.*, Rev. S. Thornton to the Archbishop, 28 September, 1916.
155. *ibid.*, pencil list on back of letter from Rev. C.J.Treanor St. Patrick's Dumbarton, to "Dear Rev. Canon", 13 October, 1916.
156. *ibid.*, Rev. James O'Connor to Monsignor Ritchie, 27 September, 1916.
157. GAA-GC51 Rev. O. Claeys to the Archbishop, 19 January, 1919; and James S. Boyle to Ritchie, 26 February, 1919.
158. Cooney, *op. cit.*, p.19.
159. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947), p. 303.
160. *ibid.*, p.308.
161. *ibid.*, p.316.
162. Cooney, *op.cit.*, p.88.
163. GAA-CD6/1 Minute Book of Cathedral Chapter, June 1886- April 1923. Minute of Committee 22 March, 1911.
164. See Chapter 3, Education; and Chapter 5, Philanthropy and Social Welfare.
165. Handley, *op.cit.*, pp.309-315.
166. *Glasgow Observer*, 10 January, 1947, p.4.
167. Handley, *op.cit.*, p.315.
168. Cooney, *op.cit.*, p.95.
169. K.S.Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, (London 1963), p.122.
170. Gerard Connolly, "Irish and Catholic: Myth or Reality? Another Sort of Irish and the Renewal of the Clerical Profession among Catholics in England 1791-1918", in *The Irish in the Victorian City.*, Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley,(eds.) (Kent 1985), p.231.
171. *ibid*
172. For Condon's comments on the Hamilton mission in the 1850s see Chapter 1, p.23.
173. GAA-BY9 "The Catholic Church in Scotland - The Church in 1877...and 1878."
174. See Chapter 1, p.13.

175. *ibid.*, pp.13-14.
176. This payment was termed "the Cathedraticum", for further details see Chapter 4.
177. James Darragh, "The Catholic Population of Scotland, 1878-1977" in *Modern Scottish Catholicism, op.cit.*, p.211.
178. GAA-PR64 *Annual Returns*, St. Paul's Shettleston. The number of claimed Easter Communicants in 1876 - (1660)- exceeded the claimed parish population - (1600). Barrhead in 1929 claimed 90%.
179. The equation states that:
- $$\text{Catholic population} = \frac{\text{Catholic Births}}{\text{Catholic Birth-Marriage Rate}} \times \frac{\text{Scottish Birthrate}}{\text{Scottish Birth-Marriage Rate}} \times 1000$$
180. James Darragh, letter to M. McHugh, 1 December, 1986.
181. Harvie, *op.cit.*, p.74.
182. "The Faithful of Scotland - A Statistical Enquiry", by Frank MacMillan, in *The Tablet*, 25 July, 1959, p.629.
183. *ibid*
184. Gerard Connolly, "Irish and Catholic", *loc.cit.*, p.232.
185. James Darragh, letter to M. McHugh, 1 December, 1986.
186. See Chapter 1.
187. Easter Duties consist of required attendance at Communion. Confession is obligatory annually, but not necessarily at Easter.
188. GAA-*Annual Returns* - PR1, St. Andrew's Cathedral; PR63, St. Patrick's, Anderston; PA1, St. John's, Barrhead.
189. "How Catholic is Glasgow? A Survey of Religious Practice", by Frank MacMillan in *The Tablet*, 4 June 1955, p.543.
190. In GAA-AD1 and 2, concerning Pastoral Research Centre, 1965-70.
191. John McQuillan, "The Leakage" in *Claves Regni*, magazine of St. Peter's College, Vol.XIV, No.54, June 1940, pp.106-07.
192. *ibid.*, p.107.
193. *ibid.*, p.108.



194. *ibid*
195. In GAA-ED16 Rev. T. Taylor, Carfin, copy to Monsignor Brown, of letter to Cardinal Bourne, 12 December, 1926, p.5.
196. McQuillan, *loc.cit.*, p.106.
197. *ibid*
198. Darragh, in McRoberts (ed.), *loc.cit.*, p.230; *Scottish Catholic Directory.*, 1952, pp.264-5.
199. The percentage increase in Catholic marriages between 1881-1952 amounted to 143.9%. The correlation between the two figures may indicate an approach similar to unreliable earlier attempts to extrapolate overall population estimates from the number of baptisms.
200. Darragh, *ibid.*, p.224.
201. GAA-PR91 *Annual Returns* Our Holy Redeemer's, Clydebank. See Table 16: only in Clydebank and Ayr, and to an even lesser extent in Greenock, Motherwell and Wishaw, was there any increase in marriages between 1921-31. The overall marriage pattern however, confirms that suggested by Clydebank's own parish returns.
202. McQuillan, *loc.cit.*, p.109.
203. *ibid*
204. James Darragh, "The Catholic Population of Scotland" in *Claves Regni*, magazine of St. Peter's College, Vol.XVIII, No.70, June 1948, p.113.
205. McQuillan, *loc.cit.*, p.110.
206. The Joint Pastoral Letter issued by the Bishops, "A Grave Moral Evil", was first noted in the *Glasgow Observer*, 12 March, 1927, pp. 2 and 11.
207. Harry McShane's alienation from Catholicism is featured in a biography *No Mean Fighter* (Glasgow, 1978) by Joan Smith.
208. Darragh, in McRoberts, (ed.), *loc.cit.*, p.217.
209. *ibid*
210. GAA-PR97 *Annual Returns*, Sacred Heart, Cumbernauld; PR86, St. Matthew's, Bishopbriggs; PR101, St. Patrick's Dumbarton; PR39, St. Jude's Barlanark; PR79, St. John's Glasgow; PR7, St. Alphonsus.
211. Darragh, in McRoberts (ed.), *loc.cit.*, p.219.
212. *ibid.*, p.245.
213. *ibid.*, p.219.

214. Darragh, *ibid.*, p.213; and GAA-AD1 Pastoral Research Centre, Parish Register Statistics.
215. Michael Hornsby-Smith and Raymond Lee, *Roman Catholic Opinion - A Survey of Roman Catholics in England and Wales in the 1970s*, (University of Surrey, 1979), p.123.
216. Darragh, in McRoberts (ed.), *loc.cit.*, p.216 - a feature also linked to the declining birth rate. See Table 18.
217. Cooney, *op.cit.*, p.92.
218. *ibid.*,
219. *ibid.*, pp.101-02.
220. A Catholic Truth Society bookshop began to operate in Coatbridge in 1989.
221. Cooney, *op.cit.*, pp.93-4.
222. *ibid.*, p.94.
223. Anthony Ross, "The Church in Scotland", *The Church Now*, John Cumming and Paul Burns, (eds.) (Dublin 1980).
224. Cooney, *op.cit.*, pp. 82 and 85.
225. Ross, *loc.cit.*, p.30.



## CHAPTER 3

### CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND

#### 1. Education Before the 1872 Act

The influx of large numbers of Irish migrants in the nineteenth-century created a need, if not yet a demand, for the development of educational provision. In Scotland, this need was recognised and accepted by leaders of the Catholic community, both clerical and lay, including Bishop Scott and Robert Monteith of Carstairs.<sup>1</sup> However, Scott's withdrawal from the original Glasgow Catholic Schools Society in 1828 demonstrates his acceptance of the belief, also evident among Catholic leaders in England, that the loyalty of Catholics raised in a Protestant society could not be maintained without the existence of a church educational system.<sup>2</sup> "Mere literary or scientific knowledge" had to take second place to Catholic teachings, with secular education being regarded as an adjunct to religion.<sup>3</sup>

The principle of ecclesiastical control over education was not new, nor was it confined to the Catholic community. In the centuries following the Reformation of 1560, the Church of Scotland had attempted to establish a network of parochial schools, and by the closing years of the eighteenth century few parishes in the Lowlands were without a school.<sup>4</sup> In 1817, dismayed at the ignorance in which the children of his Tron parish were growing up, Dr. Thomas Chalmers established schools under the supervision of the local kirk session.<sup>5</sup>

The parish system of schools however, had been geared to a relatively stable rural society. Even so Chalmers continued to believe that the parochial system, properly worked, offered the solution to Scotland's religious and social problems.<sup>6</sup> As early as 1803 however, it was clear that sessional schools could not hope to make sufficient educational provision for the increasing populations in the urban centres where children from the age of seven upwards sought employment to supplement family incomes.<sup>7</sup> In addition, many people particularly the poor, had to be persuaded, and ultimately obliged, to accept that education could be of benefit to them. In 1836, a

minister, Rev. Alexander Cuthill noted, and regretted, the lack of interest of the poorer class of Irish labourers in matters educational.<sup>8</sup>

Urban education in the early nineteenth century, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, had to be provided through the efforts of voluntary, and often individual, enterprise. Prior to the opening of the first Catholic school in Bridgeton in 1819,<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Kelly, wife of a local weaver, gathered the Catholic children of the district every Sunday in her own home to instruct them in Christian doctrine. Her qualifications for the task seemed to be her own zeal, her ability to read and write well, and the fact that she had a knowledge of figures.<sup>10</sup> Outwith Glasgow too, attempts were being made to establish schools. Blantyre and Paisley were believed to have possessed schools as early as 1816. Indeed, by 1830, Paisley had three, with Sunday schools in neighbouring villages. A Catholic school opened at Greenock in 1817, and at Airdrie and Port Glasgow in 1834.<sup>11</sup> As with the Glasgow Catholic Schools Society, most of these schools probably owed their origin to private benefactors like James Crum, a mill-owner at Thornliebank, who provided a Sunday school for his Irish employees.<sup>12</sup>

These early beginnings of Catholic education reflected the haphazard growth of education in the country as a whole. In Glasgow, in addition to sessional schools, many private adventure schools grew up; factory schools were established by employers for child employees; free ragged and industrial schools<sup>13</sup> were opened for the poor; charity schools, benefiting by bequests, educated children of deserving parents; subscription schools were established by groups of subscribers; and Mission schools, chiefly for the poor, were founded by dissenting Protestant denominations. The Episcopalian community too, had its own schools, and after the Disruption of 1843, Free Church schools were established.<sup>14</sup>

As such activity occurred as a result of voluntary effort, educational standards varied widely, while the financial basis of some undertakings could also be precarious. In 1839, and again in 1841 the Glasgow Educational Society, which had resolved soon after its foundation in 1834 to sponsor teacher training, found it necessary to appeal to



the government for assistance.<sup>15</sup> Such assistance was disbursed through the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, which was constituted in 1839 to superintend the distribution, in both England and Scotland, of the system of government grants introduced respectively six, and five, years previously.<sup>16</sup> From 1840, these grants were conditional upon government inspection which was denominational in character, partly due to the need to secure the agreement of the Church of England,<sup>17</sup> and partly a product of the continued educational contribution made by the various denominations. Thus, Catholic schools in receipt of grants would be examined by a Catholic Inspector. However, only in 1847, was the Catholic Poor Schools Committee set up by the English Bishops to negotiate with the government for a share in these grants.<sup>18</sup> Not until 1848 were Catholic schools permitted to receive any of the £100,000 annual government grant, partly because such help still aroused resentment from the Free Church of Scotland and the Nonconformists, who wished Catholic schools to be excluded from the grant system.<sup>19</sup>

Though the Western District of Scotland did not join the Catholic Poor Schools Committee until 1856, St. Mary's school, Calton, had received government aid and come under inspection as early as 1851. Pupil-teachers there were apprenticed and a grant for books was received.<sup>20</sup> In the following year, the schools attached to St. Andrew's and St. Mungo's also came under inspection, and by 1857 all fourteen Catholic parochial schools of Glasgow were in receipt of grant aid.<sup>21</sup> The purposes for which such grants could be applied had been gradually extended over time. They could be used, as in St. Mary's, to maintain the pupil-teacher system and to purchase school equipment, or, alternatively, devoted to building more schools, encouraging teacher training, or maintaining staff housing. Between 1833 and 1872 half the cost of building new Presbyterian schools was met by such government grants.<sup>22</sup>

State finance however, carried with it certain obligations, and the principal duty of Her Majesty's Inspectors was to ensure that the grant was spent wisely and effectively. Inspectors reported to the Committee of [the Privy] Council on matters such as the

suitability of school buildings, disposition of desks, books and apparatus, arrangement of classes, forms of discipline, methods of instruction, attainments of staff, and the quality of moral training.<sup>23</sup> With regard to the Catholic schools of Glasgow, most reports stressed the inadequacy of their accommodation and, as a natural consequence, the unsatisfactory nature of much of the instruction.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the deficiencies in accommodation, the level of instruction offered was also adversely affected by the difficulty, particularly evident in the boys' schools, of obtaining sufficient teachers. Not until the arrival of the Marist Brothers, a teaching order from France in 1858, did matters begin to improve. Father Small of St. Mungo's quickly obtained the services of three of the Brothers to take charge of the parochial school, and the Order also opened its own fee-paying school in a house in Garngad.<sup>25</sup> A year later, the introduction into the Western District of the Society of Jesus, led to the establishment of St. Aloysius' College, initially in Charlotte Street, but which later moved to Garnethill in 1866.<sup>26</sup>

The girls' schools had initially been more fortunate, due to the arrival in Scotland of religious orders and institutes, such as the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy. In 1846, Father Peter Forbes of St. Mary's, Calton, had visited Franciscan foundations in northern France to invite them to establish a community in Glasgow.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately however, Forbes neglected to inform Bishop Murdoch of this invitation, and when Sisters from the community at Tourcoing arrived unexpectedly the Bishop, though willing to receive them into the Western District, felt obliged to point out that he could make no immediate provision for their employment.<sup>28</sup> At first, the two nuns lodged with a Catholic lady in Monteith Row, Glasgow, and gave religious instruction to the girls of the Catholic orphanage. A school was subsequently opened in a rented house in Monteith Row, and the future seemed fairly settled when the senior nun died in the cholera epidemic of 1849. Bishop Murdoch urged the remaining nun, Sister Veronica Cordier, to return to France or join one of the teaching congregations in Ireland or England. Meanwhile, the Sisters of Mercy, again invited by Forbes to Glasgow, took charge both of the girls' orphanage and St.



Mary's parochial school.<sup>29</sup> A house was obtained for them in Charlotte Street, but the mother superior preferred that the Sisters should reside with the children in the orphanage. At the suggestion of Bishop Smith, coadjutor of the Western District, the house in Charlotte Street was offered to Sister Veronica. Her new community thereafter grew steadily in numbers, and accepted the direction of the parish schools of St. Andrew's, St. Alphonsus', St. John's, and St. Joseph's,<sup>30</sup> as well as conducting its own convent school.

The impact of the Sisters on standards in the girls' schools was immediate. By 1852, St. Mary's girls' school was found to be in a state of "active progress and organised with judgement and assiduity."<sup>31</sup> However, though the efforts of the religious communities benefited the education of the children in the parochial schools, such improvement was confined to the elementary school subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and composition. In 1867, the Argyll Commissioners, commenting on St. Joseph's schools, stated that the achievements of the children in the "three R's" of reading, writing and arithmetic were in all respects equal, and in some instances superior, to those of their non-Catholic counterparts. The teaching of these elementary subjects in Catholic schools generally was described as "most creditable."<sup>32</sup> However, the range of instruction offered was severely limited, and inspectors criticised the concentration on grant-earning dexterity which led to mechanical teaching "that touched neither the intellect nor the heart."<sup>33</sup> Though remarkable results had been achieved with junior classes, the work of the higher classes could not be attempted in the parochial schools.<sup>34</sup> The problem was an ongoing one, for as an inspector wrote as late as the 1890s, such a deficiency arose not through lack of commitment on the part of either teachers or school managers, or from any defect in the inspection system, but "solely from the intellectual defects of a staff who have not received regular and thorough training."<sup>35</sup>

The lack of a Catholic training college in Scotland therefore represented a grave handicap to the development of Catholic education, and this became increasingly evident as moves gathered pace throughout the nineteenth century to improve the qualifications and status of the teaching profession. The intention was eventually to

abolish the pupil-teacher system which had been introduced in 1846,<sup>36</sup> and which survived until the introduction of the Junior Student scheme sixty years later. But until that point in time, pupil-teachers served a five-year apprenticeship, and were examined annually. On the results of this annual examination depended their rates of pay which might range from £10 p.a., at age 13, rising to £20 p.a. for successful candidates.<sup>37</sup> Teachers and school managers who accepted their help, and trained them, were also paid - £5 for one student, £9 for two, and £12 for three,<sup>38</sup> although schools were limited to a ratio of one pupil-teacher for every twenty-five scholars.<sup>39</sup> Success in their final examination, brought a certificate, and a further government grant.

Pupil-teachers were also expected to provide the main source of supply for the normal school or training college. But as is already apparent, few Catholic students either could, or would, progress, further, even though by 1865 all sixteen Catholic mission schools in Glasgow were under the charge of certificated teachers.<sup>40</sup> Only a small number of Glasgow students proceeded to the three Catholic training colleges which the Catholic Poor School Committee had established in England. Hammersmith, which had been opened in 1852 for the training of Religious Teaching Brothers admitted male lay students in 1854, while in 1855 two colleges for women were opened at Liverpool and at St. Leonards.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, the school-log book for the Ayr Catholic school does record that in 1869, the school reopened under the charge of Bridget Bird, a second-year student from the Liverpool Training College;<sup>42</sup> and by 1894, this college had trained more than fifty-four Scottish female teachers.<sup>43</sup> Hammersmith, since its foundation, had supplied only forty-nine male teachers, of whom thirty-seven were actually employed in 1894 in posts within the Archdiocese of Glasgow.<sup>44</sup> However, even of these thirty-seven, only eight had received their training prior to the passage of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act,<sup>45</sup> with its introduction of compulsory elementary education. The Church therefore had to rely heavily on inadequately trained pupil-teachers to staff its schools. Even the possession of the certificate itself testified only to a limited degree of competence, for the standard required of candidates was low. The qualification was slow to become accepted and, in 1865, certificated teachers in Scotland as a whole numbered only 1,708.<sup>46</sup>



If teacher-training presented one major problem, then an equally pressing difficulty lay in encouraging children to attend school, and in convincing their parents to send them. This difficulty was compounded by the introduction into Scotland of the Revised Code on 4 May 1864. Hitherto, examinations and grants had been arranged by entire schools and classes, but the Revised Code provided for a separate grant for each child; in some cases as much as twelve shillings per session.<sup>47</sup> Attendance at two hundred meetings during one school year entitled the school to four shillings, but the remainder of the grant demanded an individual examination of children over six. If proficient in the three R's, a child earned for his master<sup>48</sup> the sum of eight shillings: a deduction was made for each subject in which the pupil was found wanting. Children under six years were entitled to a grant of 6s.6d. without examination. Similar arrangements prevailed in evening schools, with an attendance grant of half a crown for twenty-four meetings and an examination grant totalling five shillings.<sup>49</sup>

This system, known as "payment by results", could have meant financial ruin for some Catholic schools for it highlighted two of their most pressing problems, the chronically irregular attendance at school of most Catholic children, and the inconsistent level of instruction offered. The Headmaster of St. John's, Glasgow found it virtually impossible to grade his pupils into only six Standards, as their progress in reading and arithmetic were so unequal. He also experienced difficulty in the teaching of writing in the first Standard, as many parents were too poor to provide slates, and believed also that their offspring were too young to exploit fully such items. Not surprisingly, the results of inspection by individual examination remained unsatisfactory, and in 1871 the Inspector still reported many failures in some of the Standards.<sup>50</sup> The Catholic school in Ayr did succeed in establishing six Standards, but the log-book is peppered with references to poor attendances, and to the fact that home lessons were often "very badly said", not only by the younger children, but by the pupil-teachers as well.<sup>51</sup> In addition, discipline sometimes seemed relatively lax, even among the teachers, who were often late for school. The Argyll Commissioners too, noted not only the poor attendance of Catholic children, but also made the point that numbers attending school appeared to have shown little increase during the nineteenth-century, with only 1 in 19 of the estimated Catholic school-age population

electing to go to school.<sup>52</sup> The clergy accepted this low estimate, conceding that average Catholic school attendance never exceeded one-third of those on the school rolls.<sup>53</sup> Poor attendance however, could not be attributed to a lack of school places, for clearly all the available places were never filled. Nor were fees excessive, amounting in most cases to only 1d. per week.<sup>54</sup> Poverty though, continued to encourage families to look for work from an early age, and therefore acted as a disincentive to school attendance. The Commissioners observed that, in general, the richer districts of Glasgow city had relatively higher rates of attendance, though even in Blythswood only two-thirds of all children between the ages of three and fifteen actually attended school. In the poorest areas however, less than one-fifth of all children attended.<sup>55</sup> It was therefore fortunate for the Catholic community that the Revised Code did not immediately come into full operation in Scotland. A circular issued on 11 June 1864, five weeks after the introduction of the Code suspended it as far as payments were concerned until 30 June 1865, though individual inspection was retained. Thereafter, this suspension was renewed annually "to allow time for measures to be taken upon the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the schools in Scotland", that is effectively until after the passage of the 1872 Act.<sup>56</sup> For eight years, a partially successful compromise was operated, whereby individual examinations were conducted under the Revised Code, but grants continued to be awarded to the class as a whole.<sup>57</sup>

This respite was welcome to the Catholic schools as it offered them additional time to achieve a satisfactory performance in the individual examination before their grants actually depended upon it. However, the existing sixteen mission, and three upper, schools, in the city favourably impressed the Argyll Commissioners, as did the evening schools. Catholic private adventure schools though, like their Protestant counterparts, were severely criticised. The Commissioners asserted that "in teaching power, in quality of education, and in accommodation, the private schools are not to be compared in point of merit, with the parochial schools."<sup>58</sup> In general, the Commissioners concluded that though most of the existing schools were generally efficient, the overall educational state of the city was far from satisfactory. More than



half the children of Glasgow were not even on the roll of any school, and every district had a surplus of school accommodation.<sup>59</sup>

The findings of the Argyll Commission tend to confirm the belief that Catholic and Protestant schools shared common problems for most of the nineteenth-century. The Commission's proposed solutions included the introduction of compulsory education, with legal sanctions, to induce poor people to send their children to school. The Privy Council system of grants, it was also suggested, was inefficient. Indeed, a nationally administered organization was required, based on the levying of a national education rate to help spread the financial burden more evenly.<sup>60</sup> Similar proposals first found legislative expression in the Education Act of 1870 for England and Wales, which laid the basis for the future introduction of compulsory education<sup>61</sup> for all children aged five to thirteen years, and provided rate aid only for the proposed new undenominational Board schools, where the teaching of "religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination" was specifically forbidden.<sup>62</sup> The denominational schools would continue to be provided by voluntary subscription, and helped only by Privy Council grants.

One major concern aroused by the 1870 Act was the fear, expressed by Cardinal Manning of Westminster, that the new School Boards "may destroy our lesser schools by reporting them to be insufficient or inefficient."<sup>63</sup> T. W. Allies, Secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee, confirmed such apprehensions, and emphasized to the Hierarchy the need to keep the schools efficient. More trained teachers, he concluded, were urgently required.<sup>64</sup> Allies was also Secretary of the Crisis Committee, which ultimately raised £390,000 to devote to the creation of school places.<sup>65</sup> Assistance from the Crisis Fund was particularly directed towards those dioceses where the Bishop could satisfy the Committee that "proper and efficient regulations have been made...to meet the present crisis."<sup>66</sup>

In the expectation that similar legislative provisions would be made for Scotland, Eyre clearly desired that his District should receive such assistance, and the Western District

Poor School Committee or Board of Education was established in 1870 to liaise with the National Committee.<sup>67</sup> Its first act was to survey the extent of educational provision with its territory.

By 1870, the Western District, (excluding missions serving the Western Highlands and Islands), recorded accommodation for 11,447 children in its existing school premises. More than half (51.7%) of these places were available within the Glasgow city boundary, with a further 10% in the surrounding suburbs of Maryhill, Partick, and Springburn. Renfrewshire too was relatively well provided with places, possessing 20.4% of the Catholic total. By contrast, the Catholic communities in Lanarkshire and Dunbartonshire were at a relative disadvantage, with 13%, and less than 1%, of Catholic school places respectively. Even the Ayrshire missions of the Western District, with the smallest total Catholic population of all, accounted for 3% of the available accommodation.<sup>68</sup> Grants from the Crisis Fund however, enabled the District, between June 1871 and January 1874, to provide an additional 4,398 school places, 34.3% of these in Lanarkshire, 9.4% and 9% in Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire respectively, with only 3%, accounted for by further provision, for Springburn, in the suburbs of Glasgow.<sup>69</sup> Even so, Glasgow city enjoyed a 40% increase in accommodation, though only two new buildings were opened - St. Andrew's mission school in 1873,<sup>70</sup> and the first school to serve the Catholics of the recently created Sacred Heart Mission, Bridgeton, in January 1874. In terms of school buildings opened during this period however, Lanarkshire rightly received the majority, with new schools, or extensions, being provided at Hamilton, Rutherglen, Whifflet, Baillieston, Larkhall, Newmains and Motherwell.<sup>71</sup> A total of £3486, representing 17% of its total building costs, was received by the Western District from the Crisis Fund, and as local effort for any school had to equal the amount of grant awarded, a comparable sum must also have been raised by the Catholics of the District.<sup>72</sup> As "efficient education" was essential to the survival of Catholic schools, and as the Committee itself desired not to waste its income, grants were also made conditional on the employment by such schools of certificated teachers. Additional support in the form of the Privy Council grant was also to be sought by school managers.<sup>73</sup>



Such preparations in anticipation of the introduction of compulsory education do not suggest that Catholic leaders ever seriously considered the possibility of placing their schools under state control. The 1870 Act had already aroused misgivings, some of which were confirmed with the passage of the Education (Scotland) Act in 1872. As in England, School Boards became the local unit of educational administration,<sup>74</sup> to which all parochial and burgh schools would be transferred. Voluntary schools could also, if they so chose, transfer to their local Board. However, Catholic schools did not avail themselves of this provision, principally because of concern over the religious instruction to be offered in the public schools. Although in Scotland, School Boards were free to approve of Catholic or Protestant instruction in their schools, the fear persisted among the Catholic community, whether rightly or wrongly, that Board schools would either adhere to the teachings of the Kirk, or would not promote the interests of religion sufficiently, thus encouraging the growth of secularism. Religious teaching in the Board schools was to be given at hours which did not interrupt secular instruction, while a 'conscience clause' allowed those parents who wished, to withdraw their children from religious education.<sup>75</sup> To some extent, Catholic fears were self-fulfilling, for most School Boards provided instruction acceptable to the majority Protestant population within their schools. Only in some parts of the Highlands and Islands, where Catholic Boards were elected, was Catholic doctrine taught in the schools. Elsewhere the provisions of the Act, which would have allowed the establishment of specifically Catholic schools, were not put into practice.<sup>76</sup>

By choosing to maintain an independent Catholic sector in education, the episcopate was undertaking a massive financial and administrative burden which was steadily to become more and more onerous. The Catholic community, as ratepayers, had to contribute towards the maintenance of the Board schools, while their own establishments were not to be entitled to rate aid. In addition, they had also to pay for the expansion and upkeep of a distinctive Catholic sector. This double payment seemed to be accepted, initially with a minimum of complaint, but Catholics continued to campaign for denominational schools to receive support from both Parliamentary Grants and local rate aid, in exactly the same manner as the public schools. The need for such rate aid would become ever more apparent as Catholic schools, with fewer

resources than their Board counterparts, attempted to maintain their legal obligations in the face of improving educational standards and increasing expectations.

## 2. 1872-1918

As Eyre had expected, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act introduced compulsory education for all children aged from five to thirteen years. The new Board schools however, performed consistently better than their Catholic counterparts in encouraging attendance at school. In Glasgow, over the period 1875-81, an average of 85.4% of children on the rolls of the former were actually present at classes.<sup>77</sup> By contrast the Catholic average, for both the city, and the Province, amounted to 69% . In the surrounding suburbs, and in Dunbartonshire, 63% of children attended on average, while in Lanarkshire the figure was 66%, rising to 71% in Renfrewshire.<sup>78</sup> Yet it was in the interest of both Board and Catholic schools to encourage attendance, particularly after 1873 when the Scotch Education Department<sup>79</sup> enforced the Revised Code in a modified form.<sup>80</sup> Grants were to be given over and above those available for attendance and passes in the three R's. Graduated grants were awarded for discipline and organisation, while special grants were given per child in average attendance if those in Standards II and III could demonstrate an intelligent and grammatical knowledge of reading. In Standards IV to VI, 50% of the pupils were required to perform creditably in history and geography for such grants to be received.<sup>81</sup> A further grant could also be awarded if singing formed part of the ordinary course of instruction, while from 1875 onwards an additional 40/- to 60/- was also included in respect of each pupil-teacher whose performance the Inspector deemed satisfactory.<sup>82</sup>

Although Catholic school attendance rates had improved in the decade following the passage of the 1872 Act, their relatively low level, coupled with a continued pattern of irregular attendance, undoubtedly lost Catholic schools some of the money available in government grants. Only those children with at least 250 attendances could be examined in the various Standards, an attainment achieved by only 59% of children on Catholic school rolls in the Western Province.<sup>83</sup> Evidence compiled by the School Board of Glasgow also suggests that the poorest attendances occurred at the two extremes of the compulsory education age range in most classes of schools. The vast



majority of children, both boys and girls were most likely to attend school between the ages of six and twelve, and least likely to do so in what should have been their final year of compulsory schooling. Boys attending "higher class" schools represented the only exception. Catholic children, of both sexes, were however under-represented, even within the 12-13 age group,<sup>84</sup> a pattern of early leaving which continued into the twentieth-century. Indeed, for Scotland as a whole in 1876, barely one quarter of Catholic pupils had remained at school after their tenth birthday, though in Board schools the figure approached 36%.<sup>85</sup>

Head-Teachers devised various means of encouraging children to attend school by awarding prizes, and, in the case of Ayr providing treats for good attendance.<sup>86</sup> Often zealous curates, and on occasions even Archbishop Eyre himself,<sup>87</sup> were the most effective attendance officers. St. Francis' parish, Hutchesontown, found appeal to parents a useful measure for combating absenteeism. In the Annual General Report of the school for 1880, sent to all parents, they were congratulated on their response to the previous year's circular in securing the regular attendance of their children.<sup>88</sup> Even so, as both average attendance, and especially the percentage of pupils presented "at the Government exam", fell, sometimes considerably, below the figures for the Province as a whole, scope for improvement obviously remained, especially in the girls' and infants' departments.<sup>89</sup> School Board Officers too, by means of a monthly return from each school were able to identify poor attenders and, where necessary, to prosecute the parents of such children. In 1879, Ayr Catholic school seemed to have a pressing problem in this sphere with the School Board Officer calling for lists of absentees almost daily.<sup>90</sup> The Ayr School Board Officer, and his counterparts in the north-east however, appear to have been particularly assiduous in carrying out their duties, for elsewhere the compulsory clauses were not enforced and parental applications for their children's exemption from school were readily granted.<sup>91</sup> In St. Mary's RC School, Calton, the one-day a week visit of the school board officers was considered to be "largely ineffectual,"<sup>92</sup> and, as in St. Francis, alternative methods of encouragement were adopted. The use of footballs to kick in the yard before school was introduced to promote good timekeeping, and football matches for the perfect

attenders with prizes for the winning teams also proved effective. More importantly, in an attempt to combat poverty and the related effects of "inclement weather" on attendances, the headmaster and staff supplied boots and clothes to those who lacked them.<sup>93</sup> One annually recurrent cause of absence on the part of considerable numbers, and one moreover about which little could be done, was term day, 28 May. On that date, yearly leases of rented houses expired, and tenants who did not renew them had to move at once,<sup>94</sup> a feature which could be found both within and outwith the city.

By the 1890s, these various efforts seemed to be achieving the desired result, with attendances throughout the Province having risen by just under 10% to an average of 78.3%, with the greatest improvement taking place in the city suburbs and in Lanarkshire.<sup>95</sup> Improvement was maintained during subsequent decades, and by 1912, 89% of children on the school rolls of the Province were in attendance at classes, a proportion which compared favourably with that for Scotland as a whole.<sup>96</sup>

The increasing numbers attending school in the aftermath of the 1872 Act placed a considerable strain on available accommodation. Indeed, the first years of the Act's operation, when accommodation was often inadequate, insufficient, or incomplete, proved difficult for both Board and voluntary schools. In his Report for the year 1874 Mr. Middleton, Inspector for the Lower and Middle Wards of Lanarkshire, spoke of School Boards having to open temporary schools in old halls and churches.<sup>97</sup> Initially, its "crisis-building" programme of the early 1870s, and further building in the early 1880s, with the opening of schools at Langloan, Mossend, Linwood, and Crosshill, enabled the Catholic community to provide sufficient places for those then in average attendance.<sup>98</sup> The experience of specific schools such as Johnstone though, demonstrates that an ongoing programme of building was necessary. In 1885 the Inspector, Mr. Sobban, noting that "the attendance is steadily rising and indeed is already in excess of the accommodation," found it necessary to caution the Managers that the Revised Code required that a minimum of eight square feet was needed in each room for each child in average attendance. Unless this specification could be met "the entire grant for next year will be liable to forfeiture."<sup>99</sup> Though the school



premises were subsequently "greatly extended and improved," the problem recurred in the early-twentieth century, and necessitated the erection of a new school which opened in 1913.<sup>100</sup> Johnstone's difficulty however, was not unique, for in 1891 Ayr Catholic school was warned that average attendance must not be allowed to exceed in any one room the number for whom accommodation had been provided, otherwise the grant would be seriously endangered.<sup>101</sup>

Grants however, could also be reduced if the instruction offered in schools was deemed to be deficient. In 1880, two-tenths were deducted from the grant awarded to Ayr school due to "faults of instruction," and a larger deduction was threatened for the following year unless the position markedly improved.<sup>102</sup> Reporting on Our Lady and St. Francis [Charlotte Street] Higher Grade school in 1906, the Inspector commented that "in view of the very uneven character of instruction all over, there has been considerable hesitation about recommending an unreduced grant, and a marked improvement will be looked for next session."<sup>103</sup>

The maintenance of their grant-earning, "efficient", status therefore confronted Catholic schools with a series of sometimes contradictory problems. Increased attendances could mean a higher level of grant but, by the same token, that grant was also dependent upon the existence of satisfactory accommodation, the provision of which inevitably entailed additional expenditure. Furthermore, although some schools received extremely favourable reports, for example St. Margaret's, Johnstone, was described as being conducted with "skill and enthusiasm,"<sup>104</sup> such defects of instruction as occurred elsewhere only served to highlight once more the need for greater numbers of qualified teachers. In this context it might be argued that the availability of religious orders dedicated to education, like the Jesuits, the Marists, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy, was both beneficial and yet retrograde, for their very presence postponed for the Church the reality of having to build up a more efficient body of lay teachers. From a financial point of view, continued reliance on pupil-teachers seemed eminently reasonable. As Canon Mackintosh, the future coadjutor-Archbishop of Glasgow (1912-1919) pointed out in 1905-06 when

proposals to finally abandon the pupil-teacher system were brought forward, "the money difficulty [in securing sufficient Catholic teachers]...will be the greatest. The general substitution of [college] trained certificated teachers for pupil-teachers and ex-pupil-teachers will inevitably involve increased expenditure."<sup>105</sup> Equally importantly, since much of the pupil-teacher's time was spent in the classroom, he or she could be used to mitigate some of the educational difficulties which flowed from a high pupil-certificated teacher ratio.<sup>106</sup> The continued intensive employment of pupil-teachers became one of the hallmarks which distinguished Catholic elementary schooling from the practice followed in the public sector.<sup>107</sup> As early as 1888, Glasgow School Board required its time-expired pupil-teachers to seek admission to the Normal School or Training College, and those who did not succeed in achieving entry on, at most their second attempt, were dismissed.<sup>108</sup> As a result by 1893 the city had only eight untrained to 208 trained teachers. Suburban boards had seventeen untrained to forty-eight trained. By contrast, Catholic schools had twenty-four untrained to only fourteen trained teachers, while in Scotland as a whole two-thirds of their female, and one-third of their male, teachers were untrained.<sup>109</sup>

However, the relatively small proportion of trained staff was an inevitable outcome of the continued failure to establish a Catholic training college in Scotland, as very few could afford to attend the English establishments. In 1889, Mr. Stokes HMI, himself a Catholic, argued that the foundation of such a college was essential if Catholic schools were to maintain the required levels of efficiency. Increased demands were about to be made on all schools, and Catholic schools "if they were to survive the ordeal, must be lifted to meet the demands. The teaching staff must not only be larger, but it must be more capable."<sup>110</sup> Unless this could be achieved, children leaving Catholic infant schools might have to attend Board schools, while pupil-teachers would ultimately be compelled to turn for further instruction to non-Catholic Pupil-Teacher Centres.<sup>111</sup>

Such considerations further emphasised the urgent necessity of establishing a Catholic teacher-training college in Scotland. However, not until December 1893, as a result of



Catholic pressure and repeated requests for permission, did such a proposal receive official recognition. Training colleges in Scotland had deliberately been excluded from the provisions of the 1872 Act, with some churchmen only accepting its terms on the understanding that teacher-training should remain the responsibility of the churches. Therefore, Henry Craik, Secretary of the Scotch Education Department, advised the Committee of Council that "whatever opinion may be held, or whatever action may be taken, in regard to denominational training colleges...it is clearly just that so long as the present system goes on the Roman Catholics should have the advantage of it."<sup>112</sup>

In order to staff the new college, Archbishop Eyre had opened negotiations with the Mother House of the Notre Dame Congregation at Namur in Belgium, whose Sisters already ran, and taught in, the Mount Pleasant Training College in Liverpool. As early as June 1893, Sister Mary of St. Philip, Principal of Mount Pleasant, paid exploratory visits both to Glasgow and Edinburgh, and advised that the Dowanhill district of the former city was the most suitable area in which to establish the college, as it was close, not only to the university, but also to a number of schools suitable for the students' teaching practice.<sup>113</sup> The achievement of recognition, even after the lobbying of Scottish Members in the House of Commons, and pressure exerted by the Catholic Education Committee in the person of the Duke of Norfolk, still seems to have taken her somewhat by surprise, for she declared herself "astonished at the present Government acting towards us with so much fairness."<sup>114</sup>

In spite of Archbishop Eyre's over-optimistic hopes that the college would be functioning by January 1894, it was not until 20 August that the first nuns arrived - Sister Philippine of the Cross and Sister Teresa of the Nativity, Sister Julie de St. Therese, and the principal, Sister Mary of St. Wilfrid (Mary Adela Lescher).<sup>115</sup> Though the formal opening did not take place until 14 January 1895,<sup>116</sup> work had already commenced in September 1894 when the first Scholarship pupils were admitted. The aim of such pupils was to perform sufficiently well in the college entrance examination to obtain a Queen's Scholarship (state bursary) to finance their teacher training.<sup>117</sup> There were thus to be two elements present in the college,

Scholarship pupils, and students in training. The first Roman Catholic teachers to be trained in Scotland qualified in June 1896, although of these twenty-two students only three remained in Scotland to teach.<sup>118</sup> However, matters steadily improved and in less than a decade the number of students had risen to 200, while 440 trained teachers, both Scots and Northern English and Irish girls, had been sent out to schools.<sup>119</sup>

In 1897, the college opened its own higher grade practising school, with twenty-four children and four staff, two being pupil-teachers.<sup>120</sup> Higher grade schools were establishments where pupils who wished to continue their education after the age of thirteen could undertake the study in greater depth of subjects such as mathematics and modern languages. The creation of such a school was essential to the effectiveness of the college by helping to ensure a readily available source of future students, at a time when post-elementary schools in the Archdiocese numbered eleven, educating only 827 pupils.<sup>121</sup> A further source of potential students was provided when Central Classes were introduced at 7 Bowmont Gardens, which became known as "Notre Dame Academy." The Academy's purpose was to prepare existing pupil-teachers, normally in the third or fourth year of their apprenticeship, for entry into college, and similar centres also existed under the direction of the Franciscans in Charlotte Street, and at Bothwell in Lanarkshire.<sup>122</sup>

Such provision for the training of Catholic pupil-teachers, again paralleled developments taking place within the public sector. The "Academy" opened in 1898, when it accepted pupil teachers on a half-time basis; their days were divided between attendance at college and what, in effect, became teaching practice in the schools. The School Board of Glasgow had already introduced such a system six years previously, when it designated part of the City School as a Pupil-Teachers' Institute,<sup>123</sup> though some headteachers subsequently complained that the apprentices took less interest in their teaching, because of the demands which the academic component of their course made upon them. Even so, Govan School Board followed Glasgow's example by opening, in 1899, a similar Institute in the grounds of Bellahouston Academy.<sup>124</sup> These Institutes, in effect, functioned as secondary schools, particularly after 1900 when the number of hours a pupil teacher might spend in actual teaching was further



reduced. The Institutes also increasingly geared their courses to the achievement of the Leaving Certificate, for three passes on the Higher Grade were considered as equivalent to a First-Class pass in the Queen's Scholarship examination, and so entitled a pupil-teacher to enter training college immediately.<sup>125</sup>

However, half-time educational provision was finally provided for all Catholic apprentices only a few years before the declining effectiveness of the pupil-teacher system led to its replacement by the Junior Student Scheme, which was introduced in 1906.<sup>126</sup> Junior students were only admitted to such status when they had gained the Intermediate Certificate, and had reached the minimum age of fifteen. They were then required to undertake a further three years of secondary education together with "systematic training...in the art of teaching each of the Primary School Subjects."<sup>127</sup> On successful completion of the course, the Junior Student Certificate was obtained which gave automatic entry to training college, although the Educational Institute for Scotland complained that this easier alternative to the Leaving Certificate set too low a standard. In 1916 for example 34% of entrants to the Glasgow Training Centre had no leaving certificate, while in 1919, at Notre Dame, the figure was even higher at 57%.<sup>128</sup>

The Junior Student was, even more than the half-time pupil-teacher, first and foremost a pupil, with the assumption now being made that their general education would be complete on entry to teacher training so that the college course could be devoted to professional studies.<sup>129</sup> School managers could nominate their schools as Junior Student Centres, with one member of staff being appointed as Master, or Mistress, of Method in charge of professional training. Notre Dame Junior Student Centre was opened, and achieved recognition in 1907, one of only thirty-three in the country, and the only one for Catholic girls.<sup>130</sup> Catholic boys attended a similar centre run at St. Mungo's Academy by the Marist Brothers. These additional commitments placed further financial burdens upon the school, and without the assistance received in grants from the Scotch Education Department, and from the Glasgow Burgh Committee, St. Mungo's could not have kept abreast of the demands made upon it.<sup>131</sup>

Even so, the instruction offered in the Junior Student department was considered by the inspector to be "generally satisfactory."<sup>132</sup>

Within less than twenty-years of its establishment however, the Junior Student Scheme too had been abolished, and the qualification for entrance to training college became a full Leaving Certificate, or a certificate gained by a candidate who had passed the Preliminary Examination of the Scottish Universities. Indeed, Glasgow and Govan School Boards had introduced such a policy as early as 1912, as a result of a fundamental disagreement with the Scotch Education Department over the exact relationship between a Junior Student and an ordinary secondary pupil.<sup>133</sup> Glasgow did not regard the Junior Student as principally a future elementary school teacher, and opposed what it regarded as the danger of such students becoming an inferior class within the teaching profession.

The movement towards the more thorough academic training of intending teachers, only served to highlight the continued inadequacy of Catholic secondary provision. In Dunbartonshire, Notre Dame High School for Girls, Dumbarton, opened in 1911, represented the only post-elementary foundation in the county until 1920 when St. Patrick's High School for Boys was opened in the same town.<sup>134</sup> Lanarkshire was more fortunate, with a department for secondary education opening in St. Augustine's, Langloan, on 6 August 1894, with all scholars who had completed Standard VI, and any who intended to teach, being required to attend.<sup>135</sup> St. Augustine's under the proposed scheme of the County Committee for secondary education in Lanarkshire, was initially the only recognised Catholic centre for secondary education, and therefore scheduled to receive a grant. However, both the scheme itself, and the "paltry" fixed grant of only £50 were severely criticised by the Committee of Catholic Schools in that county's Middle Ward who claimed that the County Council was being discriminatory in its treatment of the Catholic community. In support of its argument, the Catholic committee through its secretary, Rev. George Ritchie, argued "that the scheme, in the case of the ten non-Catholic centres, specified the area (generally very small), from which the children were to be taken, whereas in



placing the fixed grant to St. Augustine's, Coatbridge, the area was not mentioned."<sup>136</sup> As a result, considerable financial outlay, in the form of travelling expenses, would "necessarily be incurred in bringing the Catholic pupils from the various districts to the common centre."<sup>137</sup> The Catholic Committee therefore declared its intention of opening a second secondary department attached to Our Lady of Good Aid School, Motherwell, which opened in 1895.

County Committees for secondary education, thirty-five in number, had been established by the Scotch Education Department in August 1892, to disburse the sum of £60,000 towards the extension of secondary schooling. This allocation represented 22.6% of a Parliamentary grant of £265,000 awarded to county councils, in effect as compensation for the abolition of elementary school fees.<sup>138</sup> As in Lanarkshire however, the Committee of Managers of Catholic Schools in Renfrewshire complained that the distribution of secondary education funding was inequitable, and appealed for the Renfrewshire County Committee "to take into its favourable consideration the two centres...to be found at Paisley and Greenock for Catholic children," and to place them "on the same footing, in every respect, as the seven public secondary departments at Kilmacolm, Johnstone, Renfrew, Port-Glasgow, Mearns, Pollokshaws, and Barrhead," each of which received an annual grant of £120.<sup>139</sup> The priests of both counties also contended that the establishment and recognition of secondary departments, and the grants awarded, should be assessed on a per capita basis, a policy which, they believed, would be fairer to the Catholic community. It is probably equally significant that both groups of priests also complained that their respective county committees failed to keep them informed as to the proposed development of secondary education schemes, and by implication of the assistance available.<sup>140</sup> Although School Boards were directly elected, the membership of County Committees was drawn from the county councils, burgh and parish boards and local educational trusts.<sup>141</sup> Hence these committees may have been less aware than their School Board counterparts of the difficulties confronted by the Catholic voluntary sector in education.

As with the Pupil-Teachers Centres, or Institutes, the syllabus of the Catholic secondary departments and higher grade schools was adapted to the Government Examination for Leaving Certificates.<sup>142</sup> By 1902, there were in fact, three Certificates. The Merit Certificate, introduced in 1891, testified to the satisfactory completion of an elementary school course, and was subsequently undertaken in the school's "advanced departments."<sup>143</sup> Of more relevance to the post-elementary sector however, was the Intermediate Certificate, which marked the successful conclusion of a three-year course in mathematics, language, English and science.<sup>144</sup> Finally there was the Higher Leaving Certificate which had been instituted in 1888, and which, from 1892, could be attempted by pupils in all schools which had efficient higher departments.<sup>145</sup> Relatively few Catholic pupils however, seem to have been presented, even for the minimum certificate. For example, in Glasgow in 1907, some 6% of Board school pupils entered the supplementary classes which marked the end of elementary schooling, and of these 1% gained the Merit (since 1903 now entitled the Qualifying) Certificate. In Catholic schools only 2% of Catholic pupils actually undertook such classes, and only 0.4% obtained the Certificate.<sup>146</sup> By 1911, children leaving day schools without having achieved "Merit" certificates were obliged to continue their studies by means of attendance at continuation classes, a provision which further taxed available Catholic resources. Although the city was well provided with the necessary evening schools, attached to the Convent of Mercy, St. Columba's, St. Alphonsus', and St. Francis' day schools, only two had been established outwith this central area, at Pollokshaws and at Whifflet, although arrangements were being made for similar provision in other parts of the City and Diocese.<sup>147</sup> The need for such centres for Catholic children was particularly acute for as more attention began to be paid, in the early twentieth-century, to the relationship between age and attainment, Catholic schools were found to perform less well in this sphere compared to their Board school counterparts.<sup>148</sup>

In the post-elementary sector, Catholic educational attainments may have continued to be curtailed by a chronic shortfall in the number of places available. By 1911, 3919 places existed, sufficient for only 5.6% of children on the rolls of Catholic schools within the Archdiocese. Seven years later this proportion had increased slightly to



6.2%.<sup>149</sup> It is important however to point out that even by 1918, the available post-elementary accommodation in secondary and higher grade schools was sufficient for those enumerated on the rolls of such schools.<sup>150</sup> Though secondary education was desirable in principle, as the actions of the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire priests seemed to demonstrate, and indeed was essential if efficient standards in respect of teacher training were to be achieved and maintained, in other regards it appeared to occupy a relatively low priority in Catholic thinking. Notre Dame College of Education for example, though making secondary provision for its own prospective students, trained mainly primary, or elementary, teachers - 1794 - between 1895 and 1922. By comparison, only forty-two secondary certificates, the bulk in Arts subjects were awarded.<sup>151</sup>

The emphasis in Catholic educational provision therefore, prior to 1918, was mainly directed towards the development of the elementary, or primary, sector. To this end, most of the available resources were devoted. In spite of all efforts to maintain efficient education however, the Catholic system, by the early twentieth-century was showing increasing signs of strain. The 1901 Education (Scotland) Act, which effectively raised the school leaving age to fourteen and thus contributed to the improvement in attendance rates,<sup>152</sup> again highlighted the need for additional school buildings in order to combat the problem of overcrowding. Between 1900 and 1918, six new schools, and eight school extensions were opened, while six new school buildings were built to replace older premises.<sup>153</sup> However, the experience of the city schools in particular, suggests that even this scale of building proved inadequate to meet ever-increasing demands. Despite additions made to St. John's school in the Gorbals in 1906, two years later a class of seventy-eight boys was accommodated in a room built to hold fifty-six. In St. Francis' school, even though an extension had been completed in 1914, in only two of the twelve infant school classes was accommodation sufficient for the numbers on the roll.<sup>154</sup>

Yet if some of the most persistent problems confronting Catholic education were those of accommodation, and of teacher training and supply, a closely related difficulty was that of finance. Money was necessary, not only to provide and maintain school

buildings and equipment, but also to pay salaries. However, teaching in Catholic schools was not a particularly remunerative occupation. In 1904, when the average salary for Board school masters amounted to about £150 per year, Roman Catholic male teachers were paid only £107.<sup>155</sup> The average Board salary for women, who were paid less than men in comparable posts, was £75.17.5.<sup>156</sup> The desire for greater parity with their Board school colleagues was expressed by the membership of the West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association at its General Meeting in December 1903, when they asked for length of service and qualifications to be taken into account in determining salary levels, and drew up an amended scale of salaries.<sup>157</sup> Even so, by 1917, the average salary of an assistant master in a Catholic elementary school was still £60.10s.6d. less than that earned by his counterpart in the state school,<sup>158</sup> and the pattern was repeated among female teachers. Such inequalities gave rise to frustration which was made evident in 1914 when the National Council of the Scottish Catholic Teachers' Federation expressed its belief that Catholic salaries could have been improved, and voiced their disappointment that this had not been achieved.<sup>159</sup>

Catholic teachers also desired that, in the matter of superannuation and pension provision for their eventual retirement, they should receive "equitable treatment"<sup>160</sup> in comparison with their colleagues in state schools. Such a scheme had been introduced for elementary teachers in Board schools in 1898, and was extended ten years later to cover all Scottish schools. A teacher contributed 4% of her/his salary, and her/his employers a further 2%. In return, the teacher received a retiring allowance, and a lump sum payment. If necessary, a disablement allowance could be paid, and if a woman forfeited her claim by marriage, her contributions would be returned.<sup>161</sup> There can be no doubt that the diocesan authorities were aware of the need for such provision. In an address to the teachers of the Archdiocese as early as 1889; Archbishop Eyre commented that "the possibility of some scheme for giving retiring pensions" would have to be considered,<sup>162</sup> but as late as 1907 Charles McKay, Secretary of the West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association, still deemed it necessary to urge the Bishops of Scotland to put forward more strongly the claims of Catholic teachers<sup>163</sup> in view of the forthcoming legislation. McKay's comment seems to imply that by 1907, the desired provision did not exist.



Eyre himself, in his address to the teachers, had admitted that, though desirable, pension provision was closely connected "with the question of our [Catholic] share of the rates."<sup>164</sup> It was probably the knowledge of this connection which caused the Teachers' Association in 1903 to declare its support for rate aid to be made available to Catholic schools. Somewhat surprisingly, this declaration occasioned great resentment from Archbishop Maguire, and the senior priests of the City of Glasgow. In June 1903, the Archbishop wrote to the Association's President, James Bonner, that the Association was "not entitled in any way to represent the Catholics of Scotland,"<sup>165</sup> while the city senior priests described the statement as "but the expression of the opinion of certain individuals who in no way represent Catholic feelings, wishes or views."<sup>166</sup> And yet, in 1889, talking of school rates, Eyre had specifically reminded teachers "to forward the solution of this question by urging and explaining to people, in season and out of season, the unfairness of the present arrangement."<sup>167</sup> In 1896, the Diocesan Education Board itself submitted a claim for rate aid on behalf of Catholic schools to the Scotch Education Department.<sup>168</sup> What in reality appears to have annoyed both Archbishop and clergy was not the expression of support for the principle of rate aid, but rather the fact that the teachers had approached Lord Balfour without obtaining the prior approval of the Bishops or, as the senior priests termed it, "without consultation of any kind with those qualified to speak on such a subject."<sup>169</sup> As a result, the Catholic community was seen to be divided "at a time when united Catholic action [was] so necessary."<sup>170</sup>

Catholic teachers however, as they later explicitly claimed, were anxious to work in harmony with their school managers. But, as they explained to Monsignor Brown, the Apostolic Visitor in 1917, their salaries did not even constitute a living wage.<sup>171</sup> Indeed, by 1917, the wages of Catholic male teachers had declined even from their 1904 levels, to only £94.1s.6d.<sup>172</sup> Superannuation provision too, remained unsatisfactory, with retired Catholic Headteachers receiving an annual allowance of £70. By comparison their colleagues with the Glasgow School Board could expect to receive £250.<sup>173</sup> Discontent was further fuelled by disagreements over the payment of a War Bonus, for while Board teachers received a percentage of their salaries, on which they were also awarded annual increments, most Catholic teachers, with no

such benefits, received only a flat-rate annual bonus of £10. This Catholic bonus, paid quarterly, was introduced as late as January 1917, and teachers' resentment was later further compounded when the decision was taken by Archbishop Maguire and the school managers, one month before the fourth instalment was due, "to pay no more."<sup>174</sup> Perhaps most importantly however, the teachers felt excluded from the Church's decision and policy-making processes, claiming that they "were not taken into the confidence" of their managers. As Sister Mary of St. Wilfrid, Principal of Notre Dame College, bluntly informed Monsignor Brown in December 1917, "things are as bad as they can be: the managers have broken faith...Archbishop Maguire has withdrawn his patronage from the Catholic Teachers' Association, the authorities (Archbishop and Vicar-General) refuse to receive a deputation from the teachers, so do the Reverend Managers. It is a perfect impasse."<sup>175</sup> Just how grave the situation had become can be demonstrated by the fact that some teachers had considered the possibility of a general strike, and of releasing correspondence on the dispute to the public press.<sup>176</sup>

The goodwill of the teachers was however essential, for on them fell the responsibility of much of the religious instruction and training of Catholic children. They prepared their pupils for the regular visits of the Diocesan Religious Inspector, and for the reception of the sacraments. Particular attention was paid to the learning of the prayers and text of the catechism. In order to encourage and acknowledge "industry and efficiency in giving religious instruction," the Catholic Poor School Committee had instituted grants of honour to teachers in schools recommended by the Diocesan Inspector. No individual grant was to be more than £5, nor less than £1 for each member of staff.<sup>177</sup> Pupil-teachers were also required to present themselves for the written religious examinations set by the Committee, although a complete attendance of the pupil-teachers of the Archdiocese was not always secured. Even after the abolition of the pupil-teacher system itself, a formal religious examination for intending Catholic teachers continued to be set until as late as the mid-twentieth century.<sup>178</sup>



The reports of the Diocesan Inspectors over the years demonstrate that the standards of religious instruction provided by the teachers were very rarely less than satisfactory, and in the majority of schools were deemed to be either "very good" or "excellent."<sup>179</sup> Such commitment on their part however, may only have served to contribute still further to the increasing annoyance among Catholic teachers towards the, at best insensitive, and at worst arrogant, attitude displayed by the diocesan authorities and school managers. This cumulative frustration and resentment among teachers, coupled with the increasingly serious financial position of the Archdiocese in the first two decades of the twentieth-century, made it imperative to find a permanent, and stable, solution to the difficulties confronting Catholic voluntary schools.

Although the framework for such a solution was not obtained until the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918, the reality of the situation had already been recognized two decades earlier. When it made its application for rate aid in 1896, the Diocesan Education Board stated its willingness to transfer Catholic schools to the local School Boards providing that the Church retained its ownership of the school buildings, together with continued control over staff appointments and school management.<sup>180</sup> Throughout all the negotiations, even up to 1918, these remained the minimum conditions of transfer acceptable to the Catholic school managers.

The Catholic case for rate aid found clear expression in a Report, dated 27 February 1896, by the Diocesan Education Board's sub-committee on Voluntary schemes.<sup>181</sup> That document claimed that since Catholics were bearing a proportional share with the School Boards in the task of national education they were entitled to claim a proportionate share of public support;<sup>182</sup> an argument which seems to ignore completely the Church's free choice to stay outwith the national system in 1872. Nevertheless, this claim was to be reiterated two months later, in the Memorandum submitted by Canon Cameron on behalf of the Diocesan Education Board to the Scotch Education Department. The Memorandum restated the Catholic position that the maintenance of their schools was a matter of conscience, and criticised the label "voluntary" which was attached to them. In Cameron's view the Church had, on grounds of conscience, no option but to remain outwith the national system.

Therefore, Catholic children and parents should not, as a result of that decision, be placed at a disadvantage when compared with the provision made for the rest of the country. Rate aid would enable Catholic schools to improve the accommodation and education presently provided while, at the same time, removing a double burden of payment from the Catholic community.<sup>183</sup>

Having admitted the need for rate aid, and having conceded the corresponding principle of transfer, a permanent solution to the financial problems confronting the Catholic voluntary schools became a possibility. However, the 1918 Act was preceded by many false dawns. The Education Act of 1902 (England and Wales) was thought to offer a solution to the question of voluntary schools which might well be applied in Scotland. Under this Act, such schools were given the benefits of rate aid, under the general control of the new local education authorities. However, the managers of voluntary schools were still required to provide the site and the school building, and to keep the latter in good repair. Subject to these conditions being complied with voluntary schools were to be supported financially by the new authorities. Teachers would continue to be appointed by the school managers, though local authorities could exercise a right of veto on educational grounds. In general, English Catholics were satisfied with the provisions of the Act, Cardinal Vaughan declaring that they were "not likely ever to get a more satisfactory settlement."<sup>184</sup> Nevertheless, the passage of the Act aroused bitter opposition, particularly from Nonconformists, many of whom refused to pay the sum levied for education, while some local authorities refused to carry out their statutory duties until the Government, through the efforts of the Board of Education, compelled them to do so.<sup>185</sup>

Such continued opposition however, to rate-aid for voluntary schools, probably helped to ensure that similar terms were not included in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908. Nevertheless, apparently feeling themselves to be on the defensive, the Scottish Hierarchy had established in 1907 a Catholic Education Committee to represent the Church's interests. Its membership included the Bishops themselves, and one clerical member for each diocese.<sup>186</sup> It was henceforth recognized as a



competent negotiating body by the Scotch Education Department. However, efforts to arrive at a national solution were pre-empted by a local initiative from the Glasgow School Board in October 1910. Under its proposal, which did offer to the Catholic schools the benefits of rate aid, voluntary schools were to be leased to the Board for ninety-nine years. During that period, it would maintain the schools, educate the children, and permit the teaching staff to impart instruction in accordance with the belief of the parent. The Board would also pay all feu duties, taxes and staff salaries, and oversee promotions. The distinctive religious character of the schools would continue to be maintained in the appointment of staff except for specialist teachers in such subjects as Art and Domestic Science.<sup>187</sup> Similar discussions were also initiated by the Edinburgh School Board in 1917. However, neither proposal was followed up for, as one Board could not bind its successors, it was realised that legislative sanction was necessary to ensure continuity of policy.<sup>188</sup>

Discussions and counter-proposals continued throughout the years of the First World War. In July 1914, a second deputation from the Catholic Education Committee met Mr. McKinnon Wood, Secretary of State for Scotland, to lay before him Catholic grievances and ask for further Imperial Aid.<sup>189</sup> However, such representations again proved unsuccessful. Wood, though initially sympathetic, had already cautioned the earlier deputation two years previously not to hope for any increase in grants. His problem, and that of the Treasury, was that any increase for Scottish schools automatically entailed one of much larger proportions for English schools.<sup>190</sup>

The difficulty over grants brought into sharper focus the need for an agreement on terms of transfer for the voluntary schools, a need which became more urgent when further educational reforms were proposed. In March 1917 Sir John Struthers, Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, drafted a Memorandum for Robert Munro, the Secretary of State, in which he argued the need for an Education (Scotland) Bill to remedy some of the more apparent weaknesses in Scotland's educational structure. The main lines of advance would be to improve the remuneration and status of teachers, especially those in secondary schools, and to

forge closer links between the various recognized stages of education, from the primary school to university. Struthers also asserted that those children among the school population educated in the voluntary sector were effectively deprived of equal educational opportunity.<sup>191</sup> When Munro, in November 1917, explained the purpose of his Bill to the Cabinet, he repeated Struthers' claim, and made particular reference to the educational disadvantage suffered, due to lack of resources, by Catholic children. But since, in his view, a more generous provision of state aid to denominational schools than to public schools would not be tolerated by public opinion, he preferred that these schools should be transferred to public control with safeguards for the retention of their denominational character.<sup>192</sup>

Within most of the Catholic community in Scotland, the Bill received a cautious welcome, with only the Archdiocese of Glasgow expressing overt hostility. Mr. Charles Byrne, a Catholic member of the Glasgow School Board believed that the safeguards offered were not only unsatisfactory, but were actually less generous than those enjoyed by the English voluntary schools.<sup>193</sup> His fears were shared by many, though not all, of the Glasgow clergy, and particularly by Archbishop Maguire. According to a deputation of teachers to the Scottish Education Department in February 1918, "the Archbishop has given instructions that in his diocese anybody who likes to speak against the Bill is to have a free hand....The Catholic newspaper in the West, the Glasgow Observer, is controlled by the Archbishop, and is doing all it can to discredit the proposals of the Bill. As a result, Catholic opinion is being thoroughly misinformed as to the Government's intentions, the insinuation being that the professions and offers put forward are wholly insincere."<sup>194</sup> By contrast, with the exception of Bishop Graham, auxiliary in Edinburgh, the other members of the Scottish Hierarchy and prominent laymen like Lord Skerrington accepted the Bill as a basis for agreement.<sup>195</sup>

Catholic concerns over safeguards focused on four main areas: the control of religious instruction, representation on School Management Committees, the appointment and dismissal of teachers, and the provision of new schools.<sup>196</sup> Compromise on most points was however necessary. The Government refused to accept any amendment



which might have limited the freedom of choice of the new education authorities to make an appointment from the Catholic applicants for any post. As a result, members of religious orders were to have no special privileges, and appointments were to be left to the good sense of the authorities. On the issue of new schools, discussions centred around two related points; whether the State would provide all stages of education for Catholic children or, if the Catholic community continued to provide their own new schools, whether the new authorities would be compelled to subsequently accept such schools for transfer. In the end, the wording of the Bill on this point remained obscure, and its interpretation was not defined until a dispute arose in 1928 over the Catholic school in Bonnybridge. Munro, and Sir John Struthers, were unwilling to make major concessions to the Catholic community on these points, for they feared that to do so might endanger the Bill's passage through Parliament. On the issue of preserving the religious character of the schools however, agreement was more easily reached. Provision was made for the appointment of a supervisor of religious instruction, who was to possess right of entry to the individual schools at those hours legally set aside for religious instruction. Facilities were also to be granted for the holding of religious examinations. The supervisor however, could not object to the use of certain textbooks, the choice of which was the responsibility of the education authority.<sup>197</sup>

A solution to the voluntary schools problem was now in sight. Monsignor Brown, the Apostolic Visitor urged the Catholic community to accept the Bill, for "...if we incur the odium of wrecking this Bill we handicap ourselves in every effort to induce another Government to pass one even as good for us."<sup>198</sup> Even so, at this late stage, the passage of the Bill was threatened when the Cathedral Chapter and senior priests of the Archdiocese of Glasgow renewed their demands, including that school managers should retain control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers.<sup>199</sup> Such demands caused Brown great concern, for he believed that if the Catholic community was seen to be divided about the Bill, then the clause dealing with voluntary schools might have been dropped, with the rest of the Bill being passed. Only the intervention of the Holy See, which insisted that the majority decision of Bishops, clergy and laity to accept the Bill be upheld, averted the danger, and allowed

Monsignor Brown to signify to Munro the Catholic community's acceptance of the Bill; which received the Royal Assent on 21 November 1918.<sup>200</sup>

### 3.1918-1945

The passage of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act marked as much of a beginning as it did an ending, for it still remained to be seen how it would operate in practice, and what would be its impact on the Catholic community. Certain benefits accrued almost immediately, Catholic teachers receiving parity of salary with their colleagues in the state system. The laity too, might reasonably have hoped for some easing of their double financial burden.<sup>201</sup> However, such hopes only gradually saw fulfilment for, in the early years of the Act's operation, many Glasgow clergy remained unconvinced as to its possible benefits for the Catholic community, and their misgivings emerged once more in the discussions over the method by which the schools should be transferred to the new Education Authorities.

Two alternative methods of transfer were available - either to sell the schools outright, or to lease them for an agreed period in exchange for rental income. The majority of members of the Catholic Education Council for Scotland, though prepared to accept leasing as an interim arrangement, favoured the sale of Catholic schools to the new authorities. Lord Skerrington supported sale as a general policy, and pointed out that the continued ownership of ageing school buildings could not be of benefit to the Catholics of Scotland. His views were echoed by Bishop Donald Martin of Argyll and the Isles who was not averse to selling schools even when they were in close proximity to Churches.<sup>202</sup>

Such opinions as to the merits of sale were not shared by Monsignor John Ritchie of Glasgow, who expressed his disapproval both to the Council itself, and directly to Monsignor Brown. Ritchie stated that the Archdiocesan Schools Transfer Board established in January 1919 to transact, and advise the Archbishop, on all business connected with the transfer of schools to the national system, was very largely, in fact predominantly, in favour of leasing.<sup>203</sup> Indeed, by November of the same year, leasing agreements had been concluded covering thirty-seven schools in the City of



Glasgow, twelve in Dunbartonshire, thirty-nine in Lanarkshire and twenty-one in Renfrewshire. By the same date, a total of £15,651.17s.10d. in rental income had been received.<sup>204</sup>

With the exception of rents paid directly to four schools owned and managed by religious orders - St. Mungo's, Notre Dame, the Convent of Mercy and Charlotte Street - the Schools Transfer Board, and from 1920 onwards successive Diocesan Education Boards,<sup>205</sup> were the normal recipients of such income, which formed the basis of a charitable trust for educational purposes. Among such purposes was the continued provision of school buildings for, unconvinced that any potential savings in cost were sufficient to outweigh the perceived danger of secularism, the Archdiocese of Glasgow had, in 1919, taken the decision to continue, as and when necessary, to construct all new schools and extensions, for both elementary and higher grade pupils, from its own resources. Such schools would, on completion, be leased to the appropriate education authority.<sup>206</sup>

However, this policy relied on two, as yet untested, assumptions: firstly, that the 1918 Act had indeed given to the Church the right to identify and remedy deficiencies in Catholic school provision; and secondly, that the various education authorities were obliged to accept such schools for transfer. One of the most notable test-cases concerning the former, occurred over the type of new accommodation required to house the pupils of St. Mary's RC School, Whifflet. The Diocesan Education Board favoured the erection of a ten-classroom extension at a cost to the Archdiocese of £8,500, while the Lanarkshire education authority suggested that an entirely new school should be built, at a cost of between £20,000 and £25,000.<sup>207</sup> The search for a solution to the dispute eventually enmeshed the officials of the Scottish Education Department, who were anxious to resolve the issue without recourse to a court of law, preferring instead to try to foster a spirit of trust between the two parties. However, not until 1924, did both parties agree to accept the judgement of the Crown's Law Officers as a means of arbitration. In the event, the arbiters found in favour of the Church when the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland, asserted that

the Education Authority as leasees cannot rebuild premises let to them.<sup>208</sup> Such a task could only be undertaken by the owner of the property, in this case, the Archdiocese or its nominees. It took some time for the Lanarkshire Authority to accept the implications of the judgement and, in October 1924, only the exercise of the chairman's casting vote ensured that the ruling was approved. Even in 1925, motions were still being proposed that the authority should build all schools for the children in its area.<sup>209</sup>

When Lord Murray in 1928, giving judgement in the Bonnybridge case, ruled that Catholic schools established after the passage of the 1918 Act could be offered for transfer to the appropriate education authority, which must accept them at a fair price,<sup>210</sup> the school building policy of the Archdiocese appeared to have been vindicated. However, in purely practical terms, the decision of 1919 only served to maintain an unnecessary financial burden upon the Catholic community, a difficulty apparently evident to the Schools Transfer Board which had "all along been alive to the seriousness of the burdens entailed by leasing, and consequently building," but which, nevertheless, had "loyally accepted the finding of the Archbishop."<sup>211</sup> Even so, one member of the Board, Canon Hugh Kelly of Dumbarton continued to express his dismay at the policy adopted. Kelly, like Lord Skerrington and Bishop Martin, favoured the outright sale of Catholic schools, and argued that the policy of leasing and building was totally impractical. In Kelly's view, the safeguards provided by the 1918 Act were perfectly sufficient, and therefore to retain the proprietorship of the buildings was of little consequence, while to go on building was simply to continue "hugging our chains".<sup>212</sup> He also believed that a policy of sale would benefit the relationship between children, teachers and clergy, by allowing the priest to cease being a manager, and become to the school "a Pastor only."<sup>213</sup>

Without doubt though, Canon Kelly's most cogent arguments concerned the bleak financial outlook. From figures supplied by the School Managers, he estimated that the value of Catholic school property was in the range of £700,000 to £1 million,<sup>214</sup> and taking the Archdiocese as a whole, his assessment may well have been correct for



the Glasgow city schools alone had been independently valued at £355,350.<sup>215</sup> Such a sum would earn more for the Church in investments than a policy of leasing and renting ever could. Selling the schools would provide financial security, a greater return, and a capital fund should the 1918 Act ever break down. Finally, as Lord Skerrington had pointed out, the Church would be rid of old school buildings which were becoming more of a liability than an asset.<sup>216</sup>

But selling the schools would not only relieve the financial burden on the Archdiocese, it would also transfer completely to local authorities the task of finding solutions to such problems as inadequate school buildings. The school at Carfin was by 1924 threatened by subsidence on account of mineral workings,<sup>217</sup> and although this particular situation was unusual, many school buildings were criticised by Surveyors and Valuers in the early 1920s. In their reports to the Education Authorities of Glasgow and Dunbartonshire on the *Voluntary Roman Catholic Schools which it was proposed to be leased by the Managers to the Authority*, the firm of Thomas D. Smellie and Fraser, Surveyors and Valuers, stated that "generally speaking, the buildings are inexpensive structures with little or no elaboration or extraneous outlay. Relatively, they are less valuable than the majority of the schools presently held by the Authority, much greater economy having been observed in the construction and finishing." In addition, "as regards structural repair, the buildings are generally of substantial construction, but, no doubt owing to the war, expenditure upon upkeep seems to have been recently kept at a minimum. Consequently, there is a good deal now to be done in the way of repairs, such as restoring stonework, repointing walls, repairing roofs, and repainting of both the interiors and exteriors."<sup>218</sup> More specific criticisms were directed at schools such as St. Patrick's, Coatbridge on its John Street site which was found to be both "in a dilapidated condition...and much out of date,"<sup>219</sup> while the premises of St. Augustine's Coatbridge were generally unsatisfactory. Glenboig RC School was also condemned as unsuitable.<sup>220</sup>

As well as the relatively poor quality of the buildings themselves, some schools faced the increasing problems of overcrowding. In October 1920, the Glasgow Education

Authority complained to the Diocesan Education Board about the want of accommodation in certain City schools,<sup>221</sup> while fourteen of the thirty-nine Catholic schools transferred to the Lanarkshire authority had an average number of children on the roll in excess of the accommodation provided.<sup>222</sup> In Mossend RC School for example, there were only twenty-six rooms available for over 1700 children.<sup>223</sup> In Renfrewshire, the Property Committee of the Education Authority "demanded [that] certain additional classrooms" should be provided in St. John's School, Barrhead.<sup>224</sup> Overcrowding was also becoming particularly acute in the small Catholic post-primary sector. St. Mungo's Academy by February 1920 was "bursting at the seams" with a roll of 630, a figure which by session 1924-25 had risen still further to 1,030.<sup>225</sup> Outwith the city, in Motherwell RC Higher Grade School the roll by 1922 had risen from 209 to 443 pupils, who were accommodated in seven classrooms with class sizes ranging from thirty-one "to the incredible total of ninety-five."<sup>226</sup> Classes were therefore being crowded into rooms in which there was "not even adequate sitting accommodation."<sup>227</sup> Kirkintilloch Higher Grade pupils too urgently required additional accommodation.<sup>228</sup> Indeed, so overcrowded did some schools become, that they found it necessary to limit their intake. In 1920, Glasgow Education Authority alleged that, due to shortage of accommodation, 106 children had been refused admission to St. Anthony's, Govan; forty-six to St. Saviour's, Govan; and sixty to St. Luke's.<sup>229</sup> A similar accusation was made with regard to Mossend RC School, while in Motherwell RC School, "a considerable proportion of the infants were being enrolled at or over six years of age."<sup>230</sup> Even after admission into the infant department, some children could be subjected to a form of part-time education by being required to attend in either the morning or afternoon only. As a result, many of the pupils were backward for their age.<sup>231</sup>

Overcrowded classes however, could be caused not only by deficient accommodation, but also by inadequate staffing levels. In Cambusnethan (Wishaw) RC School in 1919, a class of 102 infants were being taught by one teacher,<sup>232</sup> while in Mossend, though the number on the roll stood at 1754, the staffing of the school was sufficient for only 1525 pupils.<sup>233</sup> However, the difficulties facing the Diocesan Education



Board were perhaps best summed up in the case of Motherwell Higher Grade School, of which it was claimed that there were "not rooms enough for the requisite number of classes, nor teachers enough for the requisite number of rooms."<sup>234</sup> In the aftermath of the First World War, the supply of male teachers was particularly low, nor were sufficient women teachers available to fill the vacancies.<sup>235</sup> As a result, local authorities employed married women to teach on a temporary basis in Catholic schools, while the Church sought to attract suitable male recruits from Ireland.<sup>236</sup> In a further attempt to ease the difficulties caused by staff shortages, non-Catholic teachers were appointed, particularly to posts in Catholic advanced division and secondary schools. However, though the Church accepted the necessity of such appointments, it was reluctant to support them on a long-term basis. Indeed, when Lanarkshire Education Authority engaged permanently eleven Protestant teachers working in intermediate and secondary Catholic schools in the county, the Teachers and Hostel sub-committee of the Diocesan Education Board "took a very serious view" of what it termed "this violation of the Statutes."<sup>237</sup> The Board itself, with financial support forthcoming from the Charitable Trust, also attempted to improve the supply of Catholic teachers by disbursing grants to students in training for the teaching profession.<sup>238</sup> Such grants took the form of an interest-free loan to cover the whole, or part, of the cost of a course at the University or Training College, and were aimed particularly at those who without such assistance, would be unable to complete their studies.<sup>239</sup> Though repayment of such loans was implied, in practice this condition was never enforced. Nor were legal proceedings initially instituted against defaulters. The Trust, albeit reluctantly, accepted the fact that some loan-grants would prove to be irrecoverable, and few applicants were ever refused.<sup>240</sup> These grants were particularly important in enabling intending primary school teachers to pursue their chosen career, for such individuals were otherwise dependent upon inadequate Corporation bursaries. Prospective secondary teachers were more fortunate for, as university students, they were also eligible to apply for Carnegie grants to finance their degree studies.<sup>241</sup>

The improved availability of financial support during training made entry into the teaching profession relatively easy for "people moving out of the...formally

uneducated class."<sup>242</sup> and into the professions for the first time. Headmasters like Father Hanson at St. Aloysius, and Brother Germanus at St. Mungo's actively encouraged their pupils to enter teaching, while for girls too, it became assumed that those who obtained the necessary Higher grade passes would almost automatically become teachers.<sup>243</sup> Such efforts to obtain teachers were a natural response to the staffing difficulties faced by Catholic schools in the 1920s, a problem also shared, though to a lesser degree, by their non-Catholic counterparts. Whereas, in 1918-19, there had been one certificated teacher for every 40.96 pupils in state schools, the Catholic ratio was 1 to 61.12.<sup>244</sup> In general, in 1920, it was estimated that Scottish schools would require an additional 6,000 to 7,000 teachers in order to keep pace with increasing demands made upon the educational system.<sup>245</sup> The wage levels of wartime had resulted in higher standards of living and encouraged educational aspirations among wider sections of the community. The resulting enthusiasm for education in Scotland was clearly demonstrated by the increasing numbers attending intermediate (formerly known as higher grade) and secondary schools. Between 1914 and 1919 the total of pupils within this sector of education rose by 25% to 59,000,<sup>246</sup> and one principal aim of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act was to promote the development of the post-primary sector. As a result, in 1923 the advanced departments of the primary schools were reorganised, with distinctive "advanced division" central schools also being established in the more populous areas.<sup>247</sup> By 1936, the Education (Scotland) Act of that year reflected the growing recognition that all children over the age of twelve years should receive some form of secondary education, by signalling the replacement of the advanced divisions by the three-year junior secondary school course with its emphasis on "practical subjects,"<sup>248</sup> and by again making provision for the school-leaving age to be raised to fifteen.<sup>249</sup> In the senior secondary schools, with their five-six year courses, pupils would be prepared for entry into the universities and professions.

The evident overcrowding in some Catholic higher-grade and secondary schools in the early 1920s would appear to suggest that the Catholic community shared in this heightened demand for post-primary instruction. In the absence of the necessary provision in their own districts, pupils aspiring to university entrance were willing to



travel considerable distances to Glasgow city schools, such as St. Mungo's Academy.<sup>250</sup> Even so, relatively few Catholic children in fact received any form of post-primary education. In 1921, Catholic sources suggest that only 5% of children on the school rolls of the Archdiocese were being educated in either intermediate or secondary schools.<sup>251</sup> By 1928 this figure had increased only slightly to just over 8%.<sup>252</sup> Thereafter a gradual increase continued in the proportion of Catholic pupils enrolled in post-primary establishments. By 1934, 11.5% received such tuition,<sup>253</sup> and a decade later this figure had risen still further to 16.4%.<sup>254</sup>

As a result of its decision to build its own schools, the Diocesan Education Board initially had to undertake the responsibility of preparing, at the request of the Scottish Education Department and the various county authorities, schemes for the development of Catholic post-primary education. For Lanarkshire, the Board proposed the operation of two "post-intermediate" schools, at Motherwell, and at Elmwood (Bothwell), together with five intermediate schools - three which already existed at Motherwell, Elmwood, and Whifflet, and two additional schools sited at Hamilton, and at Cambuslang or Rutherglen. In Dunbartonshire, the proposals included the need for an intermediate school situated between Dalmuir and Clydebank, while in the city itself, sites in the Garngad and Crosshill districts were being considered with a view to building additional schools.<sup>255</sup>

By the late 1920s, some, though by no means all, of these proposals had become reality. St. Roch's Advanced Division Centre in Garngad opened in 1928; as did St. Anthony's, Govan, to serve Catholic pupils on the south side of the river.<sup>256</sup> In Clydebank, a new building was erected in 1923, thus providing Our Holy Redeemer's School with additional facilities, including science,<sup>257</sup> while in Glasgow the former Alexander's school was purchased as an annexe to St. Mungo's Academy and opened as such on 24 August 1925.<sup>258</sup> However, Holyrood Senior Secondary School in the Crosshill district, did not open until 1936,<sup>259</sup> while Hamilton was not provided with an intermediate school until 1939.<sup>260</sup>

Yet, as Canon Kelly had foreseen, the cumulative effect of the school building policy gradually forced Catholic leaders in the west of Scotland to accept that the only viable future for Catholic education lay in complete financial integration with the state sector. In January 1927 Archbishop Mackintosh had informed the Diocesan Education Board that "from now onward, instead of letting its schools to the various education authorities, the Archdiocese, as the leases now in force expire, will negotiate with those authorities for the sale of the said schools." Nevertheless, "it must not be a sale at any price, but a sale to be arranged by equitable negotiation or arbitration."<sup>261</sup> By September 1927, discussions had been entered into with the Glasgow Education Authority concerning the sale of Catholic schools within its area. Certain schools however, including the convent schools and St. Mungo's Academy were excluded from the negotiations as the Diocesan Education Board "had no control over these."<sup>262</sup> Also excluded were those schools where a school and church were combined in one building. Such premises would continue to be leased by the authority on an annual basis.<sup>263</sup> In November 1927, the Diocesan Education Board also signalled its intention to sell those schools in Ayrshire owned by the Archdiocese, a decision which Galloway diocese viewed with dismay as it opposed any such policy. In spite of an appeal from Galloway "for uniformity as regards Ayrshire,"<sup>264</sup> the Board upheld its original decision, claiming that for the Archdiocese to renew its lease with Ayrshire "would very greatly hamper us when we come to forcing the policy of sale on the other authorities later on."<sup>265</sup>

On 15 May 1928, the sale of the Archdiocesan-owned schools within the city of Glasgow to the Education Authority came into effect.<sup>266</sup> However, in September of the same year similar offers of sale previously made to the other education authorities were withdrawn, and the Diocesan Education Board instead successfully proposed that a one-year lease should be negotiated.<sup>267</sup> The proposed reform of Local Government, and the considerations raised by the Bonnybridge case, made "it necessary to proceed with caution."<sup>268</sup> In 1918-19, the Church had viewed with suspicion the advent of the *ad hoc* education authorities, even though these were elected by the ratepayers on a plural system of voting which allowed transfer of votes according to preferences.<sup>269</sup> Even greater misgivings were aroused when in 1929-30



the Local Government (Scotland) Act replaced the former authorities with Statutory Committees of County, or Burgh, Councils on which minorities were to be represented by co-opted members. Glasgow Corporation in drawing up its required *scheme for the constitution of an Education Committee*, proposed that Catholic representation on its Committee should be limited to one individual.<sup>270</sup> In reality however, three of the Councils - Glasgow, Dunbartonshire, and Renfrewshire - included two Catholic representatives, while Lanarkshire accepted three.<sup>271</sup> A conscious effort was also made by the Diocesan Education Board to ensure that one such representative in each county was a layman.

After 1929, the Board continued to proceed cautiously with regard to the ownership of diocesan schools, for although the policy of sale was not totally abandoned, it was considerably delayed and tended to become somewhat piecemeal. Though intimation had been given to Lanarkshire county council in September 1930 of the Board's willingness to sell the schools serving Cleland, Baillieston and St. Patrick's Coatbridge, a further five schools - at Uddingston, Bothwell, Newmains, Larkhall, and New Stevenston - were not sold until January 1937.<sup>272</sup> In Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire leasing agreements persisted, though in October 1936 the county clerk of Renfrewshire wrote to the Diocesan Education Board requesting terms of sale.<sup>273</sup> In March 1938, his counterpart in Dunbartonshire made a similar approach, and by January 1939 valuations in respect of six schools had been prepared.<sup>274</sup> However, the advent of war eight months later effectively thwarted these negotiations for in January 1940 Dunbartonshire County Council withdrew from the sale, primarily because of wartime restrictions on capital expenditure. Leases were instead continued for a further five years.<sup>275</sup>

Though the eventual sale of the Catholic schools within the Archdiocese was therefore spread over a considerable period of time, the financial impracticality of building schools from its own resources had earlier been acknowledged. Any lasting solution to the problems of overcrowding, and the replacement of inadequate school buildings involved a sustained injection of capital expenditure which the Church itself could not

hope to meet. Further extension of Catholic post-primary provision also required a similar commitment of resources. However, as the rental income received from leasing was evidently "below the cost of the inadequate building programme already carried out or under way,"<sup>276</sup> the necessary commitment could clearly not be forthcoming. Nor at a time when "industry is depressed and unemployment rampant"<sup>277</sup> could Catholic congregations continue to bear such a financial burden. As a result, during the course of 1928-29, Archbishop Mackintosh informed the various authorities that the Church "could not for the future undertake the provision of new school accommodation."<sup>278</sup> The outlay involved in building new primary schools had severely strained the finances of some missions, which found themselves unable to meet the interest on the debt incurred. In response, the Diocesan Education Board resolved in March 1931 to refund to these missions one half of the money spent on the building of schools. If, even after receiving this relief, any mission was still in difficulty, "interest on the remaining half of the school burden [would] be met by the Board, in whole or in part, as long as the Archbishop thinks it necessary."<sup>279</sup>

In spite of their efforts therefore, missions had not been able to effect any overall increase in the provision of Catholic primary places. Indeed by 1926-27, when available primary places numbered 85,667, this figure was 3.66% lower than in 1918-19. The total of post-primary places did rise though, by a third, during the same decade.<sup>280</sup> However, as many places were provided at the cheapest possible cost, by converting church halls into classrooms, or by erecting, or renting, temporary premises,<sup>281</sup> the underlying problem of unsatisfactory school buildings had still not been resolved; a belief confirmed in October 1928 when the Scottish Education Department complained about the "inadequacy of the accommodation in some fifteen of the Catholic schools."<sup>282</sup> In Renfrewshire, serious overcrowding in the Advanced Division of St. Mary's School, Greenock, persisted until 1931 when the County Council provided an annexe with accommodation for 630 pupils.<sup>283</sup> The opening of St. Columba's High School in 1933, to provide secondary education for the Catholic community of Greenock and its hinterland brought further, and more permanent, relief.



In waiving its right to build, the Archdiocese doubtless hoped that the local authorities, as in the case of Greenock, would be able to effect a more rapid improvement in Catholic school provision and ease overcrowding, particularly in the post-primary sector. To some extent such hopes were realised. In Glasgow, between 1936-1939, two senior, and three junior, secondaries were established.<sup>284</sup> The opening of Holyrood senior secondary in 1936 to serve the south side of the city had a noticeable, and immediate, effect upon St. Mungo's Academy where the numbers attempting the qualifying examination for entrance fell by almost one-third (31%).<sup>285</sup> In Lanarkshire after 1928, two new junior secondaries were opened.<sup>286</sup> Dunbartonshire however, was relatively less well served, for although a new building was provided in 1931 to house St. Ninian's in Kirkintilloch,<sup>287</sup> the absence of any attempt to make senior secondary schooling available in Clydebank was a notable omission.

Though between 1926 and 1935, a further 4929 post-primary, and 9611 primary, places had been created in the Western Province,<sup>288</sup> the trade depression of the 1930s led to a period of retrenchment in education from which the Catholic community was not wholly immune. Teachers were forced to accept cuts in salary as an alternative to unemployment,<sup>289</sup> while only those students obtaining the best teaching marks during their college course were able to secure employment. Opportunities to enter the profession were also curtailed. The Diocesan Education Board in 1934 noted the potential cutback in the intake of students to Jordanhill Training College, where most Catholic male students received their training.<sup>290</sup> The economic difficulties which gave rise to such proposals also led Glasgow Corporation in 1934 to refuse to provide separate school accommodation for the Catholic community in the Cardonald district of the city "which had increased greatly in population...on account of housing developments."<sup>291</sup> Though "a considerable number of Catholic families" had moved into the area the number of children was initially deemed insufficient to merit their own school. Instead, Catholic pupils were accommodated in Craigton Public School where separate Catholic classes were formed, with Catholic teachers.<sup>292</sup> In effect, the Corporation's Education Committee wished to maximise the use of its school buildings, thereby to avoid incurring unnecessary expenditure. As it appeared that an

education authority could not be forced to build a denominational school under the terms of the 1918 Act, Glasgow availed itself of the continuing opportunity to erect new school buildings under the Act of 1872, thus retaining a liberty to change their character as future circumstances might suggest.<sup>293</sup> The Diocesan Education Board at first made no objection to this arrangement, for so long as Catholic children occupied any such building the Corporation treated it "for all other purposes as being a school under the 1918 Act."<sup>294</sup> Similarly, the Board did not demur when, in times of emergency, non-Catholic children had to share a building allocated to the Catholic community. However, the campaign waged by the Scottish Protestant League, under its leader Alexander Ratcliffe, caused considerable anxiety to the Church authorities. Ratcliffe's aim at the Municipal elections in 1934 was to unseat the Socialists who supported the 1918 Act; as he hoped, through both local and Parliamentary action, to "bring down the rates and end the present shameful two-fold sectarian school system which is burdening the rates and taxes."<sup>295</sup> Concerned, both by Ratcliffe's activities, and by Glasgow's clear intent to continue to build using the provisions of the 1872 Act, the Diocesan Education Board approached the Scottish Education Department for guidance. Bishop Brown of Pella, the former Apostolic Visitor, also intervened. In response, the Department suggested that the provision of schools under the 1872 Act could tend "to keep the Protestant objectors to such schools quiet," and so help the Catholic view,<sup>296</sup> though it was doubtful if this sufficiently compensated for the absence of legal safeguards. The whole problem, it was admitted, "is very difficult and has the seeds of trouble."<sup>297</sup>

By 1943, the trouble anticipated by the Department had not arisen. The eighteen schools in Scotland built under the 1872 Act, the majority of them in Glasgow, continued to be administered under the 1918 Act.<sup>298</sup> However, as Archbishop McDonald of Edinburgh pointed out, the fact that no difficulties had yet occurred did not imply that the problem had been solved. Schools erected under the 1872 Act simply did not enjoy the protection and benefits of the 1918 Act, and, in McDonald's opinion, the "seriousness of the position" if difficulties later arose, was readily apparent. Of particular concern was the position of the supervisors of religious instruction, authority for whose appointment was provided only in the 1918 Act. It



ws therefore feared that in those schools built under the 1872 Act, education committees could at any time appoint non-Catholic teachers, while refusing to appoint supervisors of religious instruction, as that Act had made no such provision.<sup>299</sup>

The evident concern over the position of the supervisors of religious instruction, reflected the desire of the Catholic authorities to maintain the religious character of their schools. This desire was also demonstrated in other ways, most notably in the requirements for intending teachers who had to be approved by the appropriate diocesan authority with regard to "religious belief and character."<sup>300</sup> In order to qualify for such recognition, in the form of the Religious Certificate of Approval, male students were required to reside in St. Kentigern's Hostel during their course of studies at Jordanhill, while female students were required to train in either of the two Catholic teacher-training colleges at Craiglockhart in Edinburgh, or at Dowanhill. Both groups of students had also to sit a second formal Religious Examination, having already passed the Prospective Teachers' Examination in their final year of secondary schooling.<sup>301</sup> The Hostel system however, did not prove to be a success, and as early as June 1923 the Marist Brother in charge informed the Diocesan Education Board that the students' attitude was "one of continuous protest" and advised that residence should become optional.<sup>302</sup> Nevertheless, the Board would not be dissuaded from its desire to provide an adequate hostel for men students who proposed to become teachers, and it continued to uphold as late as 1927, its belief in the benefits to be derived from some period of hostel residence, possibly during students' postgraduate year at Jordanhill.<sup>303</sup> The Religious Certificate of Approval however, proved to be a more permanent feature, though it was partly dependent for its effectiveness on the co-operation of the various education committees. Not all committees were consistent in ensuring that candidates for teaching posts possessed the required qualification, and in February 1941 the Board specifically noted that five teachers teaching in Renfrewshire did not possess the religious certificate.<sup>304</sup>

The outbreak of the Second World War in fact forced the Archdiocese to relax some of its regulations. In October 1939, due to the exceptional circumstances then prevailing,

two pupils were permitted to attend Ayr Academy, and the Board determined that Archbishop Mackintosh's ruling should apply to other students in a similar position.<sup>305</sup> The evacuation of children from the city and its environs to designated receiving areas such as Perthshire and Aberdeenshire, also compelled the diocesan authorities to accept, though "under protest", that "in cases where it was proposed to merge Catholic children in Protestant schools," the relevant Director of Education should "be obeyed in the first instance."<sup>306</sup> Nevertheless, where possible, the Board sought to obtain information on the position in the various districts, with Brother Germanus, for example, submitting a satisfactory report on evacuation areas in Perthshire.<sup>307</sup>

When the schools re-opened after the summer vacation in 1939 their first priority was to complete evacuation arrangements. St. Mungo's Academy was open all day on Saturday and Sunday 26 and 27 August "to provide information and take the names of the boys who were leaving the city."<sup>308</sup> On being notified that evacuation would take place between 1-3 September, the school closed at once, and those pupils being evacuated were instructed to report to their assembly points - the Catholic primary schools in their neighbourhood. The remaining pupils were told to stay at home until further notice. From the nearby school of St. Mary's, Calton, about 500 children were also evacuated, to Cults in Aberdeenshire.<sup>309</sup> In Scotland as a whole, during the first three days of September 101,774 children left those built-up areas deemed to be most at risk from air-raids - Edinburgh, Rosyth, Glasgow, Clydebank and Dundee.<sup>310</sup>

However, the expected raids did not immediately materialise. Furthermore, as the period of the "phoney war" became more protracted, groups of evacuees began to return to the major cities, and the need to provide a closer approximation to peacetime educational facilities became more acute. Though some Glasgow schools, like St. Mungo's, had re-opened by the end of October 1939, the absence of air-raid shelters meant that attendance could only be on a voluntary basis, and confined to limited numbers, to minimise risks in the event of bombing. Inevitably therefore, only part-time education was initially possible. In St. Mary's in December 1939, classes of twenty pupils, each class on a weekly timetable of five hours, were receiving



instruction.<sup>311</sup> However by April 1940, school attendance, on a part-time basis only, was once more made compulsory throughout the city.<sup>312</sup> Full-time provision was only gradually re-introduced, but seems to have been effective in many schools, both primary and secondary, by Easter 1942.<sup>313</sup>

The considerable delay in re-establishing full-time education can be attributed in part to the disruption caused by evacuation. Such disruption of school routine however, was further compounded by staffing difficulties, and by pressure on available accommodation. Evacuation itself could contribute to staff shortages, as in St. Mary's, Calton, where the school was initially able to operate only by drawing on the services of "those teachers who could be spared" from the evacuation point at Cults, Aberdeenshire.<sup>314</sup> In addition, many young teachers went almost immediately to the Services or into "war work." In August 1939, two members of staff from the science department at St. Mungo's were assigned for part-time service in the city analyst's offices to aid in the task of gas detection, and a rota of attendance covering the whole science staff was later prepared.<sup>315</sup> Moreover during the course of the war, thirty-four teachers from the school joined the forces.<sup>316</sup> As teaching was a reserved occupation only for those aged thirty-five and over, there occurred, as in the First World War, a shortage of qualified male teachers.<sup>317</sup> The operation of the call-up system led to a constant turnover in school staffs. The availability of school places, too, was restricted, both by military requirements, and the effect of air raids. Within a year of the outbreak of war, ninety-four schools in Scotland were wholly, and 199 partly, occupied for military purposes,<sup>318</sup> while others suffered considerable damage from air raids, resulting in the need to obtain temporary accommodation. After the Clydebank Blitz of March 1941, many schools were left either demolished or useless, and some Catholic pupils from the town were evacuated to attend St. Ninian's High School, Kirkintilloch, where the roll increased rapidly.<sup>319</sup> Catholic schools were also, on occasion, asked to accept non-Catholic children. In Dalmuir, with the "public" school out of commission, Dunbartonshire County Council requested permission from the diocesan authorities to house temporarily these pupils in St. Stephen's RC School.<sup>320</sup>

Even when places were available, war-time exigencies exerted a continued influence over the pattern of school life. Teachers' summer holidays were curtailed so that their fire-watching duties could be maintained all year round; and schools re-opened earlier than normal to allow "a further three weeks of closed doors in the autumn" so that pupils could assist in bringing in the grain and potato harvests.<sup>321</sup> Many schools also maintained allotments. Within the classroom itself, teaching could be further interrupted, as in St. Mungo's, by the periodic suspension of normal study to allow senior pupils to prepare ration books and identity cards for distribution.<sup>322</sup>

As a result of the war, it proved impossible to maintain educational standards and attainment. The Leaving Certificate had to be organised under emergency arrangements, and temporarily ceased to be a national examination, with papers instead being set by a local panel and corrected under the supervision of a regional board of assessors composed of selected headmasters, principal teachers, and inspectors. The Certificate became unquestionably easier to obtain.<sup>323</sup> The Scottish Education Department in 1947, while acknowledging the efforts made by teachers during the war years, commented that at the primary stage, "proficiency in written composition, arithmetic and the power to comprehend what is read," had not yet returned to pre-war levels.<sup>324</sup>

#### 4. 1945-62

Even prior to the end of the war however, forward planning for educational reconstruction and future requirements was being undertaken. The effect of the war on home life, with fathers in the forces and mothers at work, focussed attention on the need to extend social assistance and welfare arrangements in the schools, and on making nursery provision available for pre-school children. Such concerns found expression in the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act which provided for free milk, meals, and medical inspection for all children, while nursery schools could be established in those areas "where there was sufficient demand."<sup>325</sup> Catholic leaders accepted that "social conditions have arisen and may continue which may render it imperative or at least highly desirable to send their children to school before the age of five."<sup>326</sup> Nevertheless, the Hierarchy made clear its desire that separate nursery provision,



where numbers were sufficient, should be made for Catholic children.

In reality however, the Hierarchy's fears were premature, for, in the decades after 1945, nursery schools were destined to remain an underdeveloped sector of education, with other, more immediately urgent, problems claiming the attention of the various authorities. The damage, and destruction, to school buildings caused by the war, contributed to a continued shortage of school places; a shortage which was further emphasized when a school leaving age of fifteen became effective in 1947. The raising of the leaving age was expected to add about 60,000 pupils to school rolls,<sup>327</sup> and, as a result most authorities accepted the Scottish Education Department's offer to provide additional classrooms in the form of hatted buildings. In addition, as wartime conditions had effectively denuded both the schools, and the training colleges, of their male students, sufficient teachers were not available. For this reason, the 1945 Act abolished the marriage disqualification for women teachers,<sup>328</sup> and a succession of special schemes sought to attract entrants into the teaching profession. The temporary Emergency Training Scheme, was superseded in 1951 by the Special Recruitment Scheme which offered financial assistance to individuals following other occupations who were prepared to train as teachers.<sup>329</sup>

Though these twin problems of school accommodation and teacher supply were common to both Catholic and non-Catholic schools, their persistence pressed particularly heavily upon the former, for the inter-war attempts by both diocesan and public authorities to effect some improvement in these areas had already been constrained by economic depression. For example in 1945, there was still no higher grade school in Clydebank to serve the Catholic communities of Yoker, Clydebank, Dalmuir, Old Kilpatrick, Duntocher, and Hardgate. Instead, 126 children - sixty-eight girls and fifty-eight boys - travelled respectively to Notre Dame, and St. Patrick's, High Schools in Dumbarton, while others attended local non-Catholic schools.<sup>330</sup> The Diocesan Education Board noted with some concern the evident reluctance of parents to send their children to Dumbarton due to the distance involved.<sup>331</sup>

The secondary department of Our Holy Redeemer's Clydebank, however, was not replaced until 1970. In that year, St. Andrew's High opened as a comprehensive school offering a full five-six-year secondary course; though St. Columba's Secondary, incorporating the Junior Secondary department of St. Mary's, Duntocher, had already opened nine years previously in 1961.<sup>332</sup> Improvements in secondary provision and accommodation in the town therefore occurred only gradually, a process which was reflected throughout the Western Province. In 1947, the Scottish Education Department admitted that progress in school building was disappointingly slow,<sup>333</sup> and the continuation of building restrictions and the licensing system until 1954 meant that, as in the case of new churches, any necessary expansion was limited due to a shortage of materials. No new, purpose-built Catholic secondary was built anywhere in the Province until the opening of St. Augustine's in the Milton district of Glasgow in 1954.<sup>334</sup>

In the mid-1950s, and subsequently, education authorities continued to be actively engaged in tackling the difficulties of providing accommodation. The higher birth-rate of the post-war era, combined with a decline in infant mortality, meant a continued pressure on school places, a pressure which was exacerbated by a reduction in the permissible size of classes. The Day Schools (Scotland) Code of 1950 specified class maxima of forty-five in the primary school, forty in the first three years of secondary education, and thirty thereafter.<sup>335</sup> Population movements into new housing areas also created a demand for new school buildings and additional places.

By the early 1960s, some education authorities had made considerable progress in the provision of new schools. Cranhill comprehensive school for example, opened at the end of 1960, was the seventy-fifth new school in Glasgow since the war.<sup>336</sup> New schools, however, took time to plan and erect, and education authorities, now legally required to provide "secondary education for all,"<sup>337</sup> initially attempted to meet their obligations by adapting and recategorising existing buildings. In Glasgow, advanced division centres, and primary schools containing sizeable advanced division classes continued to be upgraded to junior secondary status. Similarly, outwith the city, the



extension to St. Mary's School, Whifflet, began an independent existence as St. Edmund's Junior Secondary in 1948;<sup>338</sup> although in Port Glasgow, St. John's functioned as both a primary and junior secondary school until 1960.<sup>339</sup>

The division of post-primary schooling into a system of senior and junior secondaries, was first introduced in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1936,<sup>340</sup> but its full implementation had been delayed by the outbreak of war. As well as attempting therefore, to remedy the deficiencies caused by the war, education authorities had also to confront the problems posed by secondary reorganisation. The purpose and goals of the senior secondary were relatively well-defined, with its pupils being prepared for the Leaving Certificate examinations. By contrast, the junior secondary, attended by the bulk of the population, offered no certificate to its pupils on completion of their three-year course. This bipartite system however, based on the academic selection of pupils at the end of their primary school courses, raised fundamental questions as to the nature of secondary education, particularly when the Advisory Council in 1947 had made clear that the non-certificate child should not be regarded as inferior to his more intellectually gifted counterpart.<sup>341</sup> Indeed, by the mid-1950s when education authorities were better able to plan for future requirements, the effectiveness of the bipartite system was already being questioned. Glasgow, for example, had already begun to move away from the junior-senior secondary division, and planned instead for the establishment of six-year comprehensive secondary schools, attended by children of all abilities. In the minds of most Scottish parents, the junior secondary had become a symbol of educational failure, with the majority of pupils leaving before the completion of their course.<sup>342</sup> By 1955, similar dissatisfaction was reflected in the political manifesto of the Labour Party, which declared that "the ideal of a comprehensive educational system is part of the Scottish tradition."<sup>343</sup>

Reform of the examination system in the early 1960s further facilitated the introduction of comprehensive education. In 1962, the Lower Leaving Certificate, available only in the senior secondary school, was replaced by the ordinary grade certificate.<sup>344</sup> The new examination could be taken either in existing senior secondaries, or in any junior

secondary which cared to provide the necessary fourth year of secondary education.<sup>345</sup> Its introduction meant that the clearcut bipartite system disappeared, and outwith the city particularly, education authorities undertook a programme of creating four-year junior high schools. In Lanarkshire, in 1964, St. Mary's, Whifflet, St. Cuthbert's, Burnbank, and St. Aidan's, Wishaw, were all upgraded to become four-year secondaries, as, subsequently, were St. Joseph's, Motherwell, and St. Margaret's, Airdrie.<sup>346</sup> Similarly, in the town of Paisley a two-tier system was created, by which junior high schools acted as feeders for the six-year senior high schools, such as St. Mirin's High School for boys, and St. Margaret's Convent for girls.<sup>347</sup>

It could be argued therefore that the advent of the junior high school made relatively easy the transition from selective to comprehensive education, for although the two-tier system remained the basis for secondary education in Paisley, in other parts of Renfrewshire such as Greenock, and in Lanarkshire, the junior high schools were steadily upgraded to become full six-year comprehensives. John Ogilvie High School, (formerly St. Cuthbert's), Burnbank, achieved such status in 1973, as did Notre Dame High School, Greenock.<sup>348</sup> In conjunction with the ordinary grade examination, the junior high schools also contributed to an increase in the number of pupils remaining at school beyond the normal leaving-age.<sup>349</sup>

The full-scale introduction of comprehensive education was initiated by the return of a Labour Government in 1964. Barely a year later, in October 1965, Circular 600, issued by the Scottish Education Department, declared that henceforth the Scottish educational system would be comprehensive in nature, and local authorities were invited to submit schemes for bringing the decision into effect.<sup>350</sup> In areas such as Glasgow, where the policy had already been anticipated, the changeover to the comprehensive system was virtually complete by the early 1970s.<sup>351</sup> For the Catholic community, the effects of the new system were likely to prove significant, as it contributed to a more rapid expansion than might otherwise have been possible, in the number of Catholic schools providing the full secondary course. Large junior secondaries were reorganised as comprehensives, while their smaller counterparts



either reverted to primary status, or closed. In Glasgow, the seven Catholic senior secondaries existing in 1950, had, by 1972, been supplemented by thirteen six-year comprehensives.<sup>352</sup> Similarly, in Lanarkshire in 1964 only four Catholic schools offered the full Leaving Certificate course; by 1977, this number had increased to eleven.<sup>353</sup> In Renfrewshire, comprehensive schools were opened at Port Glasgow, and Gourock.<sup>354</sup> Paisley however, and its surrounding hinterland including Barrhead and Linwood, maintained its two-tier arrangement of senior and junior high schools, in spite of opposition to this policy from the Scottish Education Department.<sup>355</sup> Dunbartonshire county council was also confronted with the difficulty of making provision for the increasing population in the new town of Cumbernauld. Until 1968, pupils from the town had to attend St. Ninian's High, Kirkintilloch, which also by arrangement with Lanarkshire education authority, accepted Catholic secondary pupils resident in the Glasgow suburb of Bishopbriggs.<sup>356</sup> Not until the 1970s, with the opening of Turnbull High, was a comprehensive school provided for Bishopbriggs and some permanent relief at last offered to St. Ninian's.

Improved educational opportunities for Catholics however, could not be effected solely by the provision of the necessary secondary places, for the persistent shortage of teachers acted as one factor inhibiting development. The most serious shortages occurred in mathematics, science, homecraft, and physical education, but many schools also found it difficult to recruit teachers of English, music, history, geography, commerce and art.<sup>357</sup> Mathematics was particularly badly served, for, with only a very meagre supply of honours graduates entering the teaching profession, it was difficult to find suitable candidates for appointment as heads of department,<sup>358</sup> a situation which boded ill for the future development of the subject, particularly in the early 1960s when the work of the Nuffield Foundation contributed to the introduction of an alternative syllabus not only in mathematics, but also in science. Moreover the division of science into its component parts - physics, chemistry, and biology - itself created a need for more specialist teachers. The new Scottish Certificate of Education from the 1960s onwards, also promoted an increase in the number of separate subjects, with new courses such as 'modern studies' being introduced.<sup>359</sup>

In attempting to attract the necessary specialist teachers, education had to compete with the attractions of industry and commerce, and with posts in the scientific and civil service, all of which absorbed increasing numbers of graduates direct from university. Graduate recruitment into the teaching profession in the mid-1950s was only forty per cent of the figure a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>360</sup> For Catholic schools, which drew upon non-Catholic specialists to make up shortfalls in specific subjects, such a reduction in graduate entrants into teaching could only extend the period of staffing difficulty. In addition, increasing "wastage" rates among young woman teachers, in part due to earlier marriage, became a source of concern. Of those female students who had completed their training between 1959 and 1963, almost one quarter (25%) were no longer teaching by the latter date.<sup>361</sup> Thus, although Notre Dame College of Education over the same period trained 648 female teachers, 484 with the primary, and 164 with the secondary, qualification,<sup>362</sup> it could reasonably be expected that a substantial number of these would leave the profession within a few years. Nor, at least in the 1960s, could male entrants to teaching have compensated for such losses, for, in 1962, they comprised only 17 per cent of the training colleges' total intake.<sup>363</sup> Such difficulties in teacher supply led education authorities to employ increasing numbers of retired and uncertificated teachers, with some staff aged more than seventy being re-employed.<sup>364</sup> In 1962, it was estimated that to fill vacancies, reduce over-size classes, and replace the teachers aged over seventy, would require an additional 3,739 teachers,<sup>365</sup> a figure which had risen by 1966, to 5,000.<sup>366</sup> As a result, a national campaign was launched to persuade married women to return to the profession, particularly to relieve shortages in the primary schools. Though by 1972, the staffing position in Catholic schools had improved - assisted by a fall in the birth-rate, and by the arrival within the teaching profession of some of the beneficiaries of the post-war expansion of secondary education - the raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen in 1972 tended to offset any increase in teacher supply. "As relatively fewer pupils in Roman Catholic schools formerly remained at school after the age of fifteen these schools tended to be more affected by the raising of the leaving-age."<sup>367</sup> Further, though 'the increase in the number of [Catholic] teachers...was proportionately greater than in non-denominational schools the number of [Catholic] pupils increased still faster.'<sup>368</sup>



As a result, though staffing shortages continued to afflict non-denominational schools as well, Catholic pupil-teacher ratios remained comparatively high.<sup>369</sup> In an attempt to effect some improvement, authorities drew upon the Scottish Education Department's designated area schemes of 1967 and 1971 which targeted resources to areas of greatest need. Under both schemes, supplements to salary were made to induce teachers to apply for posts in the most seriously understaffed schools.<sup>370</sup> The national total of posts covered by the scheme, 3,785 in 1967 and 4,565 in 1971 - were allocated to education authorities under a quota system based on each authority's share of the most seriously understaffed schools.<sup>371</sup> The largest shares of the posts available went to Glasgow, Lanarkshire, and Renfrewshire. Indeed, in 1971, these three counties alone accounted for 85% of the allocation.<sup>372</sup> Each authority was then invited to select schools, both primary and secondary, for designation within its quota. As staffing ratios for Catholic schools were "manifestly not as satisfactory as for non-denominational schools,"<sup>373</sup> the Catholic community benefitted disproportionately from such incentives. Indeed, the operation of the 1971 scheme in Glasgow was deliberately weighted in favour of Catholic schools by designating no fewer than fifteen of their nineteen secondary schools, all of which had pupil-teacher ratios in excess of the highest figure (18:1) recorded in non-denominational schools. Indeed, nine out of the fifteen had ratios of 20:1 and over.<sup>374</sup> With recruitment of secondary teachers, particularly for Catholic schools, now being Glasgow's "highest staffing priority" primary schools were excluded from the 1971 scheme.<sup>375</sup>

The success of the first designation scheme, under which designated schools improved their staffing position in comparison with non-designated schools,<sup>376</sup> boded well for the impact of its successor. However, even in the early 1970s, the Catholic community faced continuing difficulties in supplying the necessary teachers, particularly from its own resources. In Ayrshire, of four secondary schools significantly understaffed in relation to their size, three were Roman Catholic.<sup>377</sup> Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire both reported staffing imbalances between non-denominational and Roman Catholic secondary schools; imbalances which affected both the school as a whole and individual subject departments.<sup>378</sup> The need in times of general shortage to recruit all teachers irrespective of the specialisms professed, could

produce imbalances between subjects, even in schools with apparently acceptable pupil-teacher ratios.<sup>379</sup> Furthermore, concerning Renfrewshire, it was suggested that Roman Catholic schools produced "proportionately fewer pupils with entry qualifications for higher education than do non-denominational schools;"<sup>380</sup> while in Glasgow the staffing complements in Catholic schools made it "very difficult...to produce pupils with the potential to become teachers,"<sup>381</sup> particularly in areas of continuing shortage such as mathematics, art, and technical subjects. Promoted posts, such as principal teachers and above, remained especially vulnerable to staffing difficulties. Even so, Glasgow was reluctant to appoint non-Catholic staff to such duties,<sup>382</sup> a policy supported by the Catholic hierarchy which desired to ensure the religious character of the schools.

Nevertheless, with its schools now both financed and controlled by Scotland's county burghs and councils, the Church's responsibilities had radically altered. Its role had become what Canon Kelly had always desired it should be, namely spiritual and pastoral rather than administrative. Even so, broader educational developments also exerted considerable influence upon the Church's ability to provide for the religious training of Catholic children. Curricular changes, and the need to alter timetables to accommodate other disciplines, meant a downgrading in importance for the religious knowledge period. Further, the rapid expansion of secondary education, and the related staffing shortages, led to the abandonment in 1966 of the Prospective Teachers religious certificate examination.<sup>383</sup> Originally geared towards the aspirations and abilities of the relatively small number of Catholic Higher grade candidates, it became both unsuitable and unwieldy in an era of secondary education for all. Nor, with their continued, though increasingly reluctant, acceptance of the need for non-Catholic and uncertificated teachers, could Catholic schools assume that every member of staff would be willing or able to undertake religious instruction.<sup>384</sup>

An awareness of such difficulties led in the early 1970s to the appointment of full-time secondary school chaplains, and the provision of religious education centres to provide resources for both clergy and teachers. Such efforts further demonstrate the Church's desire to maintain the religious character of the schools. In addition, the



belief persisted that Christian commitment could be inculcated through the schools,<sup>385</sup> particularly in an era when the family unit could not be relied upon to provide such training. Much leakage from the church could be due to "drift and laziness" a process which began as early as twelve years old when some parents removed "sanctions for non-attendance at Sunday Mass."<sup>386</sup> However, recent research on the Catholic community of England and Wales also casts doubt on the degree of effectiveness which should be attributed to the school. The school, it suggests, cannot make up for deficient religious training and example in the home, and "at the very least one half of the children attending Catholic schools subsequently cease to practice, at least in terms...of Mass attendance."<sup>387</sup> Indeed, improved access, particularly to secondary education, during the twentieth-century, may itself have contributed to non-practice, and to more permanent leakage from the church. Though by the 1970s overall Catholic educational performance remained poorer than that achieved in the non-Catholic sector, particularly in obtaining a university, or professional, qualification,<sup>388</sup> such differences were diminishing. Indeed the attainments of working-class Catholics were virtually on a par, and in some instances better,<sup>389</sup> than those achieved by their non-Catholic counterparts. In educational provision and expectations therefore, as with other social changes, the Catholic community was drawing closer to Scottish norms, with education offering, for some, a potential route for upward social mobility.<sup>390</sup> As a result, if, as Revv. Dalrymple and Ross suggest, upward social mobility represents one factor in causing "leakage" from the church, then the gradual raising of "our children from lower categories of achievement"<sup>391</sup> through educational improvement is likely to be further contributing to this problem.

### REFERENCES - CHAPTER 3

1. See Chapter 1, p. 29; Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland: Some Preliminary Outlines', *Innes Review*, Vol. XXXIII, (1982), p.48.
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3. *ibid*
4. Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1970), p.15.
5. Martha M. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818-1918', University of Glasgow, B.Ed., June 1964, p.4.
6. J.H.S.Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, (London, 1960), p.316.
7. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.27.
8. James McGloin, 'Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part One', *Innes Review*, Vol. XIII, (1962) p.89.
9. Under the auspices of the Glasgow Catholic Schools Society - see Chapter 1, pp.29-30.
10. David McRoberts, 'Catholicity in Glasgow Thirty Years Ago: (or Reminiscences of the Last Years of the Life of Mrs. Kelly)', *Innes Review*, Vol. XIV (1963), p.56. In 1833 she was elected as the first Matron of the Catholic Orphanage.
11. James E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845* (Cork, 1945), p.282.
12. *ibid*.
13. For further information on industrial schools, see Chapter 5.
14. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.12.
15. Cruickshank, *op. cit.*, p.42, pp.47-8.
16. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.12-3.
17. Martha M. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818-1918' in *The History of Scottish Education*, T.R.Bone (ed.), (London, 1967), p.16.
18. A.C.F.Beales, 'The Struggle for the Schools' in *The English Catholics: A Century of Progress*, Bishop George Andrew Beck, (ed.) (London, 1950), p.366. The Catholic Poor School Committee remained the accredited agent of the English Bishops in their educational dealings with government until it was superseded by the Catholic Education Council in 1905.



19. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.13; James Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947), p.201; Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.72 suggests though, that not until the 1860s did the annual government grant to Scotland alone amount to more than £100,000.
20. Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.15.
21. *Scottish Catholic Directory 1857*, pp.99-110, pp.135-138; Skinnider, *ibid.*, p.15. Within the area which remained in the Western Province after 1878, parochial schools in 1857 numbered 30. There were also schools at Ayr, Saltcoats and Stranraer.
22. GAA-ED5 "How the Presbyterian Schools were Financed?"
23. James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, Vol.I (London, 1969), p.233-34.
24. Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.15-7.
25. James Handley, *History of St. Mungo's Academy 1858-1958* (hereafter *History of St. Mungo's*) (printed in Paisley, c.1958), p.15 - the original invitation to the Marists to take charge of St. Mungo's Parochial School was issued as early as 1855 by Father Small's predecessor, Father Chisholm. In July 1858, Brothers Procope, Tatianus and Faust arrived.
26. T.A.Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South West Scotland before 1972 - its contribution to the change in status of the Catholic community of the area* (Aberdeen, 1986), p.26.
27. *ibid.*, p.25.
28. James Handley, "French Influence on Scottish Catholic Education in the Nineteenth Century", *Innes Review*, Vol. I (1950), p.25.
29. *ibid.*, p.26.
30. *ibid.*; Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, p.26.
31. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.17.
32. Education Commission (Scotland), Report on the State of Education in Glasgow by J. Greig and Thomas Harvey, Assistant Commissioners, (printed, Edinburgh (1866), p.81; Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.30.
33. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.122.
34. Cruickshank, *ibid.*; Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10. "Instruction in subjects beyond the essentials of education was an ideal that had to be postponed to happier times". Only in the private fee-paying schools, like St. Mungo's, conducted by the religious orders, was "secondary" work attempted.
35. J. H. Treble, "Development of Catholic Education 1878-1978", in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, David McRoberts, (ed.) (Glasgow 1978), p.117.
36. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.55.

37. *ibid*, p.56.
38. *ibid*, p.59. For every additional apprentice over three, the school received a further £3.
39. *ibid*, p.55.
40. Education Commission (Scotland) Report, *loc.cit.*, p.80, and excluding St. Aloysius College, St. Mungo's Academy, and Charlotte Street Convent. Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.30. In some cases assistants also possessed certificates.
41. Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.18.
42. James McGloin, Part One *loc. cit.* p.90.
43. Sister Dorothy Gillies (Sister John Bosco SND) 'A Pioneer of Teacher-Training in Scotland, Sister Mary of St. Wilfrid (Mary Adela Lescher 1846-1926)', *Studies from the Notre Dame Archives (British Province)*, General Editor, Sister Josephine Murray SND, Provincial Archivist, Vol.1, No.1, Autumn 1978, pp.20-1.
44. GAA-ED9 Report of the Poor School Committee, 1894, pp.61-74.
45. *ibid*
46. James Scotland, Vol.I, *op.cit.* p.235. This figure for certificated teachers was "less than a third of the number of schools."
47. *ibid*, p.236.
48. *ibid*.
49. *ibid*
50. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.28.
51. McGloin, Part One, *loc. cit.*, p.91.
52. Education Commission (Scotland), *loc.cit.*, p.80. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.32.
53. *ibid*; Lees, *op. cit.*, p.201 indicates that in 1851, in London, only 28% of boys and 25% of girls born into Irish families attended school, figures 8% lower than those for the London population as a whole. Among children aged 6 to 10, 34% attended in 1851 and 57% in 1861.
54. See Condon on Hamilton School, Chapter 1, p.30 ; *History of St. Mary's Boys School, Calton, Glasgow* (1963), p.15. Fees ranged from 1d in the lowest standards to 3d or 4d a week in the top standard. Some pupils were admitted free, with the parish conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society meeting the cost.
55. Scotland, Vol.1, *op. cit.*, p.183-84. In 1858, Mr. George Anderson, President of the Educational Institute of Scotland claimed that only 1:14 Glasgow children attended school. In Blackfriars and Calton, the figure was 1:18, in Bridgeton, 1:22; and in the Tron parish, 1:34.



56. *ibid.*, p.236.
57. *ibid*
58. Education [Argyll] Commission (Scotland), *loc. cit.*, p.83.  
*The Scottish Catholic Directory 1865*, p.103 states that, for the Western District as a whole, Congregational Day schools numbered fifty.
59. Education [Argyll] Commission, pp.127-28; Skinnider, *loc. cit.* p.22.
60. Skinnider, *loc. cit.*, p.22-3; Scotland, Vol.1, *op. cit.*, pp.361-62; Ian R. Findlay, *Education in Scotland*, (Devon, 1973), p.23.
61. Beales, *loc. cit.*, pp.373-74. Attendance was not immediately made compulsory, with 'a period of grace' being allowed for both voluntary agencies and School Boards to provide additional accommodation. The 1870 Act did however enable School Boards to frame by-laws which would render attendance compulsory.
62. *ibid.*, p.375.
63. *ibid.*, p.376.
64. *ibid.*
65. *ibid.*, p.375.
66. Letter from T.W.Allies to Archbishop Eyre, 26 August 1870, quoted in Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.40.
67. GAA-ED1/1, Minute Book, *Western District Poor School Committee 1869-91*. The Western District Poor School Committee also had to "make arrangements for providing sufficient school accommodation." The creation of a Diocesan Board of Education was undertaken in 1893.
68. GAA-ED12 - Educational Statistics of the Western District, 1870. However, these accommodation figures may be too pessimistic as no fewer than eight mission stations - Govan, Airdrie, Gavil, Carluke, Chapelhall, Mossend, Hamilton and Helensburgh quoted figures for those in average attendance, but not for available accommodation.
69. GAA-ED9 Catholic Education Crisis Fund - Circular from T.W.Allies, Secretary to Archbishop Eyre, 15 May 1874. Some of these were replacements. The number of truly additional places was 2718.
70. *ibid*
71. *ibid*
72. *ibid* As well as Government grants, and grants from the Catholic Education Crisis Fund, school funding was also obtained by donations and loans, and from congregational subscriptions (GAA-ED1/1). Skinnider, *loc. cit.*, p.24 mentions an earlier grant of £6000 in 1870.

73. GAA-ED9 Western District Board of Education, printed regulations for grants, having accepted the Rules of the Catholic Education Crisis Fund Committee, undated.
74. Scotland, Vol.I *op. cit.*, p.366. The Education Act (1870) in England had nevertheless made the establishment of School Boards permissive, not compulsory.
75. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp.30-1.
76. *ibid.*, p.31.
77. GAA-ED38 "School Board of Glasgow Report on School Attendance by the School Attendance Committee - adopted by the Board on 12 December 1881", p.5.
78. GAA-ED7 Religious Examination of Schools 1881-82. Percentages calculated using figures for school rolls and average attendance. Suburbs are defined as those areas which later became part of Glasgow City, and include Govan, Maryhill, Possil, Partick, Pollokshaws, Shettleston, Tollcross, and Springburn.
79. The title was changed to 'The Scottish Education Department' in 1918. Findlay, *op. cit.*, p.27.
80. In 1885 the Scotch Education Department abolished the Revised Code. Scotland, Vol.1, *op.cit.*, p.239.
81. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.47.
82. *ibid.*, p.48.
83. GAA-ED7, 'Religious Examination of Schools 1881-82', p.4. The actual percentage was 59.4%.
84. GAA-ED38 "School Board of Glasgow Report 1881", *loc. cit.*, p.6.
85. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.50-1.
86. McGloin, "Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part Two" *Innes Review*, Vol. XIII, (1962), pp.196-97. Such treats included an annual tea party, and school excursions, for both of which tickets were distributed to the children in attendance at school. Free Dinner Tokens were distributed during winter months to "induce poor children to attend more regularly."
87. McGloin, Part One, *loc. cit.*, p.100. When Eyre visited the Ayr Catholic School on 17 December 1877 he "spoke to the children at some length on the value of education, exhorting them to attend school regularly".
88. Skinnider, *op. cit.*, p.52.



89. The relevant figures for St. Francis School are as follows:

	Average Attendance	Presented at Government Exam.
Boys	67%	57%
Girls	64%	49%
Infants	62%	39%

from GAA-ED7 Religious Examination, 1881-82.

90. McGloin, Part One, *loc. cit.*, p.103.
91. James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, Vol.2, (London, 1969), p.17.
92. GAA-BY20 *History of St. Mary's Boys School, Calton*, p.31.
93. *ibid.*, pp.30-1.
94. *ibid.*, p.19.
95. GAA-ED7 Religious Examination of Schools, 1891-92. Dunbartonshire's rose by 15%, Lanarkshire's by 13%, and that for the city suburbs by 17%. The smallest improvement was in Renfrewshire, up by 4.62%.
96. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools, 1911-12. This figure includes the 1743 pupils on the rolls of Higher Grade and Convent Schools. This group alone had an attendance rate of 93.5%. In Scotland as a whole in 1903 85% of schoolchildren attended; Scotland, (Vol.2), *op cit.*, p.18.
97. Skinnider, *loc. cit.*, p.26.
98. GAA-ED7 Report of Religious Examination 1881-82. 30,400 places are enumerated.
99. GAA-BY20 *Centenary History of St. Margaret's, Johnstone*, (1952), pp.32-3.
100. *ibid.*, p.33, pp.52-5.
101. McGloin, Part Two, *loc. cit.*, p.199.
102. *ibid.*, p.192.
103. Strathclyde Regional Archive - D-ED7/160/1 *Log-book of Our Lady and St. Francis Higher Grade School*, 29 January 1894 - 23 December 1921, p.130.
104. GAA-BY20 *Centenary History of St. Margaret's Johnstone*, *op.cit.*, p.45.
105. GAA-ED22 Canon (later Archbishop) Mackintosh 'Analysis of Regulations for Training of Teachers and Observations on Same', January 1906, p.5; also quoted in Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education...', *loc.cit.*, p.117.
106. Treble, *ibid.*

107. *ibid.*
108. James Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919*, (London 1971), p.48.
109. *ibid.*, p.209; Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.71; Gillies, *op.cit.*, p.14.
110. Gillies, *ibid.*
111. *ibid*
112. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.122.
113. Gillies, *op.cit.*, pp.14-5.
114. *ibid.*, p.16.
115. *ibid.*, pp.17 and 19.
116. *ibid.*, p.27.
117. *ibid.*, p.24; Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.119. In 1895 Queen's Studentships were established which enabled the holder to receive professional as well as academic training under university auspices. Queen's Scholarships were specific to the training colleges, Scotland, Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.108.
118. Gillies, *op.cit.*, p.37.
119. *ibid*
120. *ibid.*, p.40.
121. GAA-ED7 Religious Examination of Schools, 1896-97, p.9.  
The number of pupils refers to the total on the rolls of the "upper middle class schools", and excludes St. Aloysius College.
122. Gillies, *op.cit.*, p.41.
123. Roxburgh, *op.cit.*, p.203.
124. *ibid.*, p.204.
125. *ibid.*, p.207.
126. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.138.
127. *ibid* Senior students were those attending training college.
128. Scotland, Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.113.
129. *ibid*
130. Gillies, *op.cit.*, pp.56-7.
131. James Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.97.
132. *ibid.*, p.108.



133. Roxburgh, *op.cit.*, p.212.
134. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.56. Fitzpatrick quotes a foundation date of 1912 for Notre Dame High School, Dumbarton, but the school already appears in the Scottish Catholic Directory for 1911; see also Chapter 2, p.72.
135. GAA-ED12 George Ritchie, Secretary, per John Hughes, to Mr. J.A.Craigie, 21 July 1893, quoted in 'Have the Council Council "overlooked the Catholics" in their scheme of secondary and technical education in the Middle Ward of Lanarkshire?' printed statement of the Catholic School Managers in the Middle Ward, p.7; George Ritchie, Circular to the Clergy, 3 July 1894.
136. GAA-ED12 George Ritchie, Secretary, Committee of Catholic Schools in the Middle Ward of Lanarkshire, circular to Catholic members of School Boards, 22 October 1894.
137. *ibid*
138. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.65.
139. GAA-ED12 "Secondary Education and Catholic Claims in the County of Renfrew - Memorial from the Catholic School Managers of Renfrewshire to the County Secondary Education Committee", 16 October 1894.
140. GAA-ED12 'Have the County Council "overlooked the Catholics"' *loc.cit.*, pp.1 and 9. The Catholic School Managers of the Middle Ward of Lanarkshire stated that they had received notice of the scheme, not from the County Council or the School Boards, but from a Catholic gentleman, Mr.O'Hear, a member of the Old Monkland School Board.
141. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.65. Such trusts eg, in Edinburgh included the Merchant Company and Heriot's Trust.
142. GAA-ED12 George Ritchie to Mr.J.A.Craigie, in 'Have the County Council "overlooked the Catholics"' *loc.cit.*, p.7.
143. Scotland Vol.2 *op.cit.*, p.56. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.120 claims that the Merit Certificate was introduced in 1892.
144. Scotland, *ibid.*, p.72.
145. *ibid.*, pp.67-9.
146. Skinnider, *op.cit.*, pp.82-3.
147. GAA-ED8 Report of the Religious Examination of Schools, 1911-12, p.5.
148. Skinnider, *op.cit.*, p.78-9.
149. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools, 1911-12, p.5; 1918-19, p.4.
150. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools, 1918-19, p.4.
151. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.183.

152. Scotland Vol.2 *op.cit.*; p.57. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1901 abolished the Labour Certificates which had hitherto enabled parents of pupils aged between ten and thirteen to apply for their children to be exempt from attendance at school in order to enter employment.
153. Skinnider, *loc.cit.*, p.34.
154. *ibid.*, p.35.
155. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.127.
156. *ibid*
157. GAA-ED28 West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association, Scale of Salaries as amended at the General Meeting of 19 December 1903 (see Appendix 4).
158. Scotland Vol.2 *op.cit.*, p.127.
159. GAA-ED28 letter from the National Council of the Scottish Catholic Teachers' Federation to unidentified Monsignor, 25 June 1914.
160. GAA-ED28 Charles McKay to Archbishop Maguire, 8 December 1907.
161. Scotland, Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.128.
162. GAA-ED28 Speech delivered by His Grace the Archbishop of Glasgow [Archbishop Eyre] to a meeting of the teachers of the Archdiocese, held in St. John's School, Glasgow, on 26 January, 1889, p.2 [printed in Catholic Teachers' Association (hereafter CTA) circular, 4 March 1891.]
163. GAA-ED28 Charles McKay to Canon Ritchie, 30 November 1907.
164. GAA-ED28 Eyre's speech to the teachers of the Archdiocese, 26 January 1889, p.2 [CTA circular, 4 March 1891.]
165. GAA-ED28 Rev. John Ritchie to James Bonner, President of the Catholic Teachers' Association, 9 June 1903 - Ritchie was expressly instructed by Archbishop Maguire to send this letter.
166. GAA-ED28 Rev. Ellis Rogan to Archbishop Maguire, 28 May 1903.
167. GAA-ED28 Eyre's speech to the teachers of the Archdiocese, 26 January 1889, p.2 [in CTA circular 4 March 1891.]
168. GAA-ED2 Memorandum to the Scotch Education Department, April 1896.
169. GAA-ED28 Rev. Ellis Rogan to Archbishop Maguire, 28 May 1903.
170. *ibid*
171. GAA-ED16 from Southwark, William. S. Moore, Secretary, West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association, to Monsignor Brown, 7 July 1917. - photocopy of original in Southwark diocesan archive, as are all similar citations.
172. *ibid*



173. GAA-ED16 from Southwark. United Irish League of Great Britain, Teachers' Branch, Education (Scotland) Bill 1918 Suggestion for Amendments, p.2; and paper prepared by the Catholic Teachers' Union, 12 July 1918.
174. GAA-ED16 James Coneghan to Monsignor Brown, 26 November 1917; William S.Moore to Monsignor Brown, 27 November 1917.
175. GAA-ED16 Sister Mary of St. Wilfrid (Mary Adela Lescher) to Monsignor Brown, 3 December 1917.
176. *ibid*, 6 December 1917.
177. GAA-ED7 Religious Examination of Schools, 1881-82, p.8.
178. See Chapter 3, p.169.
179. GAA-ED7 and 8 Reports of Religious Examination of Schools, *passim*.
180. GAA-ED2 Memorandum to the Scotch Education Department, April 1896.
181. GAA-ED2 Diocesan Education Board, Report by sub-committee on Voluntary Schemes, 27 February 1896.
182. *ibid*
183. GAA-ED2 Memorandum to the Scotch Education Department, April 1896.
184. Beales, *loc.cit.*, p.384.
185. *ibid*, p.386.
186. Skinnider, *loc.cit.*, p.45.
187. *ibid*, p.47.
188. Handley, *Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit.*, p.237; Brother Kenneth "The Education (Scotland) Act 1918 in the Making" *Innes Review*, Vol. XIX, No.2, (1968), p.98, suggests that the Edinburgh discussions took place as early as June 1916.
189. Skinnider, *loc.cit.*, p.55.
190. Brother Kenneth, *loc.cit.*, p.97. The first deputation from the Catholic Education Committee met Mr. McKinnon Wood in July 1912.
191. *ibid*, p.102.
192. *ibid*, pp.107-08.
193. *ibid*, p.109.
194. *ibid*, p.112.
195. *ibid*
196. *ibid*, pp.119-20.

197. *ibid.*, p.121.
198. *ibid.*, p.123.
199. *ibid.* ; Skinnider, *loc.cit.*, p.61.
200. Brother Kenneth, *loc.cit.*, p.124. Skinnider, *ibid.*, p.62.
201. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.123.
202. GAA-ED11 Minute of Meeting of Catholic Education Council, Edinburgh, 28 July 1919, p.3.
203. *ibid.*; GAA-ED11 Ritchie to Monsignor Brown, 29 July 1919.
204. GAA-ED11, letters from John McLachlan, writer, to Monsignor John Ritchie, 12-15 November 1919.
205. GAA-MY52/18 - *Ad Clerum*, 20 September 1923. Diocesan Education Boards were normally reconstituted every three years.
206. J.H.Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act in Glasgow Archdiocese', *Innes Review*, Vol.XXXI, (1980), p.30; Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.125.
207. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', *loc.cit.*, p.31.
208. *ibid.*, p.33.
209. *ibid.*
210. Scotland, Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.44.
211. GAA-ED11 Monsignor Hugh Kelly [to unidentified Monsignor], 25 March 1920.
212. GAA-ED1/5 undated Memorandum from Canon Hugh Kelly inserted in the *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 25 June 1923-3 May 1926*
213. Memorandum, *ibid.*
214. *ibid.*
215. GAA-ED11 General Report to the Education Authority of Glasgow by Thomas D. Smellie & Fraser, Surveyors and Valuers, on the Voluntary Roman Catholic Schools which are proposed to be leased by the Managers to the Education Authority, 20 August 1919, p.6.
216. GAA-ED1/5 undated Memorandum from Canon Hugh Kelly inserted in the *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 1923-1926*.
217. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act' *loc.cit.*, p.35.



218. GAA-ED11 Report of Smellie & Fraser, Surveyors and Valuers, (see p.181) pp.1 and 2; GAA-ED41, report by same firm on Dunbartonshire RC schools.
219. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', *loc.cit.*, p.35.
220. *ibid*
221. GAA-ED1/3 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 30 December 1918-3 October 1921, (11 October 1920), unpaginated.*
222. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.125.
223. GAA-ED41 copy report from Scottish Education Department, (32.3883), 30 September 1919.
224. GAA-ED1/5 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 5 December 1924, unpaginated.*
225. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's, op.cit.*, pp.147 and 153.
226. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.57.
227. GAA-ED41 copy report from Scottish Education Department, (19/E.8061 178 H.G.) undated.
228. ED1/5 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 28 January 1924, p.49.*
229. ED1/3 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 11 October 1920, unpaginated. St. Mungo's Academy in the early 1920s also found it necessary to restrict admissions (Handley, op.cit., p.148).*
230. GAA-ED41 copy report from Scottish Education Department (19/E.8192 178) undated.
231. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', *loc.cit.*, p.35.
232. GAA-ED41 copy report from Scottish Education Department, (32.2686) 4 December 1919.
233. GAA-ED41 copy report from Scottish Education Department, (32.3883) 27 September 1920.
234. GAA-ED41 copy report from Scottish Education Department, (19/E.8061-178 H.G.), undated.
235. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.127.
236. *ibid* Even prior to the 1918 Act, the church in the West of Scotland had sought the services of Irish teachers to ease the staffing shortage in its schools, but such attempts were not particularly successful, with the Scottish Education Department being reluctant to recognise those with Irish qualifications.
237. GAA-ED1/5 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, Teachers and Hostel Sub-Committee, 18 February 1924, p.51.*

238. GAA-FR18/1 *Charitable Trust, Minute Book 12 June 1925-23 December 1932*, 12 June 1925, unpaginated.
239. GAA-FR18/1 the normal amounts awarded to individuals in loan grants were:
- University Arts Course - 3 years - £60
  - 4 years - £80
  
  - Training College - 2 years - £40
  - 3 years - £60
240. GAA-FR18/1, *ibid*, 12 June 1925. Powers to award loan-grants to suitable candidates were delegated by the Diocesan Education Board to its Treasurer and Secretary. Only the most doubtful cases were settled by the Board itself.
241. Mrs. Ellen McHugh to author. In 1924, it became a requirement that all male teachers must be graduates. (Cruickshank, *op.cit*, p.169).
242. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit*, p.71.
243. *ibid*
244. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', *loc.cit.*, p.41.
245. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.160.
246. *ibid*
247. Scotland, *op.cit.*, p.73; Cruickshank, *ibid*.
248. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', *loc.cit.*, p.38.
249. Findlay, *op.cit.*, pp.27-8. Provision for a school-leaving age of fifteen had been included in the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, but the economic difficulties of the inter-war years and the outbreak of the Second World War meant that such a measure did not become effective until 1945.
250. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.177 - some of the furthest travelled pupils came from as far away as Stirlingshire and Ayr.
251. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools 1920-21.
252. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools 1927-28 - the actual percentage was 8.1%. 0.67% of the total number of pupils on the School Rolls of the province attended the advanced division centre in West Street, Calton. The former West Street, Calton, is now Kerr Street.
- [Of the available places: Dunbartonshire, 1066 - 22%  
Lanarkshire, 692 - 14.4%  
Renfrewshire, 460 - 9.5%]
253. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools, 1933-34.



254. GAA-ED8 Religious Examination of Schools, 1943-44. Treble 'The Working of the 1918 Act' *loc.cit.*, p.41 suggests that in 1930-31, 17.62% of pupils in "total average enrolment" were located within the post-qualifying sector. Catholic sources are consistently more pessimistic and suggest that it took at least a decade longer to achieve such a figure.
255. GAA-ED1/3 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board*, 4 April 1921, unpaginated.
256. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.60.
257. *ibid.*, p.63.
258. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.157.
259. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.61.
260. *ibid.*, p.62.
261. GAA-ED1/6 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board*, 24 May 1926-28 October 1934, 17 January 1927, p.41 quotes verbatim a letter of 3 January 1927 from Archbishop Mackintosh to the DEB.
262. *ibid.*, 5 September 1927, p.72.
263. *ibid.*
264. *ibid.*, 16 January 1928, p.90.
265. *ibid.*, 23 January 1928, p.91.
266. GAA-FR18/1 *Charitable Trust, Minute Book*, 4 March 1931. The agreement itself was signed in February 1928. Two of the Catholic schools in the city, Sacred Heart, Bridgeton, and St. Roch's, Garngad, were the property of the RC Charitable Trust. Formal approval of the sale of these two schools is not recorded in the Minute Books of the Trust, until 4 March 1931, although the transfer itself had taken effect on 15 May 1928.
267. GAA-ED1/6 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board*, 24 September 1928, p.109; Ayrshire and Lanarkshire agreed to the proposal (19 Nov.1928, p.116); Dunbartonshire (17 Dec.1928, p.122).
268. GAA-ED1/6 *ibid.*, 22 October, 1928, p.112.
269. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', *loc.cit.*, pp.29-30.
270. GAA-ED1/6 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board*, 25 November 1929, p.144.
271. *ibid.*, 11 April 1930, pp.157-59 - concerning nomination of Catholic representatives to the [County] Education Committees.
272. GAA-ED1/7 *Minute Book of the Diocesan and Provincial Education Board* 26 November 1934-13 June 1955, 25 January 1937, unpaginated.
273. *ibid.*, 22 October, 1936.

274. *ibid*, 16 January 1939 - the schools at Renton, and Milngavie were excluded from these negotiations.
275. *ibid.*, 23 January 1940.
276. GAA-ED5 Archbishop Mackintosh, Statement to the DEB, 6 August 1928.
277. *ibid*
278. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.* p.127. Somewhat confusingly the Charitable Trust continued to make such payments.
279. GAA-ED1/6 *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board*, 2 March 1931, p.176 - also quoted in Treble, *ibid.*, p.126, and in 'The Working of the 1918 Act', *loc.cit.*, p.39.
280. GAA-ED8 'Religious Examination of Schools' 1918-19; 'Religious Examination of Schools', 1926-27.
281. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.40.
282. *ibid.*, p.41.
283. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.65.
284. *ibid*, p.61 - there were in fact five junior secondaries, the advanced centres at St. Mary's, Calton, and St. Roch's, Garngad, having been upgraded.
285. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.178.
286. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.64 - St. Mary's, Lanark was upgraded.
287. *ibid*
288. GAA-ED8 'Religious Examination of Schools, 1934-35'.  
By 1934-35, the number of post-primary places numbered 11,016 - 8013 of these in secondary and former Higher Grade schools, and 3003 in Advanced Divisions. Primary places totalled 95,278 attached to missions, and a further 1442 provided by religious orders.
289. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.172; Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.123.
290. GAA-ED1/7 *Minute Book of the Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 29 May 1935, unpaginated.
291. GAA-ED16 from Southwark. James R. Lyons to Archbishop Andrew Macdonald (St. Andrews and Edinburgh), 28 September 1934, p.1.
292. *ibid*
293. GAA-ED16 from Southwark. Memorandum, covering the operation of the Scottish Education Act 1918, 1934, unpaginated.
294. GAA-ED16 from Southwark. R.M.Allardyce, Education Offices, Glasgow, to Mr.J.W.Peck, Scottish Education Department, 10 November 1934.
295. GAA-CU2 Memorial for the Opinion of Counsel, 1935.



296. GAA-ED16 from Southwark. Mr. Peck to Bishop Brown, 9 November 1934.
297. *ibid*
298. GAA-ED16 from Southwark. Archbishop Macdonald to Bishop Brown, 16 January 1943.
299. *ibid*
300. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.52.
301. GAA-ED1/3 *Minute Book of Diocesan Education Board*, 3 October 1921, unpaginated.
302. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.53.
303. *ibid*
304. GAA-ED1/7 *Minute Book of Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 24 February 1941, unpaginated.
305. *ibid.*, 8 November 1939.
306. *ibid*, 4 December 1939.
307. *ibid.*, 8 November 1939.
308. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.182.
309. GAA-BY20 *Centenary History of St. Mary's Boys School, Calton, 1863-1963*, *op.cit.*, p.38.
310. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.93.
311. GAA-BY20 *History of St. Mary's Boys School, Calton*, *op.cit.*, p.38.
312. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.183.
313. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.95.
314. GAA-BY20 *History of St. Mary's Boys School, Calton*, *op.cit.*, p.38.
315. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.183.
316. *ibid.*, p.184.
317. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.97.
318. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.132. St. Lawrence's, Greenock, and St. Margaret's, Paisley were appropriated for military use.
319. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.96.
320. GAA-ED1/7 *Minute Book of the Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 30 June 1941, unpaginated.

321. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's*, *op.cit.*, p.190.
322. *ibid.*, p.191.
323. *ibid.*, p.184; Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.97.
324. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.98.
325. Findlay, *op.cit.*, p.29.
326. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. Memorandum on behalf of the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland in connection with the Education (Scotland) Bill 1944, p.3.
327. *Education in Scotland 1947 (1948)*, p.5.
328. Findlay, *op.cit.*, p.29.
329. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.189.
330. GAA-ED1/7 *Minute Book of the Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 5 March 1945, unpaginated.
331. *ibid*
332. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.128.
333. *Education in Scotland 1947 (1948)*, p.6.
334. From information in Fitzpatrick, *op,cit*, pp.126-33.
335. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.196.
336. *ibid*
337. Findlay, *op.cit.*, p.29.
338. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.129.
339. *ibid.*, p.131.
340. Findlay, *op.cit.*, p.28.
341. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.202.
342. *ibid.*, p.211.
343. *ibid.*, p.177.
344. Findlay, *op.cit.*, pp.62-3.
345. *ibid.*,
346. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, pp.129-31.
347. *ibid.*, p.131.



348. *ibid.*, pp.129 and 132. St. Cuthbert's was renamed in 1965.
349. Findlay, *op.cit.*, p.63.
350. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.212.
351. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.126; Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, p.137.
352. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.132.
353. *ibid.*, pp.129-31.
354. *ibid.*, p.131.
355. Scotland, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p.212.
356. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, p.128.
357. *Education in Scotland 1962* (1963), p.21.
358. *ibid*
359. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.205.
360. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.191.
361. *ibid.*,p.190. By comparison, the annual 'wastage' rate of women teachers trained between 1935-38 was 4.5%.
362. Calculated from tables in Fitzpatrick, *op.cit.*, Appendix II, pp.178-80.
363. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.191.
364. Scotland Vol.2, *op.cit.*, p.224.
365. Cruickshank, *op.cit.*, p.190.
366. *ibid*
367. Treble, 'Development of Catholic Education', *loc.cit.*, pp.132-3.
368. *ibid.*, p.133.
369. *ibid.*, p.134.
370. *Education in Scotland in 1971* (1972), p.28.
371. *ibid*
372. *ibid*
373. *Education in Glasgow*, Report by HM Inspector of Schools 1972 (1973), p.7.
374. *ibid.*, p.19.

375. *ibid*
376. *Education in Scotland in 1971, op.cit., p.28.*
377. *Education in Ayrshire*, Report by HM Inspector of Schools, 1974 (1976), p.16. The three schools were Sacred Heart High, St. Joseph's Academy and St. Conval's High.
378. *Education in Dunbartonshire*, Report of HM Inspector of Schools, 1974 (1976), p.3. The pupil-teacher ratio in non-denominational schools was 14:7, in RC schools, 18:1.
379. *Education in Renfrewshire*, Report by HM Inspector of Schools 1973 (1974), p.7. Renfrewshire also reported severe staff shortages in primary schools, often in the RC sector, and particularly in the Greenock/Port Glasgow area. Areas with teacher training colleges within their boundaries gained considerably in teacher recruitment. p.9.
380. *ibid*, p.7.
381. *Education in Glasgow, op.cit., p.19.*
382. *ibid*
383. Fitzpatrick, *op.cit*, p.141.
384. *ibid*
385. *ibid*, p.150.
386. M.P.Hornsby-Smith, *Catholic Education the unobtrusive partner: sociological studies of the Catholic school system in England and Wales* (London 1978), p.11.
387. *ibid*, p.66.
388. G.Payne and G.Ford, 'Religion Class and Educational Policy', *Scottish Educational Studies*, Vol.9, No.2, November 1977, p.85.
389. *ibid*, p.91. 5.8 per cent of the sons of manual families in Catholic schools obtained Highers, compared with 4.7 per cent of their non-Catholic counterparts. Payne and Ford suggest that the smaller proportion of middle-class Catholics made it relatively easier for working-class Catholics to obtain a senior secondary place. As a result educational integration of the school system would not effect any clear alteration in the attainment of working-class Catholic children, p.98.
390. T.C.Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950*, (London 1986), p.223.
391. See Chapter 2. The gradual nature of this change is heightened by the fact that even in the 1970s, the Catholic school pupil was more identifiably working-class than their non-Catholic counterpart.



## CHAPTER 4

### FINANCE

On 10 May 1869, Archbishop Eyre "called together a Financial Board or Council of Administration of Temporalities."<sup>1</sup> The Council which consisted of five members - the Revs. Munro, Gordon, Condon, J.Dwyer, and Cameron - was to assist the Archbishop in the administration of the District Fund.<sup>2</sup> In addition, it would also help

"in matters regarding the purchase of church property, the site, plans and estimates of new churches, schools and presbyteries and other ecclesiastical buildings: and generally in the administration of all such things as regard the finances of the District, in which the Archbishop may wish to consult it."<sup>3</sup>

At the time of the new Board's establishment, the financial position of the Western District was one of "very serious" difficulty.<sup>4</sup> In order to meet the needs of the increasing congregations, "all monies that were received were expended in the erection of chapels and schools."<sup>5</sup> Episcopal funds, District Funds, and Deposits left with the Bishops had all been spent in this way. The sequel to these transfers of funds was that the various Churches of the District owed the Bishop approximately £50,000.<sup>6</sup> But since the Bishop was obliged to pay interest to Depositors, it was a source of concern that many of the missions to which money had been advanced had not paid him one-third of the interest they owed.<sup>7</sup> This was particularly true of a number of mining missions, which were decaying, and would never be able to repay the capital sum that had been borrowed or arrears that had accrued, or interest.<sup>8</sup> Ten or eleven missions could not have supported a priest without assistance from the Bishop, while several more could not give the clergyman a decent income.<sup>9</sup> One of Eyre's most immediate actions therefore was to require those missions which could, and District institutions, such as Parkhead Boys Reformatory, to make arrangements to repay at least the interest due on their outstanding debts. So committed was Eyre to this policy that Fort William's application for aid from the District Fund was "not to be entertained" until an arrangement had been reached concerning its interest payments.<sup>10</sup>

Loans from the central funds of the District represented however, only one element in the overall problem of mission indebtedness. As with the District itself, missions also accepted funds from external depositors, and had therefore to meet similar obligations, including the repayment of both capital and interest on receipt of due notice. However, when Pollokshaws mission was required to repay to the McMullens their deposit of £200,<sup>11</sup> it lacked the resources to do so, and had to appeal to the Finance Board for assistance. Such difficulties only served to confirm the need for continued efforts, not only to reduce existing mission debts, but also to limit any potential increase. It was therefore stipulated that no new commitments were to be undertaken on behalf of any mission without prior permission having been obtained. In addition, the "Rules regarding Church Property" issued in July 1869, also specifically forbade clergy to exceed any such permission granted by the Board.<sup>12</sup> When Rev. Richard Edgecombe at Ballieston built "on a more extensive scale than authorised," Eyre "removed him from the charge of the mission."<sup>13</sup> Nor were priests to be allowed in future to contract loans on their own security. Nevertheless, James Bonnyman of St. Vincent's, Duke Street did borrow, on his own security, £1300 from the City of Glasgow bank, at a time when his mission debt already amounted to £7573.3.7.<sup>14</sup> On this occasion too, the Archbishop intervened, and took over the management of two of the mission properties in an attempt gradually to pay off some of the debt.<sup>15</sup>

Missions in need of financial support could however, as Murdoch had envisaged, apply for aid from the District Fund.<sup>16</sup> An annual congregational collection, supplemented by subscriptions and donations, provided the basis of the Fund's income, which was then disbursed by means of grants. The purposes to which such grants could be devoted were numerous. As well as being used to ensure that missions could meet debt interest payments, they were also applied towards school improvements, and the maintenance of the clergy.<sup>17</sup> In 1879 though, Rev. Alexander Munro proposed that major changes should be made in the operation of the Fund, partly in an effort to boost its level of income. The Annual Collection in 1878 had raised a particularly disappointing amount,<sup>18</sup> and though not "wishing to cast any reflection upon the honesty of the clergy," Munro felt no hesitation in claiming that many of the mission totals forwarded to the Diocesan Treasurer could only be



described as "shams."<sup>19</sup> The Collection should therefore be replaced by a "tax" upon every mission. In addition, as there were now "very few greatly destitute missions," the system of grants should be changed to one of loans,<sup>20</sup> the repayments upon which would form a regular supplementary income for the Fund.

Munro's recommendations were accepted, though only in part, by the Finance Board. Loan-grants were indeed introduced, with a certain sum, usually £100, being allocated to a number of missions for the specific purpose of gradually extinguishing mission debts. Repayment of interest or principal was not required, but only an annual payment of £5.<sup>21</sup> In effect, this could be regarded as the payment of £5 interest till £100 was paid, and the principal was cancelled; or, alternatively, as a gradual repayment of the principal with no interest. A priest-in-charge of a mission receiving a loan-grant could, if he so desired, pay back the sum in full at any time. Forty-nine annual disbursements of loan-grants were made, covering the period 1879-1928, with forty-six missions requesting this form of assistance. Largs mission (seventeen times) received aid with the greatest frequency. Strathaven was assisted on ten occasions, Tollcross - nine, while Bothwell, Carluke, Renfrew, and Houston, received eight loan-grants. Fifteen of the forty-six missions received only one payment.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, non-repayable grants continued to be awarded. Although, in the first few years following their introduction loan-grants accounted for most of the Diocesan Fund's disbursements, by 1886 the position had been reversed with non-repayable grants thereafter tending to maintain their ascendancy.<sup>23</sup> The number of missions receiving loan-grants in any one year also declined from a peak of ten in 1879, to eight in 1886-87, and thereafter the total never exceeded six. Indeed, after 1902, it never exceeded four, and in some years only two missions received loan-grants.<sup>24</sup>

Munro, like Bishop Murdoch, considered the Diocesan Fund to be of great importance. Nevertheless, both appear to have been over-optimistic in their expectations for, in reality, the Fund could perform only a very limited role in controlling mission indebtedness. Grants awarded, for example, normally bore little relation to requests submitted. In 1870, Carluke mission, having applied for £175,

received only £20. The same amount was also awarded to Dunoon and Chapelhall, even though these missions had requested £200 and £500 respectively.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the maximum non-repayable grant ever given, in 1905, amounted to only £250.<sup>26</sup> In addition, though loan-grants in excess of this figure were consistently made - indeed from 1896 onwards the loans ranged from a minimum of £50 to a maximum of £400<sup>27</sup> - the persistent fall in the number of applicants suggests that such loans were unpopular, and of limited effectiveness.

Even more important, however, the Diocesan Fund could not contribute in isolation to the desired reduction in mission indebtedness. The effective application of the Finance Board's own regulations was also necessary if such a reduction was to be achieved. And yet, in 1885, Father Dwyer at St. Patrick's, Anderston, had borrowed several sums without the Bishop's authority.<sup>28</sup> As late as 1909, the Finance Board found it necessary to remind the former missionary rector at Tollcross, that any money borrowed without the Archbishop's approval would be regarded as being the private debt of the individual who borrowed the money.<sup>29</sup> As well as such obvious breaches of the regulations, the Finance Board itself helped to undermine its aim of reducing mission debt by its apparent willingness to grant missionary rectors the necessary authorizations to borrow, and to operate bank overdrafts on mission accounts. As a result, individual mission debts continued to increase. In 1871, when Alexandria requested permission to borrow a further £300, its total debt to all parties, including the Bishop, already amounted to £1655-19-4.<sup>30</sup> Though some reduction in this debt was effected - to £960 in 1885<sup>31</sup> - new borrowing in 1887 offset this reduction and greatly increased the burden of debt upon Alexandria. These new loans, contracted to provide for the building of a presbytery and school, amounted to £2600.<sup>32</sup> In other missions throughout the Province a similar trend was evident. The debt burden upon the city parish of St. John's increased almost tenfold in the decade after 1876, partly as a result of the provision of a new presbytery, the purchase of ground in Crosshill, and assistance given to the Govanhill building fund.<sup>33</sup> Most of this expenditure was incurred in order to establish a new mission, Holy Cross, which was finally separated from St. John's in 1886. The missions of Shotts and Barrhead, in the counties of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire respectively, also recorded increases in their mission



debts. Shotts, which in 1896, quoted no particulars of debt in its Annual Return had, ten years later, incurred a debt of £7575 as a consequence of building a new church.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, Barrhead, which in 1886 had a comparatively small debt of £387-3-6, was compelled to borrow during the years 1899-1905 partly in order to finance school building and improvements.<sup>35</sup> New missions such as Dalmuir, which was separated from Clydebank in 1907, had particularly high levels of indebtedness. Dalmuir's debt in 1909 amounted to £9026-10-2.<sup>36</sup> The Finance Board did however, make some attempts to keep costs under control, and thereby limit levels of mission indebtedness. In 1884, Mr. Bruce was requested to "modify with regard to details and expense" his plans submitted for a church in Dumbarton.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, in 1888, another architect, Peter Paul Pugin, was requested to revise his plans for the chapel-school at Clydebank, and requested to lower his original quotation of £2100 to a more reasonable figure of £1700, which the mission would be better able to meet.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the perceived need for ongoing mission and educational development to serve the Catholic community<sup>39</sup> undermined the overall effectiveness of such efforts. The £400 saved on the plans for Clydebank becomes relatively insignificant when one considers that only three years later, Kirkintilloch could envisage a projected addition of £5300 to its mission debt, as a result of erecting a church, and by making provision for a possible addition to the school.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, in 1894, Tollcross mission was permitted to borrow £3400 to build a school, presbytery, surrounding walls and offices.<sup>41</sup> With regard to the replacement or improvement of schools however, the Board sometimes had little choice but to permit missions to respond to the demands made by the Inspectorate. In November 1902, it became necessary to add a second storey to Neilston school, at a cost of more than £700, as a result of the Inspector's requirement for increased accommodation.<sup>42</sup> Three years later, when Nitshill school was "practically condemned by the education department"<sup>43</sup> the building had subsequently to be "remodelled."<sup>44</sup>

With the finance to meet such commitments continuing to be derived from external, as well as internal, loans, the question obviously arises as to whether missions had sufficient resources to meet any, or all, demands for the repayment of these loans. In the case of institutional lenders such as the Prudential Assurance, the required

securities were provided, as during previous episcopates, by the mortgaging of mission property, and life assurance policies on priests.<sup>45</sup> In Cardowan mission in 1876 for example, money advanced by the Life Association of Scotland was secured by a £1500 bond on the property, with an additional security of £200 being provided by a life insurance policy upon Father Hughes.<sup>46</sup> Similar guarantees were also offered by the Central Administration to the Trustees of the Menzies Trust who, in October 1847 at the request of Bishop Murdoch, had paid over the sum of £2250 to the Western District<sup>47</sup> which was subsequently invested in church property. In addition, among other Trusts whose capital was similarly invested, at least in part, were the Mitchell and Quota funds.<sup>48</sup> In 1869 £3000 had been lent from the former to the Boys Industrial School, while £7199-13-6d had been used to pay off a debt to the Northern District. £5096 in hand "awaited a suitable investment," with the remainder of the capital having been distributed as loans to missions.<sup>49</sup> In 1885, the missions of Cambuslang and St. Lawrence, Greenock, were both receiving interest - free grants from the Quota Fund. However, as Bishop Lynch's attitude and Carmont's complaint both clearly demonstrate, misgivings had already been aroused as to the wisdom and propriety of such a policy.<sup>50</sup> The Menzies Trustees too had become increasingly concerned as to the legal position surrounding their action in having advanced money prior to the formal winding-up of the Trust. Such concern, together with unhappiness over the pledged security in the form of two bonds over St. Andrew's church and a Bill for £250, led the Trustees in 1885 to seek repayment from the Archdiocese.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, Eyre's efforts to regularise the problem of internal indebtedness helped effectively to protect both the Archdiocese and the Menzies Trustees from financial loss. Other institutional lenders too were relatively secure, particularly in comparison with the position concerning loans from private individuals. As with Pollokshaws in 1870, missions in the early-twentieth century could not, in general, have coped with the scenario of a number of depositors requesting the return of their money at the same time. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the frequency with which new loans were contracted to replace those being repaid, as happened, for example, at St. Mary's,



Whifflet, in 1885, and St. Saviour's Govan in 1902.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, Alexandria in 1911 obtained £1100 from Dr. Slorach to pay off both a bond and a loan of £600 from the British Linen Bank,<sup>53</sup> while St. Andrew's mission took out two loans simply to replace others which had been recalled.<sup>54</sup>

Some assistance in repaying mission creditors however, had been made available after Archbishop Eyre's death in 1902 in the form of legacies to missions. These legacies ranged from £400 to St. Laurence's, Greenock, down to £50 to the missions of Clydebank and Rutherglen. The Finance Board, after consultation with the senior priests of the missions, agreed that the legacies should be applied to the reduction of debt.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, it was also agreed that the sums involved should not be immediately paid over to the missions. Instead, they would remain with the Diocesan Treasurer, earning 3% interest per annum until such time as each senior priest reported that he had occasion to pay a creditor.<sup>56</sup>

Such indirect loans were one means by which missions could contribute to the support of the Central Administration of the Archdiocese. However, a more formal support mechanism, the diocesan levy, also existed. This annual payment owed its origins not to Munro's proposed tax of 1879, but rather to the Cathedraticum instituted by Bishop Murdoch in 1853 to provide for the upkeep of the Bishop.<sup>57</sup> By 1906, the Cathedraticum had been subsumed into the Levy Account, from which were also paid any sums raised for the African and Foreign missions, as well as subscriptions to the Catholic School Committee and Whitevale Children's Refuge. The Diocesan Fund, and later a Refunding Fund, were also financed by means of the levy. From this account too, an amount was always carried over to form a proportion, never less than 50%, of the income necessary to meet the day-to-day current expenses of the Central Administration.<sup>58</sup> Property undertakings provided a further important source of revenue, with the Archdiocese on more than one occasion erecting new tenements for the specific purpose of obtaining a regular rental income. By 1906, rents totalling £935-5-2,<sup>59</sup> were being received in respect of six buildings, at Dunlop Street, Abercromby Street, and Oran Street, all Glasgow; and three properties, in

Lanarkshire, at John Street Coatbridge, Loyola Place in Wishaw, and Blantyre.<sup>60</sup> These Lanarkshire rents were however, after 1892, being paid directly to the rector of St. Peter's College and, together with funds provided by Trusts, such as the Forbes and Jubilee, formed the basis of the seminary's income.<sup>61</sup>

The Central Administration, as did the missions, also raised necessary finance by the bonding or mortgaging of properties. One notable bond was that for £90,000 obtained from the Scottish Provident Institution in 1889, and secured over various diocesan properties including Dunlop Street, the Industrial schools, and the tenements in Gallowgate and Calton.<sup>62</sup> St. Andrew's Cathedral and house, and St. Mary's mission, Calton, were also offered as securities. The inclusion of these two missions, among the oldest in the Archdiocese, demonstrates the continuation of the practice established in the early-nineteenth century of using the resources of more established missions to subsidise the needs of the diocese, and of other missions.<sup>63</sup> In 1903 indeed, the mission of St. Anne's specifically applied to be permitted to borrow a further sum from St. Mary's mission, Calton, having already previously received a grant of £1000 from the same source.<sup>64</sup>

The considerable importance of rental income in particular to the current expenses of the Central Administration made the Archdiocese susceptible to any fluctuations in the property market. The enforcement therefore, after 1900, of higher standards of construction and sanitation very often pushed the cost of tenement housing beyond the point where a decent return could be expected, a process which was reflected in decreasing levels of rental income accruing to the Archdiocese.<sup>65</sup> Such a reduction was clearly a matter for serious concern, for if rents were insufficient to pay the necessary interest payments on bonds and building costs, the resulting deficit had to be met by the Diocesan Treasurer. As there "appeared to be no immediate prospect of improvement"<sup>66</sup> in the property market, the Central Administration was therefore compelled to look for alternative sources of revenue to enable its commitments to be maintained.



As early as 1906, Archbishop Maguire had drawn the attention of his clergy to the need "of relieving more than had been done the burden, always increasing with the size of the diocese,"<sup>67</sup> which fell upon the Central Administration. One particularly heavy but "very necessary" expenditure was that which was incurred in the education of ecclesiastical students.<sup>68</sup> Though parents were encouraged to contribute, where possible, towards their son's upkeep at seminary such payments were not insisted upon; nor were the other sources of college income, including rents, and specific Burses such as those provided by the Forbes and Jubilee Trusts sufficient to offset any deficit. In 1912-13, the income received in respect of clerical students, £1225-15-0 represented less than half the expenditure incurred (£2950-2-5);<sup>69</sup> and by 1915, the income received only covered about 35% of the costs.<sup>70</sup>

With the exception of interest payments on bonds, and to banks and depositors, and the automatic repayment of bonds, the education of ecclesiastical students represented the single greatest burden upon the Central Administration: a burden which would have been even greater had not the building costs of St. Peter's College, Bearsden, amounting to £40,000, been met by Archbishop Eyre from his own personal capital.<sup>71</sup> Eyre had also provided financial support to the Archdiocese by making what appear to have been annual donations to the Diocesan Fund.<sup>72</sup> But perhaps most importantly, in an attempt to keep to a minimum the expenses of bonds on property, Eyre had offered personal guarantees to banks for sums loaned for mission purposes. By 1902, Eyre had granted guarantees for upwards of £75,000, nearly £43,000 of this in connection with the Dunlop Street property.<sup>73</sup> However, in June 1903, in order to relieve Eyre's estate and executors of responsibility for these undertakings, most of which had fallen due, Archbishop Maguire made clear his intention to grant any required guarantees to the National Bank of Scotland in substitution for those provided by his predecessor. New guarantees would [also] be granted to the National Bank of Scotland for any advances which the Archbishop might "consider expedient in connection with the financial requirements of the Archdiocese, its churches and schools."<sup>74</sup>

One major consequence of these agreements with the National Bank of Scotland was "to bind the property and effects of the Archdiocese under the said guarantees."<sup>75</sup> In reality therefore, there was almost a double mortgaging of many properties - once on behalf of the diocese as a whole, and again as security for specific debts and loans. The prompt and consistent payment of interest therefore continued to be essential. However, Maguire's assumption of the bank guarantees occurred at a time when rental income was already under pressure. It is probably not coincidental then, that the Archbishop found it necessary in 1906 to make his appeal for help to the missions. As a result, the Cathedraticum was replaced by the levy, with the specific aim of increasing the contributions from missions in support of the Central Administration. As with the Cathedraticum, the amount of levy to be paid by each mission was calculated on the number of baptisms administered in each. However, the sum payable per baptism noticeably increased, from 1/6 under the Cathedraticum, to 6/- under the new levy.<sup>76</sup> The virtually immediate impact of this change can be seen in the overall amounts accruing from the missions to the Central Administration. The final Cathedraticum in 1904-05 had raised only £1093-13-0. The new levy was consistently to exceed this figure by nearly 300 per cent.<sup>77</sup>

Although Archbishop Maguire was appreciative of the response by the missions to his appeal - indeed in 1911 he formally expressed his gratitude for their "ready and loyal support" - the impact of the 1906 levy was all but nullified due to continuing deficiencies in other sources of diocesan income, particularly that which was derived from property.<sup>78</sup> Maguire had hoped that by the introduction of the levy "sufficient provision would have been made for present and future diocesan needs, especially as the Eyre Trustees were able to do much to lighten the burden by a generous allocation of their funds on a large scale."<sup>79</sup> However, his expectation had not been realised.<sup>80</sup> As a result, the financial difficulties of the Central Administration remained unresolved, and were further compounded when Archbishop Maguire himself fell ill in 1910.<sup>81</sup>



In spite of the criticisms made in the nineteenth century concerning the secretiveness of episcopal administration of financial matters, criticism which continued even after Eyre's establishment of the Finance Board, the government of the diocese remained very personal in nature. The Finance Board, after all, was only advisory, and as Bishop Robert Cornthwaite of Leeds had made clear to Eyre, the existence of such a Board did not "preclude the Ordinary from exercising the right and duty of a strict control of the funds."<sup>82</sup> The fear engendered by Maguire's illness therefore, was that the absence of the Archbishop might cause creditors to lose confidence in the solvency of the Archdiocese. Of particular concern were those loans made by private individuals, which were repayable at any time at three months notice. These, by the second decade of the twentieth century, accounted for the bulk of the money borrowed by the Archdiocese.<sup>83</sup> This reliance upon such depositors was due to the fact that banks and insurance companies were only prepared to lend upon mortgage amounts which such institutions, having consideration to their own interests, believed could prudently be advanced. In borrowing upon mortgage therefore, an external check was put upon both the Central Administration, and the missions. By contrast, the ability to borrow from individuals was only limited by the willingness of such persons to make their money available on the ultimate security of the Bishop who, in effect, was pledging the diocese as a whole.<sup>84</sup>

In an attempt therefore, to avert any financial panic among depositors, a twofold policy was adopted, which sought once more to reduce levels of indebtedness, and to ensure administrative stability. Though firm figures concerning the overall indebtedness of either the Central Administration, or the missions, are not consistently available, it is clear that during the three decades since 1885 there had been a considerable increase in both of these areas. In May 1885, for example, the Archdiocese had a debit in its capital account of £21,191, together with a bank overdraft of £5000 with the Union Bank of Scotland, and a deficit in running costs of £2000; all this was exclusive of what were termed the Deposits in the St. Andrew's books.<sup>85</sup> By 1912, the next year for which reliable figures are available, the debt of the Central Administration had massively increased to stand at £212,119-6-10. Similarly, as late as 1916, overall mission indebtedness amounted to £867,859.<sup>86</sup> In

view of this latter figure, it therefore appears somewhat perverse that the Central Administration should have looked once more to the missions to come to its aid. Nevertheless, the Cathedral Chapter and the Finance Board, having considered the position in other large dioceses in Britain and Ireland, believed that the missions of the Archdiocese could be called upon "to contribute in a larger measure for diocesan as distinguished from parochial needs."<sup>87</sup> In order to give effect to this decision, the system of levy introduced in 1906 and payable on the number of baptisms in each mission was replaced by a new levy payment based on "the Catholic population calculated from as low a multiple of baptisms as possible."<sup>88</sup> In the first year of the new levy, every mission was to contribute at the rate of ninepence per annum on each unit of its population as calculated by the number of baptisms multiplied by a factor of twenty.<sup>89</sup>

The 1911 levy, as had been expected, resulted in a further substantial increase in mission contributions to central funds. In its first year of operation, 1912-13, the amended levy effected a further improvement of 141% on the figure achieved by its predecessor in 1908. Overall, during the period 1904-1912, this form of mission support to the Central Administration had already grown by a massive 853%.<sup>90</sup> Nor, in spite of the expressed desire of both the Cathedral Chapter and the Archbishop, was any reduction in this burden upon the missions speedily effected.<sup>91</sup> Instead, it remained at a consistently high level, certainly until 1928.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, the new levy does appear to have contributed to the desired reduction in the indebtedness of the Central Administration. Between 1 January 1912-1 January 1917, the total of debt paid off amounted to £20,246, or approximately £4000 per annum; and this reduction continued to be maintained, at least until 1923. In that year, the debts upon the central funds, at £163,477-16-4, were £48,641-10-6 below their 1912 levels.<sup>93</sup> In normal circumstances, the Archdiocese could also have hoped for a consequent reduction in interest charges on the balance of its outstanding debts. However, the outbreak of the First World War had radically altered the financial climate. Prior to 1914, interest rates had been comparatively low, and repayment periods relatively long. As a consequence of the war however, banks and insurance companies were not placing their money in long loans except at a very high rate of interest, certainly not less than



six per cent. Such institutions were increasingly unwilling to lend money which could not be called in both at short notice and with certainty.<sup>94</sup>

As a result of the increased cost of institutional borrowing, the Archdiocese appears to have made a determined effort to reduce its use of bonds and bank loans as a means of raising capital; a process reflected in the declining amounts of interest payable on such loans. In 1912, such repayments totalled £4491-9-11, but by 1916 this had been reduced to £3453-1-8, and still further by 1918 to £2676-16-0.<sup>95</sup> In the decade immediately following the First World War this steady reduction was maintained. Overall figures for bonded loans, where available, serve to confirm this trend. In 1926, loans on bond amounted to £9355-12-9, but only to £8086-11-3 one year later.<sup>96</sup>

This loss of capital revenue from one source however, had somehow to be made good by drawing more heavily upon alternatives. In effect, this meant an even greater reliance than hitherto upon external depositors, and on the missions of the Archdiocese. Prior to 1921, total payment of interest to depositors had already appreciated from £2539 in 1912 to £4949-11-9 in 1920.<sup>97</sup> Overall, by 1921, loans amounting to £56,708-19-8 had been received from private individuals by the Central Administration, a figure which by 1926 had increased to £78,479.<sup>98</sup> A virtually identical process is evident in the loans made by the missions to central funds, which reached a peak again in 1926, of £128,142-4-4.<sup>99</sup> This sum represented a massive increase of 7222% on the total of mission deposits only twelve years before, with the most rapid additions being made during the years 1916-19.<sup>100</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of the apparent need to transfer from bonds to alternative sources of income, the Cathedral chapter clearly did succeed in reducing the overall indebtedness of the Central Administration; partly due to the effectiveness of the levy, and also partly by a conscious effort on the part of the Chapter only to sanction new loans in cases of proved necessity.<sup>101</sup> Of importance too, was the consistent aid rendered by the Eyre Trustees. By remitting interest payable on a loan of £50,000,

and by direct contributions, the Trustees between 1903-19 effectively saved the central funds of the Archdiocese no less than £38,152-9-4.<sup>102</sup> At the same time, the capital thus advanced remained available for diocesan needs. In addition, though they themselves charged no interest, the Eyre Trustees paid interest on a loan of £35,800 from the Archdiocese, thereby, in effect, yielding an additional subvention to central funds.<sup>103</sup>

The efforts of the Cathedral Chapter to reduce the indebtedness of both the Central Administration and the missions were commended in May 1918 by Monsignor William Brown of Southwark who concluded that "the business of the diocese" was being "carefully transacted."<sup>104</sup> The formal assumption of such responsibilities by the Chapter dated from December 1911 when Archbishop Maguire constituted that body as his Advisory Finance Committee "with general powers", and, in particular, "with the right to fix at the beginning of each year the rate of levy."<sup>105</sup> Subsequently, due to Archbishop Maguire's continued ill-health and the appointment in 1912 of the Provost, Rev. Donald Mackintosh, as coadjutor-Archbishop with right of succession, the Chapter's influence noticeably increased. On the advice of the Roman authorities, Mackintosh was to administer the temporalities of the Archdiocese with the assistance of a Commission, or Council, consisting of two priests, but the coadjutor made clear his desire that both the Chapter, and also the Finance Board, should share in the administrative process.<sup>106</sup> The Chapter would take care of the finances of the Central Administration, with the coadjutor and the Council of Two being guided not merely by the advice, but by the consent of the Chapter. The Finance Board continued to deal with all questions concerning the individual missions and institutions of the Archdiocese, offering their advice to the coadjutor and the Council of Two. However, even in these fields, matters of "grave import" were to be referred to the Chapter for their advice and consent.<sup>107</sup> It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the actions and events of 1911-12 were tantamount to a vote of "no confidence" in the Finance Board; for not only were two Canons, John Ritchie and John Toner, elected to form the Council of Two; two of their colleagues, Canons Hughes and Houlihan were nominated as additional members of the Finance Board.<sup>108</sup> In addition, the



Chapter's influence was further enhanced not only by its control over the operation of the levy, which had a direct impact on the finances of the various missions, but also by the fact that the newly-appointed coadjutor retained his position as Provost.<sup>109</sup>

With Mackintosh's appointment however, the initial instability and imminent crisis caused by Maguire's illness had passed, only to re-emerge when the coadjutor himself became ill, first in 1916 and again, more seriously, three years later. Indeed, Mackintosh's death on 8 October 1919 only served to highlight once more the continuing difficulties faced by the Archdiocese, the more so as Archbishop Maguire's own health continued to deteriorate. Nevertheless, though the Roman authorities evidently desired to remedy the situation, they also sought to act as kindly as possible towards Maguire. At no time was the Archbishop ever compelled to resign, and he retained the title of "Archbishop of Glasgow" until his death on 14 October 1920.<sup>110</sup> In addition, though John Toner, bishop of Dunkeld, had previously, on 12 June 1920, been nominated as Apostolic-Administrator of the Archdiocese, this appointment was made in accordance with Maguire's wishes.<sup>111</sup>

Toner's appointment however, was essentially a temporary measure intended to be effective until a new Archbishop could be appointed. It is obviously intriguing therefore that such an appointment should have been delayed for two years. No one reason seems to have been involved, but it appears that both Brown and Toner made it abundantly clear to the Roman authorities that neither would accept the rule of the Archdiocese as its Archbishop. Brown felt that having been Apostolic Visitor should effectively preclude his candidacy, and shared with Toner the belief that a younger man should be given the charge of the Archdiocese.<sup>112</sup> In addition, the appointment also seems to have been delayed because consideration was being given to making the long-promised division of the Archdiocese. However, the current financial difficulties prevented any division being effected.<sup>113</sup>

The continued indefinite postponement of the division of the Archdiocese is therefore indicative that the underlying financial problems had not been solved. Though Brown

commended the efforts already made to reduce the indebtedness of the Central Administration, he recognised that the considerable support forthcoming from the missions to the central funds must, of necessity, diminish the amount available for the reduction of mission debts. Nevertheless, he had been assured that the extinction of such debts was gradually being effected by the application of surplus annual income to that purpose.<sup>114</sup> In reality however, Brown's cautious optimism seems to have been premature for, as he himself had foreseen, the continued acceptance in the aftermath of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act of responsibility for the maintenance and replacement of school buildings placed a heavy financial burden upon the missions. In order to provide for a school extension, Dalmuir increased its mission debt by £7501-19-1 during the years 1924-25.<sup>115</sup> Such educational commitments, together with the continued high rate of levy, help to account for the fact that in 1927 overall mission indebtedness at £858,654-6-1, remained virtually unaltered from the figure of a decade before.<sup>116</sup>

Nevertheless, missions in need of financial assistance could on occasion receive aid from the Diocesan Education Board. Nor did such aid require to be devoted to specifically educational purposes. The mission of Alexandria, for example, which by 1924 was planning the erection of a new church, received the sum of £7500 to assist with the purchase of the necessary land.<sup>117</sup>

The financial resources which enabled the Diocesan Education Board to render such assistance were derived under the leasing agreements concluded with the various education authorities in the aftermath of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Under such agreements, a large amount of rental income was gradually accumulated by the Board, and formed the basis of the Schools Fund.<sup>118</sup> Although such income might more properly have been considered to be mission revenue, Archbishop Mackintosh, in 1923, petitioned the Holy See for permission to regard these rents as a diocesan resource to enable him to tackle the continuing financial difficulties of the Archdiocese.<sup>119</sup> Permission was granted, with the proviso that the needs of the missions must be duly protected, with no grounds being given for just complaint.<sup>120</sup>



This qualified approval for the Archbishop's action nevertheless placed an effective limitation on the operation of the Schools Fund for, if the interests of the missions were indeed to be protected, then the capital of the Fund had to be preserved intact. As a result, only short-term loans could be borrowed from it to meet immediate needs, and missions such as Alexandria were required to repay their debts as quickly as possible.<sup>121</sup> In addition, the Diocesan Education Board's former practice of grouping all rents received into a common pool was considered to afford insufficient protection to mission interests, and to be contrary to the wishes of the Holy See. As a result, an accountant gave advice with a view to having the Schools Fund probed in such a way that each interested mission should have its share in the pool ascertained and apportioned. However, the records of the Board's transactions were not complete, and so the exact amount belonging to each interested party was not known. As the gross rental of each school was known to a fraction, the advice offered by the accountant that the allocation should be made on the basis of this figure was adopted.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, for the sake of exemption from income tax, a Charitable Trust was established, which received twice-yearly from the Diocesan Education Board the net balance of school rents received from the Glasgow, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Dunbartonshire Education Committees.<sup>123</sup>

In effect therefore, though the Schools Fund remained nominally mission revenue, it was administered by the Central Administration, which subsequently opened an account with each of the interested parties. The total schools money held was duly apportioned on the agreed basis, as was any annual revenue accruing from the schools. In 1928, when the Glasgow City schools were sold, this income too was allocated to the respective mission accounts. However, such revenue was not necessarily available to individual missions and was instead invested by the Central Administration, for example, in local authority mortgages.<sup>124</sup> In order to finance undertakings such as new churches and school extensions therefore, missions continued to have to rely heavily upon external funding, particularly in the form of loans from individual depositors.

However, though beneficial to both missions and the Central Administration, these loans possessed one major flaw. They were of a secret nature. They were not declared to the Inland Revenue and were therefore illegal.<sup>125</sup> When Archbishop Mackintosh was appointed to Glasgow in 1922, he found himself confronted with an enormous overall debt amounting to at least £1 million, and with the illegal situation to which a considerable part of that debt gave rise.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, the Inland Revenue were by now fully aware of the illegality, and required that the position be regularised. This the Archbishop undertook to do if given time. He was initially granted seven years, though even as late as 1927 the position regarding the Inland Revenue remained "unsatisfactory."<sup>127</sup> In order to effect any solution, it was essential that exact information should be gathered concerning the total amount of the loans held by both the Central Administration and individual missions, together with the amount of interest payable on each loan. Missions were accordingly instructed to remit to the Vicariate a list of their loans, together with the names and addresses of lenders,<sup>128</sup> thus enabling the Archbishop to approach the Revenue and ask for terms of settlement. After discussion, an agreement was concluded by which the Archdiocese would pay £1500, a token payment in respect of tax due, while, for its part, the Inland Revenue would not demand the names of secret lenders. Most importantly however, the Archdiocese would immediately liquidate all secret loans.<sup>129</sup>

This latter section of the agreement was unquestionably the most demanding. How could the Archdiocese possibly liquidate these loans given its great dependence upon them? One decision quickly taken was to consolidate the loans with the Central Administration becoming the debtor to the depositors.<sup>130</sup> Further, from the information already obtained from the missions, Archbishop Mackintosh discovered that these loans bore interest varying from 4% to 6% as opposed to the prevailing market rate of 3.5 per cent. He therefore informed all depositors that he intended to reduce all interest payable to the market rate.<sup>131</sup> Virtually every lender accepted this decision, with the immediate saving of thousands of pounds to the Archdiocese.



However, to assist it in finally liquidating these secret loans, the Central Administration sought once more the support of the missions. Debt-free missions, such as Our Holy Redeemer's, Clydebank, were invited to lend their surplus money to the Vicariate where it would earn interest at 2.5% instead of the 1% offered elsewhere.<sup>132</sup> At the same time, burdened missions were urged to make every effort to repay their debts as quickly as possible. The priests evidently supported the Archbishop in his endeavour for, in 1933, Mackintosh was able to inform all external lenders that their loans would be repaid in full at certain fixed dates during the five-year period, 1933-38.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, by November 1938, more than £480,000<sup>134</sup> of external loans or debts had been cleared through this scheme. In effect, the Vicariate assumed the role of a diocesan bank or clearing-house. Its debtors were the burdened missions and its creditors the lending missions. The burdened missions were also charged interest on the money borrowed by them to enable them to repay their external loans.<sup>135</sup> However, an anomalous situation arose whereby many of the debtor missions to the Vicariate were at the same time creditors of the Schools Fund, and actually had more money in the Fund than was necessary to clear off their debt.<sup>136</sup> This was though, a passing phase for once the immediate crisis over the external loans had passed, the Archbishop proceeded to extinguish the mission debts by applying the Schools Fund.

By the 1940s all external lenders, with the exception of a few charity cases, had been repaid. Thus, although fresh bank loans were undertaken, most debt on the Central Administration was now purely internal, arising from the difference between money received from missions, and that borrowed by others.<sup>137</sup> Some debt burdens were also a legacy from the past, arising from expenses on the Seminary, Children's Refuge, and similar diocesan institutions.<sup>138</sup>

The repayment of the external lenders meant that more attention could now be directed towards resolving the internal indebtedness of the Archdiocese. In 1947, Mackintosh's successor, Archbishop Donald Campbell, desired to extinguish the internal debt amounting to £203,752, so as to enable the diocese to meet future needs in the shape of new churches, and larger curial offices.<sup>139</sup> Campbell submitted two

proposals to Rome. Firstly, and the alternative which he himself desired, he asked to be permitted, having obtained the consent of the interested parties, to use as much of the Schools Fund as would be necessary to meet this debt.<sup>140</sup> Alternatively, he suggested that the annual revenue from the Schools Fund investments, amounting to some £20,000, be devoted, say for ten years, to clearing the diocesan debt. This second proposal possessed the benefit of leaving the capital of the Schools Fund intact.<sup>141</sup>

However, Archbishop Campbell had certain specific reasons for favouring the first alternative. The division of the Archdiocese had been promised when the hierarchy was restored in 1878, and was again considered during the period prior to Mackintosh's appointment in 1922. In 1947-48, it was again mooted, and Archbishop Campbell desired that the new suffragan dioceses should begin their existence untrammelled by debt. Otherwise they would have to bear their pro rata share.<sup>142</sup> The Schools Fund was ready for distribution, but Campbell felt that the indebtedness of the Central Administration should be cleared before this was effected. On 19 April 1947, Rome approved the first alternative.<sup>143</sup>

The Church in 1947-48 in the west of Scotland therefore appeared to be in the healthiest financial position it had known. Nevertheless, over the next few decades, the debt problem continued to appreciate once more. It did so for very familiar reasons, chief among them the foundation of new parishes. As had previously occurred, some parishes could not finance themselves from their own resources and were forced to borrow from central funds. As in Mackintosh's period, parishes having surplus income could lend funds to the Vicariate, which also continued to raise money through the baptismal levy.<sup>144</sup> Increasingly however, the amounts lent to central funds from parishes had been insufficient to meet amounts needed by borrowing parishes, and had to be supplemented by bank borrowing. However, since the burdened parishes were charged 3% interest by the Archdiocese, while the actual cost of borrowing, related to the Bank Base Lending Rate, was much higher, the diocese was involved in paying substantial overdraft interest which could not be



recovered from the burdened parishes.<sup>145</sup> Interestingly, such a system of "borrowing to pay out"<sup>146</sup> had been rejected previously by Monsignor John Ritchie, with the comment that the Archdiocese did not have the "financial backbone" to support it.<sup>147</sup> But with the loss of depositors income, and the creation of the Schools Fund, such a change of emphasis became necessary and apparently practical. The appreciation of debt once more though, only serves to highlight that the underlying problem which had confronted successive Vicars-Apostolic and Archbishops - of providing the necessary churches and services from a severely limited capital base - still remained.

## REFERENCES - CHAPTER 4

1. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes, 10 May, 1869-19 February 1891*, p.1.
2. *ibid* In this aspect of its remit, and also in its composition, the new Finance Board almost exactly parallels Murdoch's Council of Five Clergy Administrators. (see Chapter 1, p.36).
3. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes, ibid.*, p.1.
4. GAA-GC1/7/1. Rev. Alexander Munro to Monsignor Eyre, 15 January, 1869.
5. *ibid*
6. *ibid*, - All missions were in debt to the Vicariate for the costs involved in their foundation.
7. *ibid*
8. Such as the mission at Chapelhall - see Chapter 1, p.35.
9. GAA-GC1/7/1. Munro to Eyre, 15 January, 1869.
10. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 11 January 1870, pp.27-8. Fort William's debts included - £100 grant from the Lyons Fund. £300 loan - portion of Mitchell Fund employed by the Bishop for that purpose. For further on the Mitchell Fund, see Chapter 1, pp. 34-5.
11. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*, 23 February, 1870, pp.29-30.
12. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*, 27 October, 1870, p.36. Two members of the Finance Board had to sign any contracts with a builder. (In this context see also Chapter 1, p.40, concerning Father Keane's frustrations over Barrhead School.)
13. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*, 5 November, 1879, p.243.
14. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 9 May 1871, pp.56-7; and PR 81, *St. Vincent's Annual Returns*, 1871.  
St. Vincent's mission debts included:  
  
Mr. James Scanlan - £900  
Quota Fund - £900  
Mitchell Fund - £900  
  
Owing to the Mission Debt Book: £1015-18-11.
15. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*, 9 May 1871, p.56.
16. For details concerning the background of the District Fund, see Chapter 1, pp. 30-1.
17. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes.*, 11 January, 1870, p.214.



18. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*, 1870-79.  
The totals raised by the Annual Collection for the District Fund were as follows:

1869	£460-11- 2
1870	£482- 3- 3
1871	£513-10- 8
1872	£548-12- 8
1873	£513-17-11
1874	£487-18- 5
1875	£542-17-10
1876	£529 - Collections, Subscriptions and balance carried forward from previous year totalled together.
1877	£432- 3- 7
1878	£386- 6- 7

23 January, 1879 (FR1/1, p.225) first records it as the  
Diocesan Fund.

19. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*, p.227.
20. *ibid*
21. GAA-FR17/4, *Diocesan Fund Loan Grants Register 1879-1928*,  
unpaginated.
22. *ibid*
23. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 12 April, 1881, pp.256-57,  
and 12 January, 1886, p.347.
24. GAA-FR17/4, *Diocesan Fund Loan Grants Register, 1879-1928*.
25. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 11 January 1870, pp.214 and 226.
26. 'Diocesan Fund 1905' inserted at FR1/4 *Finance Board Minutes 12 January  
1904-18 December 1906*, pp.150-51.  
The grant went to St. Peter's College for maintenance of students.
27. GAA-FR17/4, *Diocesan Fund Loan Grants Register, 1879-1928*,  
offers no reason for such increases in the level of loan-grants. A gap in the  
Finance Board Minute Book (GAA-FR1/2) from 15 September 1896-13  
November 1900 further compounds the difficulty. Gourrock in 1895,  
Largs (1896), Cardowan (1899), and Tarbrax (1920-22) all received loan-grants  
of £400.
28. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes* 18 September 1885, pp.313-15.
29. GAA-FR1/5, *Finance Board Minutes 8 February 1907-4 March 1913*,  
23 June 1910, p.202 brings "Tollcross mission finances up to 4 June 1909."
30. GAA-PR82 Alexandria, Our Lady and St. Mark's, *Annual Returns*, 1871.
31. *ibid.*, 1885.
32. *ibid* This borrowing is recorded in the 1888 Return.

33. GAA-PR79 - St. John's, Portugal Street, *Annual Returns*, 1876, 1886.
34. GAA-MW81, Shotts, *Annual Returns*, 1906.
35. GAA-PA1, Barrhead, St. John's, *Annual Returns*, 1899-1905.
36. GAA-PR99, Dalmuir, St. Stephen's, *Annual Returns*, 1909.
37. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 1 May 1884, p.273.
38. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid*, 29 May, 1888, p.385.
39. For information on Eyre's policy of breaking-up over-large missions, see Chapter 2, pp.54-6 and 58.
40. GAA-FR1/2, *Finance Board Minutes 13 April 1891-3 December 1901*, 13 April 1891, pp.5-6. Kirkintilloch's debt in April 1891 amounted to £700. The only condition of the Finance Board's approval for the additional expenditure was that Father Beyaert should "raise about £500 by special efforts."
41. GAA-FR1/2 *ibid.*, 17 September 1894, p.42.
42. GAA-FR1/3, *Finance Board Minutes 7 January 1902-15 December 1903*, 20 November 1902, p.115.
43. GAA-FR1/4 *Finance Board Minutes 12 January 1904-18 December 1906*, 12 December 1905, p.200.
44. GAA-FR1/4, *ibid.*, 13 February 1906, p.221.  
A proposal to build a new school on a new site on existing mission ground was vetoed by the HMI, as such a scheme would have left too little play-ground space.
45. GAA-WD2/10, *Advertanda et Memoranda*, Bishop Murdoch's Financial Summary of the Western District.
46. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 5 February 1876, p.175.  
Bonds were also taken out with Friendly Societies, including the Irish National Foresters.
47. GAA-FR1/1, *ibid.*; 29 September 1885, p.319.  
The Menzies Trust appears to have originated with the benefaction of the Blairs Estate and mansion to the Catholic Church in Scotland by John Menzies of Pitfodells. Menzies was "devoted to the welfare of the Catholic Church in Scotland", and especially clerical education. (David McRoberts, 'Restoration of the Hierarchy' in *Modern Scottish Catholicism*, (Glasgow, 1979), p.6.
48. For further on the Mitchell Fund, see Chapter 1, p.34.  
The "Quota, Common or Mission Fund" owed its origin to the annual allowance of 500 crowns from the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to the Prefect of the Scottish Mission, Rev. William Ballentine, to *maintain* ten priests. In 1731, the Fund was divided between the Highland and Lowland Vicariates, and further divided in 1849 between the Eastern, Northern and Western Districts. (GAA-FR17/9 *History of the Scottish Clerical Quota Fund*).



49. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 19 June 1869, p.9.
50. See Chapter 1, pp. 34-5.
51. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 29 September 1885, pp.319-321.
52. GAA-MW36, *Annual Returns*, St. Mary's, Whifflet; and GAA-PR73 *Annual Returns*, St. Saviour's, Govan.
53. GAA-PR82, Alexandria, Our Lady and St. Mark's, *Annual Returns*, 1911.
54. GAA-PR1, St. Andrew's, Glasgow, *Annual Returns* - these two loans are recorded in the 1913 Return.
55. GAA-FR1/3, *Finance Board Minutes*, 4 November 1902, p.112.
56. *ibid.*, p.121.
57. GAA-WD2/10, *Advertanda et Memoranda*, Bishop Murdoch's Financial Summary of the Western District.
58. GAA-FR17/11-13 *Cash Books* (3 volumes), 1912-28, *passim*, containing annual balance sheets and financial summaries
59. GAA-FR1/4, *Finance Board Minutes*, [18] 31 December 1906, p.296.
60. GAA-FR1/4, *ibid.*
61. GAA-CE2/1, *Funds of St. Peter's College, Partickhill*, c.1892; and FR1/4 *Finance Board Minutes*, 18 December 1906, p.296.
62. GAA-FR1/2, *Finance Board Minutes*, handwritten insertion at p.70A.
63. See Chapter 1, p.35.
64. GAA-FR1/3, *Finance Board Minutes*, 14 April 1903, pp.168-69.
65. GAA-FR1/3, *ibid.*, 11 August 1903, p.194. Rental income at Whitsunday 1903 amounted to £1505; for 1906 figure see Chapter 4, p.196.
66. GAA-CD3, *Circulars/Ad Clerums*, Archbishop Maguire to the clergy, 15 January, 1906.
67. *ibid.*
68. *ibid.* GAA-FR17/11-13, *Cash Books*, *passim*, demonstrate that clerical education was always the heaviest commitment on the Central Administration.
69. GAA-FR17/11, *Cash Book*, 1912-17, p.31. Balance sheet as at January 1913.
70. GAA-FR17/11, *ibid.*, p.124. Balance sheet as at January 1915.
71. *Scottish Catholic Directory 1903*, p.238. Archbishop Maguire's sermon at month's mind Mass for Archbishop Eyre.

72. "Diocesan Fund 1892", inserted at FR1/2 *Finance Board Minutes*, pp.26-7, and "Diocesan Fund 1901" inserted at FR1/3 *Finance Board Minutes*, pp.110-11, both record a donation of £10 from 'His Grace the Archbishop'.
73. FR1/2, *Finance Board Minutes*, 26 October, 1894, p.50.
74. FR1/3, *Finance Board Minutes*, 16 June 1903, pp.186-87. Similar guarantees were given to the British Linen Bank Co., *ibid*, p.64.
75. FR1/3, *ibid*, pp.186-87.
76. GAA-CD3, *Circulars/Ad Clerums* - Archbishop Maguire to the clergy, 15 January 1906.
77. FR17/10, *Cash Book 1901-11*, unpaginated. An entry for March 1905 records the Cathedraticum total for 1904 as £1093-13; while a subsequent entry, November 1908, records the amount raised by the levy as £4313-8-0.
78. Archbishop Maguire to the clergy, 11 December 1911 - inserted at FR1/5 *Finance Board Minutes*, pp.280-81.
79. *ibid*
80. *ibid*
81. SCA-ED6/21/2, letter from Monsignor John Ritchie to Archbishop James Smith, 5 October, 1910;  
*Scottish Catholic Directory (SCD) 1921*, pp.298-99. 'An appreciation [of Archbishop Maguire] by Bishop Brown' refers to the Archbishop's poor health, and to his "struggling against the depression that often assails strong natures in sickness." Archbishop Maguire's final public appearance took place when he consecrated Bishop Bennett of Aberdeen on 1 August 1918.  
Maguire's obituary, *SCD 1921*, pp.293-98 records that "never at any time a robust man, the Archbishop had his first serious illness - internal haemorrhageing - about six years previously. He became seriously ill again three years later."
82. GAA-GC3/14/15, Bishop Robert Cornthwaite to Archbishop Eyre, 11 June 1871. For earlier criticisms of financial management, see Chapter 1, pp. 33 and 36.
83. GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918, p.2.
84. *ibid*, pp.3-4, and 6.
85. GAA-FR1/1, *Finance Board Minutes*, 30 October 1885, p.340. St. Andrew's, as the first foundation within the territory of what later became the Western District, was the location for that District's Central Funds, the management of which was subsequently mainly assumed by the Archdiocese.
86. GAA-FR17/11, *Cash Book 1912-17*, p.31. Balance sheet as at January 1913; and GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918, p.1.



87. Archbishop Maguire to the clergy, 11 December 1911 - inserted in GAA-FR1/5, *Finance Board Minutes* at pp.280-81.
88. *ibid*
89. *ibid*
90. GAA-FR17/10, *Cash Book 1901-11*; and FR17/11 *Cash Book 1912-17*, p.31. Balance Sheet as at January 1913. The levy for 1912 raised £10,425. The percentages are based on this figure, and on those for the 1904 Cathedralium, and 1908 levy previously mentioned in reference 77.
91. Archbishop Maguire to the clergy, 11 December 1911 - inserted in GAA-FR1/5, *Finance Board Minutes* at pp.280-81.
92. At this date, the Cash Books cease to contain annual statements.
93. GAA-FR17/11, *Cash Book 1912-17*, p.31, Balance Sheet as at January 1913; p.153 State of Capital debt as at 1 January 1917; FR17/12 *Cash Book 1918-23*, p.183 Balance sheet as at January 1923; and GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918, p.1.
94. GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918, p.3.
95. GAA-FR17/11 *Cash Book 1912-17*, Balance Sheets, p.31 as at January 1913; p.154 as at January 1917; and FR17/12 *Cash Book 1918-23*, p.33 Balance Sheet as at January 1919.
96. GAA-FR17/13 *Cash Book 1924-28*, p.91 "Summary of 1926"; and p.125 'Summary of 1927'.
97. GAA-FR17/11, *Cash Book 1912-17*, p.31 Balance sheet as at January 1913; and FR17/12, *Cash Book 1918-23*, p.99 Balance Sheet as at January 1921.
98. FR17/12, *Cash Book 1918-23*, p.98 "State of Capital Debt as at 1/1/1921"; and FR17/13, *Cash Book 1924-28*, p.91 "Summary of 1926".
99. FR17/13, *Cash Book 1924-28*, *ibid*, p.91.
100. FR17/11, *Cash Book 1912-17*. In 1914, loans from missions to the Central Administration amounted to £1750 (p.61); by 1916, the figure was £9750 (p.123); in 1918, £59,700 (p.181); FR17/12, *Cash Book 1918-23*, by January 1919, £118,075 (p.32).
101. GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918, p.2
102. GAA-FR17/11, *Cash Book 1912-17*, p.94 Balance sheet as at January 1915 mentions remission of interest on this loan; and FR17/12, *Cash Book 1918-23*, p.33 Balance sheet as at January 1919. Direct contributions from the Eyre Trustees included the erection and furnishing of St. Peter's College chapel, Bearsden (FR17/11, p.124 Balance sheet as at January 1916).

103. GAA-FR17/11, *Cash Book 1912-17*, p.181 "State of Capital Debt as at 1 January 1918".
104. GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918. p.2
105. Archbishop Maguire to the clergy, 11 December 1911 - inserted at FR1/5, *Finance Board Minutes*, pp. 280-81.
106. GAA-CD6/1, *Minute Book of the Cathedral Chapter*, unpaginated, 26 September 1912.
107. *ibid*
108. *ibid*
109. *ibid*
110. *ibid.*, 19 August 1920.
111. GAA-HS5. *Apostolic Visitations*, Bishop Brown to Monsignor Ritchie, 9 September 1919, had earlier offered reassurance that nothing will be done "which is unacceptable" to the Archbishop.
112. GAA-HS5, *Apostolic Visitations*, Monsignor Brown to Monsignor [Ritchie], 16 April 1921. He would never allow himself to be forced on Glasgow or any other See.
- James Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland* (Glasgow 1986), pp.xiv-xv. In Brown's view, episcopal candidates should be less than fifty years of age.
113. GAA-HS5, *Apostolic Visitations*, Monsignor Brown to Monsignor Ritchie, 9 March 1919, any proposed division might only cause renewed uncertainty among lenders; and Brown to Ritchie, 24 November 1921.
114. GAA-ED16 from Southwark, Bishop Brown's papers, *Financial Report on the Archdiocese of Glasgow*, 6 May 1918, p.4
115. GAA-PR99 *Dalmuir Annual Returns*, 1925 and 1926; see also Chapter 3.
116. FR1/8 *Finance Board Minutes*, 16 November 1926-12 February 1930, 13 September 1927, p.41; see Chapter 4, p.200.
117. GAA-PR82, Alexandria, Our Lady and St. Mark's, *Annual Returns*, 1924.
118. GAA-HS7/1, *Financial History of the Archdiocese*, p.2.
119. *ibid*
120. *ibid.*
121. *ibid.*, p.4.
122. *ibid.*, p.3.



123. For further on leasing, see Chapter 3, section 3.
124. GAA-FR18/1, *Archbishop of Glasgow Charitable Trust, Minute Book 12 June 1925-23 December 1932*, unpaginated, 14 November 1932 notes Glasgow Corporation mortgage.
125. HS7/1, *loc.cit.*; p.1.
126. *ibid*
127. GAA-FR1/8, *Finance Board Minutes*, 13 September 1927, p.41.
128. HS7/1, *loc. cit.*, p.3.
129. *ibid.*, p.2.
130. *ibid.*, p.3.
131. *ibid.*, pp.3 and 4.
132. *ibid.*, p.4.
133. *ibid*
134. *ibid*
135. *ibid*
136. *ibid*
137. *ibid.*, p.6.
138. *ibid*
139. *ibid.*, p.7.
140. *ibid*
141. *ibid*
142. *ibid*
143. *ibid*
144. *Flourish*, Official Journal of Glasgow Archdiocese, April 1987, p.1; and April 1988, p.1.
145. *Flourish*, April 1987, p.1.
146. GAA-GC46, Rev. John Ritchie, Diocesan Secretary, to his brother, Canon George Ritchie, 3 July 1914.
147. *ibid*

## CHAPTER 5

### PHILANTHROPY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

In nineteenth-century Scotland, the Irish immigrant continued to arouse particularly strong emotions, most notably those of the author of the introduction to the 1871 census. In his introduction, Stark asserted that "the very high proportion of the Irish race in Scotland has undoubtedly produced deleterious results, lowered greatly the moral tone of the lower classes, and greatly increased the necessity for the enforcement of sanitary and police precautions wherever they are settled in numbers."<sup>1</sup> The *Poor Law Magazine*, which began publication in 1858 as the journal of the Scottish Inspectors of the Poor under the Board of Supervision,<sup>2</sup> was similarly outspoken, especially in its early issues, about what it termed the calamity of Irish pauper immigration.<sup>3</sup>

The nature of the perceived calamity found expression in the belief that the Irish immigrant was an additional source of mendicity, and a further burden upon the operation of poor relief at a time when that system was already under severe strain. The industrial distress of Scotland in the early 1840s had served to highlight the whole question of support for the poor which hitherto had been based on sixteenth and seventeenth century statutes and entrusted to the care of local heritors and kirk sessions.<sup>4</sup> The necessary funds had been obtained mainly from church door collections and donations or, if these sources proved insufficient, by means of a voluntary assessment raised from the heritors of the parish.<sup>5</sup> However, though this procedure persisted in most rural areas, all the principal Scottish burghs had by 1839 already found it necessary to introduce compulsory assessments calculated on the basis of ownership and occupancy.<sup>6</sup> The need for reorganisation was further emphasised by the Great Disruption of 1843 which effectively ended the remaining ecclesiastical administration of poor relief,<sup>7</sup> and was reflected in the appointment in the same year of Government Commissioners to enquire into the practical operation of support for the poor in Scotland.<sup>8</sup> As a result of such pressures, the Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Act of 1845 introduced a new statutory system of poor relief.



At a local level, parochial boards were established comprising magistrates,<sup>9</sup> and nominees of kirk sessions, but with the majority of their membership being elected by the property owners in each parish.<sup>10</sup> However, though administrative changes were introduced, the underlying assumptions which had governed the operation of the pre-1845 system of poor relief still remained. The Royal Commission on the Poor Law had, for example, interpreted its terms of reference very narrowly, asserting that it had not been asked to be innovative, but rather to make the existing system more efficient.<sup>11</sup> On the two most contentious issues therefore, that of granting relief to the able-bodied poor, and the question of legal assessment, both the Commission, and the subsequent Poor Law were conservative in outlook. In spite of the experience of the Scottish burghs, legal assessment was not made universal and obligatory, nor were the able-bodied poor granted any legal right to relief.

Such provisions must have proved a severe disappointment to critics of the pre-1845 system such as W.P. Alison, Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, who contended that Scotland already spent comparatively less than her European neighbours on poor relief, and that existing provision was already inadequate and inhumane.<sup>12</sup> In particular, there had been a "very general discouragement of institutions for the relief of mere poverty - of the unemployed poor, the aged or permanently disabled poor, and the widows and orphans of the poor."<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Alison's attitude towards the poor was, in practical terms, less sympathetic, for in common with many of his Victorian contemporaries he continued to ascribe social ills such as poverty, destitute old age, and even much of the suffering from unemployment to individual inadequacies rather than to more general failures of the social mechanism.<sup>14</sup> Thus he argued that outdoor relief should be withdrawn, and relief to the able-bodied poor given only by means of the workhouse,<sup>15</sup> a procedure introduced in England, and increasingly adopted by the Board of Supervision in Scotland. This gradual infiltration of English ideas was in marked contrast to the philosophy of some Scottish philanthropists like Thomas Chalmers, who believed that the practice of neighbourly assistance and supervision would promote among the poor qualities of self-help, self-reliance and independence.<sup>16</sup> However, to achieve such beneficial results, charity must proceed on the basis of close personal knowledge and

human understanding.<sup>17</sup> By such means too, indiscriminate alms-giving, and the consequent pauperisation of the poor could be prevented.

Chalmers' ideas later found most notable expression in the form of the Charity Organisation Society, a body established in 1869 with the aim of co-ordinating charitable activity.<sup>18</sup> A similar belief in the importance of personal contact was also evident in the operation of the St. Vincent de Paul Society founded by Frederic Ozanam in Paris in 1833, and established in Glasgow in 1848.<sup>19</sup> It had as its particular concern the welfare of the Catholic poor, and placed great emphasis on the importance of visiting the needy in their own homes.<sup>20</sup> In order to fulfil this aim the members, or brothers of the society as they were called, were organised in a series of parish branches, called Conferences, with the responsibility of offering assistance to the poor in their locality. Expansion was steady, from one Conference and eight active members in 1848, to fourteen Conferences and an active membership of 131 a decade later.<sup>21</sup> This increase continued to be maintained thereafter, and by the time of its Golden Jubilee in 1898 the Society within the Archdiocese could claim an active membership of 569 organised in forty Conferences. Not surprisingly, this increasing membership enabled a parallel improvement to take place in the number of home visitations carried out - from an annual average of 6221 in the Society's first decade of existence, to 42,113 in 1888-98.<sup>22</sup>

Visitation was important however, not simply as a means of identifying and assisting those in need. Such direct, personal contact also resulted in an "intimate knowledge of the poor"<sup>23</sup> which could prove an invaluable asset to Catholic representatives on parochial boards. "A good practical member of the Society" could therefore prove an effective "legal protector" of the poor, and was to be preferred to a gentleman of "position and leisure."<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, in Victorian society, social status and free time were the hallmark of the philanthropist, as well as a necessary prerequisite,<sup>25</sup> and even among the St. Vincent de Paul's own earliest office-bearers, professionals - including a solicitor John Bryson, and Hugh Margey, owner of a small business - figure prominently.<sup>26</sup> The Society's evident concern for the legal protection of the



Catholic poor reflected its belief that the system of poor relief could endanger the faith of the Catholic pauper, and sometimes actively lead to proselytism. Ozanam's society had been established in response to "the flood of irreligion and neglect" which its founder had noticed in nineteenth-century France.<sup>27</sup> Temporal almsgiving was therefore blended with pious exhortation, and with the aim of regenerating the soul "by recalling to the Christian his sublime destiny."<sup>28</sup> A similar principle also provided the motivation for some Presbyterian evangelicals, who sought to bring to the urban worker the "great Christian doctrine of sin, grace and redemption."<sup>29</sup>

The St. Vincent de Paul Society's assumption of the role of promoter of the particular interests of the Catholic poor was therefore inevitable if such spiritual regeneration were to be achieved. Nor did poverty and misfortune of itself detach an individual from the religion which he or she had, however nominally, previously professed. The system of poor relief therefore, should permit provision for the maintenance of the religious faith and practice of the pauper. As a result, concern was expressed when it became evident that Catholic inmates in the poorhouses continued to be denied the opportunity of hearing Mass.<sup>30</sup> Similar concern, on the part of both the Society and the clergy also surrounded the religious upbringing of children. When boarding-out with families became, from the 1860s onwards, an increasingly popular alternative to placement in large orphanages,<sup>31</sup> the Catholic authorities protested about the policy adopted by the Greenock Parochial Board of lodging Catholic children with Protestant families.<sup>32</sup> In Edinburgh, the poorhouse governor compelled Catholic children "to attend Protestant worship three times on Sunday and twice every weekday."<sup>33</sup> Repeated applications to the Board of Supervision for redress in such matters met with a disappointing response, for even though Parliament compelled the Board, in 1864, to circularise all Scottish poorhouses in an attempt to ensure freedom of religious worship,<sup>34</sup> the position showed no immediate improvement. Indeed, in 1870, giving evidence before the Select Committee on the Poor Law (Scotland), Rev. Bernard Tracy, priest in Pollokshaws, expressly claimed that proselytism still continued in spite of the Board's previous instructions.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, by the end of the century,

relations between the Poor Law authorities and the Catholic community had softened. Addressing the Golden Jubilee gathering of the Society in 1898, Brother Robert Connor could assert that Parish Councils were "now more enlightened than the [Greenock] Board which a number of years ago resolved...to educate the children under its care in the [Protestant] religion of the majority of the ratepayers of the parish."<sup>36</sup> The danger to children of Catholic parents left to the charge of Parish Councils was therefore no longer so acute, because if the letter and spirit of the Poor Law were observed the faith of such children was properly safeguarded.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, Connor went so far as to claim that, with regard to the Poor Law, "religious convictions meet with due measure of respect."<sup>38</sup> Several poorhouses had by that point in time regularly-appointed chaplains, and the brothers of the Society were also permitted to visit and to impart religious instruction to the young.<sup>39</sup>

Both within and without the poorhouse therefore, the Catholic pauper at the end of the nineteenth-century was being "more equitably treated",<sup>40</sup> a transformation which the Society ascribed to the "fairer Catholic representation on the various parish councils"<sup>41</sup> and to the more liberal-minded attitude of non-Catholic representatives. Nevertheless, the Society continued to devote considerable attention to the maintenance of religious faith and practice, especially among the young. In particular, where the surviving parent of a child was dying, leaving only Protestant relatives as guardians, the brothers of the Society were urged "to use the most urgent solicitations" with the sick person to sign, or verbally, express a wish that the child should be brought up in the Catholic faith.<sup>42</sup> Otherwise, the faith of the child could still be endangered.<sup>43</sup>

Continued concern for the religious upbringing of children also prompted the Society to take a special interest in the work of Catholic orphanages and reformatories, and later to assist in establishing what it termed its "patronage" institutions<sup>44</sup> such as the Children's Refuge in Whitevale Street, and the News Children's Shelter. The principal Catholic orphanage, not just for Glasgow and the West, but for Scotland as a whole, was situated at Smyllum House, Lanark, the property having been purchased for that purpose in 1864.<sup>45</sup> This new institution, was not the first Catholic orphanage



to be established. Instead it was intended to supersede its predecessor at St. Mary's, Abercromby Street, which had been certified as an Industrial School on 25 November, 1862.<sup>46</sup> The day-to-day management of Smyllum was entrusted to the care of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, a religious order established in 1633.<sup>47</sup> As well as separate houses for the orphan girls and boys, Smyllum also contained the only Catholic Deaf Mute and Blind Home in Scotland. It therefore fitted into the pattern throughout Victorian Scotland whereby the teaching and training of deaf (and dumb) children was almost wholly dependent upon philanthropic efforts, for although, under the terms of the Poor Law, the community was responsible for the basic maintenance of the disabled, this was not understood to involve any remedial work.<sup>48</sup> Such children were unlikely to obtain future employment, and for some Smyllum would become their permanent home. Most children would however leave on attaining the age of 14 or 15 years, and to equip this majority for their future life outwith the orphanage, education and training was essential, not simply to enable the children to obtain employment, but also so that on discharge they would carry out any subsequent duties "with credit to themselves and honour to the religion they profess."<sup>49</sup> Satisfaction with the education and upbringing offered was expressed, not only by the school, and religious inspectors, but also by David White, Assistant Inspector of one parochial board, who recorded his pleasure at the order and tidy appearance of all the children.<sup>50</sup> Similar reports were entered in the Visitors' Book by the representatives of the parish of South Leith, the Govan Combination, and Old Monkland. Parochial boards were an important source of income for the orphanage. In 1889, forty-five Boards sent their Catholic orphans to Smyllum and the orphanage received £1672.5.4 in income from that source, a sum which amounted to nearly one-third of the expenditure incurred during that year.<sup>51</sup> By 1905, the number of Parish Councils sending children had risen to fifty-one, with the majority of the children coming from Dundee.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of parochial revenue, Smyllum continued to rely heavily upon the generosity of a charitable public.

As a result of the education and training received by the children, and the homely atmosphere which they sought to create, the Sisters believed that Smyllum managed to inculcate sound principles of behaviour. In particular, the children did not become

pauperised by their connection with the orphanage, and forgot the fact that they had been placed there by Parochial Boards. Instead, they acquired that "manly independence which inspires a salutary horror of the very name of "pauper"" and keep clear in "after life" both of the pauper's claim on parish relief, and of the "thrifless improvidence" from which such claims often arose.<sup>53</sup> A similar desire to remove what was perceived as the "stigma of pauperism", also governed the actions of the Sisters of Charity in their administration of the Children's Refuge established in 1887 in Whitevale Street, Dennistoun.<sup>54</sup> In consequence, the Sisters strongly supported "the almost universal adoption of the boarding-out system"<sup>55</sup> advocated by the Local Government Board, on the grounds that it provided "the child with a comfortable home and with a good Catholic education",<sup>56</sup> and had already demonstrated "most admirable results."<sup>57</sup> The boarding-out of children also brought practical and financial benefits to the Refuge itself, as overcrowding was eased and expenditure controlled.

The foundation of the Children's Refuge owed much to the efforts of Archbishop Eyre and Monsignor Munro, both of whom were convinced of the need to provide "a temporary shelter to children whose destitute circumstances endangered their faith or morals."<sup>58</sup> However, as the Directors specifically pointed out, the Refuge was "not an orphanage", and its usefulness would be "seriously impaired if children are detained in it beyond a brief period."<sup>59</sup> Most of the children admitted came from single-parent families, where one parent had died and the surviving partner proved unwilling or unable to cope.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, the Refuge continued to aim to return as many children as possible to the care of their parent or other close relative. Of those discharged annually, approximately 40% were returned to their families; another 43% were "placed under Catholic guardianship by admission to Industrial Schools, and in other ways",<sup>61</sup> while the remaining 17% were variously settled, normally by being adopted or placed in service. A few, never more than 4% of those discharged, were admitted into Smyllum. Children were normally admitted into the Refuge as a result of the intervention of a priest, or through the efforts of the members of its House Committees. But, as in Smyllum, children could also be placed in the Refuge by Parish Councils. However, the Refuge differed from the orphanage in being a specifically local institution with the vast majority of its admissions being drawn from



within the territory covered by the Archdiocese. The age-range accommodated varied from those "of very tender years" up to about the age of twelve,<sup>62</sup> and the older children, in addition to the daily religious instruction, also received secular instruction and training in industrial work.<sup>63</sup>

In order to maintain such activities, adequate finance was essential. In 1897, the Directors could report that the financial condition of the Refuge was "altogether prosperous."<sup>64</sup> Such a position had been achieved due to the generous support forthcoming from the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and to the steadily increasing contributions gathered from the missions of the Archdiocese by means of an annual general collection. A large amount of donations in cash and kind was also received, including one on behalf of the Charity Organisation Society.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, within little more than a decade the situation had markedly deteriorated, for although a contribution from the St. Vincent de Paul Society continued to be forwarded with "unfailing regularity" ,income from other sources had substantially declined.<sup>66</sup> Donations in cash and subscriptions from societies fell most sharply, with those received in 1908 representing only 30% of their 1897 levels.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, even the amount donated by the St. Vincent de Paul Society had itself been reduced.<sup>68</sup> As a result the Directors repeatedly appealed to their former donors to renew their support for the Refuge. The associated house at Girvan, which provided a holiday home for the children had to be maintained, and further expenditure was subsequently incurred when, at Whitsuntide 1912, the Refuge proper was transferred to its new premises at Bellevue House, Rutherglen.<sup>69</sup> The former Refuge building at 21 Whitevale Street, Dennistoun was leased to the Working Boys' Home Committee. This Home had its origins in a day feeding school in Market Street, Glasgow, which opened in 1883 with the object of providing poor children with proper clothing, nourishment, and a rudimentary education.<sup>70</sup> In 1887, with the encouragement of Archbishop Eyre and financial support from the Marquis of Bute, the school was converted into a Day Refuge for "the large class of poor children engaged in selling newspapers on the streets."<sup>71</sup> In 1892, additional accommodation was created to make this refuge into a night shelter for the boys in order "to preserve them from the horrors of common

lodgings."<sup>72</sup> However, only the "better-behaved" boys were admitted to the Shelter,<sup>73</sup> and of the thirty children admitted in 1897, fifteen were in regular employment.<sup>74</sup>

The transition from Newsboys' Shelter to Working Boys Home was, however, a long-drawn out process, bedevilled by a lack of suitable premises. The desire to establish an institution where working orphans and other homeless boys could reside was felt to be essential if such youths were not, after leaving school, to "descend through poverty and evil associates to vice, and become a burden and a disgrace to the country."<sup>75</sup> However, not until 1897 when Archbishop Eyre made available a former presbytery at 11 Oak Street, Anderston, for the purpose, could a start be made. Even then, as the building required considerable alterations, it was not until January 1899 that the new Working Boys Home accepted its first residents. For the first few years of its existence, the St. Vincent de Paul Society subsidised the Oak Street foundation. However, in 1907, reporting the "very good financial position" of the Anderston Home, the managers stated that it was "now hoped to do without the St. Vincent de Paul Society subsidy", <sup>76</sup> and Oak Street would therefore become instead a diocesan institution. The Society however, aware of the pressure on the available places at Oak Street, and desiring to maintain a direct interest in the field, converted the Newsboys' Shelter into a temporary Working Boys' Home while a renewed quest continued for larger and more suitable premises.<sup>77</sup>

As with the former Newsboys' Shelter, acceptance into either of these Working Boys Homes continued to be "strictly confined to boys of good character,"<sup>78</sup> and those who, on admission were unemployed, were encouraged and assisted to become apprenticed in a trade.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, both Homes were willing to accept boys discharged from Industrial Schools and Reformatories. However, they also reserved the right to expel any boy who subsequently proved unsuitable, either through indolence or refusal to maintain an acceptable standard of behaviour.<sup>80</sup> Some were returned to either Industrial Schools, or Reformatory,<sup>81</sup> which by the early twentieth century, had evolved into penal institutions to which juvenile offenders were referred by the courts. The former accepted children under fourteen, and the latter those over fourteen years



of age.<sup>82</sup> When first established towards the middle of the nineteenth century, such foundations had been non-residential in character, with no compulsion upon children to attend. Though poorly-fed children were initially attracted by the promise of three meals per day, they soon began to play truant in large numbers and, as a result, the "industrial" production of these Ragged or Industrial Schools was low.<sup>83</sup> Truancy also effectively nullified the aim of such schools to reform the habits and behaviour of these children who, orphaned, abandoned, or fugitives from bad homes, were accustomed to living in the city streets.

The two most influential individuals in this field were Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen, and Rev. Dr. Thomas Guthrie in Edinburgh. Indeed, the Ragged School movement in Scotland was largely the work of such Christian evangelicals, whose views were paralleled in England by individuals such as Lord Shaftesbury.<sup>84</sup> However, one basic assumption underlying their actions helped to ensure that their establishments would not endear themselves to the leaders of the Catholic community. For Watson in Aberdeen, religion was paramount, and the Bible was to be the source of educational inspiration.<sup>85</sup> In Edinburgh too, Guthrie's Ragged or Industrial School Association encountered criticism of its religious teaching, which was conducted by Protestant ministers.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, Guthrie's refusal to allow Catholic religious instruction made any compromise a forlorn hope. As a result in 1847, the Catholic community in Edinburgh formed the United Industrial Schools of Edinburgh, in competition with Guthrie's Association, and with two committees, one Protestant and the other Catholic, to oversee religious instruction.<sup>87</sup> Even this limited example of religious toleration was, however, severely criticised, particularly among the Catholic community in the west of Scotland.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, as late as 1899, about 100 boys were being educated gratis in the United Industrial School, receiving one hour's religious instruction each day under the superintendence of the priests from the nearby St. Patrick's church.<sup>89</sup>

Continued fears about the proselytising of Catholic inmates in institutions led the Catholic community in the west of Scotland to found its own means of support for delinquent children. A Reformatory for Boys at West Thorn Mills, Parkhead, was

functioning as early as 1859, when Bishop Murdoch, in a circular to his clergy, had promoted its use.<sup>90</sup> This Reformatory, and a parallel institution for Catholic girls at Dalbeth, were opened virtually simultaneously. In the Catholic Directory for 1860, the religious of the Order of the Good Shepherd called the attention of the "Catholics of the Western District of Scotland to the Reformatory for female juvenile offenders"<sup>91</sup> which had lately been established. But they also appealed for financial help and support, since although the generosity of Mr. Monteith of Carstairs had enabled "a large and commodious building" to be erected and "suitably furnished"; a sizeable debt of several hundred pounds still remained.<sup>92</sup> The continued receipt of alms was therefore essential, not only if the work of the Reformatory was to progress, but also to enable the Magdalene Asylum for "the Class of Penitents" to be maintained. The provision of this Asylum had been the Sister's earliest undertaking on arriving in the west of Scotland, and one which they continued to develop, with a new building to hold 150 inmates being completed by 1873.<sup>93</sup>

The chief difference between Reformatory and Asylum was that the latter was, at least in theory, elective. Girls, usually reformed prostitutes in their late teens, were admitted ostensibly at their own request, although many were encouraged by clergymen and others to apply.<sup>94</sup> The hope underlying the ordered regime in the Asylum was that the former lifestyles and habits of the girls would be abandoned in favour of the "more sober realities of regular routine."<sup>95</sup> However, as with the Working Boys Homes, any girl who refused to accept the discipline of the institution ultimately found herself "dismissed from the shelter and [the] protection"<sup>96</sup> which it offered. In addition, after 1862 and the passage of the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, any girl who subsequently resumed her former career on the streets could be committed to prison if she persistently offended.<sup>97</sup> The possibility of these additional sanctions may therefore, for some girls, have acted as an indirect incentive to conform to the requirements of the institution. This increasing involvement of the forces of law and order in making provision for delinquent children and juveniles was also reflected in the granting by the government in 1855, of legal status to the Reformatories and Industrial Schools.<sup>98</sup> By this Act, they could be



registered and inspected; and it was this statute which empowered the courts to commit convicted youngsters to these institutions instead of to prisons. In addition to St. Mary's, Abercromby Street, two other Catholic institutions, Slatefield Industrial School for Boys, Gallowgate, and Dalbeth Industrial School for Roman Catholic girls received the necessary certification.<sup>99</sup>

The management of these Catholic Industrial Schools and Reformatories, with the exception of Dalbeth, was entrusted to a Board of Directors, appointed by the Archbishop. Eyre established the first such Board in 1870-71, in response to an approach from the existing Managers, both clerical and lay, who doubted whether the Schools could remain financially viable on the basis of their own resources and on income received from voluntary offerings. A particular concern centred upon the new buildings erected at St. Mary's, whereby the school's management committee had contracted a heavy debt amounting to £5423.18.5.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, in the Managers' opinion, a special effort would be required on the part of the Catholic community in Scotland to meet the liabilities already incurred, and to render the Catholic Industrial Schools "a permanent boon" not only to destitute Catholic children, "but to society at large."<sup>101</sup> However, if the children were not to reoffend on discharge, the type and quality of training offered by the various Reformatories and Industrial Schools was of great importance. In this respect, and in spite of their financial problems, the Catholic managers could derive limited comfort from the favourable report made by Rev. Sydney Turner, the Government Inspector, who in 1869 asserted that "the industrial training of the boys had been very satisfactorily attended to."<sup>102</sup> Indeed, Turner considered the Boys' Orphanage to be "one of the most thoroughly Industrial Schools in Scotland."<sup>103</sup> In the Girls School too, much emphasis was placed upon industrial training with the aim of obtaining situations in service for the girls on leaving school.

The training offered within these establishments changed little throughout the nineteenth century, and continued to concentrate on either unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. However, on at least one occasion, such work drew an adverse reaction from an external source. In December 1892, the Glasgow Branch of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives accused West Thorn Reformatory, and the

superintendents of St. Mary's and Slatefield Industrial Schools, of strike-breaking by undertaking work from a commercial firm engaged in a trade dispute.<sup>104</sup> Yet, the reason behind the Reformatory accepting the work did not seem to stem from any particular antipathy towards trade unions, even though James Garden, superintendent at West Thorn, was not personally sympathetic towards them. Instead, the incident serves to re-emphasize the importance of such outside contracts for the long-term financial viability of the Reformatories and Industrial Schools. Though on an annual basis, normal income - including in 1872 local assessments for the first time - was usually sufficient to meet normal expenditure, few inroads had been made into the capital debt incurred by building improvements and alterations. As a result, the financial position of the Industrial Schools remained serious, and the Directors asserted that they would "strain every nerve to reduce and finally pay off that remaining debt."<sup>105</sup>

In this context industrial production thus performed a dual function - as a source of income, as well as a means to reform and retrain the children. In the latter context, education too, aimed particularly at improving standards of literacy, also played an important role, with inspectors consistently praising the standard achieved.<sup>106</sup> Great emphasis was also laid upon the religious education and upbringing of the children. By 1889, religious instructions were given daily by the teachers, while special instruction was also provided in all the schools by their full-time chaplain. As with other Catholic schools, the Industrial institutions were examined in religious knowledge by the Diocesan Inspectors, one of whom, John Taylor, reported very favourably on all three schools. Nevertheless, as Table 23 shows, such a report may have been a little over-optimistic as many children had only the most tenuous religious practice.<sup>107</sup> In reality therefore, the figures for reception of the Sacraments may simply be a reflection of the school's desire to inculcate certain habits and practices among the children, while yielding virtually no information about the long-term impact of institutional religion upon the inmates of the schools.



The principal aim of both Industrial Schools and Reformatories was, by imbuing the children with acceptable social values and standards of behaviour, to fit them to take their place in society. A crucial barometer of the effectiveness of such institutions is therefore provided by examination of the subsequent performance of discharged inmates. By 1889, of the 352 boys and girls who had left school during the three years previously, 93% were claimed to be "doing well."<sup>108</sup> However, the Reformatories performed less satisfactorily than the Industrial Schools. In 1907, David Mullen of the St. Vincent de Paul Society drew unfavourable comparisons between the subsequent behaviour of those boys discharged from Parkhead Reformatory and their counterparts from the Catholic Reformatory in Liverpool. Parkhead had a reconviction rate of 30%. By contrast, Liverpool reported a rate of only 3%.<sup>109</sup> Mullen attributed the relative failure displayed by Parkhead to a lack of sufficient places in Working Boys Homes and, more generally, to a lack of adequate after-care and supervision of youths recently discharged. The conversion of the Newsboys' Shelter into a Working Boys Home therefore helped to remedy this deficiency, as did the establishment by the Society in 1908 of a Patronage Committee to "work in connection with boys discharged from Reformatory and Industrial Schools."<sup>110</sup> The need for such a Committee had, in the Society's view, been confirmed by the evidence contained in the 'Blue Book' issued by the Home Office for Scotland.<sup>111</sup> This source provided support for the belief that discharged inmates from juvenile penal institutions found it particularly difficult, in spite of efforts made to assist them, to gain employment. The new Patronage Committee was therefore to "interest itself in such boys", and visit them regularly "in order to prevent them falling into their old ways."<sup>112</sup> The Society however found difficulty in selecting suitable Brothers as visitors, for the task required a high degree of skill and subtlety. The visitor "who can get at the boys' hearts" was believed to be most effective; "one who asks about the boys' work and amusements. The visitor who drives at religion and tries to force Monthly Communions is never very successful; he leads a careless lad to be untruthful, and eventually to keep out of the visitor's way."<sup>113</sup>

Some children however, rather than being transferred from one form of supervision, or institution to another, were sent on emigration schemes. Such schemes were not new having been put into practice by William Quarrier as early as 1871.<sup>114</sup> However, the St. Vincent de Paul Society does not appear to have been active in the field of child emigration until after the formation of its Patronage Committee, which "sent boys to new surroundings in Ireland and abroad, where they are still kept under observation."<sup>115</sup> By early 1912, the Society could report that such efforts had been "productive of good results" and seemed "capable of great development in the future."<sup>116</sup> Not until 1925 however, did the Society become associated with the Catholic Emigration Association,<sup>117</sup> the largest Catholic agency in the field, and, moreover, the "only Catholic Association recognised by the Government" to undertake this work.<sup>118</sup> An important consideration for both the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Catholic Emigration Association was to ensure that "the departure from the home country would not involve any danger of the emigrant losing touch with the Church."<sup>119</sup> A Catholic Reception Agency for migrants was therefore felt to be a necessity. For this reason Canada, where there existed a Catholic Immigration Association under the patronage of the country's bishops, was a particularly favoured destination, since all youthful emigrants were sent to a Catholic family verified as such by the Parish Priest. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Catholic agencies to preserve the religious affiliation of the children could be nullified if the Homes themselves were less than circumspect in making arrangements for emigration. In 1925, Smyllum was heavily criticised for having permitted two boys to be placed with a Presbyterian farmer.<sup>120</sup>

The St. Vincent de Paul Society also viewed "with apprehension" the large number of adult Catholics who were emigrating without being put in touch with any Catholic agency abroad. As a result, correspondents were recruited from among the Society's membership in various countries, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.<sup>121</sup> They undertook to meet and advise the migrants on arrival and, perhaps even more importantly, furnished reports concerning the conditions prevailing in their respective countries. Thus, in the mid-1920s, the Melbourne Council of the Society advised that emigration to Australia should actively be discouraged as, in a



time of high unemployment, native-born Australians were often being dismissed in order to make room for the immigrant. The resulting belief that native Australians were not offered the same opportunities as migrants could, potentially, lead to resentment.<sup>122</sup>

The Secretariat of the Society within the Archdiocese of Glasgow agreed that it was pointless to send migrants from Scotland abroad "unless they had jobs to go to" or unless they could be placed in conditions where they had "at least a chance of earning a livelihood and becoming decent citizens in the country of their adoption."<sup>123</sup> But the gathering depression of the inter-war decades made such a prospect increasingly unlikely. The continued association of employment with becoming a decent citizen is significant, for the belief had clearly persisted into the twentieth century that the problem of unemployment could be attributed to perceived defects in personal character, including drink, improvidence and early marriage.<sup>124</sup> Such individuals, collectively termed the "casual poor"<sup>125</sup> or the "detritus" of the working class,<sup>126</sup> were regarded as being the lowest type of humanity. They were considered to form a substratum of society, quite separate from the "respectable working class who were normally unwilling to seek poor relief."<sup>127</sup> The St. Vincent de Paul Society apparently shared such opinions. In 1896, Mr. J.R. Motion, Inspector of the Barony parish, in acknowledging the work of the Society, also highlighted the point that "the relief granted should not have any reference to the poor law administration."<sup>128</sup> As a result, the Society would continue to prevent "what is called pauperism," and in Mr. Motion's opinion, "the more they did...in that direction the better for all concerned."<sup>129</sup> In 1912, the Society's chaplain, Father MacMahon stated that there would always exist "the professional beggar", including those who would accept assistance under false pretences, or look upon relief as a right to which they were entitled.<sup>130</sup> Such practices however, were completely contrary to the Society's spirit; and therefore in an effort to discourage such behaviour, any assistance rendered should preferably continue to be given in kind rather than in the form of cash payments.<sup>131</sup> Bishop Maguire wholeheartedly approved of this policy, having praised the Society for "the economical way it went about its work."<sup>132</sup> The Glasgow Charity Organisation Society, on whose

Committee the St. Vincent de Paul Society was represented until at least 1918, <sup>133</sup> also sought to dissuade the casual, or "undeserving" poor from a reliance upon relief.<sup>134</sup> As a result, objections were raised to the various "make work" schemes initiated by Glasgow Corporation in the decade and a half prior to 1905 and which, it was claimed, were largely patronised by "that indifferent class who never can keep any situation for any time."<sup>135</sup> The Charity Organisation Society in the operation of its own schemes attempted to be more discerning, with a thorough examination being undertaken of each applicant<sup>136</sup> before a place was awarded. Nevertheless, the charge levelled against the Corporation could often be less than fair for attempts were made to guard against abuse by the "undeserving" poor. In February 1904, the Sub-Committee on Relief Employment resolved that scheme places should be refused to all individuals who had been rendered unemployed "through carelessness or inattention to work," while a minimum residence qualification had already earlier been insisted upon.<sup>137</sup> Nonetheless, even with the development of the Welfare State in the mid-twentieth century, did such ideas about the inherent fecklessness of some individuals ever completely cease to exist.

The belief in the existence of two routes to unemployment however, and the different remedies proposed for each, betray a lack of economic understanding. In particular, the division between the "undeserving" poor and the "respectable" working class was not necessarily absolute. Seasonal work, particularly in the building trade, could often lead to regular periods of unemployment or under-employment,<sup>138</sup> and working-class leaders like George Carson, Secretary of the Glasgow Trades Council condemned what they regarded as an artificial and wholly arbitrary distinction.<sup>139</sup> Such opinions drew later confirmation and support from socialists like Sydney and Beatrice Webb, who claimed that the experience of the First World War, when all surplus labour was absorbed by the needs of the war-time economy, clearly demonstrated that the casual poor had been a "social and not a biological creation. Their lifestyle had not been the result of some hereditary 'taint', but the simple consequence of poor housing, inadequate wages, and irregular work."<sup>140</sup>



This disagreement over the causes of unemployment however, exerted a continued influence over the form of relief offered. Most, including the Glasgow "make work" schemes, were of a temporary nature, partly as a result of difficulties of funding,<sup>141</sup> but also due to the continued hostility displayed towards state and local authority involvement. Public intervention it was claimed would only "deteriorate weak natures" still further.<sup>142</sup> Any assistance therefore rendered, particularly to the "undeserving" poor, would be more effective if it was to inculcate the virtues of prudence, thrift, industry, and sobriety.<sup>143</sup> In promoting such ideals the role of the benefit society was one of considerable importance, for they encouraged the poor to save and to make provision for such eventualities as illness and old age. Among the Catholic community, specific groups like the Irish National Foresters and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, in addition to their political interests, also acted as Friendly Societies for their adherents.<sup>144</sup> A Catholic Benefit Society is also recorded as having been active within the town of Motherwell, and in suburban districts like Pollokshaws.<sup>145</sup> The Clergy too, made similar provision. Indeed, a Clerical Friendly Society to meet "the wants of necessitous clergymen" in the Lowland District of Scotland had been established as early as 1811.<sup>146</sup> Priests could also receive assistance from specific funds such as the Farquharson and Mitchell Bequests and the Quota Fund and, after 1855, from the Sick Priests Fund of the Western District.<sup>147</sup>

The Insurance Act of 1911, passed by the Liberal government, led to the establishment of a further Catholic body, the Catholic Friendly Society. This Act, which for the first time established compulsory contributory national health insurance for most classes of wage-earners was criticised by some, most notably the Charity Organisation Society, which claimed that the provisions of the new Act would introduce "a system of public benevolence under the semblance of insurance" thereby leading to a decline in "our sense and appreciation of social manliness and independence."<sup>148</sup> However, some influential Catholics, particularly Dr. Thomas Colvin, disputed such opinions. Colvin, while admitting the Act could not be considered perfect in every detail nevertheless favoured the principle of state-aided insurance against sickness. His main concern instead centred around his desire that Catholics should obtain the maximum benefits possible from the Act. As the new system was to be operated

largely through the mechanism of benefit societies, he encouraged the formation of the new Catholic society, and urged Catholics to elect to become members, in preference to accepting insurance schemes operated by the various trade societies. By so acting, they would be "putting Catholic money into Catholic pockets."<sup>149</sup> For the same reason, Catholics should also ensure representation on the Insurance Committees which administered the Act in order to protect the interests of their doctors, nurses, midwives, and chemists. Insurance Societies, he believed, could therefore be regarded as a means for safeguarding Catholic life. Equally importantly however, Colvin envisaged that their involvement in the administration and operation of insurance schemes would also enable Catholics to exert greater political influence, and would provide them with the experience necessary to undertake further public office in the future.<sup>150</sup>

The advent of national health insurance was welcomed, not only by Colvin, but even by some within the Charity Organisation Society like Violet Markham who insisted that the Society should not oppose all State intervention, nor resist every scheme of social reform which the government brought forward.<sup>151</sup> Indeed the Society, if it wished to remain relevant, could not afford to ignore the possibility that poverty was "a social creation and that the remedy must therefore be collective."<sup>152</sup> State intervention on occasion therefore, could be considered beneficial, as co-operation between the State and the charitable agencies might result in the establishment of a middle ground of opinion between individualistic philosophy and socialism. The Catholic community appears gradually - as demonstrated in its support for the Insurance Act and by the close co-operation of the Catholic Discharged Prisoners Aid Society with its public counterparts<sup>153</sup> - to have moved towards a similar conclusion.

The question obviously arises however, as to whether the Catholic community tended to support public intervention only on those occasions when such intervention itself indirectly helped to promote individualistic doctrines of self-help and self-reliance. In the field of health care for example, and especially in the era before the Welfare State had been introduced with its promise to care for everyone "from the cradle to the grave," provision had to be made for such eventualities as sickness and old age. One



such provision was offered by the St. Elizabeth's Home for District and Private Nursing. The object of the Home, founded in 1892, was to provide trained nurses to care for the sick poor in their own homes when, from various causes, they were not eligible for hospital treatment. By 1897, the Home had twenty-four trained nurses on the staff, and offered two distinct branches of nursing. The Private Nursing branch provided trained nurses for those who could afford to pay, while the District Nursing branch nursed the sick poor, free of charge, on a domiciliary basis.<sup>154</sup> The Ladies Assistant Committee attached to the Home also visited the sick poor in their own homes, and in the Infirmaries and Institutions, paying particular concern to the welfare of motherless young families.<sup>155</sup>

St. Elizabeth's Home, therefore, by providing domiciliary care for the sick poor, can be said to have helped prevent a reliance on the institutional provisions of the Poor Law. Similarly, foundations such as the day-feeding schools and the Poor Children's Dinner Tables, which offered free dinners and clothes for necessitous children, could help provide families with the margin between subsistence and destitution. The St. Vincent de Paul Society again cooperated in these undertakings, with expenses being met from church collections, subscriptions, charity sermons and concerts. A further means of support identified by Catholic schools in the east end of Glasgow were football teams, which could be induced to play occasional games for the benefit of charitable effort. Edinburgh Hibernian, a team of Irish immigrant origin founded in 1872, played a number of games for that purpose in Glasgow, on one occasion in 1887 raising the sum of £50.<sup>156</sup> Such achievements stimulated the Irish Catholics in the east end of Glasgow, under the guidance of Brother Walfrid, headmaster of Sacred Heart School, Bridgeton, to form their own football team "the Celtic Football and Athletic Club", as a source of charitable revenue.<sup>157</sup> The circular announcing its establishment declared that "the main object of the club is to supply the east-end conferences of the St. Vincent de Paul Society with funds for the maintenance of the "dinner tables" of our needy children in the missions of St. Mary's, Sacred Heart, and St. Michael's.<sup>158</sup> Archbishop Eyre headed the subscription list.<sup>159</sup>

In the first year of its foundation Celtic disbursed £421.16s.9d. in charitable payments. Of this sum, £164 was given to the St. Vincent de Paul Conferences, which in turn made a regular contribution of £5 per week to the Poor Children's Dinner Tables of the three east-end parishes.<sup>160</sup> The Whitevale Refuge and the Little Sisters of the Poor, who since 1865 had maintained a home for the aged poor at Roystonhill, also benefitted, each institution receiving £50. Indeed, many Catholic bodies could look to the club for charitable assistance.<sup>161</sup> However, by 1894 such assistance had ceased. Applications made to the club for aid, including one from the Poor Children's Dinner Tables, were refused.<sup>162</sup> As a result, the *Glasgow Observer* accused Celtic of having abandoned the original ideals of its founder and having become a "mere business."<sup>163</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of such acrimony, Celtic continued to be regarded by many football followers as a Catholic team, an association from which developed the subsequent antipathy to the club which became their great rivals, Glasgow Rangers. As late as 1946, C.A. Oakley in his book on Glasgow, *The Second City*, could repeat the claim that "Celtic...are sometimes criticised as having been mainly responsible for attracting the Southern Irish-Catholic football enthusiasts to themselves."<sup>164</sup> Such adverse comments however reflected a continuing undercurrent of prejudice against the Irish Catholic migrant and his/her descendants. As late as 1929, the *Glasgow Herald* could still report the persistence of the belief that unemployed Irish migrated to Scotland in order to obtain the benefits of poor relief for the able-bodied, and unemployment insurance, although the paper itself refuted such allegations. Discrimination against Catholics was also claimed in the field of employment,<sup>165</sup> while agencies like the Catholic Union continued to be, perhaps too sensitive as late as the mid-1930s, to the continued dangers of proselytism inherent in the boarding-out system.<sup>166</sup>

The persistence of these mutual fears can of course mask the degree of consensus as to the causes and possible solutions to social problems which Catholic agencies, such as the St. Vincent de Paul Society, shared even in the nineteenth century, with contemporary bodies like the Charity Organisation Society. Indeed, Catholic welfare provision as a whole tends not to be innovative but instead adopts parallel solutions to



common social problems. Evidence that Catholic philanthropic institutions did not exist in isolation is also provided by the receipt of government licences and grants. An important source of funding was through the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board, whose antecedents lay in the establishment in 1838 of the Duke Street Refuge by William Brebner, then Governor of Glasgow City Bridewell. A local assessment initially devoted to the support of Duke Street alone, was later<sup>167</sup> extended to cover other institutions of a similar character. Catholic institutions were necessarily included for, as the Director of St. Mary's asserted "on no principle of equity or justice could they be passed over."<sup>168</sup> Similarly St. Charles' Certified Institution, which opened in June 1916 to provide for mentally defective children within the Archdiocese, was subject to the inspection and approval of the Government's General Board of Control, and, like Smyllum, received much of its annual funding from public bodies. Indeed in 1933-4, 83% of its annual income came from this source.<sup>169</sup>

In addition, an application for assistance submitted by Archbishop Eyre in 1892 to the Bellahouston Bequest Fund mentions that the Catholic Industrial schools and reformatories, unlike their voluntary counterparts, were in receipt of rate aid as early as the 1890s.<sup>170</sup> However, as with the Catholic voluntary schools their final transfer to full public control was gradual, and not until 1926 did the Directors of the Catholic Industrial Schools of Glasgow negotiate terms of transfer with the local Education Authority.<sup>171</sup> The necessity of transfer appears to have been forced on the Directors by financial circumstances, since buildings utilised by St. Mary's Girls, and Slatefield Industrial Schools in Glasgow had been consistently criticised by HM Inspectors.<sup>172</sup> Nor was there any prospect of their replacement. The refusal in January 1926 by the Scottish Education Department to render financial assistance unless the Catholic community contributed towards the necessary capital costs,<sup>173</sup> effectively compelled the Directors to enter into negotiations. As a result, in November 1926, they formally proposed the transfer to the Authority of the ground and school buildings at Kenmure Estate, Bishopbriggs.<sup>174</sup> Possibly because of their poor structural condition, Slatefield itself, the Girls' Industrial School at Gallowgate, and the Parkhead (West Thorn) Boys Reformatory were not taken over. Instead, the Authority was granted the right to use these premises "for such time as required."<sup>175</sup> West Thorn Reformatory finally closed

in 1938.<sup>176</sup>

An underlying concern of the Directors throughout the transfer negotiations, and one which they shared with their voluntary school counterparts, was that "the present Catholic atmosphere of these schools...be retained."<sup>177</sup> This fundamental consideration, which in effect appears to be a continuing concern over proselytism and the perceived dangers of secularism, governed Catholic philanthropic action in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society, established as late as 1955 had, as one of its primary aims "to ensure that no Catholic child is refused the chance of a happy home"<sup>178</sup> and a religious upbringing; and with the co-operation of local authorities and hospital almoners, by 1965, all Catholic children who were likely to be available for adoption were being referred to the Society. Such concerns also helped motivate the Society's objection to the proposal contained in the Houghton Report of 1971 "that the natural mother should be unable to specify as an essential condition the religion in which her baby should be brought up."<sup>179</sup>

The St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society sought to achieve the highest possible professional standards within the constraints imposed upon it by limited financial resources. Indeed, it claimed to be unique among voluntary societies in offering a fostering service, begun in 1963. It drew heavily in its work upon the co-operation of other Catholic bodies, particularly the National Child Care Office which was established by the Bishops in 1971 to co-ordinate Catholic activities in this field. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd Convent at Bishopton also assisted by caring for, in particular, unmarried mothers and their children.<sup>180</sup> By 1971 however, its chronic financial difficulties led the Adoption Society to express concern about the level of service which could be maintained. And yet, any reduction in standards would only compound the financial problems, and place at risk the understanding so carefully built up with the public authorities.



By the early 1970s though, social changes, particularly the effect of the 1967 Abortion Act, were also having an impact on the Society's work. In 1965, the Society reported a considerable upsurge in the number of children presented for adoption, due to the general rise in the number of illegitimate births.<sup>181</sup> Yet, only six years later, the senior social worker could report a marked decrease, especially in England, in the numbers offered for adoption. This last trend was attributed to the effect of the Abortion Act, to the wider use of contraceptives, and the fact that more unmarried mothers, encouraged by changing attitudes towards illegitimacy and the provision of suitable accommodation, were electing to keep their babies.<sup>182</sup> One outcome of this "shortage" of babies<sup>183</sup> relative to the number of couples wishing to adopt was a sustained effort to put forward the "more difficult to place" child, including those of mixed racial background, those with physical and mental handicaps, and the "older baby."<sup>184</sup> Changing attitudes within society as a whole were also reflected in the closure of some institutions and the merging of others. Bellevue Children's Refuge closed in 1961, at a time when a renewed emphasis was being placed on fostering, or the care of a child in its own home, rather than in an institutional environment.<sup>185</sup> In 1973, the impact of the 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act led to the amalgamation of Dalbeth Girls' Approved School with St. Euphrasia's Training Centre, both institutions having been operated by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.<sup>186</sup>

Nevertheless, there were apparent elements of continuity in the field of Catholic social care. The St. Vincent de Paul Society in West Central Scotland, for example, developed in alignment with the growth of new parishes in housing estates. With the division of the Western Province in 1948, each diocese also created its own diocesan council. Though the Society continues to claim that home and hospital visitation form its primary work, it has also provided, since 1975 through the Ozanam Centre, a clothing outlet for necessitous people.<sup>187</sup> Its former patronage institutions however have, with the exception of the national centre at Langbank, all but disappeared. This estate, called "The Hollies", overlooking the Clyde, was originally purchased at a cost of £2500, and first opened in 1921 with the aim of providing holidays for needy children from the west of Scotland,<sup>188</sup> but by 1961 local authorities had supplanted

much of its work, and the property was handed over to the Bishops of Scotland because they, at that time, were seeking an extension to Blairs College, the national Junior Seminary. When, in 1977, the College was once more reunited on its Aberdeenshire site, Langbank was leased back to the Society to serve as a national centre with the aim of alleviating "poverty in its widest sense."<sup>189</sup> As a result, the Centre now receives as guests old people, alcoholics, handicapped children, and one-parent families; and hosts meetings, conferences, retreats and gatherings of every nature, including retreat weekends for the Royal Navy.

Such an all-embracing definition of poverty, and of the need to apply sympathetic remedies, would not readily have been understood or accepted by previous generations. Indeed, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, governed by a belief in the promotion of self-help, only gradually reversed its previous policy of viewing with disfavour any assistance rendered in cash rather than in kind. The extent of the transformation can be seen by the fact that in 1897 relief in kind comprised the bulk of the Society's charitable giving.<sup>190</sup> It seems to have been the advent of the First World War which began to effect such a major switch in policy for, of the £7327.3s.0d. expended during 1915-16, relief to individuals in cash represented more than one half (52.75%), while sustenance in the form of groceries and provisions amounted to 14%.<sup>191</sup> By 1926-27, comparable statistics were 61.3% and 8.6% respectively.<sup>192</sup> This trend was thereafter to continue for, by 1984, 82% of all relief was given in the form of cash.<sup>193</sup>

Again when the Beveridge Report was published in 1942 it was criticised in the Catholic press for aiming a deadly blow at family life. Dr. John A. McCluskie warned that it would place unlimited power in the hands of the unscrupulous. But perhaps most revealingly of all Beveridge's proposals were regarded as being communistic in intent.<sup>194</sup> Any assessment therefore, of post-war philanthropy in particular has to take into account the politicisation of the whole issue of social welfare, as well as the moral judgements upon which assistance to the poorest members of the community is based. The Labour Party in Scotland became synonymous, it was claimed, with the defence of council housing, jobs in heavy industry, and also the maintenance of the 1918



Education settlement.<sup>195</sup> Even in the 1960s, the continued concentration of Catholics in working-class areas made that community among the most devoted supporters of the Labour Party<sup>196</sup> though such support was not always viewed favourably by those in leadership roles within the Catholic community.

Beveridge's Report, and the further expansion in the social welfare responsibility of the state to which it gave rise, contributed to a reconsideration of the role of philanthropy, including church efforts, in welfare provision. Nevertheless, it did not, of itself begin this process. By the close of the First World War, and increasingly during the inter-war years, the focus of social welfare had shifted. A desire to fulfil Lloyd George's election slogan of "Homes fit for Heroes to live in" resulted in an attempt to provide State support for council housing, a provision which was revived by John Wheatley in the Labour Government's Housing Act of 1924.<sup>197</sup> The role of local authorities was further enhanced when, after 1929, they assumed the responsibilities previously exercised by local Boards of Poor Law Guardians.<sup>198</sup> In addition, when the National Insurance provisions introduced in 1911 proved unable to cope with the long-term structural unemployment which characterised the inter-war years, the Government in 1934 established a revised national administration of public assistance to the unemployed.<sup>199</sup> Such public effort reflected a desire to prevent, rather than simply alleviate, economic and social distress;<sup>200</sup> and occurred at a time when voluntary organisations were clearly under pressure. In 1925, the St. Vincent de Paul Society reported a fall in its principal source of revenue, church collections, although it expressed the hope that "as trade revives our revenue...will increase correspondingly."<sup>201</sup> Throughout the 1920s and 1930s therefore, in response to specific pressures and changing attitudes, a network of statutory agencies was being fashioned.<sup>202</sup> Nevertheless in 1937, the St. Vincent de Paul Society concluded "that the relief of the poor cannot be wholly undertaken by public civic bodies," as such relief was apt to be "...impersonal,...unsympathetic and often times so degrading."<sup>203</sup> Its Conferences, by contrast, supplied "not only material relief but also spiritual advice," and direct personal contact.<sup>204</sup> By 1952 however, it accepted that it could "not compete, and [had] no desire to compete, with the Welfare State in the amount of material relief given;"<sup>205</sup> although it continued to assert that the State could "never

perform the works of charity assigned to our Society."<sup>206</sup>

In putting forward such claims the St. Vincent de Paul Society was seeking, in effect, to justify its continued existence to those, including Catholics, who questioned the relevance of the Society in a Welfare State which provided "everything for the poor."<sup>207</sup> In addition, warnings were repeatedly given in the Catholic press that the Beveridge Report should not be permitted to become "a Paupers Charter,"<sup>208</sup> while Papal pronouncements cautioned against the placing of an "almost superstitious trust" in the Welfare State.<sup>209</sup> Nevertheless such scepticism was not shared by those who believed that the Beveridge Report would "eradicate Britain's five major evils of squalor, want, disease, ignorance, and idleness."<sup>210</sup> The appearance of both opinions in the columns of the *Glasgow Observer* and *Scottish Catholic Herald* indicates that the Catholic community was far from united in its attitude towards the introduction of the new system.

The advent of the Welfare State was itself a recognition, and an acceptance of the view that public authorities should bear the primary responsibility for the general problem of social welfare.<sup>211</sup> Nevertheless, its belief in its own distinctive contribution ensured that the St. Vincent de Paul Society would actively seek to maintain its position by adapting to changing circumstances. So too did the St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society which, as the number of adoptions decreased, investigated the possibility of offering assistance to the single-parent family.<sup>212</sup> Catholic philanthropic effort therefore, as with the social welfare provision of other churches, sought to fill some of the gaps in provision where public authorities were unable, or unwilling, to intervene. The Archdiocese of Glasgow Social Services Centre for example, has, since the 1970s concentrated particularly on developing short-term respite care for the mentally and physically handicapped and their families; and, by means of hostels like Glengowan House has developed the care of homeless young men too old for local authority placements.<sup>213</sup> Nevertheless, many of these undertakings, though administered by the churches, would be impossible to sustain without public funding in the form of urban aid,<sup>214</sup> and other grants. Even apparently independent charitable activities therefore are often, in reality, backed by State resources and must work in close co-operation



with public agencies. The services thus provided must be made available to any in need, irrespective of creed, colour or race.<sup>215</sup>

The wide-ranging nature of state involvement in social welfare would have been viewed with dismay by the philanthropists of the nineteenth century for whom the prevention of pauperism was a principal concern. Today, the passing of such verdicts upon other men and women is less acceptable,<sup>216</sup> though not wholly absent. The underlying assumptions which motivate welfare provision are clearly not immutable. Changing expectations of the level of social care which should be provided to those in need, coupled with the limited resources of manpower and revenue available to charities, contributed towards enhancing the role of the State. The same twin problems also, as in other fields rendered impractical the maintenance of parallel Catholic provision.<sup>217</sup> Yet as the State itself continues to review its welfare role, it remains possible that charity, and charitable undertakings, will assume once more an increased importance and heightened profile. The classic philanthropic roles still require to be filled, of monitoring provision, identifying deficiencies, and exploring new possibilities for the expression of social concern.<sup>218</sup> Such interests among the churches are highlighted by the development of industrial chaplaincies, and an awareness of issues involving social justice and peace, both at home and abroad. The persistence of church agencies in maintaining a presence in such fields is also a reflection of a continuing belief that the practice of charity should remain an essential part of Christian experience; and of the view expressed by the St. Vincent de Paul Society that religious agencies could continue to make a particular contribution in an increasingly secular world.

## REFERENCES - CHAPTER 5

1. James Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, (Cork, 1947), p.240.
2. The Board of Supervision was established in 1845 to lead the new statutory system of Poor Law administration.
3. Handley, *op . cit.*, p.249.
4. Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland*, (London 1977), p.162.
5. Checkland, E.O.A., *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh 1980) p.13 - Only if the heritors refused to voluntarily assess themselves could a legal assessment be imposed upon them.
6. Lenman, *op.cit.*, p.163.
7. *ibid*, p.164.
8. James Handley, *The Irish in Scotland* (Cork 1945), p.196.
9. Or, in rural areas, the nominees of the heritors.
10. Lenman, *op.cit.*, p.164.
11. R.H.Campbell, *Scotland Since 1707: The Rise of an Industrial Society* (Oxford, 1971), p.205.
12. Lenman, *op.cit.*, p.164.
13. Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.209. Alison also argued for the beneficial effects on preventive medicine of adequate Poor Law provision .
14. David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*, (London, 1965), p.211.
15. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p.210.
16. Owen, *op.cit.*, p.225.
17. *Ibid*
18. Charles L. Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913, Ideas and Work*, (London, 1961), pp. 1 and 2.
19. *Manual of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Scotland* (hereafter *Manual*) (Glasgow 1983) p.208. The first Scottish Conference of the SVDP was established in Edinburgh in 1845, and followed by one in Glasgow at St. Andrew's, on 23 August 1848.
20. *Ibid*, p.210.
21. GAA-RI34 *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1898* (hereafter *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet*), pp.14-15.



22. *Ibid* Similar increases were also reported in the following:

	Families Relieved	Individuals Relieved	Annual Amount Expended in Relief to the Poor
1848-58	1796	5,889	£ 512
1858-68	2306	11,027	£1100
1868-78	2706	11,920	£2129
1878-88	3036	13,146	£2678
1888-98	4085	18,530	£3750

23. *Ibid*, p.33

24. *Ibid*

25. Checkland, *op.cit.*, p.5

26. *Manual, op.cit.*, p.210. Bryson was its first President and Margey the first Treasurer.

27. GAA-RI34, 'The Legal Protection of the Poor', a paper read by Brother Robert Connor, Dumfries, and printed in *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet 1898*, p.31.

28. *Ibid*

29. Checkland, *op.cit.*, p.31.

30. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit.*, p.252-53. The Greenock Parochial Board consistently refused such permission; while the Governor of the Edinburgh poorhouse allowed no children and few adults, to attend Catholic worship.

31. Checkland, *op.cit.*, p.258.

32. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit.*, p.252-53.

33. *Ibid*, p.253.

34. *Ibid*, pp. 253-54

35. *Ibid*, p.256.

36. GAA-RI34, 'The Legal Protection of the Poor', *loc. cit.*, p.37.

37. *Ibid*, p.36.

38. *Ibid*

39. *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet, 1898*, pp.19-20. See Chapter 6, p.264.

40. *Ibid*, p.19.

41. *Ibid* For further on Catholic representation on parish councils, see Chapter 6.

42. *Ibid*, p.35.

43. *Ibid*
44. *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet, 1898, p.17.*
45. GAA-RI5 'Report of the Male and Female Orphanage, 1889'. The Smyllum property cost £8,000. The chief subscribers to the new venture were Bishop Murdoch, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District; Robert Monteith, Esq. of Carstairs; J. Hope Scott Esq. of Abbotsford; and T. Bowie Esq. of Lanark.
46. GAA-RI28. A brief history of the Orphanage - loose, handwritten sheet, undated. The Franciscan Sisters had previously, between 1847-9, taught and instructed the orphans.
47. *Manual, op.cit., p.222.* St. Louise de Marillac was the foundress of the Daughters of Charity.
48. Checkland, *op.cit., p.266.*
49. GAA-RI5 Smyllum Park Orphanage, 'Report of the Managers, 1889', p.6.
50. *Ibid., p.15,* Inspectors' Reports copied from Visitors' Book, 29 March 1889. Mr. White represented St. Cuthbert's Combination, Edinburgh.
51. *Ibid, p.13 and Appendix V.*
52. GAA-RI5 Diocesan Secretary, Glasgow, to the Scottish Bishops, concerning Smyllum, 1 June 1905. Income was also generated by means of the orphanage farm and laundry. The farm also supplied the orphanage itself with produce, including milk, potatoes and oatmeal.
53. GAA-RI5 Smyllum Park Orphanage, 'Report of the Managers 1889', p.6.
54. GAA-RI34 'Report of Proceedings of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul - Archdiocese of Glasgow - during the year 1897', p.92. Though this report mentions the eleven-year existence of the Refuge, an earlier SVDP Report, for 1887, states that the Refuge opened on 2 February, with its first admissions on 8 February, 1887.
55. GAA-RI36 'Report of the Children's Refuge, 1905', p.8.
56. *Ibid*
57. *Ibid*
58. GAA-RI34 *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet 1898, p.21.*
59. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1897', p.93. Nevertheless, orphans were accepted for a brief period before being transferred to Smyllum, or "boarded-out."
60. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings', samples of cases admitted, 1897, p.94, and 1907, p.130. The most common reasons for fathers failing to cope were through having "given way to drink" or "being of bad conduct", while some single mothers were serving terms of imprisonment, or suffering from mental or physical illness.



61. GAA-RI34, 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings' 1897, p.90 and 1915, p.94. Other ways included boarding-out, and admission to Lady Bute's Homes.
62. Many of those admitted were no more than toddlers.
63. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings, 1915', p.95. Industrial work consisted of housework, scrubbing and cleaning.
64. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings, 1897', p.93.
65. *Ibid*, p.96. The donation amounted to £1.00. At least one further contribution was received, in 1912.
66. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings, 1908', pp.138-39. It is probably significant that this decline occurred around the time when the Archdiocese too was entering a period of financial crisis.
67. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings, 1897, pp.96-7 and 1908, p.143. The figures respectively were, £294.6.3 in 1897; and £88.6.6 in 1908.
68. *Ibid*, pp.95 and 142. From £456.10s.1d. in 1897 to £362.6s.7d. in 1908.
69. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1911-12', p.95 - the property was actually purchased in 1910, but had to be altered to suit its new role.
70. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1898', p.20.
71. *Ibid* Financial support for this venture was also forthcoming from Archbishop Eyre.
72. *Manual, op. cit*, p.210.
73. GAA-RI34, *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet 1898*, p.20.
74. *Ibid*
75. *Glasgow Observer*, 30 May 1885, p.3.
76. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1898', p.14; and 1907, p.115.
77. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings 1906', p.109; 1907. p.115; 1908, p.123; and correspondence relating to the Patronage Committee, 1908.
78. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings 1908', p.126.
79. GAA-RI36 'SVDP Reports of Proceedings 1902', p.91. Among the trades recorded at Oak Street in 1902 were: bakers, coppersmiths, printers, joiners, tailors, coopers, brassfinishers, sailmakers, and painters.
80. GAA-RI34 'Some Practical Suggestions for the development of the various forms of Patronage Work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society', Paper by Brother Fred Smith, Manager, Catholic Boys Home, Edinburgh, in *SVDP Golden Jubilee Booklet 1898*, p.29. In his paper, Smith stated that Working Boys Homes were intended 'for Workers not Loafers.'
81. GAA-RI36 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1902', p.29.

82. Checkland, *op. cit.*, p.251.
83. *Ibid*
84. *Ibid*, p.246.
85. *Ibid*, p.247.
86. *Ibid*, p.248.
87. *Ibid*, p.249; GAA- *Scottish Catholic Directory* (SCD) 1851, pp.74-5. The school's statutes also specified that one of the schools two teachers must always be a Catholic.
88. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p.201.
89. GAA- *Scottish Catholic Directory* 1899, p.115. This represents the last entry in the SCD for the United Industrial School(s).
90. GAA-RI32 'Conversation with Mr. Stout about Parkhead Reformatory'. The property had originally been purchased by Fr. Anselm Robertson with the intention of establishing a Benedictine monastery.
91. GAA-*Scottish Catholic Directory* 1860, p.117-18.
92. *Ibid*, p.118.
93. GAA-*Scottish Catholic Directory* 1873, p.141.
94. Checkland, *op. cit.*, p.238.
95. *Ibid.*, p.239.
96. GAA-*Scottish Catholic Directory* 1852, p.121.
97. Checkland, *op. cit.*, pp.235 and 241.
98. *Ibid*, p.251.
99. GAA-RI28 F.V.Hornby, *The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts with Appendices etc.* (London 1897), p. 108. Slatefield received the necessary certification on 14 December 1867, and Dalbeth on 12 May 1892. A Reformatory at Dalbeth is mentioned in the *Scottish Catholic Directory* until 1892. In the SCD for 1893 however, only the Industrial school is mentioned.
100. GAA-RI28 'Report on the Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools and Orphanage 1869', p.3.
101. *Ibid*; and GAA-RI29, Circular to Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools Committee members, 2 June 1871. Eyre was unwilling to allow the debts of the Industrial Schools to become a further burden on the missions of the District, and he instead encouraged the Directors to promote subscriptions and charitable donations, and to generate further income from the industrial production of the schools.



102. GAA-RI28 'Report of the Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools and Orphanage, 1869', p.4.
103. *Ibid.* For the occupations, in which the boys and girls in St. Mary's Industrial Schools were engaged, see Tables 19 and 20.
104. GAA-RI32 Park implied that he was prepared to raise what he believed to be a clear violation of the law with the Home Secretary, but there is no evidence that he carried out his threat.
105. GAA-RI28 'Report on St. Mary's Industrial Schools and Orphanage, 1872', p.11. In 1872, the debt level on St. Mary's alone had amounted to £4,580.
106. See Table 21. Some improvement was also discernible between 1874 and 1889 in the literacy levels of those admitted to the Industrial schools. In 1874, 69% of those entering St. Mary's Boys' School were illiterate, a figure which by 1889 had declined to 40%. Slatefield, by 1889 could claim that almost one-third could read and write 'fairly well'. Nevertheless, 50% of those admitted were illiterate.
107. Of the 530 children in the schools at 31 December 1889, 14.34% had not yet been to confession, while a further 35.09% had only received this Sacrament for the first time that year. Approximately half the children had attended confession previously, but as no indication as to the regularity of their attendance is given, it may be that many only went once.
108. GAA-RI28 'Report of the Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools 1889', p.7. See Table 22. For the girls separately, the percentage was 95%; for the boys, Abercromby Street, 93%, and for Slatefield, 92%.
109. GAA-RI34 David Mullen to 'Dear Rev. Sir', 23 December, 1907.
110. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1908', p.124.
111. *Ibid.*, p.125.
112. *Ibid*
113. *Ibid.*, p.126.
114. Checkland, *op.cit.*, p.263.
115. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1911-12', p.10.
116. *Ibid*
117. The Catholic Emigration Association, which claimed to incorporate 'all the Child Emigration Societies in Great Britain' was founded on 31 October 1904. Nevertheless, informal Catholic Child Emigration to Canada had begun some fifty years earlier.
118. GAA-RI35 letter from Rt. Rev. Mgr. George V. Hudson, Birmingham, to Mr. J.F.Higgins, SVDP, Catholic Institute, Glasgow, 13 July 1925. By 1928, the opportunity to emigrate was confined to boys aged not more than seventeen.

119. GAA-RI35 "Memorandum on the work of the Secretariat for submission to His Grace the Archbishop", 29 June, 1925.
120. GAA-RI35 Abbe Philippe Casgrain, Director, Catholic Immigration Association of Canada, to Archbishop Mackintosh, 3 February, 1925.
121. *GAA-RI35 'Memorandum on the work of the Secretariat', 29 June 1925.* Correspondents existed in the cities of Quebec, Halifax, Auckland, Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, New York, Washington and Cape Town.
122. *Ibid*
123. *Ibid*
124. J.H.Treble, "Unemployment and Unemployment Policies in Glasgow, 1890-1905", in *The Origins of British Social Policy*, P.Thane (ed.), London, 1978, p.154.
125. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Middlesex, 1984), p.327.
126. Treble, *loc.cit*, p.154.
127. *Ibid*
128. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1896', p.8.
129. *Ibid*
130. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1911-12', p.13.
131. *Ibid*
132. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1895', p.9.
133. GAA-RI34 letter from the Secretary of SVDP Superior Council to Mgr. John Ritchie, 27 May 1918, makes this clear.
134. Treble, *loc.cit*, pp.154-56.
135. *Ibid*, p.152.
136. *Ibid*, p.165. Such investigations occasioned great resentment.
137. *Ibid*, p.157.
138. *Ibid*. p.148.
139. *Ibid*, p.161.
140. Stedman Jones, *op.cit*, p.336.
141. Treble, *loc.cit*, p.157.
142. *Ibid*, p.159.
143. *Ibid*, p.154. It was also hoped to discourage early and improvident marriages.



144. *Glasgow Observer*, 9 January 1911, p.12.
145. *Ibid*
146. GAA, *Scottish Catholic Directory*, 1844, pp.61-4, 'Clerical Friendly Societies'.
147. GAA, *Scottish Catholic Directory*, 1856, pp.117-19, 'Clerical Institute or a Home for Aged and Infirm Priests, 1855.'
148. Mowat, *op.cit.*, p.166.
149. *Glasgow Observer*, 30 March 1912, p.7.
150. *Ibid*, and edition of 4 May 1912. Disadvantaged, usually unemployed individuals and groups however, like those provided for by the Catholic Discharged Prisoners Aid Society were effectively excluded from participation in insurance schemes which increasingly offered protection against not only sickness but unemployment.
151. Mowat, *op.cit.*, p.167.
152. *Ibid*
153. GAA-RI13 The Glasgow Discharged Prisoners Aid Society received support from HM Prison Commissioners; and was assisted financially by the SVDP, the Kennyhill Bequest, and the Committee of the Glasgow Charity Cup. The Society was still functioning in 1934.
154. GAA-RI10 St. Elizabeth's Home for District and Private Nursing, Fifth Year's Report, 1897, p.4. Expenditure on items such as nurses salaries, maintenance of the Home, medicines, and essential equipment amounted to £600. Also during 1897, District Nurses attended 1592 cases free of charge, and visited every parish in the Archdiocese. Donations were also received from Archbishop Eyre and Rev. John Ritchie.
155. *Ibid*, pp.6-7.
156. James E. Handley, *The Celtic Story* (London 1960), p.14.
157. *Ibid* Early opinion was strongly in favour of calling the new team "Glasgow Hibernian", a title which Brother Walfrid strongly opposed.
158. *Ibid*, p.15.
159. *Ibid* Handley claims that Eyre "knew nothing about football" but was always willing to support any undertaking to alleviate poverty among the Catholic community.
160. *Ibid*, p.19.
161. *Ibid* Among other Catholic bodies which received support from Celtic Football Club were St. Andrew's Cathedral, and St. Mary's Hospital, Lanark.
162. *Ibid*, p.44.
163. *Ibid*, quoting the *Glasgow Observer*, 18 August 1894.

164. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, *op.cit.*, p.308.
165. *Ibid*, pp.309-15 gives details of the *Glasgow Herald* investigation. For further on discrimination and unemployment, see Chapter 2, p.87.
166. For further on the activities of the Catholic Union, see Chapter 6.
167. GAA-RI28, 'Report on St. Mary's Industrial Schools and Orphanage 1869', p.4. Arrangements were then being made to extend the application of the local assessment, which was first applied to St. Mary's in 1872 (Report on St. Mary's Industrial School and Orphanage, 1872, p.11.)  
See Chapter 5, p.231.
168. *Ibid*; and GAA-RI29-30. Grants from the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Commissioners were received in 1903 (£500), 1908 (£1000 for building purposes), 1914 (£6000 to St. Mary's, Kenmure, and £500 to West Thorn).
169. GAA-RI6 Report of St. Charles Certified Institution, 1933-34, unpaginated.
170. GAA-RI29 Application to the Bellahouston Bequest Fund, 1892, p.1.
171. GAA-RI31 John J. Taggart to the Director of Education, Education Authority of Glasgow, 5 November, 1926.
172. GAA-RI31 Mr. Charles Byrne to Canon John Ritchie, 2 October 1913. This letter states that 'Slatefield and St. Mary's Girls School in Glasgow have been condemned by HM Inspectors for over 20 years.'
173. GAA-RI31 'Deputation to Scottish Education Department, Edinburgh, on 18 January, 1926, p.2. The only source from which the Catholic community could have made such a contribution was from the rental income of the voluntary schools, but these were already committed, see Chapter 3, section 3.
174. GAA-RI29. Letter, John J. Taggart, Secretary, to the Director of Education, Education Authority of Glasgow, 5 November 1926. Kenmure was the direct successor to St. Mary's Industrial School, Calton, which had been transferred to Kenmure, as a memorial to Archbishop Eyre, in 1904.
175. *Ibid*
176. GAA-RI31 The exact closure date was 28 April 1938 - 'Statement of Legal Accounts, 28 April 1938-20 June 1939.'
177. GAA-RI31 'Deputation to Scottish Education Department, Edinburgh on 18 January 1926', p.2.
178. GAA-RI24 'St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society - Tenth Annual General Meeting, Executive Committee Report,' 1965, p.7.
179. GAA-RI24 'St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society - Sixteenth Annual General Meeting, Executive Committee Report,' 1971, p.5.
180. *Ibid.*, p.7. St. Gerard's Mother and Baby Home had merged with Bishopton.
181. GAA-RI24 'St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society, Executive Committee Report,' 1965, p.7. The Society has always asserted that it will help each individual without seeking to pass judgement.



182. GAA-RI24 'St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society - Sixteenth Annual General Meeting, Senior Social Worker's Report,' 1971, p.9.
183. As the 1970s progressed, the number of babies available for adoption through the Society steadily fell, from 280 in 1971, to 213 in 1972, and 180 in 1973. Within a decade the figure had dropped still further, to 55, in 1983. Helen Dunbar, *Philanthropy in Twentieth Century Glasgow with Special Reference to Children* (M.Phil., University of Strathclyde, 1987), p.90.
184. GAA-RI24 'St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society - Sixteenth Annual General Meeting, Senior Social Worker's Report,' 1971, p.9.
185. Dunbar, *op.cit.*, p.62. The *Glasgow Observer* and *Scottish Catholic Herald*, 5 January 1962, p.2 published an urgent appeal for foster parents, on behalf of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Smyllum Orphanage closed in the early 1980s.
186. GAA-RI31 'Memorandum regarding the Convent of the Good Shepherd and the proposed Amalgamation of Dalbeth (Girl's) Approved School and St. Euphrasia's Training Centre.' The amalgamation also eased a financial burden upon the Order.
187. The Ozanam Centre also offers retreats.
188. Manual, *op. cit.* p. 211. Among its benefactors were: the Don Bosco Society of Teachers, Mrs. Cross Lynch, Baillie John Noonan, Mr. David Mullen, and the Gattens family of Port Glasgow.
189. *Ibid.*, p.212. Blairs itself closed in 1986.
190. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings, 1897', p.66.
191. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings 1915-16', p.25. A further 6.45% of expenditure was accounted for 'by clothing and coal; assisting poor to work; sending poor to friends, and charitable institutions; funeral expenses; and free dinners. 25.3% went in contributions to infirmaries/hospitals, printing and stationery. It is not clear whether a further item 'house rents - £112.11.5' represented aid to the poor, or an administrative expense.
192. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings, 1926-7,' p.31. The remaining 6.1% and 22.3% respectively is accounted for under the same headings as in 1915-16, with the additional item of the 'Boys Guild.' The amount for house rents in 1926-7 was £181.16.7.
193. GAA-RI35 'SVDP Annual Report, 1984' p.16.
194. *Glasgow Observer*, 5 February 1943, pp.1 and 5. Reporting on the opinions of Dr. Lucey, Professor at Maynooth, (in the same edition in which Dr. McCluskie's warning appeared), the *Observer* sub-headed its report 'How Many Steps to Moscow?'
195. T.C.Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People* (London, 1986), p.274.
196. See Chapter 6, pp.279-80.
197. Smout, *op.cit.*, p.269.

198. Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes, Scotland 1914-1980*, (London, 1981), p.76; Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.312.
199. E.P.Hennock 'Social Security: A System Emerges', in 'The Origins of the Social Services', part of a series of Social Studies Readers published by New Society (London, undated) unpaginated.
200. Owen, *op.cit.*, p.525.
201. GAA-RI34 'SVDP Report of Proceedings, 1925', p.10.
202. Owen, *op.cit.*, p.525.
203. 'SVDP Report of Proceedings, 1936-7', p.16: Significantly though proselytism was no longer mentioned as a reason to criticise public provision of poor relief.
204. *Ibid*
205. 'SVDP Report of Proceedings, 1952,' p.48.
206. *Ibid*
207. *Ibid*.
208. *Glasgow Observer and Scottish Catholic Herald*, 18 December 1942, pp. 1 and 3.
209. *Glasgow Observer and Scottish Catholic Herald*, 8 February 1952, p.1.
210. *Glasgow Observer and Scottish Catholic Herald*, 13 August 1943, p.1.
211. Dunbar, *op.cit.*, p.213.
212. *Ibid.*, p.206.
213. Glengowan seems, from the SVDP's 1984 Annual Report, to have been owned by the St. Vincent de Paul Society.
214. Dunbar, *op.cit.*, pp.217-8. Assistance from, and cooperation with, government and local authorities is also demonstrated by developments concerning St. Margaret's Hospice, Clydebank, and Cardross - (*Flourish* - Official Journal of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, June 1989).
215. *Flourish* - Official Journal of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, June 1989, p.5.
216. Checkland, *op. cit.*, p.338.
217. See Chapter 3 on education.
218. Checkland, *op.cit.*, p.339.



## CHAPTER 6

### POLITICS

By the late-nineteenth century, the expectations of some, and positive hopes of others, that large-scale Irish immigration would prove a phenomenon transitory in its effects had not been fulfilled. Increasingly, the Catholic community became firmly located in west central Scotland and, with its provision of churches, schools, and social welfare agencies for its members, it presented an appearance of permanence. Nevertheless, that community, for some considerable time, remained ambivalent in its attitude towards society at large. Though in the fields of both education and social welfare, financial aid from local and central government was accepted, and indeed actively sought, an enduring fear of proselytism and secularisation meant that complete integration would continue to be resisted.

The necessity to protect and preserve its perceived interests in such fields inevitably meant that the Catholic community could not afford to stand aloof from the political process by which important decisions could be determined and effected. As a result, with the approval of Archbishop Eyre and the support of the leading Catholics of the city, the Catholic Union of Glasgow was formed in 1884-85, partly through the efforts of Mr. James Brand, the local correspondent in Glasgow of the Catholic Union of Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholic Union of Glasgow and neighbourhood covered the civil parishes of Glasgow, Govan and Barony, and later Eastwood, and was therefore not coterminous with the Archdiocese itself. Its stated object was to protect and advance Catholic interests. Each mission was recommended to form a mission Committee of not less than fourteen members to be elected annually by a Meeting of the Congregation.<sup>2</sup> All adult members of the congregation, male and female, were entitled to vote; and the Senior Priest of the mission was President of both the Meeting and the Committee.

Notwithstanding the fact that the earliest surviving Minute of the Central Committee dates from 26 May 1885, the Catholic Union was certainly operational in time for the Glasgow School Board elections in April 1885,<sup>3</sup> when it sought to ensure the election of the three Catholic candidates.<sup>4</sup> From its earliest foundation therefore, the Union operated on the belief that the organisation of the Catholic vote was an essential means of promoting Catholic interests. In achieving this aim, it cooperated with the local branches of the Irish National League with the aim of bringing pressure to bear on the existing political parties in favour of Irish Home Rule.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the successful election of all three Catholic candidates, in third, fourth, and fifth positions for the fifteen-member Board was attributed to the "united and solid vote of the Irish and Catholic residents of Glasgow."<sup>6</sup>

The desire of Catholic leaders to ensure the return of three Catholic candidates in the 1885 School Board elections was clearly stated by Rev. Alexander Munro at a meeting organised by the Catholic Union for the express purpose of stimulating the Catholic vote. In Munro's opinion, for Catholics, the School Board elections should be considered a matter of religious principle. Though in the first School Board elections in 1873, three Catholic representatives had been returned, in 1882 one of the Catholic candidates, Mr. Francis Henry,<sup>7</sup> had failed to gain election. In 1885 therefore, it was essential that Catholics, as previously, should prove their power,<sup>8</sup> and ensure the return of a third representative. The Catholic community was thus urged to follow the practical instructions issued by the Catholic Union with regard to the manner in which electors should proceed,<sup>9</sup> an admonition which was regularly repeated.

In order to maximise the Catholic vote, the Catholic Union regularly informed its mission committees of the criteria affecting the eligibility of potential voters. Two provisions, the need for continuous residence, and the regular payment of municipal rates, were of particular importance. To be enrolled in the electoral register, a householder had to be fairly immobile, as the minimum period to qualify as a tenant-occupant was at least seventeen months, and possibly as long as two years or more.<sup>10</sup> Frequent changes of residence could therefore lead to exclusion from the electoral



register. Nevertheless, by 1891, removal from one shop or house to another within the City was not sufficient to disqualify a householder.<sup>11</sup> Only in the case of lodgers moving from one City Division to another did an individual lose his entitlement to vote. Considerable stress was also laid by the Catholic Union on the matter of rates. For example, in May 1893, a circular was sent to the Senior Priests as Presidents of the mission committees urging them to remind their congregations of the last date for payment of poor rates, and to encourage those in arrears to pay. This request was frequently repeated, as in June 1897 and June 1904. The 1904 circular in particular analysed the consequences of failure to meet this financial obligation. Individuals would not be registered as Parliamentary voters, nor for the Town Council elections due in the following November and the Triennial County Council and Parish Council elections which would take place in November and December 1904. In addition, an Education Bill currently before Parliament would ensure that failure to pay poor, county, or police rates would disqualify householders whose annual rental was less than £10 from voting at the first subsequent election for School Boards, due to be held in March 1905.<sup>12</sup> However, by May 1905, the Bill had not become law,<sup>13</sup> and though by 1907 defaulting on police or burgh rates did indeed incur disqualification, this restriction applied only to municipal, and not to Parliamentary, elections. The continuing importance which the Catholic Union attached to the payment of rates provides a tacit admission of the relative poverty of potential Catholic electors. Receipt of poor relief during the twelve months residence necessary before registration would also disqualify individuals otherwise qualified to vote.<sup>14</sup>

Poverty therefore could diminish the potential electoral strength of the Catholic community. Nevertheless, some relaxation of the conditions surrounding eligibility, particularly in the 1890s, may have helped to offset this difficulty. By 1891, it was not usual to assess for poor rates, sub-tenants or lodgers, or persons who occupied houses rent-free in return for services. If not assessed, such persons did not require to pay rates, but they were entitled to be registered as voters. By the same date, payment of rental for one year seems to have replaced house valuations as the main criterion necessary to qualify for the vote, though lodgers had to make a fresh claim every year, and no more than two lodgers could be registered for the same room or

rooms.<sup>15</sup> Such alterations should have increased the numbers of potential Catholic voters. The emphasis laid by the Catholic Union however, on checking lists of voters to ensure that all qualified Catholics were registered, suggests that the Union believed that a goodly number, whether from disinterest or lack of knowledge, had failed to register.

In spite of these potential limitations on its effectiveness the Catholic effort at the 1885 School Board elections had been notably successful; a success moreover which was repeated in subsequent elections. In a circular issued in 1894, the Union itself praised the "magnificent display of organization and constancy" which had placed the Catholic candidates among the highest on the poll. That year, a similar pattern was expected. To encourage a good turnout the Union emphasised the fact that the present representatives, Canon Donald Carmichael, Rev. John B. McCluskey, and Mr. Francis Henry had been able to promote and protect Catholic interests. A clear proof of this claim was demonstrated by the fact that the qualifications of the Collegiate School, the Academy, and the Convent Schools, to offer the higher branches of education had now been officially recognised. Furthermore these schools had been placed upon the Government List of Schools entitled to Secondary Education Grants, both Parliamentary and Local. In addition, in the interests of Catholic ratepayers, their representatives had sought to keep the education rate as low as possible. Some non-Catholic electors too may have been attracted by this championing of the ratepayers cause, particularly as a Ratepayers Party had exerted considerable influence over the deliberations of the Board.<sup>16</sup>

With regard to demonstrating its voting strength at Parochial Board elections however, the Catholic community encountered some problems. In a letter to Archbishop Eyre, Rev. Alexander Munro of the Acting Committee of the Catholic Association (presumably the forerunner of the Catholic Union in Glasgow)<sup>17</sup> drew the Archbishop's attention to a decision of the Parochial Board regarding elections which, if acted upon, would prove disastrous to Catholic interests "on account of the great number of our illiterates."<sup>18</sup> In 1883, over seventy Catholic votes cast in the Election of Managers of the Poor were rejected because the polling clerks disqualified the



voting papers of the illiterates. Thus, if the Catholic candidates could not have agents, or assistants, in the voting rooms, then all Catholic illiterate voters were at the mercy of the clerks "who may either through ignorance or malice disfranchise them."<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, Munro's apprehension may have been unfounded for, certainly by 1891, the Catholic Union appeared to face little difficulty in securing the election of Catholic candidates as Managers of the Poor. In the 1891 election for the parish of Govan, the Union nominated a candidate in each of the five wards, all of whom were elected without opposition.<sup>20</sup> Such success was particularly gratifying since, during the previous six years, a Catholic candidate had four times unsuccessfully contested the Fifth ward.<sup>21</sup> In the Barony Parish too, one Catholic representative was elected without opposition in each of the four parish wards.<sup>22</sup> Only in the City parish was Catholic representation reduced from seven to five, although again all five were returned unopposed.<sup>23</sup> This reduction had been effected with the agreement of the Catholic Union which "after negotiations with non-Catholic candidates" was of the opinion "that it was inexpedient to retain in their own hands the whole representation in the First Ward."<sup>24</sup> Three of the five Catholic candidates in that Ward were therefore voluntarily withdrawn, and the Union believed that though, by this arrangement, Catholic representation had inevitably fallen, "the position of the five representatives has been strengthened."<sup>25</sup>

The abolition of the former Parochial Boards however, under the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1894, and their replacement by Parish Councils with a different arrangement of parish wards rendered necessary "a considerable amount of work...in order to re-organize the Catholic voting power under the changed conditions in the City, Barony and Govan parishes."<sup>26</sup> In the City parish, where the number of wards remained unchanged, Catholic representation was increased from five to nine. In the Second, Third and Fifth wards, Catholic candidates were elected unopposed; while in the First ward, where fourteen candidates stood for seven seats, all four Catholic candidates were successful. Only in the Fourth ward, where twenty candidates contested seven seats, was one of the two Catholic candidates defeated.<sup>27</sup> In the

parishes of Barony and Govan the number of parochial wards sharply increased. Barony, formerly divided into four wards, was now divided into thirteen;<sup>28</sup> while in Govan the number of wards increased from five to twenty.<sup>29</sup> In the former, although eleven Catholic candidates were nominated, only five were successful.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, in Govan, of the seven Catholic candidates only four were elected, though in two cases the election was uncontested.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly therefore, given the results in these three elections, the Catholic Union considered that "the multiplication of electoral divisions had been, on the whole, prejudicial to Catholic representation."<sup>32</sup>

In order to maximise Catholic turnout at the triennial School and annual Parochial, Board elections,<sup>33</sup> the Catholic Union had consistently to canvass its potential electorate. The frequency of parochial elections in particular made some detailed knowledge of Catholic voting strength essential. Among the earliest such returns was that conducted shortly after the Union's establishment, by the various mission committees. Mr. Thomas Kelly of St. Andrews reported that this committee had "gone round and done everything possible." However, he could not give the number, particularly of Parliamentary electors, as he had been absent from the last meeting of his committee. Nor did St. Alphonsus' parish quantify its results; Father Maginn simply reported that the result was "satisfactory." Nonetheless, Mr. McSherry (St. John's) reported that their canvass showed about 744 electors; while Father Lea estimated that electors in St. Joseph's parish numbered about 1,000. Two parishes, St. Aloysius' and St. Mary's had conducted canvasses previously. For the former, Father Gordon reported that nearly everyone had paid his rates. Similarly, in St. Mungo's only a few were in arrears with rates. A canvass conducted in this parish prior to the School Board election had also numbered Parliamentary electors at between 1000 and 1100. St. Vincent's, Duke Street, had not completed its returns; nor had St. Francis, although Father Cuthbert believed that the parish contained between 1,000-1200 Parliamentary electors. Sacred Heart, Bridgeton, was considered to have about 400 electors, while Parkhead's numbered 305. Of these 305 electors, twelve had not paid their rates, a problem even more evident in Govan where Father McBrearty reported that the canvass had shown a large number of people were unable to pay their rates. The parish of the Immaculate Conception did not quote any



figures, although Mr. O'Hare stated that he considered the parish to be "in a favourable condition." St. Patrick's, St. Margaret's, Springburn, and Lambhill, offered no reports. Nor was St. Peter's, Partick, mentioned.<sup>34</sup>

Turnout was also encouraged, at Parochial as well as at School, Board elections by bringing the efforts of their representatives to the attention of Catholic voters. In 1891 for example, the Catholic Union had

"in consideration the desirability of obtaining remuneration for the services of Catholic chaplains attending the Barnhill, City, and Govan poorhouses; and a sub-committee consisting of the Catholic chaplains and managers was appointed to consider the best means of bringing the matter before the respective Parochial Boards."<sup>35</sup>

As a result of such pressure, the Parochial Board of the City parish in August of that year agreed to make an annual allowance of £52 to the Catholic Chaplain of the City Poorhouse.<sup>36</sup> In addition, the Catholic Union's close links with the St. Vincent de Paul Society, indeed in 1891 its President became an ex-officio member of the Union's Central Committee, ensured that this Society's concerns over child welfare, and the protection of the interests of the Catholic poor,<sup>37</sup> would always figure prominently in the Union's deliberations.

The success of the Catholic Union in organising the Catholic vote can therefore be attributed in part to the canvassing of electors, and to the consistent promotion and publicity given to the efforts of Catholic representatives on the various Boards. However, such success, particularly in the School Board elections, also owed much to the system of voting. Under this cumulative voting system, each elector had fifteen votes,<sup>38</sup> which he could disperse among the candidates as he chose. In order to ensure the election of three Catholic candidates, it was crucial that each Catholic elector should give five votes to each candidate. Not surprisingly therefore, the Catholic Union became extremely concerned when the Scottish Education Bill of 1907 proposed, not only to assimilate the School Board franchise to that of the Parish Council, but also to abolish the cumulative vote.<sup>39</sup> A sub-committee, with Canon Mackintosh as convener, reported that it favoured the retention of the existing School

Board electoral roll. It appears that this desire was again fulfilled, for although no fewer than seven Bills to amend the School Board electorates had been presented to Parliament between March 1901 and February 1907, no corresponding Act appears to have materialised.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, by 1911, some alteration had clearly taken place for the *Glasgow Observer*, referring to the elections of that year, reported that due to "the recent change in the qualification of voters" there had been a "great reduction in the number of School Board electors."<sup>41</sup> As a result, the Catholic Union, was giving "consideration to the steps to be taken in regard to the ensuing elections."<sup>42</sup>

Further concern was generated in 1914 by a re-organisation of the electoral divisions of the Glasgow School Board into three wards; a process similar to that undertaken previously when Parish Councils replaced Parochial Boards. Perhaps as a result of its dismay at the unfortunate effects of this earlier experience, coupled with the knowledge that under the ward system no Roman Catholic had initially been able to win election to the Town Council,<sup>43</sup> the Catholic Union expressed renewed apprehension that the School Board revision might prove similarly detrimental to Catholic interests. A ward system, with larger electoral divisions, might considerably undermine any benefits to be gained from the cumulative system of voting.<sup>44</sup> In a circular issued on 5 March 1914, Charles Byrne, Secretary of the Catholic Union, emphasised that to secure the election of Catholic representatives in the new divisions, energetic committees would be required in every parish to visit the Catholic electors and point out the necessity of polling in their full strength for the Catholic Union candidates. Of particular concern in this election were the Day Industrial and Special Schools in Cranstonhill and Govan Street, which had recently been reserved by the School Board of Glasgow for Catholic children under the care of Catholic teachers; the former for children lacking proper guardianship during the day, and the latter for physically or mentally defective children who needed the special care which had been provided for them by the Education Acts of 1906-08. In addition, the economy issue still remained relevant. Since Catholics continued to pay local education rates for a service in which, though by choice, they did not share, and since they saved Glasgow ratepayers an estimated £80,000 yearly by maintaining their own schools, School



Board representation remained a right and a necessity if Catholic interests, including control of Board expenditure, were to be protected.<sup>45</sup>

Even during the First World War, the Catholic Union maintained its interest in encouraging the Catholic vote. In 1916 it was suggested that a paid registration official be appointed;<sup>46</sup> and the Union's involvement also continued in the post-war world. In 1920-21, Glasgow Corporation proposed a further alteration to the representation of the Glasgow Parish Council. Under the existing arrangements most of the wards now returned three representatives. A sub-committee of the Parish Council, on which there were no Catholic representatives, recommended to the Corporation that Parish and Municipal wards should be identical. This meant that there would be twenty-one parish wards, but as the Parish Council comprised twenty-eight members, it was proposed that fourteen wards should return one member, while seven wards would elect two members each.<sup>47</sup> The Catholic Union made urgent representations against the proposal believing, in the light of previous experience, that "in a single number constituency, or even in a two number constituency, it is almost impossible to have a Catholic returned,"<sup>48</sup> since the Catholic voting strength in any ward would not be sufficient for that purpose. In its campaign against the proposal, the Catholic Union recorded that the Labour, as well as the Catholic, members of the Parish Council supported its opposition. In the early 1920s, many constituency Labour parties, at Parliamentary level were often feebly supported and prone to lapse.<sup>49</sup> It seems reasonable therefore to suggest that Labour's organisational machine at ward level was likely to be similarly underdeveloped, and would face difficulty in adapting to the proposed changes. In addition, Labour support for the Catholic viewpoint may also be attributable to an apparent degree of electoral understanding between the party and the Catholic Union. Indeed, in November 1922, having already selected a Catholic female candidate to stand in the forthcoming Parish Council elections, the Cowcaddens ward committee of the Catholic Union was instructed by the Union Secretary, Mr. James Lyons, "to put nobody up as candidate unless a Catholic Labour gentleman."<sup>50</sup>

Lyons' instruction of 1922 was indicative of the support which could be found among the Catholic community for the emergent Labour Party. The *Catholic Observer* displayed similar sympathies. Labour County Councillors, like Joseph Sullivan, contributed articles outlining aspects of Labour policy on issues such as housing.<sup>51</sup> In relation to Irish affairs, the paper in 1918 advocated a Nationalist alliance with Labour,<sup>52</sup> while in 1921, on the same issue, it denounced the English Catholic Union as a "Tory clique",<sup>53</sup> because of its lack of support for the cause of Irish independence. Nevertheless, though supportive of the Labour Party, neither the Catholic Union, or the *Observer*, were in any sense socialist. Indeed as early as 1891, and consistently thereafter, the *Observer* carried criticisms of socialism, and of communism. The paper questioned whether the practice of Catholicism could ever be compatible with the holding of socialist beliefs,<sup>54</sup> and implied that socialist ideology could not be permitted "to come and remain."<sup>55</sup> The Catholic Union too remained firmly opposed to the doctrines of socialism and communism, an opinion which became even more apparent in the mid-1930s when, during the Spanish Civil War, the Union was clearly sympathetic towards the cause of the Francoist Friends of National Spain, rather than the Republicans.<sup>56</sup>

During the 1920s and 1930s however, the Catholic Union's relations not only with the socialist Independent Labour Party candidates, but also with Labour candidates in general, became increasingly strained. In 1925, the *Observer* could still report that "Catholic votes secure Labour elections;"<sup>57</sup> and that the proportional representation system used in the elections for the *ad hoc* education authorities continued to operate to the mutual benefit of both Labour Party and Catholic Union. Catholic voters were advised to cast their first preference vote for the Catholic Union, and their second preference for the Labour, candidate.<sup>58</sup> Within a year however, clear signs of division began to emerge with claims that the Glasgow Independent Labour Party was "carpeting" Catholic officials,<sup>59</sup> while Labour's increasingly evident support for the practice of birth control could only serve to "undermine" the party's power.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, when the Independent Labour Party formally approved its support for birth control, the *Observer* noted the resignations of some Catholic members.<sup>61</sup>



It appears to have been concern over this issue of birth control and increasing worries over perceived support forthcoming from the Independent Labour Party and the Scottish Socialist Party for such policies as the sterilisation of the unfit and the secularisation of schools,<sup>62</sup> which had prompted the Catholic Union in 1928 to recommend to Archbishop Mackintosh that the Union should take an active interest in municipal elections to ensure that Catholic principles and interests were safeguarded.<sup>63</sup> The recommendation was also based on the belief that if the Catholic Union took a direct interest in municipal affairs it would increase the effectiveness and efficiency of its local organisation, an important consideration in view of the continuing centralisation of the municipal, parochial, and educational bodies within the Glasgow area. The Union's aim in these elections, as hitherto, would be to secure the return of those candidates which it nominated. In addition, the Union also sought "to prevent, if not entirely to stop, the tendency to vote for Labour candidates."<sup>64</sup> The claim was also made, though not substantiated, that some Catholic candidates had already been defeated in municipal elections for no apparent reason other than, asserted the Union, that their religious views were not acceptable to the party they were supposed to represent.<sup>65</sup> The claim is however somewhat puzzling, as it is difficult to accept that apparently unacceptable candidates would ever have been adopted in the first place by their local Labour party. It may be that the claim instead refers to a refusal to nominate such candidates. A similar incident also occurred when the nomination of an elected councillor, Baillie Doherty, to serve on the Probation Committee of the Town Council was turned down by the Labour Group.<sup>66</sup>

The Catholic Union's belief, reflected in the *Observer*, that Labour was an increasingly secularist party, led the Union to conclude that the election of "Labour candidates might prove disastrous to Catholic interest,"<sup>67</sup> particularly at a time when in the field of education Catholic interests, in the opinion of the Union, were being seriously threatened. Prior to the passage of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929, a system of proportional representation, which the Catholic Union had hitherto used with such effectiveness, had been in force, and the Catholic community had eleven representatives on an Education Authority of forty-five members. After 1929

however, all educational matters came under the direction of the Corporation of Glasgow, a change to which the diocesan authorities reacted with considerable caution.<sup>68</sup> In addition, Catholic fears had also been aroused by the emergence of the Scottish Protestant League, under its founder Mr. Alexander Ratcliffe, formerly a town councillor in the Corporation of Glasgow; and such fears were only compounded when the League and the Moderate Party entered into a working agreement under the terms of which they undertook not to put up opposing candidates at the 1934 municipal elections. Indeed, in his election address, Ratcliffe explicitly stated that he was supporting the Moderate candidates in practically every ward in the city, while they supported his own candidature in Dennistoun.<sup>69</sup> As the Scottish Protestant League programme contained a commitment to repeal Section 18 of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, which had brought Catholic schools fully into the national system, instructions were given that all branches of the Catholic Union were to become actively involved in the contest with a view to preventing, if possible, the return of any candidate who supported repeal.

However, by 1934, the Catholic Union faced considerable difficulties in putting its wishes into effect. Its former success had been built upon the electoral benefits to be derived from proportional representation; and also upon its ability to nominate specifically Catholic candidates, enabling clear guidance to be offered to the Catholic electorate as to how, and for whom, to cast their vote. Reports submitted from twenty parishes in 1933 suggest that a considerable erosion of the Catholic Union's ability to organise the Catholic vote had taken place. No independent Catholic candidate was put forward. The mission committee of St. Anthony's, Govan, in the knowledge that Mr. Storrie, the retiring Councillor in the Govan ward, and a Catholic, faced a "keen struggle" to be returned, still "inclined to a policy of non-interference."<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the local committee in St. Anne's mission concluded "that any attempt to return an Independent [Catholic] candidate would be futile meantime,"<sup>71</sup> in spite of the electorate's apparent docility.

The absence of specifically Catholic candidates, and thus of its ability to secure "unfettered Catholic representation" independent of any political grouping, presented



the Catholic Union with a major difficulty in seeking to ensure that Catholic interests were safeguarded. As a result, the Union was effectively forced to adopt a different approach. Mission committees sought to identify, in each ward, a candidate from any party who might suitably be designated an "approved Catholic candidate." Catholic voters would then be recommended to vote for this individual.<sup>72</sup> The criteria for such approval were based upon the very issues over which the Catholic Union had already disagreed with the Independent Labour, and Scottish Socialist, parties. An "approved candidate" would therefore be expected to oppose the practice of birth control, and the sterilisation of the unfit; and to support the maintenance of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act with regard to provision for Catholic education. Nevertheless, the selective nature of such procedures could give rise to some peculiar results; which were not necessarily congenial to the officers of the Union. Thus, Sacred Heart parish "unanimously agreed" to give its support to Mr. Munro "...who will probably be the nominee of the Scottish Socialist Party."<sup>73</sup> In Ruchill Ward, the joint mission committee of St. Agnes', St. Charles', and St. Teresa's supported the candidature of Mr. Duffy, of the Labour Party.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that the latter approval may have been slightly more acceptable to the Central Committee of the Union than the former, for the split within the Labour ranks over the formation of a coalition National Government in 1931 had led the Socialist Independent Labour Party "out of the organised working-class movement."<sup>75</sup>

The selection of "approved candidates" on the basis of satisfactory answers being provided to specific questions could also give rise to confusion and apparent inconsistencies. Sacred Heart mission committee obtained from the Secretary of the Scottish Socialist Party a statement "that his Party will not countenance such things as birth control, secularisation of schools or sterilisation of the unfit."<sup>76</sup> But, the mission committee enquired of the Union Secretary,

"are we to infer from this that Catholics may subscribe to the Socialist programme of common ownership and control of the means of producing and distributing wealth, provided that the party which advocates it is sound on the three questions mentioned? Or is not such a proposal a denial of the right to private property upon which the Church insists? Since the Church is not opposed to the nationalisation or municipalisation of industries, but since it, at the same time, proclaims the inviolability of private property, how are we as Catholics to know at what stage a halt should be called to the process of transferring private industries to public authorities?"<sup>77</sup>

This series of questions posed by one of its own mission committees is perhaps the most eloquent testimony that, by the 1930s, the Catholic Union no longer offered clear guidance to Catholic electors. Indeed, the questions suggest that by focussing upon too narrow a field of Catholic interests, in Parochial and School Boards, and Education Authorities, the Catholic Union failed to take cognisance of the broader implications of developing political theories and parties, and related social concerns. As early as 1911, the then Secretary, Mr. Charles Byrne, had reached a similar conclusion. Byrne claimed that "the Catholic Union has not done so much to improve the social position of the Catholic body as it might have done or was expected to do"<sup>78</sup> when it was established twenty-six years previously; a shortcoming which he attributed to "every member who has taken part, or failed to take part, in the work of either the Central or Congregational Committees."<sup>79</sup> Internecine strife, particularly a determined, and in 1922 ultimately successful, attempt to remove Byrne himself from his position as a Catholic representative on the *ad hoc* education authority,<sup>80</sup> also proved a distraction leading to a diminution in the Union's effectiveness. But perhaps even more revealing testimony as to the Union's declining political role was contained in a circular sent to all parishes by Archbishop Mackintosh in 1935. Mackintosh felt it important that there should not be any misunderstandings as to the functions of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow. Though its aim remained the safeguarding of Catholic interests, the Catholic Union was not a political party or agency, nor was it attached in any way to such groups. The Union was therefore to act only when a Catholic interest or issue was at stake. It was to be clearly understood that no interest or issue was to be put forward under the "Catholic" banner without the express and formal approval of the Diocesan Authority. Where the Diocesan Authority



did not define any Catholic interest or issue as being at stake, it had nothing at all to say to either Catholic electors or Catholics standing as candidates, and therefore in such circumstances the Catholic Union had by very definition no role to play. Priests were exhorted "to take whatever steps may be necessary to ensure that [these] directions be strictly observed."<sup>81</sup>

The tone of the Archbishop's letter cannot be taken as other than a clear policy statement, and indeed an implied warning, to the Union as to its future course of action. Nevertheless, in spite of this statement, the Union's evident right-wing bias gave rise to sharp disagreements, particularly between the Union's Secretary, John Campbell, and the Independent Labour MP for Shettleston, John McGovern, over the Union's sympathy for the Franco-ist cause in the Spanish Civil War.<sup>82</sup> By 1937 however, the Catholic Union appears to have withdrawn from direct electoral involvement to become instead a political pressure group, and an advisory agency to the Catholic community. It maintained its opposition towards Socialism and Communism, and campaigned successfully to have Communist papers removed from some local libraries in the city, and in the counties of Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire.<sup>83</sup> A network of Advisory Bureaux had also been set up from 1931 onwards, in the belief that valuable work could be performed by Catholics who were prepared to place their knowledge and experience at the service of their fellow men. The industrial depression had become an accepted state of affairs, and workers often needed help and advice in claiming Unemployment Benefit and Poor Law Relief. Bureaux were formed in most of the large parishes in Glasgow, and also in many of the missions in Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, and northern Ayrshire.<sup>84</sup>

The varied nature of cases handled is illustrated by the activities of the Bureau at St. Aloysius', Springburn in 1932-33. A legitimisation case in the Sheriff Court, fifteen rent cases against factors, and three cases in the Police Court were undertaken. A girl charged with theft was legally represented at the Stipendiary Court; widows received back-dated pensions, and mothers and children free milk; eighty-one Public Assistance<sup>85</sup> cases were dealt with, enabling people to obtain Poor Relief; education

bursaries were obtained; and, at the Labour Exchange, benefit claims were settled. Though Springburn and St. Aloysius, Garnethill, were among the most active Bureaux, the range of work performed by them reflects that attempted in varying degrees elsewhere.<sup>86</sup> Initial misgivings that the advisory work undertaken by the Bureaux "would clash with the activities of other Societies,"<sup>87</sup> in particular the charitable effort of St. Vincent de Paul Society, had quickly proved unfounded.<sup>88</sup>

In only one instance did the Catholic Union ever seek to exert pressure "for the purpose of assisting fellow Catholics" outwith the Archdiocese.<sup>89</sup> This occurred in 1935 when a demand was made for an Inquiry into the Belfast Riots of that year. Once more an attempt was made to identify Parliamentary candidates who, by indicating their support for such an Inquiry, could be designated by the Union as "approved [Catholic] candidates."<sup>90</sup> The Union's interest in Irish affairs may have been a legacy from its former electoral co-operation with the branches of the United Irish League in Scotland, and may also reflect an awareness that sectarianism in different forms was still visible in Scotland. Edinburgh in 1935 saw anti-Catholic demonstrations which a non-Catholic minister described as "shameful."<sup>91</sup> Another to have been earlier affected was the Catholic Socialist John Wheatley, who was attacked by his political opponents, not only because of his Irish parentage and Catholicism, but also because of the apparent paradox of his business success and his militant Socialism.<sup>92</sup> At the 1924 General Election his Conservative opponent, J. Reid Millar, a member of the Orange Order fought a strongly anti-Irish campaign which continued beyond the election, and drew Wheatley into a costly legal action, the failure of which led him to consider retiring altogether from public life.<sup>93</sup>

Such attacks on Wheatley himself though, and on the Irish-born in general, tend to obscure his attempts to demonstrate that the Irish could contribute greatly to the emergence and maintenance of a Labour movement. Wheatley was deeply involved in the political activity of the Irish community, particularly in his native Baillieston, which had developed rapidly as a result of the coal-mining boom in Lanarkshire in the second half of the nineteenth-century.<sup>94</sup> Irish political interests had become organised as early as the 1870s. In 1871, a Glasgow branch of the Irish Home Government



Association was formed; and even after the establishment in 1880 of the Irish National League, under the new title of the Home Government branch, it remained one of the strongest in Britain.<sup>95</sup>

Wheatley, by the time he had commenced his business career in the 1890s was already becoming well known for his activity in the Irish Home Rule movement, and was elected president of the Daniel O'Connell branch of the United Irish League in 1901.<sup>96</sup> His father had also been an active member, having helped previously to found in Baillieston the Michael Davitt branch of the Irish National League.<sup>97</sup> Davitt himself had come to Glasgow in 1885, and had addressed a large demonstration in the City Halls on the Irish Question.<sup>98</sup> When Wheatley entered Home Rule politics, the movement with the creation of the United Irish League in 1898<sup>99</sup> was consciously attempting to repair the damage inflicted by the split occasioned by the divorce proceedings of the Irish Nationalist politician, Charles Stewart Parnell. New branches were being established, and old ones revived. The *Observer* by 1901 could claim that over ninety branches were active in Scotland,<sup>100</sup> providing for Irish political and social needs.

Though committed to the achieving of Home Rule for Ireland as its principal aim, the largely working-class composition of Irish National League membership also influenced its activities. Industrial safety featured as a topic at branch discussions, which were often held in trade union premises and addressed by trade union leaders;<sup>101</sup> while, in 1895, links with the Labour movement were strengthened by the affiliation of the League in Glasgow to the Workers Municipal Election Committee.<sup>102</sup> At the time when Wheatley became politically active therefore the political adherence of the League was in a state of flux. Its former support for the Liberal Party had become increasingly uncertain. Indeed, in the General Election of 1900 in the Blackfriars and Hutchesontown division of the city, the local Irish organisation supported the Unionist candidate;<sup>103</sup> a repetition of the reversals suffered at the 1886 election by the Liberal Party in Scotland in areas where the Irish vote was strong.<sup>104</sup> Such setbacks may have been due to the belief that the Liberal Party at least in part, had withdrawn from its former commitment to give Home Rule legislation immediate priority.<sup>105</sup> In 1885,

Parnell had already ordered the Irish in Britain, for the same reason, not to vote for the Liberals, and the Catholic press prominently reported the success of the Irish National League in turning the Catholic vote towards the Conservatives.<sup>106</sup> However, not all Scots Catholics were willing to heed Parnell. As one priest stated in the *Observer* "not all Catholics were Irishmen...and not even all immigrant Catholics would obey Parnell's instructions as to how to vote."<sup>107</sup> Other Home Rule supporters, like John Ferguson, supported Land League candidates, and subsequently the candidacy of Kier Hardie in the Mid-Lanark by-election in 1888.<sup>108</sup> Their actions led to the formation of the Scottish Labour Party, which was absorbed into the Independent Labour Party in 1895.<sup>109</sup>

The emergence of the short-lived Scottish Labour Party represented one response to the split which occurred in the Liberal Party in 1886 over Gladstone's proposals for Irish Home Rule. Though Glasgow constituency Liberal associations initially backed Gladstone's leadership<sup>110</sup> a section of the party within the city had already rejected it, and established instead the Liberal Unionists a grouping which drew closer in practice and spirit to the Conservatives.<sup>111</sup> The Liberal Unionists also viewed with disfavour the support offered to Gladstone's supporters by specifically socialist or radical organisations in the west of Scotland like the Scottish Land Restoration League, the Glasgow branch of the Socialist League, and the local Radical Associations.<sup>112</sup> Irish electoral associations also continued to back the Gladstonian Liberals on the grounds that to advocate Home Rule was to support that "social and democratic advance which was being resisted by the classes."<sup>113</sup>

This social dimension to the campaign for Irish Home Rule heightened the already fluid nature of the political allegiance of the immigrant community. The support of the Irish vote for the Gladstonian Liberals was not immutable. Indeed the policy of the Irish National League clearly stated that "the Irish vote should not be committed to any British party, Tory, Liberal, or Labour, but directed where the interests of Ireland demanded such action."<sup>114</sup> The conditional nature therefore of any such attachment, together with disagreements over social and economic issues like land



nationalisation,<sup>115</sup> helped to render uncertain the ultimate destination of the immigrant vote should the pursuit of Irish Home Rule ever cease to act as a unifying factor.

Nevertheless, the bulk of the Irish vote was likely to remain loyal to the Gladstonian Liberals until a credible, and acceptable, political alternative emerged. Increasingly though, during the first decade of the twentieth-century, Irish leaders like Redmond publicly endorsed Labour candidates, a support which became even more pronounced after the granting of a measure of Irish self-government in 1921 did indeed remove the original motivation for the League's existence.<sup>116</sup> Wheatley too, in the League membership found an interested audience for the ideas of his Catholic Socialist Society formed in 1906,<sup>117</sup> and himself became a member of the Independent Labour Party at about the same time.<sup>118</sup>

Up until 1905, none of the leaders of the developing Labour movement had professed Catholicism.<sup>119</sup> One aim of Wheatley's Catholic Socialist Society was therefore to attract Catholic workers to the Labour Party by demonstrating that belief in socialism and adherence to Catholicism need not be incompatible.<sup>120</sup> This it did by means of speaking tours and debates. Nevertheless, as one of the distinguishing features of European Socialism was its anti-clericalism, Wheatley's initiative was mistrusted by the local clergy, and evoked considerable debate in the columns of the *Catholic Observer*.<sup>121</sup> The paper however was not unsympathetic to the new Society, stating in December 1906 that "apart from its unwarrantable name it has excellent objects, and is capable of great good work."<sup>122</sup> The *Observer* gave support to Labour candidates at local Council elections in and around Glasgow; and such support was further reiterated in 1918 at Parliamentary level, chiefly because Charles Diamond, owner of the *Observer*, had become disillusioned with what he regarded as the timid attitude displayed by the Liberal Party towards Irish Home Rule.

The transfer of Catholic Irish political allegiance from the Liberal, to the Labour, Party was therefore a gradual process, and one moreover which was not accomplished without internal disagreement within the League. Where United Irish League branches adhered to their former policy of supporting Liberal candidates, even where Labour

was standing, they were heavily criticised, particularly in the journal *Forward*.<sup>123</sup> An anonymous Irish contributor denounced the League for working closely with the local clergy in districts of Lanarkshire which, he claimed, had been a key factor inhibiting Labour at the 1910 General Election.<sup>124</sup> In addition, such criticisms and disagreements occurred at a time when divisions were also appearing between the League's influential Home Government branch, and the Catholic Union. In October 1909, Joseph Cosgrove, Secretary of the branch conveyed to Charles Byrne a resolution severely critical of the course followed both by Byrne, and by Mr. Shaughnessy, as Catholic representatives on the Glasgow School Board. They were reminded that they had been returned to the Board "by the Irish people to attend to the interests of education, and not to attend to voice their own fads or opinions."<sup>125</sup> The branch was specifically opposed to their support of compulsory military training which, it claimed, "was totally opposed to the wishes of the Irish population of the city,"<sup>126</sup> and the resignation of both individuals was called for.

Byrne's reply was severely critical of the United Irish League. He attacked what he regarded as the unrepresentative nature of the Home Government branch, pointing out that membership of the branch was constituted, not by popular election, but by payment of a subscription. By contrast, the members of the Catholic Union who had selected him as a candidate had themselves been elected at public meetings held by twenty-seven congregations at which every Catholic man and woman was entitled to vote. Byrne was clearly irritated by the resolution, and stated that he did not recognise any right on the part of the branch to question his action as a Catholic representative. He also repudiated the charges concerning military training claiming that he had voted in favour of the continuance of the High School cadet corps, while Mr. Shaughnessy had merely supported military service on existing territorial lines.<sup>127</sup>

More fundamentally however, Byrne charged that the Home Government branch did not understand the needs and aspirations of the Irish Catholics of Glasgow. He himself had spent several weeks annually for twenty-five years in putting Catholics, mainly Irish, on the Register of Voters, and in that work he had cooperated with many branches of the Land League, Irish National League, and United Irish League. If he



had not cooperated with the Home Government branch this had been because the work of strengthening the Catholic position "is too laborious and inglorious for that branch to take part in it."<sup>128</sup> Byrne also took issue with the claim made by the branch that it was not sectarian in nature on the grounds that Home Rule was an almost exclusively Irish Catholic question, with the vast majority of Irish Protestants being opposed to it.

The influential role of the Home Government branch within the United Irish League - James Handley termed it "the parliament of the Irish people in Glasgow"<sup>129</sup> - makes Byrne's criticism of its electoral behaviour difficult to accept. League branches in areas like Mossend and Hamilton effectively complimented outwith the city boundaries the organisational efforts of the Catholic Union.<sup>130</sup> In reality therefore, the various disagreements which surfaced in 1909 may instead be indicative of the breakdown of the electoral cooperation which had formerly been so successful in securing the election of Catholic candidates to public Boards. The internal splits over support for the Liberal and Labour parties further diminished the effectiveness of the League, while at the same time allowing Labour an entry into the Irish working-class vote. When to this is coupled the initial support of the *Observer* and the Catholic Union, Labour was well placed to fill any political vacuum among Irish Catholics. Nevertheless, Labour performed poorly at the 1918 General Election, a result perhaps attributable, at least in part, to its deficient organisation. By 1918 too, the effective collapse of the United Irish League as a political machine meant that its organisational resources could not be placed at Labour's disposal.<sup>131</sup> Internal divisions over the Irish Free State Treaty of 1921 only served to confirm that the Home Rule movement could never regain its former influence.

The effective removal of the Home Rule issue from the British political agenda in the 1920s meant that there was now one less issue over which misunderstanding might arise between workers in Scotland with different religious, cultural and national allegiances.<sup>132</sup> As a result, the Labour Party was able to broaden its basis of electoral support to attract not only former Home Rule supporters, but also the Protestant working-class, by promoting the belief that a desire for social reform and an end to economic injustice were common aims which could be accepted by workers of any

religious persuasion.<sup>133</sup> The Labour movement in Glasgow was cautious in its attitude towards former Home Rule supporters who transferred to its ranks, and none received nomination as Parliamentary candidates though some were elected to the local council.<sup>134</sup>

Nevertheless, Labour in Scotland in the 1930s continued to face attack as being "a repository of Catholic and Irish influence."<sup>135</sup> This reflected a more general upsurge in anti-Irish and anti-Catholic attitudes evident during the inter-war period. In such a climate, the advent of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 presented Labour with a difficult problem. Already mistrusted by the Catholic Union for its perceived socialism and secularism, Labour was reluctant to further alienate an apparently influential section of the Catholic community. And yet the Labour movement could not afford to be seen as being dictated to by Catholic pressure.<sup>136</sup> Nor would politically active Catholics like John McGovern and John Maxton, both Independent Labour Party Members of Parliament, reverse their support for the Republican cause. Patrick Dollan, Chairman of the Scottish Independent Labour Party from 1926 to 1931,<sup>137</sup> did however subsequently seek to prevent the issues raised by the Spanish Civil War from splitting the moderate left in Glasgow.

It is important therefore not to exaggerate the extent of their Catholic allegiance, for all three for a time lapsed from the practice of their faith.<sup>138</sup> Labour, and its most active supporters, were never a confessional party content to respond to clerical influence. Only if the church could have seriously threatened the party's electoral support might its influence have been decisive. In reality though, when in the late 1920s, the leadership of the Catholic Union reversed its former approval of Labour candidates it was almost trying to close the door, in terms of Catholic political allegiance, after the horse had bolted. Although, with the bishops and clergy, it continued to oppose what were regarded as social evils, such as the cinema, by the 1940s it was a shadow of its former self, and even its documentation begins to taper off. Its decline probably owes much to educational and social change within the Catholic community, but it also owes something to the belief that a vote for Labour was in the social interest of many Catholics. Working-class Catholics continue to vote in disproportionately large



numbers for the Labour party in modern times. An electoral survey in 1964 found that while 87% of working-class Catholics in Cathcart (Glasgow) supported Labour, only 44% of working-class Protestants did so. In Govanhill (Glasgow) the proportions were 75% and 56%.<sup>139</sup> In Scotland as a whole, 60% of working-class Presbyterians voted Labour, while the comparable figure for their Catholic counterparts was 74%.<sup>140</sup> The sustained nature of working-class Catholic support for the Labour Party suggests that this could not in reality have been eroded by agencies like the Catholic Union; nor by the tensions created by the Spanish Civil War.

Nevertheless, such support was not reflected in the number of Catholics nominated as local government, and Parliamentary, candidates by the Labour Party. Not until the 1960s did the number of Labour Councillors in Glasgow from a Catholic background begin to approximate to the degree of electoral support forthcoming from the Catholic community.<sup>141</sup> Parliamentary candidates faced even greater difficulty, and between 1945 and 1970 only eight Scottish Catholic Labour MPs emerged.<sup>142</sup> Such reluctance to nominate, and elect, Catholic candidates seems to indicate a continuing awareness, and reaction to, the potential influence of sectarianism in politics, which nearly defeated two Catholic candidates, Mary McAllister at Glasgow Kelvingrove in 1958, and James Dempsey in the constituency of Coatbridge and Airdrie in 1959.<sup>143</sup> It also suggests a somewhat limited Catholic influence. Indeed only by the 1970s were Catholics found in significant numbers at all levels of the Labour Party.<sup>144</sup>

The degree of political disunity caused by religious divisions should not, however, be exaggerated. Both Catholics and Protestants give massive electoral support to the Labour Party in Glasgow, and though over a third of the Labour vote comes from the Catholic community, a greater part comes from Protestants, and others of no religious affiliation.<sup>145</sup> As a result, religious and political loyalties have not become coterminous in Scotland. Increasingly too, Catholics are becoming more visible and more active in political parties other than Labour, with the Scottish National Party nominating two Catholics as Parliamentary candidates in 1970, and five in 1979.<sup>146</sup> The Conservative Party in 1979 nominated four Catholics as Parliamentary candidates.<sup>147</sup>

Even so, the other political parties in Scotland have not proved able to make effective inroads into Catholic working-class support for Labour. A survey conducted in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1970, suggested that, at most, 19% of SNP supporters in the city were Catholics;<sup>148</sup> while, at the February 1974 General Election only 6.9% of Catholics voted for the Nationalists.<sup>149</sup> This lack of support is probably attributable to the perception that the SNP drew much of its support from among the Presbyterian community.<sup>150</sup> Only in the new towns, like Cumbernauld, did Catholics vote for the SNP in any numbers.<sup>151</sup>

Colm Brogan, a Conservative supporter, commented in 1962 that even the Scottish Catholic middle-class remained either "sentimentally Labour" supporters, or were instead "apolitical."<sup>152</sup> Brogan's comment raises afresh the underlying question of what influences an individual to vote for the candidate of a specific political party. Does religion, or social class, exert the greater influence? A survey conducted in Dundee in 1968 tends to favour the former: regular attenders at church were more likely to vote Labour than those with only a nominal attachment to Catholic practice.<sup>153</sup> When in the 1960s, the Glasgow Councillor, Rev. Geoff Shaw, in common with others in the Labour movement, made public his support for an integrated education system, he lost his seat.<sup>154</sup> And yet such incidents do not appear to have exerted any lasting influence on overall Catholic support for the Labour Party.

Evidence concerning the relative influence exerted upon voting behaviour by religion, and social class, is therefore somewhat ambivalent. The fact that the nominal Catholic, and the individual removed from former urban loyalties and attachments, are more likely to experiment with new political allegiances, may indirectly support the belief that religion could be the more important factor. And yet the "sentimental" attachment to Labour of the Catholic middle-class might be attributable to either a residual religious or class loyalty. However, the very solidity, and persistence, of overall Catholic support for Labour, in spite of previous disagreements with ecclesiastical agencies, does cast doubt over whether the church, even among its regular attenders, could frequently hope to influence their voting behaviour. Even the committed laity no longer see any necessity to look automatically to the clergy, and



church organisations for such leadership,<sup>155</sup> and, as a result, the conditions which gave rise to the Catholic Union have, it seems, disappeared from the landscape.

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1. GAA-CU2 'Catholic Union of Great Britain, *Gazette*, 1885,' pp.68-9.
2. *ibid.* This annual meeting was normally required to take place on the first Sunday in May, or during the week immediately following.
3. *Glasgow Observer*, 18 April 1885, p.4 - these represented the fifth series of elections since the establishment of the School Board in 1872.
4. *ibid.* The candidates were: Revv. Alexander Munro, Cuthbert Wood, and Michael Maginn.
5. John McCaffrey, 'Politics and the Catholic Community since 1878' in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, David McRoberts (ed.) (Glasgow 1979), p.146.
6. *Glasgow Observer*, 25 April 1885, p.3.  
  
Rev. Alexander Munro, 3rd, 61,149  
Rev. Cuthbert Wood, 4th, 60,860  
Rev. Michael Maginn, 5th, 60,276
7. At the time, SVDP President. *Glasgow Observer*, 25 April, 1885, p.3.
8. *Glasgow Observer*, 18 April 1885, p.4.
9. *ibid.*
10. John McCaffrey, 'The Irish Vote in Glasgow in the later Nineteenth-century', *Innes Review*, Vol. XXI, 1, (1970), p.33.
11. GAA-CU2 Circular concerning Registration of Voters, 1891.  
At the election in November 1891 of town councillors for the City of Glasgow, women had the same rights as men to be registered as Municipal Voters.  
  
Removal from a City to a County Division would disqualify.
12. GAA-CU2 Circular, Charles Byrne, to Senior Priests, 3 June 1904.
13. GAA-CU2 Circular, Charles Byrne, to Senior Priests, 26 May 1905.
14. GAA-CU2 Circular, Charles Byrne, to Senior Priests, 3 June 1904.
15. GAA-CU2 Circular concerning Registration of Voters, 1891.
16. James Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow, 1873-1919* (Edinburgh, 1971), p.41 - The Ratepayers' Party gained control of the Board in 1879.
17. The Catholic Association's papers were found with those for the Catholic Union.
18. GAA-CU2 Rev. A. Munro to Archbishop Eyre, 19 November, 1884.
19. *Ibid*



20. **GAA-CU2 - Catholic Union - Report by the Central Committee of the Catholic Union of Glasgow and Neighbourhood for the Year 1891. The five elected were Very Rev. Canon McFarlane; Rev. George McBrearty; Mr. Robert McDonald; Mr. Henry Maguire; and Mr. Francis J. Doran.**
21. *Ibid*
22. *Ibid* The four elected were Messrs. James Brand, Francis McQuiggin, James Dougherty, and Charles Byrne.
23. *Ibid* The five elected were Messrs. Edward Williamson and Arthur McHugh, Charles McGuire, James Mackenzie, and James Quigley.
24. *Ibid*
25. *Ibid*.
26. **GAA-CU2 - Report of the Central Committee for the Catholic Union of Glasgow and Neighbourhood for the year 1895.**
27. *Ibid* The successful Catholic candidates were: Rev. T.P.O'Reilly, Mr. Arthur McHugh; Mr. T.N. Whitelaw, Mr. James Conway, Dr. McLaughlin, Mr. Patrick O'Hare, Mr. Hugh McConnell, Mr. James MacKenzie, and Mr. John MacKenzie. Mr. James Quigley was the defeated Catholic candidate.
28. *Ibid*.
29. *Ibid*. Govan parish now consisted of six wards within the Burgh of Glasgow; two within the Burgh of Kinning Park, six within the Burgh of Govan, five within the Burgh of Partick, and one included all the landward or rural part of the parish.
30. *Ibid*
31. *Ibid*
32. *Ibid*
33. *Ibid* After the formation of Parish Councils, these elections too appear to have become triennial.
34. **GAA-CU2 Central Committee, Minute of Meeting 16 June 1885.**
35. **GAA-CU2 Report by the Central Committee of the Catholic Union of Glasgow and Neighbourhood for the year 1891.**
36. *Ibid*
37. For information the activities of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, see Chapter 5.
38. Roxburgh, *op.cit*, p.216. Each candidate had as many votes as there were seats on the Board.
39. **GAA-CU2 Circular, Charles Byrne to the clergy, 27 March 1907.**

40. James Craigie, *A Bibliography of Scottish Education, 1872-1972* (University of London Press, 1974). These Bills bore the title School Board Electorate (Scotland) Bill, and proposed to admit to the school board electorates of Scotland all persons entitled to vote for the County Council election. No parallel Act, however, appears.
41. *Glasgow Observer*, 18 February 1911, p.2.
42. *Ibid*
43. Roxburgh, *op.cit.*, p.219.
44. *Ibid*
45. GAA-CU2 Glasgow and Govan School Board Elections, Statement by Charles Byrne, Hon. Secretary, to Catholic Electors of Glasgow, 5 March 1914. The city divisions were: North-West, North-East, and South. Govan remained undivided.
46. *Glasgow Observer*, 25 March 1916, p.3.
47. GAA-CU2 James R. Lyons, Hon. Secretary, Catholic Union, Circular to parish priests, *Glasgow Parish Wards*, 30 November 1921.
48. *Ibid*
49. I.G.C.Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924 Parties, Elections and Issues* (Edinburgh, 1986), p.296.
50. GAA-CU2 Protest by the Cowcaddens ward committee of the Catholic Union to Archbishop Mackintosh, President of the Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 23 November 1922.
51. *Glasgow Observer*, 1 April 1916, p.3.
52. *Ibid.*, 6 July 1918, p.3.
53. *Ibid.*, 1 January 1921, p.7.
54. *Ibid.*, 11 January 1902, p.14, letter to the Editor from Mr. Charles H. Urwin.
55. *Ibid.*, 19 April 1924, p.9.
56. GAA-CU12 and 13 - files, and CU1/3 newspaper cuttings, on Spain.
57. *Glasgow Observer*, 28 March 1925, p.2.
58. *Ibid*
59. *Ibid*, 27 March 1926, p.3.
60. *Ibid.*, p.11.
61. *Ibid.*, 10 April 1926, p.3.
62. GAA-CU3 - Charles Clark, Secretary, Sacred Heart Advisory Bureau, to Mr. John Campbell, Hon. Secretary, Catholic Union, 20 May 1934.



63. **GAA-CU2 - Report of Committee appointed to consider the question of Catholic Policy at Municipal Elections, - sent to Monsignor John Ritchie, 24 January 1928.**
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid*
66. **GAA-CU2 John Campbell, Hon. Secretary, Catholic Union, letter to Archbishop Mackintosh, 9 January 1932. At the same meeting, the Town Council also decided not to allow external representation on the Probation Committee, and accordingly, Mr. P.J.Neeson, whom Archbishop Mackintosh had nominated, would not be able to serve on the Probation Committee.**
67. **GAA-CU2 Report of Committee appointed to consider the question of Catholic Policy at Municipal Elections - sent to Monsignor John Ritchie, 24 January 1928.**
68. **See Chapter 3, p.153.**
69. **GAA-CU2 'Appeal to the Electors' by Councillor Alexander Ratcliffe. Specific agreements between League and Moderate candidates in Pollokshaws and Kelvin wards came to the attention of the Catholic Union. Minute of Public Authorities Committee, 11 April 1934.**
70. **GAA-CU2 *Canvass Reports* St. Anthony's, Govan, 17 October 1933.**
71. *Ibid*, St. Anne's.
72. *Ibid*
73. *Ibid*, Sacred Heart, 17 October 1933.
74. *Ibid*., Joint Secretaries meeting, 17 October 1933.
75. **GAA-CU13 *The Forward*, 2 January 1937, p.1.**
76. **GAA-CU3 Charles Clark (Sacred Heart) to John Campbell 20 May 1934.**
77. *Ibid*
78. **GAA-CU2 Charles Byrne to [Monsignor Ritchie/or Mackintosh], 29 April 1911.**
79. *Ibid*
80. **GAA-CU2 *Hindrances to Catholic Organization and Practice*, (printed pamphlet), undated.**
81. **GAA-CU3 *Ad Clerum*, 28 October 1935.**
82. **For further details of this dispute, see Chapter 2, p.79.**
83. **GAA-CU13 *Irish Weekly*, 27 February 1937.**

84. GAA-CU2 Advisory Bureaux, First Annual Report of the Advisory Bureaux 1932-33, pp.2 and 3. Twenty-eight Bureaux were operational within the first year: eleven in the City of Glasgow, two in Northern Ayrshire, six in Dunbartonshire, four in Renfrewshire, and five in Lanarkshire.
85. *Ibid.*, pp.13-17. Public assistance was the 1930s term for the Poor Law.
86. *Ibid.*, pp.17-42 *passim*.
87. *Ibid.*, p.11.
88. *Ibid*
89. GAA-CU2 Mr. John J. Campbell, Secretary, Catholic Union of the Archdiocese of Glasgow - Address to Catholic Union Meeting, Sheffield, February 1944.
90. *Ibid.*, Candidates' opinions were sought by means of a questionnaire.
91. *Glasgow Observer*, 6 July 1935, p.6. For further on sectarian attitudes see Chapter 2, p.87.
92. Ian S. Wood, 'John Wheatley, the Irish, and the Labour Movement in Scotland', *Innes Review*, Vol. XXXI, (1980), p.81. (Hereafter 'Wheatley').
93. *Ibid* Wood also claims that it may have been a timely intervention from Ramsay MacDonald which dissuaded Wheatley from this course of action.
94. *Ibid.*, p.71.
95. Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow - The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester 1987), p.63.
96. Wood, 'Wheatley', *loc.cit.*, p.74.
97. *Ibid.*; and Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.78.
98. *Glasgow Observer*, 24 October, 1885, p.1.
99. Wood, 'Wheatley', *loc.cit.*, p.74.
100. *Ibid*
101. Ian S. Wood, 'Irish Immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880-1906', in *Essays in Scottish Labour History*, (ed. Ian McDougall), (Edinburgh, 1978), pp.76-7. (Hereafter *Essays*).
102. *Ibid.*, p.85.
103. *Ibid.*, p.81.
104. John McCaffrey, 'Politics and the Catholic Community since 1878' in *Modern Scottish Catholicism* (ed. David McRoberts) (Glasgow, 1979), p.147.
105. Wood, *Essays*, *loc.cit.*, p.81.
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107. *Glasgow Observer*, 21 November 1885, p.7, letter to the Editor from 'a Catholic Priest'.
108. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.76.
109. *Ibid*
110. John McCaffrey, 'Liberal Unionism in the West of Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 50, 1971, p.55.
111. *Ibid*, p.71.
112. *Ibid*, p.69.
113. *Ibid*
114. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.68.
115. *Ibid*, p.67 Parnell opposed Michael Davitt's efforts to promote Home Rule in association with land nationalisation.
116. Wood, *Essays, loc.cit.*, p.81; 'Wheatley' *loc.cit.*, p.77.
117. 'Wheatley', *Ibid.*, pp.77, 84.
118. *Ibid.*, p.76.
119. Tom Gallagher, 'Catholics in Scottish Politics' in *The Bulletin of Scottish Politics*, Vol.1, No.2, Spring 1981, p.24.
120. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.78.
121. Gallagher, 'Catholics in Scottish Politics', *loc.cit.*, p.24. Even so Archbishop Maguire never condemned Wheatley.
122. Wood, 'Wheatley', *loc.cit.*, p.77.
123. *Ibid*
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128. *Ibid*
129. James Handley - quoted in Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.77.
130. *Glasgow Observer*, 24 October 1885, p.5 - mentions the Mossend National League and the Hamilton Catholic Registration Association.
131. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.87.
132. *Ibid*, p.98.

133. *Ibid*, pp.98 and 100 - Or, indeed, by workers with no religious allegiance.
134. *Ibid*, pp. 101-02.
135. Ian S. Wood, 'Scotland and the Spanish Civil War', *Cencrastus*, Autumn 1984, No.18, p.15.
136. *Ibid*
137. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.201.
138. Gallagher, 'Red Clyde's Double Anniversary' in *The Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, No.20, 1985, p.4. Dollan subsequently resumed his religious practice; Gallagher, 'Catholics in Scottish Politics', *loc.cit.*, pp.30-2, McGovern too later resumed the practice of his faith.
139. James Kellas, *The Scottish Political System*, (Cambridge, 1975), p.103.
140. *Ibid*
141. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.272.
142. *Ibid*, p.270.
143. Gallagher, 'Catholics in Scottish Politics', *loc.cit.*, p.33. Not until the 1970s did Catholics systematically vote for Catholics in Parliamentary nominations, (Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.273).
144. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, pp.272 and 352. Gallagher claims that between the 1930s and 1960s, Catholic control of the Labour Party in Glasgow was 'more in the realm of folklore than of fact'.
145. Kellas, *op.cit.*, p.104.
146. Gallagher, 'Catholics in Scottish Politics', *loc.cit.*, p.34.
147. *Ibid* Inroads by Catholics in both parties into council seats was evident in the late 1960s.
148. Kellas, *op.cit.*, p.105.
149. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.324.
150. Kellas, *op.cit.*, p.105. *The Glasgow Herald Survey of 1970* found that 48% of SNP supporters were Church of Scotland, and 7% other Protestant.
151. Gallagher, *op.cit.*, p.324.
152. *Ibid*, p.274.
153. *Ibid*, p.269.
154. *Ibid*, p.278.
155. *Ibid*, p.309.



## CONCLUSION

The arrival of Irish Catholic migrants in the nineteenth-century ensured that the future Western Province would become the principal Catholic population centre in Scotland. They came, attracted by perceived opportunities for economic advancement, to a church ill-prepared both in resources and inclination to receive them; and to a society in which their nationality, religion, and relative poverty aroused resentment. The Irish did not restore Catholicism to Scotland, but their sheer weight of numbers, coupled with their desire to influence the organisation and administration of the Western District contributed to the misunderstandings and tensions which surfaced between migrant and indigenous Catholics. The latter were particularly concerned lest any disturbance should be caused to the increasing toleration displayed towards them from the late-eighteenth century onwards by successive British Governments.

Without the influx of the Irish migrant, Catholic population growth would have remained at a virtual standstill. But their arrival also created a need for places of worship, and a sufficient supply of clergy to serve them. Such requirements laid severe financial burdens upon the Catholic community, as the costs of church buildings, the training of clerical students, and the support of the clergy had to be met from a limited capital base, and by a relatively disadvantaged community. Both the Western District, and the Archdiocese would face periods of acute financial difficulty, and finance remains a persistent problem.

These difficulties were further compounded by the perceived need to provide specifically Catholic establishments in the fields of education and social welfare. This desire stemmed from a persistent fear of the dangers which the twin threats of proselytism and secularism were believed to represent to Catholic belief and practice. As a result, the church established parallel institutions to those provided by voluntary and public agencies.

And yet the independence of such Catholic provision steadily became more apparent than real. In order to sustain its education and social welfare system, the church

accepted, and indeed actively sought, available financial support in the form of local, and central, government grants. In addition, Catholic philanthropists shared the underlying social and economic assumptions which motivated their counterparts in the welfare field. Catholic effort tended not to be innovative. Rather it responded, and sought to accommodate itself, to the changing requirements and expectations of civil society.

Church leaders displayed an ambivalent attitude towards civil society. The need to accept financial support, and to preserve Catholic interests, meant that the Catholic community could not stand aloof from the political, and decision-making, process. Even so, the State would continue to legislate for the perceived advantage of the majority of its citizens, and compel minorities to comply in return for grant aid.

The church faced the particularly difficult problem of desiring to be in civil society but not of it. As a result, for almost every instance of apparent ecclesiastical integration with society, a parallel example of retrenchment can be produced, not only in the fields of education and social welfare, but also as in Father Stack's suggestion of specifically Catholic regiments within the British army. But such an approach of limited, conditional, and reluctant integration faced many difficulties. Not only did the financial burden become increasingly impossible to sustain, but ideas and theories, not always congenial to ecclesiastical authority, including the practice of birth control, were able to permeate the Catholic community. Irish politics exerted an influence independent of church leaders, and contributed to the switch of Catholic electoral support to Labour, a political allegiance which persisted in spite of efforts to reverse it by the Catholic Union. In voting for Labour, and in the late twentieth-century becoming more visible in other political parties, Catholics were further drawn into the mainstream of British political life, while Labour itself ensured that it did not become a confessional party. Social class became an important political determinant.

The Catholic enclave therefore could never be sustained against external influences. Nor was their leaders' ambivalence towards civil society shared by all in the Catholic community. Upward social mobility, and the professional successes of Catholics



reported in the *Observer*, were clear indications of aspirations which possessed a secular base. However, the evidence concerning the causes of leakage, and short-term non-practice, is more contradictory. It is, for example, mistaken to attribute too readily to the early nineteenth-century Irish migrant a regularity of religious practice. They were not conditioned to such a tradition in their native Ireland, nor was the Western District readily able to introduce such practices due to a shortage of chapels and priests. Though subjective evidence from the twentieth-century suggests that the provision of additional places of worship and clergy effected some improvement, claimed practice rates in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council do not substantially differ from those of the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The unreliable nature of available statistics is a serious limitation in analysing levels of religious commitment and practice, but it seems reasonable to suggest that leakage in particular, and non-practice, are constant, cumulative factors, and should be offset against any assumed natural rate of increase in the Catholic population.

Evidence relating to any class component in leakage is also ambivalent as, in the nineteenth-century poverty also exerted an inhibiting influence on church attendance. Furthermore, both the poorest and the upwardly mobile could sever their connections with the church for a variety of reasons, among them intellectual disagreement, apathy, or as McQuillan asserted, as a result of entering into a mixed marriage. In reality though, the causes of leakage and non-practice are difficult to isolate, partly because the underlying reasons may be attributable to individual, as well as collective, circumstances. Research on the Catholic community in England suggests that the advent of adolescence and the relaxation of parental control represent a particular crisis point in individual religious commitment, and moreover casts doubt on the ability of the Catholic school effectively to surmount this problem. In every generation therefore, religious authority can achieve only varying degrees of influence on its adherents.

And yet the modern Catholic community need not be unduly pessimistic about the future. Its problems of supply of clergy, finance, and concern about leakage and non-practice, are not necessarily specific to their generation. In addition, Gilley's research

on American Catholicism further suggests that in their early experience of intra-communal tension, and the later impact of social change, the Catholic community of West Central Scotland is not unique. In spite of past and present problems therefore, the church has proved able to continue to offer to successive generations, a view of society, and a route to salvation.



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48, and 58
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- Forum*, Journal of the Council of Priests, Archdiocese of Glasgow,  
1977 onwards. BY73
- Circulars/Ad Clerums* CD3
- Chapter Minute Books, 1886-1933 CD6/1 and 2
- St. Peter's College, Partickhill; and Bearsden CE2; and 3
- St. Peter's College, Partickhill, Funds of, c.1892 CE2/1
- Irish Students CE12
- Colleges: Propaganda, Bruges and Douai CE15
- Lists of Students CE18
- Clerical Education, 1888-1928 CE29
- Minute Books, Senior Priests Meetings, 1894-1916 CL1/1 and 2
- Lists of Missionaries in the Archdiocese, 1880-1920 CL5
- Catholic Union, correspondence, files, newspaper cuttings,  
letter books, pamphlets, accounts, memoranda, 1885-1940s CU1-13; and  
MY93/1-9
- Diocesan Education Board/Poor School Committee,  
Minute Book, 1870-78 ED1/1
- Diocesan Education Board, Minute Books, 1918-55 ED1/3-7
- Diocesan Education Board, papers, 1892-1926 ED2-6
- Religious Inspection (of schools) 1878-1944 ED7 and 8

Poor School Committee	ED9
Teachers and Managers	ED10
Transfer of Schools	ED11
Secondary Education and Pupil Teachers	ED12
Bishop Toner - education papers	ED13 and 14
Southwark - photocopies from	ED16
Education Papers, General, 1869-1938	ED18-26
Education Council	ED27, and 85
Teachers' Associations	ED28
Education, Western District and early twentieth century; and concerning the effects of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918	ED35-39; and 41
Education Papers, mainly 1920s, including Inventories and Valuations of Schools	ED40
Schools Transfer Board, Minute Book, 19 January 1919-23 February 1920.	ED11/1
Secondary Education and Supply of Teachers' Board, 3 July 1905-9 December 1918	ED12/1
History of St. Mary's Boys' School, Calton, Glasgow, 1863-1963	ED48/1
Transfer of Schools, 1919-26	ED67
Education Papers, 1919-34, including <i>Ad Clerum</i>	MY52/18
Education, c.1866-1901	MY97/7
Finance Board Minute Books, 1869-1930	FR1/1-8
Debtors' Book - Churches and Mission, 1869-1889	FR17/1
Diocesan Fund Loan-Grants, 1879-1928	FR17/4
Depositors Accounts, 1869-1928	FR17/6, and 25
'History of the Scottish Clerical Quota Fund' (by Bishop Hay, 1772); to which is added <i>Observations on the Quota Fund</i> (by Rev. John Carmont).	FR17/9
Cash Books, 1901-28	FR17/10-13
Archbishop of Glasgow Charitable Trust, Minute Book, 12 June 1925-23 December 1932	FR18/1



General Correspondence, 1869-1950	GC1-82
Restoration of the Hierarchy	HP1
Apostolic Visitations	HS5
Financial History of the Archdiocese	HS7/1
Correspondence, chiefly Rev. A. MacFarlane, Diocesan Secretary and Treasurer, (later Bishop of Dunkeld), 10 May 1871-29 November 1873.	LB1/1
Correspondence (chiefly...Dunkeld - as LB1/1), and Archbishop Eyre, <i>passim</i> , 29 November 1873-24 May 1876.	LB1/2
Correspondence, mainly Rev. A. MacFarlane, and some of Archbishop Eyre, John A. Maguire (later Archbishop of Glasgow), Donald A. Mackintosh and John McLachlan, 25 May 1876-26 March 1880.	LB1/3
Correspondence, chiefly concerning Boys' Reformatory, West Thorn, 20 February 1876-22 April 1880.	LB1/4
Correspondence, Archbishop Eyre, Rev. James Cameron, Rev. Angus MacFarlane, and Rev. D. A. Mackintosh, 30 December 1873-23 December 1885.	LB1/5
Correspondence - Archbishop Eyre, and Rev. John A. Maguire but chiefly Rev. James McLachlan, 2 April 1880- 17 February 1886.	LB1/6
Correspondence, 17 February 1886-12 December 1892.	LB1/7
Diocesan Secretary, copy letters from, 1896-1906	MY82
Scottish Catholic Land Association, 1936-38	MY92/12
Parish Returns: Glasgow, St. Andrew's	PR1
Glasgow, St. Alphonsus	PR7
Glasgow, St. Jude's	PR39
Glasgow, St. Patrick's, Anderston	PR63
Glasgow, St. Paul's, Shettleston	PR64
Glasgow, St. Saviour's, Govan	PR73
Glasgow, St. John's	PR79
Alexandria, Our Lady & St. Mark's	PR82
Bishopriggs, St. Matthew's	PR86
Clydebank, Our Holy Redeemer's	PR91
Cumbernauld, Sacred Heart	PR97
Dalmuir, St. Stephen's	PR99
Dumbarton, St. Patrick's	PR101
Whifflet, St. Mary's	MW36
Shotts	MW81
Barrhead, St. John's	PA1
Ancient Order of Hibernians	RI 3
Catholic Young Men's Society	RI 4 and 61

Smyllum Orphanage	RI 5
St. Charles' Hospital, Carstairs	RI 6
Children's Refuge	RI 7; RI 36
Catholic Insurance Society	RI 8
Catholic Institute	RI 9
St. Elizabeth's Home for District and Private Nursing	RI 10
Prisoners Aid Society	RI 13
Orphan Institution	RI 14
League of the Cross	RI 15
Catholic Truth Society	RI 22
St. Margaret of Scotland Adoption Society	RI 24
Industrial Schools	RI 28-31
Westthorn Reformatory	RI 32-33
St. Vincent de Paul Society	RI 34-36
Eyre Trust	TS3
Bishop John Murdoch, Diaries, 1853-65	WD1
Annual Returns of Mission Populations, and Temporalities, 1857-60 (1861).	WD2/1
Debtors' Book, Churches/Missions, 1856-69.	WD2/2
Account Book-Bank Account, Loans, Debts, 1844-1855.	WD2/3
Account Book, 1846-63, including Orphan Asylum and Dalbeth Estate, Highland Mission Fund; Bishop's Account, and Life Insurances payable by Quota Fund money.	WD2/4
Items, Lyonese and District Funds, 1863-68.	WD2/5
Chapel Account Book, 1842-48.	WD2/6
Lists of names and addresses attached to various missions - undated.	WD2/7
Depositors' Ledger/Register, 1850-64, with instructions as to payment of interest.	WD2/8
Daily Ledger, and Miscellaneous Accounts, November 1856-c.1865.	WD2/9
<i>Advertanda et Memoranda</i> - Bishop Murdoch's financial summary of the Western District, 1861-62.	WD2/10



Rev. Michael Condon - Memoirs	WD5
Paisley Papers	WD8
Scoto-Irish Troubles, 1860-8	WD9
Apostolic Visitation, 1867-8	WD10
Western District, and late nineteenth century, papers	WD11
Memoranda of Missions, 1871-4	WD14/1
Newspaper Cuttings Books, 1869, 1873-6	WD14/9

**NOTE:** The foregoing numbers refer to a box, bundle, or bound volume, of related papers.

### B. Scottish Catholic Archive

Glasgow: Archbishop Maguire, 1909-19.	ED6/21
Church Building Licensing.	ED14 (part)
Catholic Truth Society Scotland (CTSS) Glasgow Council	GD11
Catholic Social Guild Minute Book, 1945-6	GD20
Papers concerning Distributism, Belloc, Chesterton.	HC10
Parish booklets, histories.	HC35
Ayr Catholics and Members of the 27th Regiment, Petition to Bishop Cameron for a priest, 13 June 1813.	IM2/1/2
Ayr Catholics to Bishop Cameron, complaining that they have no priest, 6 August 1822.	IM2/1/3
Ayr Catholics to Bishop Cameron, 22 September 1824	IM2/1/4
Glasgow and Paisley: <i>Status Animarum</i> , 1808	IM14/1
List of Names of Glasgow Catholics, 1825 - (list of those who signed the petition to Parliament for Roman Catholic relief)	IM14/2
Concerning Paisley mission including list of petitioners	IM24 IM24/1/9
List of Western District Students, 1833	OL2/10/1
<i>Ad Clerum</i> , from Bishop John Murdoch	OL7/2/3
Small printed items	Sm.P11
James Darragh, files	.

## C. Strathclyde Regional Archive

- Mossbank Approved School (formerly Glasgow House of Refuge and Industrial School) Records, from 1848 D-ED7/146
- Log-book of Our Lady and St. Francis Higher Grade School, 29 January 1894 - 23 December 1921. D-ED7/160/1
- Log-book, St. Margaret's, Johnstone, 1885-1924 CO2/45/1

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**TABLE 1**  
**SCOTLAND: IRISH-BORN BY SEX AND AGE**

Year	Irish-Born						Scotland - Total			
	Males		Females		Total		Males		Females	
	U 20	O 20	U 20	O 20	U 20	O 20	U 20	O 20	U 20	O 20
1861	13,306	59,837	12,774	58,201	26,080	118,038	711,874	737,974	698,716	913,730
1871	15,825	92,409	14,149	85,387	29,974	177,796	759,399	689,091	744,890	868,217
1881	12,864	78,455	11,724	65,184	24,588	143,639	842,638	778,725	825,775	950,621
1891	10,257	73,555	8,932	60,706	19,189	134,261	899,486	864,964	879,984	1,044,266
1901	10,837	87,016	9,053	60,122	19,890	147,138	945,676	1,016,551	928,392	1,195,136
1911	7,500	73,085	6,772	53,009	14,272	126,094	968,536	1,125,239	958,659	1,313,421
1921	6,939	66,634	6,647	48,908	13,586	115,542	964,196	1,385,446	953,616	1,581,239
1931	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1941	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1951	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**Notes:**

1. In the 1931 Census, and in 1951, the division is not made by age and sex, but rather by sex, and point of origin in Ireland, i.e. whether from the Free State or Ulster.
2. The 1961 Census offers a very detailed division, by sex and age, and point of origin, as can be seen in Table 2.

**Source:** Decennial Census of Scotland, 1861-1961.

**TABLE 2**  
**SCOTLAND: IRISH BORN, IN 1961**

	Nothem Ireland		Irish Republic		Ireland (part not stated)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<b>TOTAL</b>	17,807	18,552	17,925	18,941	1,292	1,169
<b><u>Marital Condition</u></b>						
Single	4,101	3,690	5,363	5,140	485	339
Married	11,781	10,640	11,242	10,925	684	626
Widowed	1,870	4,121	1,291	2,812	122	199
Divorced	55	101	29	64	1	5
<b><u>Age last birthday</u></b>						
0-4	195	219	124	111	11	10
5-9	368	355	340	334	19	13
10-14	469	450	435	466	22	27
15-19	610	581	671	804	48	49
20-24	585	779	882	1,401	62	80
25-29	867	939	1,282	1,589	76	87
30-34	1,041	1,049	1,498	1,660	85	91
35-39	1,207	1,287	1,623	1,733	95	94
40-44	1,292	1,390	1,745	1,736	104	92
45-49	1,614	1,545	1,750	1,658	136	105
50-54	1,661	1,671	1,677	1,450	113	90
55-59	1,562	1,521	1,372	1,340	95	71
60-64	1,742	1,870	1,417	1,346	124	108
65 +	4,594	4,896	3,109	3,313	302	252

**Source:** Decennial Census of Scotland, 1961.



TABLE 3(a)

PROPORTION OF FEMALE, RELATIVE TO MALE, IRISH MIGRANTS  
(Over the Age of Twenty Years)

	%
1861	97.27
1871	92.40
1881	83.00
1891	82.53
1901	69.09
1911	72.53
1921	73.40

TABLE 3(b)

PROPORTION OF FEMALE, RELATIVE TO MALE, IRISH MIGRANTS  
(All Ages)

	%
1861	97.04
1871	92.0
1881	84.2
1891	83.1
1901	70.7
1911	74.2
1921	75.5

Note: Calculated using the figures presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Source: Decennial Census of Scotland, 1861-1921.

**TABLE 4**  
**IRISH-BORN, BY COUNTY, 1861-1921**

	Lanarkshire		Renfrewshire		Dunbartonshire		Ayrshire	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
1861	93,394	14.583	24,955	14.788	6,454	11.912	19,345	9.718
1871	104,236	19.581	28,179	17.388	6,458	13.310	15,684	7.414
1881	115,085	12.214	30,444	13.494	8,618	11.023	14,070	6.465
1891	107,863	9.753	24,668	10.687	9,845	10.044	11,074	4.892
1901	121,185	9.048	25,349	9.424	9,862	8.661	10,632	4.178
1911	100,294	6.931	21,571	6.858	10,115	7.234	8,390	3.127
1921	92,752	6.025	18,766	6.278	9,261	6.139	8,349	2.790

**Note:** In the 1931 and 1951 censuses, the county totals do not include the major cities, and these years were therefore excluded from this table.

**Source:** Figures from decennial census of Scotland, 1861-1921.



TABLE 5

BAPTISMS AT THE CATHOLIC CHAPEL, GLASGOW, 1795-1833

<u>Year</u>	<u>Baptisms</u>
1795	20
1796	56
1797	60
1798	83
1799	93
1800	72
1801	48
1802	54
1803	131
1804	102
1805	155
1806	217
1807	240
1808	269
1809	294
1810	379
1811	395
1812	340
1813	374
1814	430
1815	471
1816	456
1817	424
1818	475
1819	610
1820	583
1821	677
1822	768
1823	830
1824	911
1825	1014
1826	1062
1827	1010
1828	1151
1829	1188
1830	1233
1831	1320
1832	1462
1833	1542

Total 20 May 1795-1 January 1834: 20,999

Source: Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, 1798-1845* (Cork, 1945), p.107, which nevertheless wrongly computes the total, as 20,981.

**TABLE 6**

**LIST OF PETITIONERS, GLASGOW, BY TRADE/OCCUPATION**

Basketmaker	2
Bishop	2
Blacksmith	21
Bleacher	5
Bookbinder	1
Bookseller	4
Bricklayer	8
Brickmaker	6
Brickmason	3
Brushmaker	1
Cabinet-maker	1
Carder	6
Carver	2
Carver and Guilder	1
Carter	7
Causewayer	2
Clerk	7
Clothlapper	6
Collier/Miner	6
Combmaker	1
Constable/Sheriff Officer <sup>4</sup>	1
Contractor	1
Cooper	1
Cotton Joiner/Piecer <sup>2</sup>	9
Cotton Spinner	36
Dealer	35
Doubtful	15
Draper	2
Drayman	1
Dryster <sup>1</sup>	13
Dyer <sup>1</sup>	1
Engineer	2
Engraver	2
Farmer	2
Founder (including Brass)	5
Gardiner	5
Glassblower	1
Glasscutter	1
Hatter	6
Iron-Turner	3
Joiner <sup>2</sup>	3
Labourer	192
Landed Gentleman <sup>5</sup>	1
Lime/Coal Agent	2
Machine-maker	2
Manufacturer <sup>3</sup>	4
Marble Cutter	3
Mason	25



Table 6 (continued)

Merchant (Travelling)	23
Merchant (Taylor, Provision etc.)	17
Millwright	1
Moulder	2
Plumber	1
Porter	12
Printer	10
Publican/Innkeeper	3
Quarrier	25
Roadmaker	1
Sadler	1
Sawyer	10
Servant	1
Shoemaker	31
Shopkeeper	10
Silversmith	1
Slater	1
Stationer	2
Stretcher	2
Student (Medical)	7
Student	22
Tanner	4
Taylor and Clothier	46
Teacher	3
Tinsmith	1
Tobacospinner	1
Turnsmith	1
Twister	1
Unspecified	9
Vintner	2
Warehouseman	1
Warper	1
Weaver	203
Wright	4
Total specified	902

Notes:

1. Dryster may possibly be "Dyster" in which case the figure for this trade should be 14.
2. It is possible that the 3 Joiners mentioned separately would be involved in the cotton industry.
3. Including Francis McCanna, Calton.
4. Residing in Pollokshaws.
5. Alexander Macdonald of Borrodale.

Source: SCA-IM14/2 - 1825.

TABLE 7

LIST OF PETITIONERS, PAISLEY, BY TRADE/OCCUPATION

Bleacher	1
Carver and Guilder	1
Cottonspinner	11
Cowfeeder	1
Doubtful	1
Dyer	3
Gardner	1
Glaizer	1
Innkeeper	2
Labourer	18
Mason	2
Merchant	9
Priest	1
Sawyer	1
Shoemaker	9
Smith	1
Tanner	1
Taylor	10
Teacher	3
Turner	1
Twister	1
Vintner	3
Weaver	21
Total Specified	102

Source: SCA IM24/1/9



TABLE 8(a)

MISSIONS, 1792-1840 (BY COUNTY)

<u>Glasgow City</u>	<u>Suburban</u>	<u>Lanarkshire</u>
St. Andrew's (1792)*	-	Airdrie (1836)
<u>Renfrewshire</u>	<u>Dunbartonshire</u>	<u>Ayrshire<sup>2</sup></u>
St. Mirin's, Paisley (1808)	Dumbarton (1830)	-
St. Mary's, Greenock (1808)		

TABLE 8(b)

MISSIONS 1842-1869 (BY COUNTY)

<u>Glasgow City</u>	<u>Suburban</u>	<u>Lanarkshire</u>
St. Mary's (1842)	Maryhill (1849)	Hamilton (1843)
St. Alphonsus' (1846)	Pollokshaws (1849)	Coatbridge (1845)
St. John's (1846)	Springburn (1854)	Lanark (1848)
St. Joseph's (1850)	Partick (1855)	Carlisle (1849)
St. Mungo's (1850)	Shettleston (1857)	Rutherglen (1851)
St. Patrick's (1850)	Govan (1861)	Chapelhall (1859)
St. Vincent's (1859)		Strathaven (1859)
St. Aloysius' (1866)		Wishaw (1859)
St. Francis (1868)		Carfin (1862)
		Mossend (1868)
		Shotts (1868)
<u>Renfrewshire</u>	<u>Dunbartonshire</u>	<u>Ayrshire<sup>2</sup></u>
Barrhead, St. John's (1843)	Duntocher (1844)	Dalry (1845)
Port Glasgow (1846)	Alexandria (1859)	Saltcoats (1853)
Houston (1847)	Milngavie (1865)	Kilbirnie (1859)
Johnstone (1852)	Helensburgh (1867)	Largs (1869)
Greenock, St. Lawrence (1855)		
Eaglesham/Busby (1856)		
Neilston (1863)		

\*Arrival of first resident priest.

Source: GAA-WD5 Memoirs of Rev. Michael Condon, Book 3, pp.274-292 inclusive; and *Scottish Catholic Directory, passim.*

TABLE 8 (c)

MISSIONS, 1842-1869

(By Year of Foundation and County)

	<u>Glasgow City</u>	<u>Suburban</u>	<u>Lanarkshire</u>	<u>Renfrewshire</u>	<u>Dunbartonshire</u>	<u>Ayrshire<sup>2</sup></u>
1842	1	-	-	-	-	-
1843	-	-	1	1	-	-
1844	-	-	-	-	1	-
1845	-	-	1	-	-	1
1846	2	-	-	1	-	-
1847	-	-	-	1	-	-
1848	-	-	1	-	-	-
1849	-	2	1	-	-	-
1850	3	-	-	-	-	-
1851	-	-	1	-	-	-
1852	-	-	-	1	-	-
1853	-	-	-	-	-	1
1854	-	1	-	-	-	-
1855	-	1	-	1	-	-
1856	-	-	-	1	-	-
1857	-	1	-	-	-	-
1858	-	-	-	-	-	-
1859	1	-	3	-	1	1
1860	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	-	1	-	-	-	-
1862	-	-	1	-	-	-
1863	-	-	-	1	-	-
1864	-	-	-	-	-	-
1865	-	-	-	-	1	-
1866	1	-	-	-	-	-
1867	-	-	-	-	1	-
1868	1	-	2	-	-	-
1869	-	-	-	-	-	1

Notes:

1. The term "mission" is not necessarily co-terminous with a single place of worship.
2. Missions which, after 1878 remained within the Archdiocese.

Source: GAA-WD5 Memoirs of Rev. Michael Condon, Book 3, pp.274-292 inclusive and *Scottish Catholic Directory, passim..*



TABLE 9

DATES OF CHURCHES, CHAPELS AND STATIONS -  
WESTERN DISTRICT 1790-1869.

(a) Highland Parishes

		<u>Sittings</u>
1.	Benbecula (1790)	400
2.	Fort William (1794)	150
2a.	Fort William (1868)	200
3.	Bunroy in Lochaber (1826)	350
4.	Daliborg (South Uist) (1827)	30
4a.	Daliborg (South Uist) (1868)	400
5.	Glencoe (St. Mun's) (1836)	100
6.	Bornish (South Uist) (1837)	400
7.	Bracara (North Morar) (1837)	250
8.	Drimnin in Morven (St. Columba's)	80
9.	Fort Augustus (St. Peter's) (1842)	200
10.	Eigg (1844)	-
11.	Badenoch, (St. Michael's) (1846)	272
12.	Kames Bay, St. Mary's (Stella Maris) (1849)	150
13.	Keppoch, Arisaig (St. Mary's) (1849)	600
14.	Campbeltown (St. Kieran's) (1850)	432
15.	Knoydart (St. Anthony's) (1850)	300
16.	Eriska, South Uist (1852)	300
17.	Barra, (St. Barr's) (1858)	500
18.	Glenuig, in Moidart (St. Agnes)	300
19.	Dorlin, in Moidart, (Our Lady of the Angels)	450

(b) Lowland Parishes

Glasgow City

1.	St. Andrew's (1816)	2500
2.	Calton, St. Mary's (1842)	1500
3.	St. Alphonsus (1846)	1000
4.	St. John's (1846)	1700
5.	St. Joseph's (1850)	850
6.	St. Mungo's (1850)	700
6a.	St. Mungo's (1869)	1500
7.	St. Patrick's (1850)	800
8.	St. Vincent's (1859)	1000
	St. Aloysius (1866)	-
	St. Francis' (1868)	-

Suburban

1.	Pollokshaws, (St. Mary's) (1849)	400
1a.	Pollokshaws, (St. Mary's) (1865)	800
2.	Maryhill (Immaculate Conception) (1851)	400
3.	Springburn (St. Aloysius') (1855)	400
4.	Partick (St. Peter's/St.Simons) (1858)	500
5.	Eastmuir/Shettleston (St. Paul's) (1857)	450
6.	Govan (1861)	-

### Lanarkshire

1.	Airdrie (St. Margaret's) (1839)	1010
2.	Hamilton (St. Mary's) (1846)	500
3.	Coatbridge (St. Patrick's) (1848)	-
4.	Rutherglen (St. Columbkille's) (1853)	600
5.	Carluke (St. Athanasius) (1857)	600
6.	Lanark (St. Mary's) (1859)	-
7.	Chapelhall (1859)	-
8.	Strathaven (1859)	-
9.	Wishaw (St. Aloysius') (1865)	700

Note: Also, Carstairs, and Rochsoles (Domestic Chapels)

### Renfrewshire

1.	Paisley (St. Mirin's) (1808)	1000
2.	Barrhead (St. John's) (1841)	830
3.	Houston (St. Fillan's) (1841)	280
4.	Johnstone (St. Margaret's) (1852)	550
5.	Port Glasgow (St. John's) (1854)	600
6.	Greenock (St. Lawrence) (1855)	800
7.	Eaglesham (St. Bridget's) (1858)	460
8.	Neilston (St. Thomas') (1861)	500
9.	Greenock (St. Mary's) (1862)	900

### Dunbartonshire

1.	Dumbarton (St. Patrick's) (1830)	450
2.	Alexandria (Our Lady and St. Mark's) (1859)	400
3.	Duntocher (St. Mary's) (1860)	500

### Ayrshire

1.	Ayr, (St. Margaret's) (1827)	684
2.	Kilmarnock (St. Joseph's) (1847)	750
3.	Old Cumnock (1850)	-
4.	Dalry (St. Palladius) (1851)	500
5.	Newton Stewart (St. Ninian's) (1851)	250
6.	Stranraer (St. Joseph's) (1853)	400
7.	Muirkirk (St. Thomas') (1856)	150
8.	Saltcoats (Our Lady, Star of the Sea) (1857)	450
9.	Irvine (St. Mary's) (1858)	200
10.	Kilwinning (1859)	250
11.	Girvan (1860)	-
12.	Kilbirnie (St. Bridget's) (1862)	400

Note: Condon seems here to be mainly concerned with the erection of permanent places of worship.

Source: GAA-WD5 Memoirs of Rev. Michael Condon, Book 3, pp.274-292 inclusive.



TABLE 10(a)

BISHOPS AND CLERGY IN SCOTLAND, 1831-67

	Scotch	Irish	Total
<u>Eastern District</u>			
1831	10	1	11
1832	11	1	12
1833	10	2	12
1834	-	-	16
1835	-	-	16
1836	11	3	14
1837	11	3	14
1838	11	3	14
1839-43	-	-	-
1844	14	5	19
1845	-	-	-
1846	15	6	21
1847	15	9	24
1848	18	9	27
1849	20	9	29
1850	18	10	28
1851	21	10	31
1852	23	13	36
1853	20	15	35
1854	21	20	41
1855	20	21	41
1856	18	22	40
1857	20	19	39
1858	21	18	39
1859	26	14	40
1860	29	16	45
1861	22	24	46
1862	28	23	51
1863	27	23	50
1864 <sup>1</sup>	30	23	53
1865 <sup>1</sup>	33	21	54
1866 <sup>1</sup>	28	29	57
1867 <sup>1</sup>	30	28	58

Table 10(a) continued

	Scotch	Irish	Total
<u>Western District</u>			
1831	23	2	25 <sup>2</sup>
1832	25	2	27
1833	24	2	26
1834	-	-	28
1835	-	-	28
1836	26	2	28
1837	29	2	31
1838	26	2	28
1839-43	-	-	-
1844	23	13	36
1845	-	-	-
1846	26	17	43
1847	30	18	48
1848	32	17	49
1849	30	19	49
1850	33	20	53
1851	37	22	59
1852	40	20	60
1853	42	22	64
1854	38	25	63
1855	38	25	63
1856	36	28	64
1857	37	25	62
1858	40	31	71
1859	36	35	71
1860	44	37	81
1861	49	36	85
1862	47	43	90
1863	49	46	95
1864 <sup>1</sup>	49	47	96
1865 <sup>1</sup>	57	45	102
1866 <sup>1</sup>	60	46	106
1867 <sup>1</sup>	54	52	106 <sup>2</sup>



Table 10(a) - continued

	Scotch	Irish	Total
<u>Northern District</u>			
1831	21	1	22
1832	21	1	22
1833	23	1	24
1834	-	-	28
1835	-	-	28
1836	21	2	23
1837	22	2	24
1838	22	3	25
1839-43	-	-	-
1844	24	3	27
1845	-	-	-
1846	24	4	28
1847	25	2	27
1848	25	2	27
1849	30	3	33
1850	28	3	31
1851	27	2	29
1852	27	2	29
1853	29	2	31
1854	29	2	31
1855	30	2	32
1856	29	2	31
1857	28	2	30
1858	29	2	31
1859	34	2	36
1860	30	1	31
1861	31	1	32
1862	29	2	31
1863	29	2	31
1864 <sup>1</sup>	31	2	33
1865 <sup>1</sup>	31	2	33
1866 <sup>1</sup>	33	2	35
1867 <sup>1</sup>	33	2	35

Table 10(a) - continued

	<u>Scotch</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Blairs and Foreign Colleges</u>			
1831	-	-	-
1832	4	0	4
1833	-	-	-
1834	-	-	-
1835	-	-	-
1836	3	1	4
1837	4	0	4
1838	4	0	4
1839-43	-	-	-
1844	3	1	4
1845	-	-	-
1846	3	2	5
1847	3	2	5
1848	10	1	11
1849	11	0	11
1850	11	1	12
1851	11	1	12
1852	9	1	10
1853	11	0	11
1854	10	0	10
1855	10	0	10
1856	10	0	10
1857	10	0	10
1858	10	0	10
1859	9	1	10
1860	9	1	10
1861	8	1	9
1862	8	1	9
1863	8	1	9
1864	-	-	-
1865	-	-	-
1866	-	-	-
1867	-	-	-



Table 10 (a) - continued

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	Scotch	Irish	Total
<u>Total - Districts and Colleges</u>			
1831	54	4	58
1832	61	4	65
1833	57	5	62
1834	-	-	72
1835	-	-	72
1836	61	8	69
1837	66	7	73
1838	63	8	71
1839-43	-	-	-
1844	64	22	86
1845	-	-	-
1846	68	29	97
1847	73	31	104
1848	85	29	114
1849	91	31	122
1850	90	34	124
1851	96	35	131
1852	99	36	135
1853	102	39	141
1854	99	46	145
1855	98	48	146
1856	93	52	145
1857	95	46	141
1858	100	51	151
1859	105	52	157
1860	112	55	167
1861	110	62	172
1862	112	69	181
1863	114	71	185
1864	110	72	182
1865	121	68	189
1866	121	77	198
1867	117	82	199

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Notes:

1. Colleges included

2. 16 of the 25 priests of 1831 were in the Highlands and Isles of the Western District; (*vid.* 1867).

Source: GAA-WD5 - statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon, pp.3-7. Also quoted in Book 3 of Condon's Memoirs, (GAA-WD5/3), pp.360-379 inclusive.

TABLE 10(b)  
DISTRICTS, 1831-67

	Schools	Chapels	Convents	Baptisms	Confirmations	Communions
<u>Eastern District</u>						
1831	2	8	-	-	-	-
1832-34	-	-	-	-	-	-
1835	-	11	1	-	270	-
1836-44	-	-	-	-	-	-
1845	-	13	-	-	-	-
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-	-
1851	-	23	-	2706	-	14479
1852	-	24	-	-	-	-
1853	-	27	-	-	-	-
1854	-	27	-	-	-	-
1855	-	28	-	-	-	-
1856	-	29	-	-	-	-
1857	-	29	-	-	-	-
1858	-	29	-	-	-	-
1859	-	29	-	-	-	-
1860	-	29	-	-	-	-
1861	-	30	-	-	-	-
1862	-	32	-	-	-	-
1863	-	33	-	-	-	-
1864 <sup>1</sup>	-	69	-	3808	-	-
1865	36	69	6	-	-	-
1866	43	69	7	3820	-	-
1867	44	75	7	-	-	-
<u>Western District</u>						
1831	10	10 <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	-
1832-3	-	-	-	-	-	-
1835	-	18	-	-	2564	-
1836-44	-	-	-	-	-	-
1845	-	21	-	-	-	-
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-	-
1851	-	42	-	7698	-	36,332
1852	-	44	-	7640	-	37,000
1853	-	48	-	7724	-	40,107
1854	-	49	-	7876	-	42,934
1855	-	50	-	8327	-	44,098
1856	-	51	-	8426	-	44,596
1857	-	54	-	8971	-	46,342
1858	-	55	-	-	-	-
1859	-	55	-	-	-	-
1860	-	56	-	-	-	-
1861	-	57	-	-	-	-
1862	-	60	-	-	-	-
				325		



Table 10(b) - continued

	Schools	Chapels	Convents	Baptisms	Confirmations	Communions
<u>Western District (continued)</u>						
1863	-	63	-	-	-	-
1864 <sup>1</sup>	-	82	-	9264	-	-
1865	50	82	5	-	-	-
1866	51	89	6	9423	-	-
1867	51	89	6	-	-	-
<u>Northern District</u>						
1831	-	15	-	-	-	-
1832-34	-	-	-	-	-	-
1835	-	23	-	-	82	-
1836-44	-	-	-	-	-	-
1845	-	19	-	-	-	-
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-	-
1851	-	31	-	-	-	-
1852	-	32	-	-	-	-
1853	-	-	-	-	-	-
1854	-	33 <sup>+3</sup>	-	-	-	-
1855	-	33 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1856	-	33 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1857	-	33 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1858	-	33 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1859	-	33 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1860	-	33 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1861	-	34 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1862	-	32 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1863	-	32 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1864 <sup>1</sup>	-	36 <sup>+</sup>	-	-	-	-
1865	13	36 <sup>4</sup>	3	-	-	-
1866	13	37	3	-	-	-
1867	13	37	4	-	-	-

Notes:

1. From 1864 onwards the chapel totals include stations as well.
2. 5 of the 10 chapels in 1831 were in the Lowlands of the Western District.
3. + Blairs.
4. Includes Blairs

Source:

GAA-WD5 statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon, pp.3-7. Also quoted in Book 3 (GAA-WD5/3) of Condon's Memoirs, pp.360-379 inclusive.

**TABLE 10(c)**  
**ESTIMATE OF CATHOLIC POPULATION**

	<u>Glasgow</u>	<u>Lowlands</u>	<u>Highlands</u>	<u>Total</u>
1819	12,567	-		
1831	28,000	12,000	8,000	48,000
1845	50,000	-	-	-
1850	50,000	-	-	100,000
1857	-	-	-	155,000-208,121 <sup>1</sup>
1859				160,000 <sup>2</sup>
1862	130,000 <sup>3</sup>			150,000 <sup>4</sup>
1867				192,000-210,000

**Notes:**

1. Bishop Smith's estimate - Dr. Strang's report.
2. 1859 - Bishop Murdoch's figure, in Pastoral Letter.
3. Father Parkinson, published lecture, 1862.
4. 1862 - Bishop Murdoch's figure, in Pastoral Letter.

**Source: GAA-WD5 Statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon, pp.9 and 10.**



**TABLE 10(d)**

**1831-1867 COMPARISON OF THE THREE ECCLESIASTICAL  
DISTRICTS OF SCOTLAND**

	Priests			Catholic Population			Average Population for Each Priest		
	E	W	N	E	W	N	E	W	N
1831	11	25	22	-	48,000	10,000	-	1,920	-
1867	58	106	35	85,250	210,000	12,000	-	1,981	-

**Source: GAA-WD5 Statistical compilation by Rev. Michael Condon, p.1**

**TABLE 11**

**CATHOLIC CHURCH ACCOMMODATION AND ATTENDANCE, 1851**

County	Places of Worship	No. of sittings provided				No. attending		
		a.m.	p.m.	evening	Total	a.m.	p.m.	evening
Dunbartonshire	2	670	670	670	-	386	536	617
Ayrshire	8	2310	860	650	-	1826	321	524
Renfrewshire	7	5368	3958	4258	-	2829	2182	1683
Lanarkshire	12	12,834	8724	3784	-	13,908	7950	6280
<b><u>Towns</u></b>								
Ayr	1	-	-	-	800	530	-	-
Airdrie	1	-	-	-	1000	940	800	-
Dumbarton	1	-	-	-	270	186	286	317
Glasgow	8	-	-	-	10,911	12,000	6000	5400
Port Glasgow	1	-	-	-	300	400	-	300
Greenock	1	-	-	-	1000	900	900	300
Paisley	3	-	-	-	2368	590	1072	1083
Lanark	1	-	-	-	120	218	-	130
Kilmarnock	1	-	-	-	630	250	600	500

**Source: Census of Religious Worship - voluntary section of the decennial census, 1851.**



TABLE 12(a)

ALL ACTIVE MISSIONARIES IN THE ARCHDIOCESE 1883-1897

Year of Ordination	1883	1884	1885	1888	1894	1896	1897
1845	3	3	3	2	1	1	1
1846	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
1847	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
1848	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
1849	2	1	2	1	-	-	-
1850	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
1851	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
1852	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
1853	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
1854	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1855	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
1856	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
1857	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
1858	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1859	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
1860	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
1861	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
1862	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
1863	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1864	0	0	-	-	-	-	-
1865	0	0	-	-	1	1	1
1866	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
1867	3	3	3	3	4	3	3
1868	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
1869	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
1870	5	5	5	5	4	4	4
1871	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
1872	1	0	1	-	-	1	1
1873	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
1874	6	4	5	4	3	2	3
1875	4	4	4	3	5	5	4
1876	6	5	5	4	4	5	5
1877	8	6	7	6	6	6	6
1878	3	3	3	3	2	1	1
1879	7	7	7	6	4	4	4
1880	6	4	4	3	5	5	5
1881	5	4	5	5	5	4	4
1882	12	10	13	7	7	7	9
1883	5	5	8	6	4	4	4
1884			5	4	3	3	2
1885				4	1	1	1
1886				9	4	4	5
1887				10	7	7	7
1888				5	3	3	3

Table 12(a) - continued

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Year of Ordination	1883	1884	1885	1888	1894	1896	1897
1889					9	9	9
1890					7	4	4
1891					6	6	6
1892					4	4	4
1893					6	7	6
1894					12	12	11
1895						11	11
1896						7	6
1897							14



Table 12(a) Continued

All Active Missionaries in the Archdiocese 1900-1926

Year of Ordination	1900	1904	1906	1909	1912	1915	1919	1926
1845	1	-	-					
1846	-	-	-					
1847	-	-	-					
1848	1	1	-					
1849	-	-	-					
1850	-	-	-					
1851	-	-	-					
1852	-	-	-					
1853	-	-	-					
1854	1	1	1					
1855	1	-	-					
1856	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
1857	-	-	-					
1858	1	-	-					
1859	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
1860	-	-	-					
1861	-	-	-					
1862	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0
1863	1	1	1					
1864	-	-	-					
1865	-	-	-					
1866	-	-	-					
1867	3	2	2	2	2	1	-	-
1868	1	-	-					
1869	-	-	-					
1870	4	4	2	2	1	1	-	-
1871	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
1872	1	1	-					
1873	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
1874	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	-
1875	3	-	-					
1876	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	-
1877	4	3	3	3	3	3	1	1
1878	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1879	4	4	3	2	2	1	1	1
1880	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
1881	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	-
1882	9	8	8	6	6	5	5	1
1883	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1884	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
1885	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
1886	5	3	3	3	4	3	3	3
1887	8	7	7	7	7	6	5	4
1888	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2

Table 12(a) Continued

Year of Ordination	1900	1904	1906	1909	1912	1915	1919	1926
1889	8	6	7	7	7	7	7	3
1890	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	2
1891	7	7	6	6	6	6	4	2
1892	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3
1893	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4
1894	11	9	8	8	8	8	6	6
1895	8	7	7	7	7	6	6	4
1896	6	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
1897	10	10	6	5	5	5	4	3
1898	12	8	7	5	5	5	5	4
1899	12	10	10	7	4	4	5	4
1900	16	15	14	11	7	4	3	3
1901		17	13	10	9	4	4	4
1902		17	16	14	11	11	10	9
1903		13	13	11	6	5	5	4
1904			17	17	12	11	9	7
1905			14	12	3	1	-	-
1906				22	19	15	13	12
1907				12	10	9	3	3
1908				7	9	8	7	6
1909					10	8	6	3
1910					9	8	3	1
1911					13	10	4	5
1912						10	6	1
1913						16	15	14
1914						16	15	13
1915							7	2
1916							10	6
1917							8	6
1918							20	4
1919							19	6
1920								4
1921								2
1922								5
1923								13
1924								24
1925								15
1926								24

Source: GAA-CL5 Lists of Missionaries in the Archdiocese (printed) 1880-1920s and Rev. Bernard Canning, *Irish Born Secular Priests in Scotland, 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979).



TABLE 12(b)

ACTIVE IRISH-BORN MISSIONARIES IN THE ARCHDIOCESE  
1883-1897

Year of Ordination	1883	1884	1885	1888	1894	1896	1897
1845	3	3	3	2	1	1	1
1846	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1847	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1848	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1849	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
1850	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1851	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1852	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
1853	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1854	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1855	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
1856	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
1857	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1858	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
1859	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
1860	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1861	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
1862	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1863	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
1864	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1865	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1866	1	0	0	-	-	-	-
1867	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1868	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1869	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1870	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
1871	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1872	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1873	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1874	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
1875	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1876	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
1877	2	1	1	7	1	1	1
1878	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
1879	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
1880	4	2	2	1	2	2	2
1881	2	2	2	3	1	1	1
1882	4	2	4	1	1	1	1
1883	2	2	4	3	2	1	1
1884			1	0	-	-	-
1885				3	-	-	-
1886				4	-	-	-
1887				4	1	1	1

Table 12(b) Continued

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Year of Ordination	1883	1884	1885	1888	1894	1896	1897
1888				1	-	-	-
1889					-	-	-
1890					5	2	2
1891					1	1	1
1892					3	3	3
1893					3	3	2
1894					5	4	4
1895						4	4
1896						2	1
1897							11

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Table 12(b) Continued

Active Irish-Born Missionaries in the Archdiocese 1900-1926

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Year of Ordination	1900	1904	1906	1909	1912	1915	1919	1926
1845	1	-	-					
1846	-	-	-					
1847	-	-	-					
1848	-	-	-					
1849	-	-	-					
1850	-	-	-					
1851	-	-	-					
1852	-	-	-					
1853	-	-	-					
1854	-	-	-					
1855	1	-	-					
1856	-	-	-					
1857	-	-	-					
1858	-	-	-					
1859	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
1860	-	-	-					
1861	-	-	-					
1862	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
1863	-	-	-					
1864	-	-	-					
1865	-	-	-					
1866	-	-	-					
1867	-	-	-					
1868	-	-	-					
1869	-	-	-					
1870	2	2	1	1	1	1	-	-
1871	-	-	-					
1872	-	-	-					
1873	-	-	-					
1874	-	-	-					
1875	1	-	-					
1876	-	-	-					
1877	-	-	-					
1878	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1879	-	-	-					
1880	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
1881	1	1	1					
1882	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
1883	-	-	-					
1884	-	-	-					
1885	-	-	-					

**Table 12(b) Continued**

Year of Ordination	1900	1904	1906	1909	1912	1915	1919	1926
1886	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1887	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1
1888	-	-	-					
1889	-	-	-					
1890	2	2	2	1	1	1	-	-
1891	2	2	-					
1892	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
1893	1	1	1					
1894	3	2	1					
1895	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1896	2	-	-					
1897	6	6	3	2	2	2	1	1
1898	9	4	2	1	1	1	1	1
1899	7	5	5	1	-	-	-	-
1900	13	12	11	7	3	-	-	-
1901		16	11	10	9	4	4	4
1902		11	11	11	6	6	5	5
1903		12	10	7	2	2	2	1
1904			7	7	2	1	-	-
1905			14	12	3	1	-	-
1906				9	7	3	2	2
1907				8	6	5	1	-
1908				3	3	1	1	1
1909					6	3	1	-
1910					6	5	2	-
1911					8	5	-	-
1912						10	6	1
1913						7	7	6
1914						10	7	5
1915							5	1
1916							7	3
1917							6	4
1918							12	-
1919							13	1
1920								2
1921								2
1922								-
1923								6
1924								15
1925								14
1926								15

Source: GAA-CL5 Lists of Missionaries in the Archdiocese, 1880-1920s, (printed) and, Rev. Bernard Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland, 1829-1979* (Inverness 1979).



Table 13

League of the Cross - Effectiveness - 1901

	Glasgow District	Lanarkshire	Renfrewshire & Ayrshire	Dumbarton-Shire	Totals <sup>1</sup>	For 10 Months of 1900 Whole Diocese
No. of Branches	22	22	15*	6	-	-
Number admitted to Men's Branch %	15,429 64.44	3,736 15.6	3,578 14.94	1,200 5.01	23,943	21,264
Number admitted to Women's Branch %	6,571 87.6	379 5.05	530 7.07	20 0.27	7,500	5,167
Number admitted to Children's Branch %	688 36.54	497 26.39	699 37.12	-	1,883	1,718
Number of good members in Men's % Branch	6,491 48.6	2,963 22.2	3,201 23.96	700 5.24	13,355	10,708
Number of good members in Women's % Branch	2,571 61.04	608 14.43	950 22.55	83 1.97	4,212	1,740 <sup>2</sup>
Number who received Certificates %	858 62.86	258 18.9	170 12.45	79 5.79	1,365	1,107
Number who received Silver Medals %	555 58.73	188 19.89	177 18.73	25 2.65	945	810

\* Renfrewshire 12 Ayrshire 3

Table 13 Continued

	Glasgow District	Lanarkshire	Renfrewshire & Ayrshire	Dumbarton-shire	Totals <sup>1</sup>	For 10 Months of 1900 Whole Diocese
Number who received Gold Medals	71 70.3	30 29.7			101	151
Number who received Holy Communion Monthly	2,690 50.93	1,302 24.65	1,130 21.39	160 3.03	5,282	3,436
Number who received Holy Communion Quarterly	2,993 51.29	1,110 19.02	1,453 24.9	280 4.8	5,836	5,573

1. % relate to each horizontal line, and are calculated on the basis of the Totals<sup>1</sup> quoted.

2. Glasgow District only

Source: GAA-RI15 Annual Returns of the League of the Cross of the Archdiocese for 1901 (printed), p.4.



TABLE 14

THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF SCOTLAND IN 1877

Mission	Priests	Baptisms in 1875	Population	
			Estimated	Returned
<b>LANARKSHIRE</b>				
1. St. Andrew's, Glasgow	4	485	8730	9700
2. St. Alphonsus', Glasgow	2	334	6012	4800
3. St. John's, Glasgow	3	484	8712	4000
4. St. Joseph's, Glasgow	4	449	8082	7000
5. St. Aloysius', Glasgow	4	187	3366	3000
6. St. Mary's, Glasgow	3	764	13,752	11,000
7. St. Mungo's, Glasgow	5	497	8946	8000
8. St. Patrick's, Glasgow	4	547	9846	6000
9. St. Vincent's, Glasgow	2	261	4698	2968
10. St. Francis', Glasgow	5	419	7542	7000
11. Sacred Heart, Glasgow	2	313	5634	4300
12. Our Lady and St. Margaret's, Glasgow	2	110	1980	3000
13. St. Michael's, Glasgow	2	-	-	-
14. Partick	2	192	3456	3000
15. Springburn	1	81	1458	1600
16. Airdrie	2	253	4554	3000
17. Baillieston	1	-	-	-
18. Blantyre	1	-	-	-
19. Cardowan	1	-	-	-
20. Carluke	1	39	702	550
21. Chapelhall	1	55	990	-
22. Cleland	1	77	1386	-
23. Coatbridge	2	252	4536	-
24. Govan	2	249	4482	3000
25. Hamilton	1	125	2250	2000
26. Lanark	3	65	1170	1000
27. Larkhall	1	60	1080	-
28. Maryhill	2	143	2574	-
29. Mossend	1	93	1674	2000
30. Motherwell	1	-	-	-
31. Rutherglen	1	114	2052	2400
32. Shettleston	1	188	3384	2900
33. Shotts	1	-	-	-
34. Whifflet	1	110	1980	1980
35. Wishaw	2	244	4392	2600
<b>AYRSHIRE</b>				
43. Dalry	1	40	720	1000
46. Kilbirnie	1	79	1422	1300
48. Largs	1	16	288	360
50. Saltcoats	1	75	1350	1400

Table 14 (continued)

Mission	Priests	Baptisms in 1875	Population	
			Estimated	Returned
<b>DUNBARTONSHIRE</b>				
52. Alexandria	1	89	1602	-
53. Dumbarton	2	120	2160	2000
54. Duntocher	1	74	1332	-
55. Helensburgh	1	28	504	550
56. Kirkintilloch	1	40	720	-
<b>RENFREWSHIRE</b>				
71. Barrhead	1	70	1260	-
72. Eaglesham	1	40	720	900
73. St. Mary's, Greenock	3	440	7920	-
74. St. Laurence's, Greenock	2	228	4104	3218
75. Houston	1	27	486	700
76. Johnstone	2	131	2358	-
77. Neilston	1	47	846	1100
78. St. Mirin's, Paisley	2}	299	5382	7300
79. St. Mary's, Paisley	1}			
80. Pollokshaws	2	106	1908	2500
81. Port-Glasgow	1	148	2664	3000
82. Renfrew	1	-	-	-
Totals Recorded	100	9287	167,166	122,126

Note: The Missions included in this table remained within the Archdiocese subsequent to 1878.

Source: GAA-BY9 "The Catholic Church in Scotland - The Church in 1877, The Church in 1878" Archbishop Eyre printed pamphlet (Glasgow, May 1878).



**TABLE 15**  
**PAROCHIAL AND EQUATION ESTIMATES**

Diocese	Official Figures	Equation Estimate
Glasgow	301,447	296,100
Motherwell	121,715	113,200
Paisley	68,874	66,300

Source: James Darragh, "The Catholic Population of Scotland",  
St. Peter's College Magazine, *Claves Regni*, Vol.18,  
No.70, June, 1948.

TABLE 16  
ROMAN CATHOLIC MARRIAGES

1858	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941 <sup>1</sup>	1951	1962	1971
<b>Dunbartonshire</b>										
54	57	101	148	159	195	178	144	142	168	220
<b>Lanarkshire</b>										
713	1069	1294	1832	1865	2338	2288	537	542	581	616
<b>Renfrewshire</b>										
178	252	335	313	369	428	393	167	163	210	219
<b>Ayrshire</b>										
95	94	113	113	101	143	134	173	168	189	226
<b>Paisley</b>										
-	-	-	98	120	147	118	165	159	199	164
<b>Greenock</b>										
-	-	-	87	106	123	127	208	229	220	203
<b>Kilmarnock</b>										
-	-	-	20	22	26	23	38	41	59	70
<b>Dumbarton</b>										
						34	60	64	89	85
<b>Govan</b>										
-	-	-	78	101	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Partick</b>										
-	-	-	71	83	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Port Glasgow</b>										
-	-	-	-	-	-	66	76	59	80	100



**Table 16 - continued**

1858	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941 <sup>1</sup>	1951	1962	1971		
<b>Coatbridge</b>												
-			98	91	111	93	140	122	185	210		
<b>Hamilton</b>												
-			44	55	56	45	89	103	120	118		
<b>Motherwell</b>												
-			35	33	90 <sup>2</sup>	91	130	123	160	164		
<b>Glasgow</b>												
-			975	1014	1637	1638	2372	2313	2408	2141		
<b>Rutherglen</b>												
			-	-	-	38	57	62	49	46		
<b>Clydebank</b>												
				58	59	70	78	98	101	139		
<b>Airdrie</b>												
					-	27	96	70	83	108		
<b>Ayr</b>												
				11	15	25	42	37	47	49		
<b>Total</b>												
1040	1472	1843	2406	2494	3104	2993	4572	4495	4948	4938		
<b>Percentage Change</b>												
			+41.54	+25.2	+30.55	+3.66	+24.46	-3.58	+52.76	-1.68	+10.08	-0.20

**Source:** Registrar-General's figures - James Darragh's files in SCA.

**Notes:** 1. Excluding large burghs.  
2. Motherwell and Wishaw.

**TABLE 17**  
**PARISH REGISTER STATISTICS, 1967**

	Mass Attendance	Communions	Confessions
<b>DUNBARTON</b>			
Clydebank - large burgh	9050	2814	1122
Dumbarton - large burgh	5568	1979	726
Remainder of county	15084	5221	1823
<b>RENFREW</b>			
Greenock - large burgh	12422	3371	1686
Paisley - large burgh	11880	3472	1257
Port Glasgow - large burgh	4678	1145	642
Remainder of county	14077	4688	2045
<b>LANARK</b>			
Glasgow - County of City	135,006	42,705	18,590
Airdrie - large burgh	5198	2238	529
Coatbridge - large burgh	15209	5435	1825
Hamilton - large burgh	6541	2599	846
Motherwell - large burgh	12128	5143	1603
Wishaw - large burgh	-	-	-
Rutherglen - large burgh	4174	1727	538
Remainder of county	49,165	17,750	5521
<b>Total</b>	<b>300,180</b>	<b>100,287</b>	<b>38,753</b>

Source: GAA-AD1 Pastoral Research Centre, Middlesex.



TABLE 18

SCHOOL ROLLS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCE

A. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

PERCENTAGES

<u>Based on</u> <u>Darragh's figures</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Based on</u> <u>GAA-ED7 and 8, and SCD 1941 onwards</u>
+49.4	1891-1901	+42.5
+46.85	1901-11	+34.55
+26.42	1911-21	+19.83
+24.32	1921-1933-34	+15.09
-	1933-34-1941	-15.02
+ 7.75	1941-51	+22.50
+44.48	1951-71	+44.68
+ 0.02	1971-77	+ 0.02

NUMERICAL TOTALS

	1891	1901	No. on Rolls			
			1911	1921	1933-34	
GAA-ED7 and 8,	36,750	52,368	70,460	84,431	97,175 <sup>1</sup>	
Darragh (figures from Tables, 6, 7 and 8)	22,280	40,755	59,848	75,658	94,060	
			No. Presented at Religious Examination			
			1941	1951	1971	1977
GAA-ED7 and 8, SCD 1951			82,584	101,207	Uses Darragh's figures	
Darragh (figures from Tables 6, 7 and 8)			1941	1951	1971	1977
			-	101,349	146,429	146,464

## B. NON-CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

	1936-37	1971	1977
Education (Scotland Statistics, 1936-37)	237,001 <sup>1</sup>	uses Darragh's figures	
Darragh (Tables 7 and 8 - subtracting pupils in RC schools)		259,070	261,709
Percentage changes: 1936-37-1971	-9.31		
1971-77	+1.02		

<sup>1</sup>Subtracts 97,175 from total of 334,176.

Sources: GAA-ED7 and 8 Religious Inspection of Schools, 1878-1944.

James Darragh, "The Catholic Population of Scotland, 1878-1977", in *Modern Scottish Catholicism* (Glasgow, 1979), pp.211-47.

*Scottish Catholic Directories* 1941 onwards.



TABLE 19

ST. MARY'S BOYS' HOUSE - OCCUPATIONS

	In Tailor's Shop		Slipper Maker's Shop		Paperbag Makers		Shoemakers*		Joiners Wood Shop	
	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.
1869	16	11	12	12	25	25	5	5	25	25
1870										
1871										
1872	8	8	4	6	16	14	12	13	30	30
1873	8	11	14	15	20	19			38	42
1874	11	11	20	20	15	12			36	36
1875	11	11	20	20	14	14			38	38
1876	11	10	20	20	15	15			54	54
1877	13	10	14	15	18	18			50	53
1878	11	9	13	12	18	22			40	43
1879	10	10	13	12	19	15			42	40
1880	13	15	10	10	15	13			46	45
1881	12	12	12	12	13	14			39	43
1882	15	14	11	11	17	16			43	43
1883	12	14	14	15	15	16			42	44
1884	11	10	12	11	10	18			48	49
1885	12	12	-	-	9	12	16	11	40	46
1886	13	14	-	-	16	16	9	9	39	40
1887	14	15	-	-	14	15	9	10	40	40
1888										
1889	10	10	-	-	12	11	9	10	40	40

Table 19 Continued

	Weavers		Charge of Engine		Horse and Cart		Charge of Housework		Total at Work		At School	
	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.
1869	2	2	1	1	2	2	4	4	92	90	90	92
1870												
1871												
1872	-	-	1	1	2	2	4	4	77	78	129	128
1873	-	-	1	1	1	1	4	0	86	89	125	122
1874	-	-	1	1	3	3	-	-	86	83	122	131
1875	-	-	1	1	3	3	-	-	87	87	133	133
1876	-	-	1	1	2	2	-	-	103	102	141	134
1877	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	97	97	140	146
1878	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	84	87	160	157
1879	-	-	1	1	**1	1	-	-	86	79	160	160
1880	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	86	85	155	156
1881	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	78	83	161	156
1882	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	88	86	146	148
1883	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	85	91	153	147
1884	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	83	90	119	112
1885	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	79	83	121	117
1886	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	79	81	123	121
1887	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	65	65	124	121
1888												
1889	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	73	73	121	121

\* From 1873 to 1884 see slippermakers.

\*\* Van from 1879

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools and Orphanage, printed reports, 1869-1889.



TABLE 20

ST. MARY'S GIRLS HOUSE - OCCUPATIONS

	Housework		Washing/ Scullery etc.		Slipper- Binding		Shirt- Making		Total at Work		Total at School	
	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.
1869	15	15	15	15	6	6	30	30	66	66	66	83
1870												
1871												
1872			15	15	6	8	15	13	69	97	97	69
1873			6*	6	6	6	18	18	78	92	92	78
1874			7*	7	6	6	20	20	82	98	98	82
1875			7*	7	6	6	20	20	79	93	93	79
1876			7*	7	8	8	25	25	84	94	110	86
1877			8*	8	8	8	25	25	77	92	120	105
1878			8*	8	10	10	23	23	95	99	113	109
1879			8	8	10	10	20	21	95	98	118	111
1880			8	8	9	9	22	20	87	94	121	109
1881			8	8	8	7	20	20	82	87	-	-
1882			8	8	8	7	20	19	83	84	68	67
1883			8	8	8	7	16	15	71	70	98	99
1884			8	8	14	14	13	12	72	74	92	91
1885			8	8	8	7	16	15	71	70	92	91
1886			10	10	4	4	12	12	67	66	102	103
1887			12	12	-	-	14	14	65	65	102	102
1888												
1889			12	12	-	-	10	10	70	70	117	117

**Table 20 - Continued**

	Scullery & Kitchen		Dressmaking & Plain Sewing		Knitting		Machine Sewing	
	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.
1872	15	15	18	15	9	40	-	-
1873	15	15*	18	18	30	44	6	6
1874	15	15*	20	20	30	46	6	6
1875	15	15*	20	20	27	41	6	6
1876	16	16	25	20	20	35	6	6
1877	17	17*	20	20	20	35	4	4
1878	17	17*	20	20	36	40	6	6
1879	17	17	20	19	39	42	6	6
1880	24	24	22	21	29	39	5	5
1881	29	29	20	21	29	34	5	5
1882	29	29	20	21	30	32	5	5
1883	29	29	15	15	28	29	4	4
1884	29	29	13	15	28	29	4	4
1885	29	29	15	15	28	29	4	4
1886	29	29	18	18	29	28	4	4
1887	10	10	30	30	15	15	6	6
1888	+ Housework							
1889	8	8	25	25	10	10	5	5

\*After their washing, scullery and kitchen work, these girls are again included in the totals for shirtmaking, knitting, etc.

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools, printed reports 1869-1889.



TABLE 21(a)

CONDITION AT ADMISSION - ST. MARY'S BOYS

	Parentage			Parental Control			Total
	Both Living	One Living	None Living	Living with Both	With One	No Parental Control	
1869							
1870							
1871							
1872	11	32	8	11	32	8	51
1873	11	26	11	11	26	11	48
1874	13	25	7	13	25	7	45
1875	17	19	9	17	19	9	45
1876	16	42	16	16	42	16	74
1877	14	35	18	14	35	18	67
1878	25	22	10	25	22	10	57
1879	14	26	10	14	26	10	50
1880	17	33	9	17	33	9	59
1881	28	33	6	28	39	0	67
1882	26	19	3	26	19	3	48
1883	30	25	4	30	25	4	59
1884	8	15	1	8	15	1	24
1885	18	33	4	18	33	4	55
1886	33	25	4	25	27	10	62
1887	25	23	5	18	23	12	53
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	26	18	1	13	22	10	45

Table 21(a) continued

	Age					Reading			Writing			
	Under 8	8-9	9-10	10-11	11 & Over	Could not Read	A Little	Fairly	Could not Write	A Little	Fairly	Total
1869												
1870												
1871												
1872	5	12	10	5	19	38	11	2	38	13	-	51
1873	4	2	7	12	23	23	13	12	28	12	8	48
1874	8	2	5	8	22	30	13	2	32	10	3	45
1875	4	8	3	10	20	28	12	5	34	6	5	45
1876	10	8	12	9	35	55	10	9	66	6	2	74
1877	11	5	7	9	35	39	16	12	48	12	7	67
1878	4	4	4	8	37	25	12	20	31	16	10	57
1879	4	5	5	12	24	20	12	18	25	10	15	50
1880	5	6	11	14	23	34	17	8	26	21	12	59
1881	7	6	8	11	35	31	14	22	27	11	29	67
1882	6	5	6	10	21	19	17	12	16	19	13	48
1883	3	9	20	15	12	29	15	15	23	22	14	59
1884	1	5	5	6	7	12	4	8	12	4	8	24
1885	3	4	10	12	26	13	24	18	13	24	18	55
1886	5	2	10	12	33	24	30	8	24	30	8	62
1887	2	5	7	18	21	17	24	12	17	24	12	53
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	5	4	4	11	21	18	22	5	18	22	5	45

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools, printed reports, 1869-1889.



TABLE 21(b)

CONDITION AT ADMISSION - ST. MARY'S GIRLS

	Parentage			Parental Control			Total
	Both Living	One Living	None Living	Living with Both	With One	No Parental Control	
1869							
1870							
1871							
1872	9	23	7	2	22	15	39
1873	6	29	4	6	29	4	39
1874	7	22	9	3	18	17	38
1875	5	4	13	1	3	18	22
1876	7	30	23	5	30	25	60
1877	17	24	2	17	24	2	43
1878	12	27	9	12	27	9	48
1879	23	16	7	15	21	10	46
1880	9	14	0	4	14	5	23
1881	10	25	7	6	25	11	42
1882	12	28	6	7	24	15	46
1883	11	12	3	3	13	10	26
1884	8	17	1	3	16	7	26
1885	19	19	2	9	25	6	40
1886	23	26	12	17	24	20	61
1887	15	27	7	7	24	18	49
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	15	20	9	7	25	12	44

Table 21(b) - continued

	Age					Reading			Writing		Total	
	Under 8	8-9	9-10	10-11	11 & Over	Could not Read	A Little	Fairly	Could not Write	A Little		
1869												
1870												
1871												
1872	16	23*				35	1	3	36	2	1	39
1873	7	6	9	7	10	28	4	7	35	2	2	39
1874	5	7	4	7	15	29	4	5	32	3	3	38
1875	5	6	2	5	4	14	5	3	17	2	3	22
1876	15	8	7	18	12	41	12	7	47	10	3	60
1877	5	7	7	6	18	23	10	10	30	4	9	43
1878	5	6	5	12	20	25	13	10	28	12	8	48
1879	9	5	6	11	15	26	11	9	28	12	6	46
1880	5	2	1	7	8	16	4	3	18	2	3	23
1881	7	3	7	4	21	25	12	5	27	10	5	42
1882	10	5	9	8	14	26	14	6	29	12	5	46
1883	1	2	4	7	12	16	6	4	19	4	3	26
1884	3	3	3	6	11	14	8	4	18	6	2	26
1885	3	4	7	13	13	19	13	8	23	11	6	40
1886	7	9	6	10	29	34	20	7	34	20	7	61
1887	6	7	3	13	20	31	10	8	31	10	8	49
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	3	3	3	10	25	16	21	7	19	18	7	44

\*ages 8-11 and over

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools, printed reports, 1869-1889.



TABLE 21(c)

CONDITION AT ADMISSION - SLATEFIELD

	Parentage			Parental Control			Total
	Both Living	One Living	None Living	Living with Both	With One	No Parental Control	
1869							
1870							
1871							
1872							
1873							
1874							
1875							
1876							
1877	13	24	10	-	-	-	47
1878	6	19	6	-	-	-	31
1879	10	33	3	13	30	3	46
1880	11	20	2	10	20	3	33
1881	14	16	1	12	18	1	31
1882	17	19	2	17	19	2	38
1883	11	18	4	11	18	4	33
1884	21	20	8	21	20	8	49
1885	17	21	1	17	21	1	39
1886	21	18	2	21	18	2	41
1887	11	13	1	9	13	3	25
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	29	23	1	24	23	6	53

**Table 21(c) - (continued)**

	Age					Reading			Writing			Total
	Under 8	8-9	9-10	10-11	11 & Over	Could not Read	A Little	Fairly	Could not Write	A Little	Fairly	
1869												
1870												
1871												
1872												
1873												
1874												
1875												
1876												
1877	5	5	4	9	24	41	4	2	43	4	0	47
1878	1	4	3	5	18	25	4	2	27	4	0	31
1879	2	4	8	14	18	25	15	6	25	15	6	46
1880	3	2	7	8	13	26	7	0	28	5	0	33
1881	0	5	2	7	17	14	10	7	24	4	3	31
1882	0	0	6	7	25	18	11	9	23	9	6	38
1883	0	3	3	14	13	21	8	4	33	0	0	33
1884	2	3	3	11	30	39	2	8	44	3	2	49
1885	2	3	6	10	18	21	5	13	25	4	10	39
1886	2	2	4	5	28	30	5	6	33	6	2	41
1887	1	1	6	8	9	16	4	5	17	5	3	25
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	1	8	19	9	16	24	10	19	28	10	15	53

**Source:** GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools, printed reports, 1869-1889.



TABLE 22

SUBSEQUENT CHARACTER OF BOYS AND GIRLS  
DISCHARGED FROM CATHOLIC INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, 1869-88

Discharged	1869-71	1871-73	1874-76	1877-79	Total 1869-79	% <sup>1</sup> 1869-79
<u>Abercromby Street Boys' Industrial School</u>						
Since dead	-	3	1	5	9	-
Doing well	64	98	94	120	376	81.9
Doubtful	12	2	5	15	34	7.4
Convicted	8	5	3	2	18	3.9
Unknown	7	5	11	8	31	6.75
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>-</b>
<u>Abercromby Street Girls' Industrial School</u>						
Since dead	4	3	3	0	10	-
Doing well	61	88	66	84	299	92.56
Doubtful	1	3	8	4	16	4.95
Convicted	1	1	1	1	4	1.24
Unknown	1	1	1	1	4	1.24
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>-</b>
Note: In 1869-71a further six girls were "specially discharged".						
<u>Boys' Industrial School, Slatefield Street (Slatefield Boys')</u>						
Since dead	-	-	-	4	4	-
Doing well	-	-	-	29	29	76.3
Doubtful	-	-	-	6	6	15.8
Convicted	-	-	-	1	1	2.63
Unknown	-	-	-	2	2	5.26
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>-</b>
<u>All Three Schools</u>						
Since dead					23	-
Doing well					704	85.9
Doubtful					56	6.83
Convicted					23	2.8
Unknown					37	4.5
<b>TOTAL</b>					<b>843</b>	<b>-</b>

**Table 22 (continued)**

Discharged	1880	1881-82	1883	1884	1885	Total 1880-85	% 1880-85
<b><u>Abercromby Street Boys' Industrial School</u></b>							
Since dead	2	3	2	4	0	11	-
Doing well	31	92	41	44	49	257	84.0
Doubtful	6	10	2	1	2	21	6.9
Convicted	2	2	3	4	1	12	3.9
Unknown	2	4	5	3	2	16	5.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>-</b>
<b><u>Abercromby Street Girls' Industrial School</u></b>							
Since dead	1	3	1	0	2	7	-
Doing well	18	82	38	37	31	206	89.9
Doubtful	2	2	2	1	1	8	3.5
Convicted	6	1	1	0	0	8	3.5
Unknown	0	4	1	2	0	7	3.05
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>-</b>
<b><u>Boys' Industrial School, Slatefield Street</u></b>							
Since dead	1	3	1	3	4	12	-
Doing well	15	38	25	39	24	141	82.5
Doubtful	3	7	0	2	2	14	8.2
Convicted	0	4	2	1	1	8	4.7
Unknown	0	5	1	2	0	8	4.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>-</b>
<b><u>All Three Schools</u></b>							
Since dead						30	-
Doing well						604	85.5
Doubtful						43	6.09
Convicted						28	3.4
Unknown						31	4.4
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>736</b>	<b>-</b>



**Table 22 (continued)**

Discharged	1886	1887	1888	Total 1886-88	% 1886-88
<b><u>Abercromby Street Boys' Industrial School</u></b>					
Since dead	2	0	0	2	-
Doing well	48	42	46	136	93.15
Doubtful	0	3	0	3	2.05
Convicted	5	2	0	7	4.8
Unknown	0	0	0	0	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>-</b>
<b><u>Abercromby Street Girls' Industrial School</u></b>					
Since dead	1	1	0	2	-
Doing well	33	27	42	102	95.32
Doubtful	1	1	0	2	1.87
Convicted	0	2	1	3	2.8
Unknown	0	0	0	0	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>-</b>
<b><u>Boys' Industrial School, Slatefield Street</u></b>					
Since dead	3	0	1	4	-
Doing well	29	25	29	83	91.2
Doubtful	0	1	0	1	1.09
Convicted	4	2	0	6	6.59
Unknown	0	1	0	1	1.09
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>-</b>
<b><u>All three Schools</u></b>					
Since dead				8	-
Doing well				321	93.3
Doubtful				6	1.74
Convicted				16	4.65
Unknown				1	0.3
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>352</b>	<b>-</b>

1. Percentages are calculated on the figure for surviving pupils.

**Source:** GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools and Orphanage, printed reports, 1869-1889.

TABLE 23(a)

RELIGIOUS CONDITION ON ADMISSION TO  
CATHOLIC INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

	Confession		Communion		Confirmation	
	Been	Not Been	Been	Not Been	Been	Not Been
<u>St. Mary's Boys</u>						
1869						
1870						
1871						
1872						
1873	17	31	10	38	5	43
1874	12	33	6	39	4	41
1875	4	41	2	43	2	43
1876	5	69	4	70	5	69
1877	15	52	12	55	-	-
1878	19	38	11	46	10	47
1879	11	39	10	40	5	45
1880	11	48	8	51	7	52
1881	13	54	4	63	4	63
1882	14	34	6	42	2	46
1883	13	46	5	54	4	55
1884	7	17	4	20	2	22
1885	15	40	10	45	4	51
1886	15	47	8	54	6	56
1887	13	40	7	46	6	47
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	7	38	4	41	5	40
<u>St. Mary's Girls</u>						
1869						
1870						
1871						
1872						
1873	6	33	6	33	6	33
1874	10	28	7	31	3	35
1875	6	16	4	18	3	19
1876	5	55	2	58	1	59
1877	6	37	6	37	-	-
1878	9	39	8	40	3	45
1879	13	33	12	34	5	41
1880	5	18	5	18	5	18
1881	10	32	10	32	6	36
1882	7	39	3	43	2	44
1883	2	24	1	25	2	24
1884	5	21	5	21	4	22
1885	9	31	2	38	0	40
1886	8	53	8	53	5	56
1887	9	40	6	43	4	45
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	9	35	9	35	7	37



Table 23(a) - continued

	Confession		Communion		Confirmation	
	Been	Not Been	Been	Not Been	Been	Not Been
<u>Slatefield Boys</u>						
1869						
1870						
1871						
1872						
1873						
1874						
1875						
1876						
1877	3	44	3	44	1	46
1878	9	22	5	26	3	28
1879	15	31	5	41	0	46
1880	5	28	2	31	2	31
1881	9	22	5	26	1	30
1882	13	25	7	31	2	36
1883	9	24	3	30	2	31
1884	18	31	11	38	5	44
1885	9	30	2	37	0	39
1886	15	26	9	32	8	33
1887	7	18	3	22	3	22
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	18	35	9	44	9	44

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools and Orphanage, printed reports, 1869-1889.

TABLE 23(b)

RELIGIOUS CONDITION - CHILDREN IN CATHOLIC  
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

Confession			Communion			Confirmation			
1st Time This Year	Been Previously	Not Yet Been	1st Time This Year	Been Previously	Not Yet Been	1st Time This Year	Been Previously	Not Yet Been	
<u>St. Mary's Boys</u>									
1869									
1870									
1871									
1872									
1873	119	66	26	119	66	26	149	30	32
1874	33	128	50	23	130	58	0	128	83
1875	32	114	74	43	103	74	53	93	74
1876	79	129	33	83	125	33	87	120	34
1877	48	152	42	45	152	45	-	-	-
1878	75	142	28	75	142	28	0	151	94
1879	39	187	15	39	187	15	0	162	79
1880	40	175	26	17	180	44	165	15	61
1881	87	151	2	35	160	45	-	121	119
1882	55	173	6	49	130	55	0	71	163
1883	60	178	0	39	117	82	102	44	92
1884	8	176	18	28	103	71	0	90	112
1885	39	128	33	21	86	93	0	49	151
1886	48	55	99	48	55	99	136	10	56
1887	60	125	18	50	70	83	0	100	103
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	91	94	9	27	94	73	108	27	59
<u>St. Mary's Girls</u>									
1869									
1870									
1871									
1872									
1873	38	102	30	63	70	37	90	24	56
1874	40	103	37	23	90	67	0	88	92
1875	25	125	22	39	84	49	60	63	49
1876	27	133	36	51	107	38	51	107	38
1877	19	142	36	27	94	76	-	-	-
1878	15	115	78	0	92	116	0	69	139
1879	101	109	5	97	84	34	0	44	171
1880	52	142	11	32	128	45	136	27	42
1881	38	153	10	25	117	59	-	128	73
1882	33	159	6	18	115	65	0	83	115
1883	32	141	4	33	85	59	61	57	59
1884	25	131	4	37	82	41	0	63	97

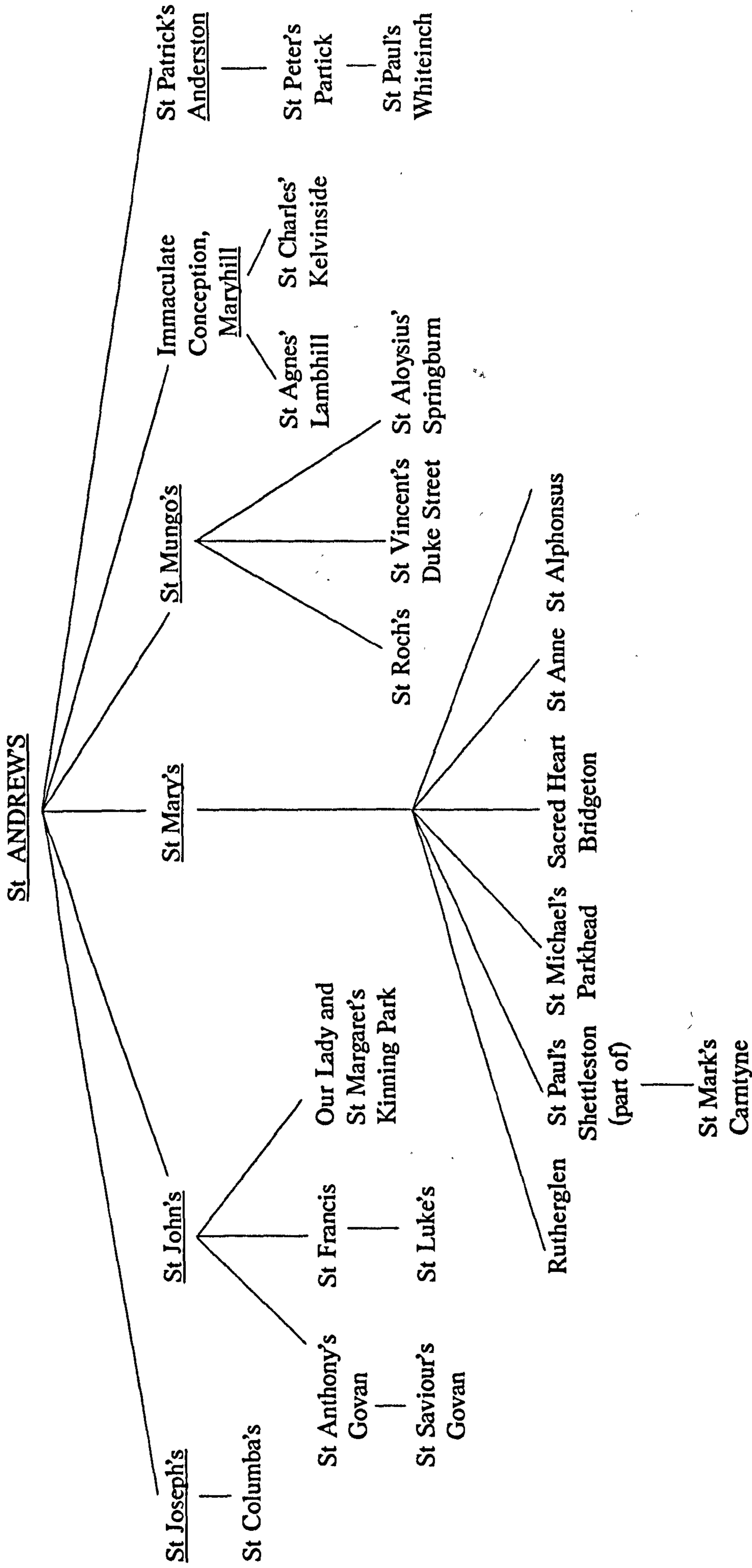


Table 23(b) - Continued

	Confession			Communion			Confirmation		
	1st Time This Year	Been Previously	Not Yet Been	1st Time This Year	Been Previously	Not Yet Been	1st Time This Year	Been Previously	Not Yet Been
1885	29	129	2	0	85	75	0	36	124
1886	50	111	18	53	59	67	111	8	60
1887	52	104	33	69	74	46	0	77	112
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	46	80	60	29	80	77	100	26	60
<u>Slatefield Boys</u>									
1869									
1870									
1871									
1872									
1873									
1874									
1875									
1876									
1877	58	5	15	58	5	15	59	4	15
1878	45	53	3	28	59	14	0	59	42
1879	41	75	16	28	75	29	0	45	87
1880	37	98	11	24	111	11	89	32	25
1881	26	106	20	21	106	25	-	99	53
1882	23	128	2	19	110	24	0	68	85
1883	32	90	23	23	78	44	52	45	48
1884	53	80	17	0	78	72	0	78	72
1885	25	98	29	43	53	56	0	36	116
1886	31	121	5	26	67	64	107	23	27
1887	22	126	4	39	78	35	0	106	46
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	49	94	7	26	68	56	61	42	47

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Catholic Industrial Schools and Orphanage, printed reports, 1869-1889.

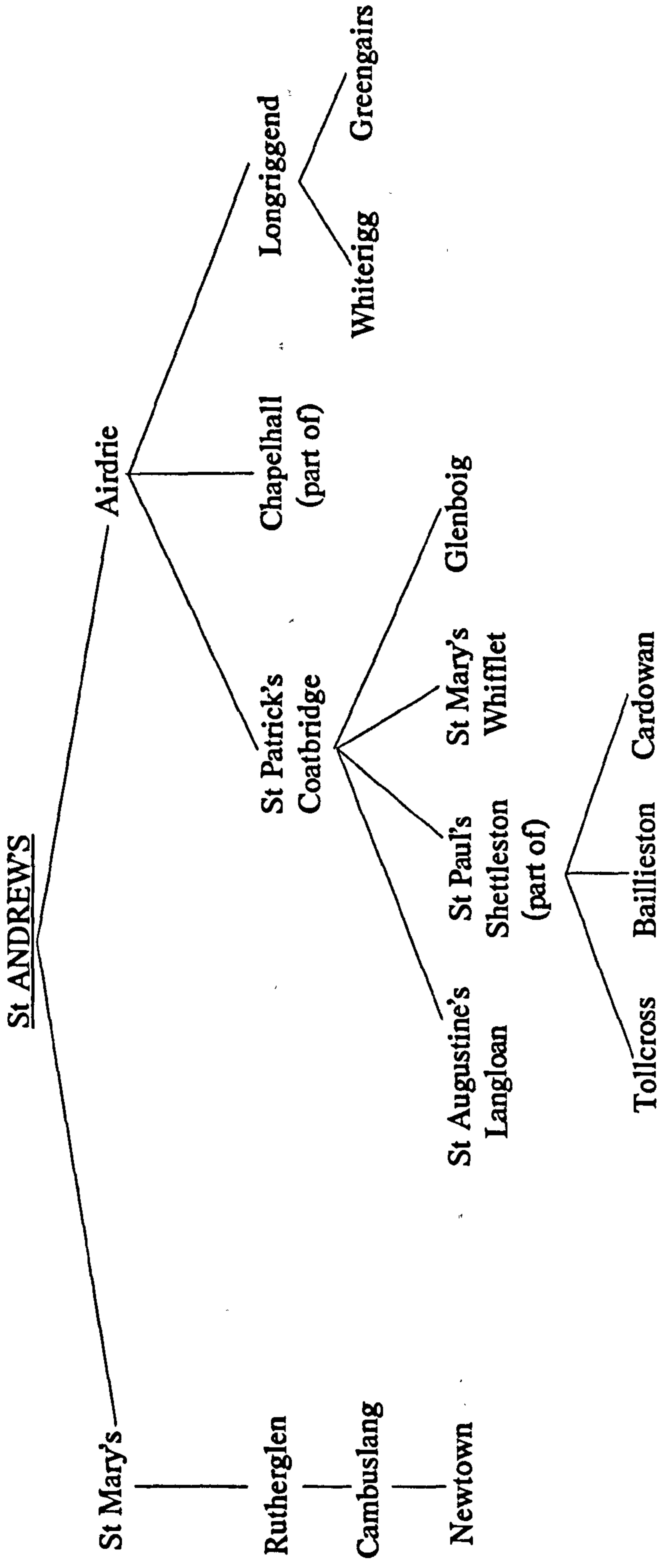
**FIGURE 1 : City Missions**



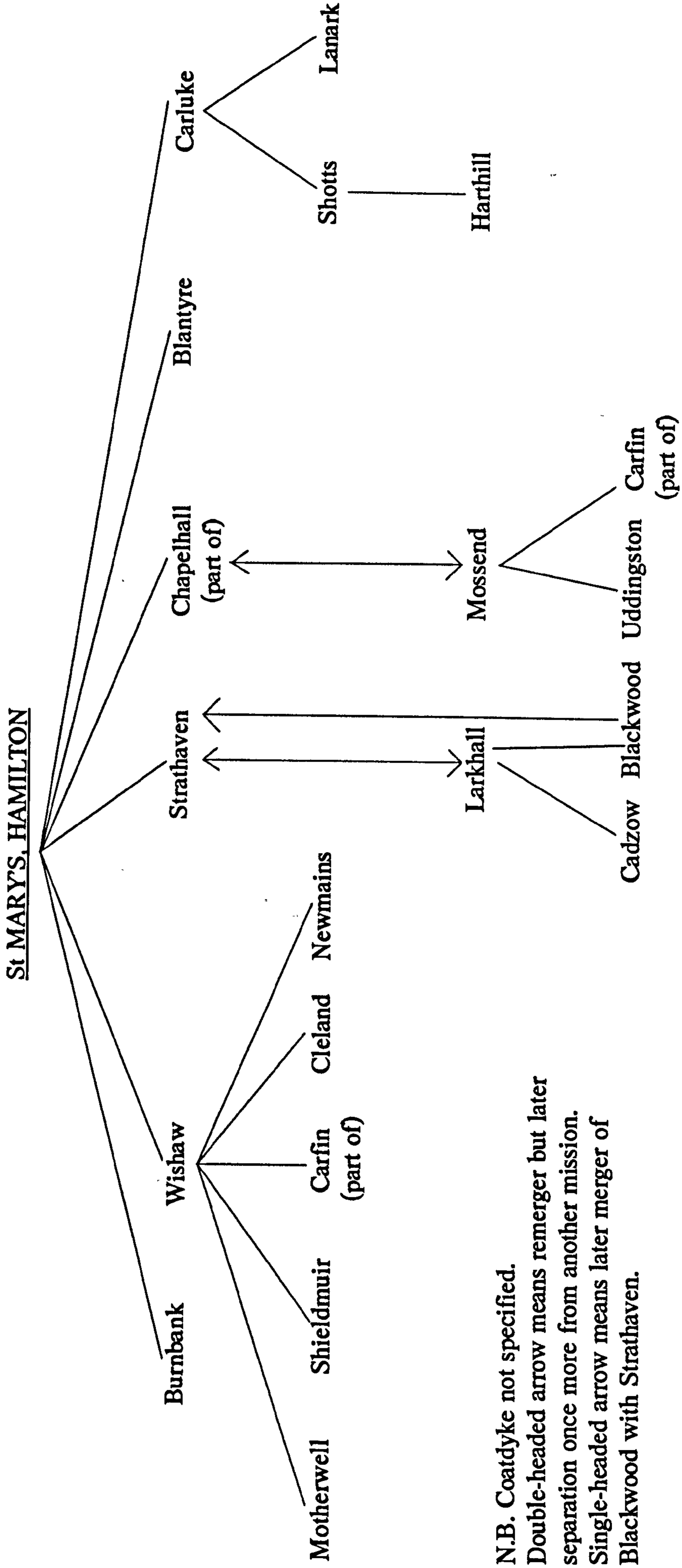
N.B. Cardonald not specified.  
St Simon's, Partick not specified.



FIGURE 2a : Lanarkshire Missions



**FIGURE 2b : Lanarkshire Missions**



**N.B. Coatdyke not specified.  
 Double-headed arrow means remerger but later separation once more from another mission.  
 Single-headed arrow means later merger of Blackwood with Strathaven.**



**FIGURE 3 : Dunbartonshire Missions**

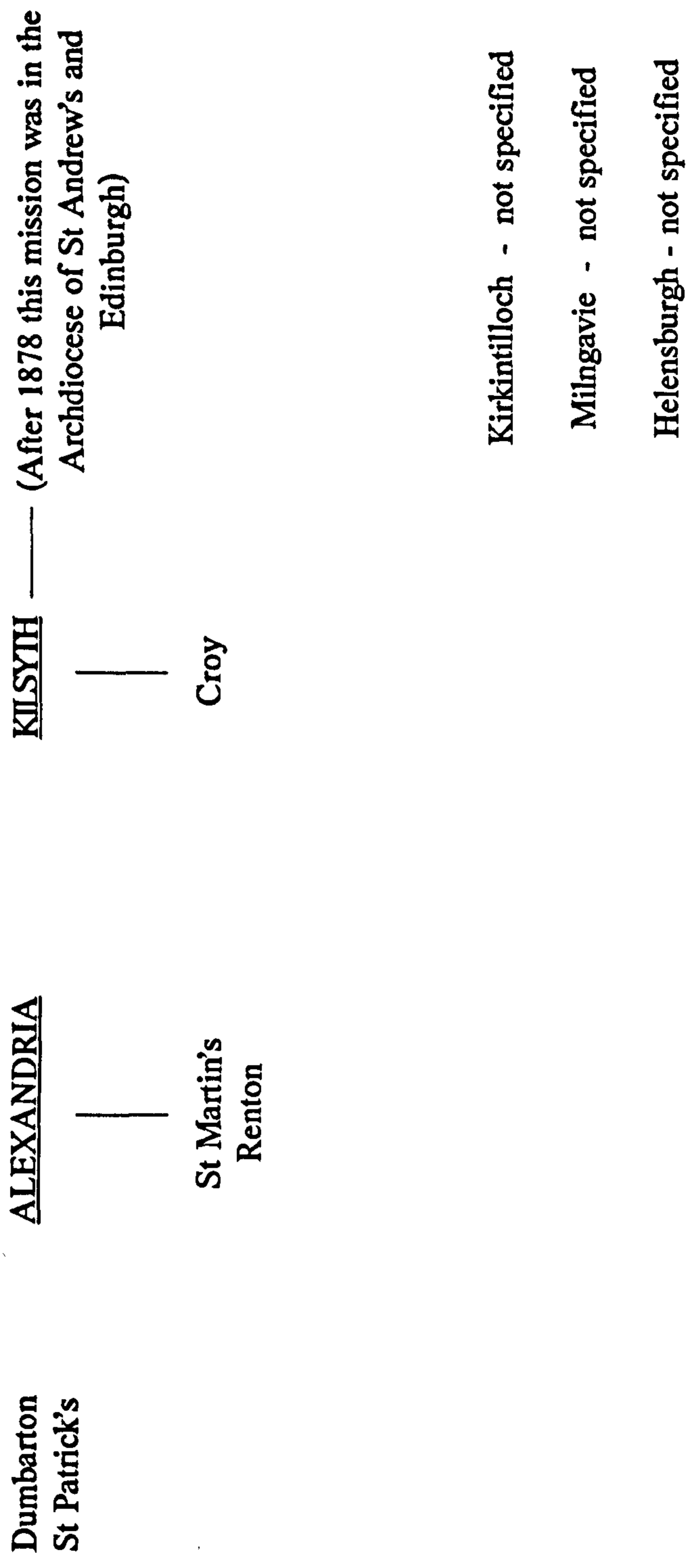
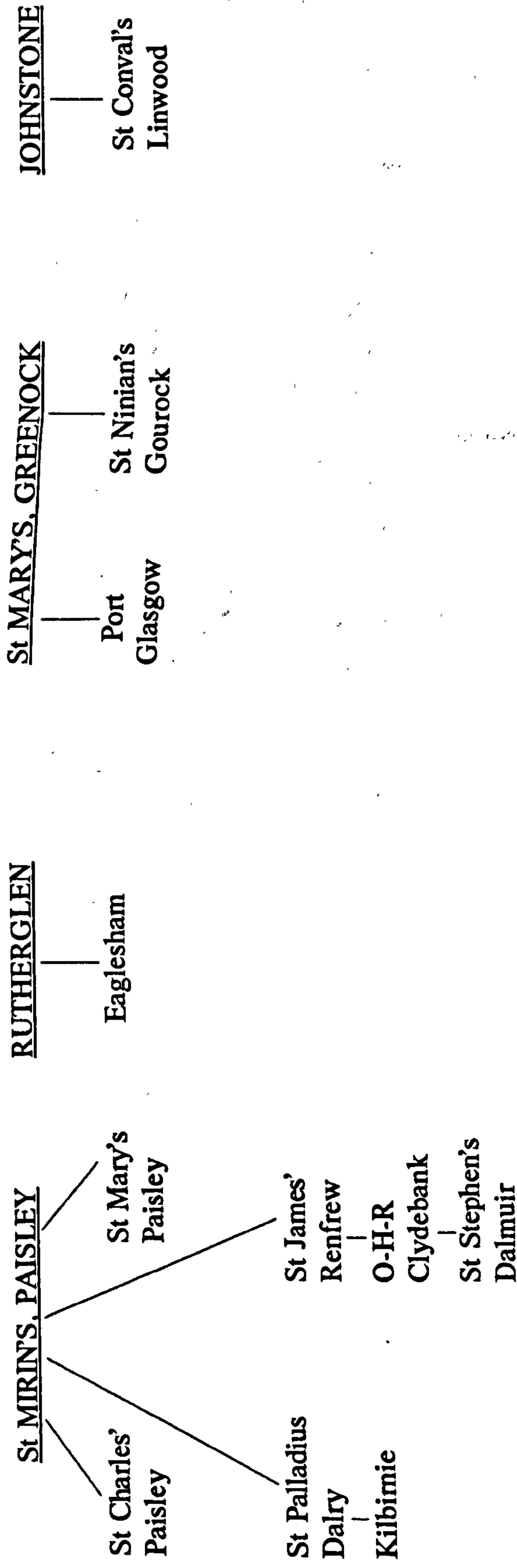


FIGURE 4 : Renfrewshire and Ayrshire Missions



Note: Compiled using SCA, History of Missions of Glasgow Archdiocese

NB: St John's, Stevenston, not specified



APPENDIX 1

WESTERN DISTRICT - CLERICAL STUDENTS, JANUARY, 1833

Students belonging to the Western District  
at Perth

Alex<sup>r</sup> McMillan - formerly at Home.  
Archibald Christie - formerly at Douay from Strathglaik  
Valentine Christie - from Strathglaik  
Daniel Bruce - from Suisy  
Duncan McVale - from Morven  
Finlay Christie - from Strathglaik  
John Gray - from the Surge  
James Smith - from the Surge

at Douay

John Kerr - from Glasgow  
Alex<sup>r</sup> McDonald - from Fort William  
John Gordon - from Donside

at Home in Scotch's college

Alex<sup>r</sup> Gillis - from Lochaber  
Alex<sup>r</sup> Phemister - from the Surge  
at Home in propaganda

Alex<sup>r</sup> Smith - from the Surge  
John Livingston - from Perth  
Donald McThay - from South West  
in Spain

Donald Walker - from the Highlands  
Alex<sup>r</sup> McLean - from D<sup>r</sup>

in Praterstone

Alex<sup>r</sup> Scott - from Aberdeen  
D<sup>r</sup> McDonald - from Praes of Lochaber

State of Students Jan'y 1833

APPENDIX 2

IRISH-BORN PRIESTS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE FROM 1880-1926  
(BY YEAR OF ORDINATION)

1880	KEARNEY, Thomas	p.165	On loan 1880-84 from Ross
	DOODY, Edward	p.86	Waterford and Lismore
	GAULE, Patrick	p.117	-----
	KEATING, William	p.166	On loan 1880-83 from Waterford and Lismore
1881	FEGAN, Peter	p.99	On loan 1881-89
	MURPHY, John	pp.225-226	-----
1882	BROSNAN, Thomas	pp.19-20	On loan 1882-85 from Kerry
	O'KEEFE, Michael	p.308	On loan 1882-85 from Cloyne
	HOULIHAN, Patrick	p.153	-----
	BARTON, Patrick	p.9	On loan 1882-86 from Kerry
1883	FOLEY, John	p.107	-----
	FITZGERALD, Thomas	p.102	On loan 1883-86 from Kerry
	McEVOY, Thomas	pp.248-249	-----
	DAWSON, Bernard	p.75	-----
1884	O'HEA, Timothy	p.304	On loan, 1884-87 from Ross
1885	BURKE, James	p.24	On loan 1885-89 from Kerry
	DALY, Patrick	p.70	On loan 1885-89 from Kerry
	NOLAN, James	p.279	On loan 1885-90 from Kerry
1886	McPOLIN, Owen (Eugene)	p.272	On loan 1886-89 from Dromore
	BUCKLEY, Patrick	p.22	On loan 1886-89 from Kerry
	FULLER, Michael	p.111	On loan 1886-93 from Kerry
	O'CALLAGHAN, John	pp.285-286	On loan 1886-89 from Cloyne
	McMULLEN, Patrick B.	p.268	Franciscan later secular priest in Glasgow
1887	O'NEILL, James	p.315	Franciscan later secular priest in Glasgow
	HACKET, Patrick	pp.130-131	Ordained for Glasgow
	DAWSON, William	p.75	Oblate 1887-89, St. Mary's, Paisley. He then went to Portsmouth
	FRAWLEY, Denis	p.110-111	On loan 1887-93 from Cloyne
	McCULLA, Thomas	p.244	On loan 1887-90 from Armagh
1888	McALLISTER, John	p.233	On loan 1888-91 from Dromore
1890	DENNEHY, Denis	p.77	On loan 1890-96 from Cloyne
	NYHAN, John	p.282	Exeat from Ross
	SCANNELL, John	pp.350-351	On loan 1890-98 from Cloyne
	SHEEHY, John J.	p.357	On loan 1890-97 from Ross
	CARROLL, James	pp.37-38	On loan 1890-96 from Kerry
1891	McALLISTER, John	p.232	Ordained for Glasgow
1892	RYAN, Patrick	p.347	Exeat from Killaloe
	NAGLE, John	p.277	On loan 1892-98 from Cloyne
	HORGAN, William	pp.152-153	Exeat from Kerry



1893	COLLINS, Daniel MURRAY, John O'SULLIVAN, Timothy D.	p.46 p.230 p.326	Exeat from Ross On loan 1893-98 from Ross On loan 1893-97 from Kerry
1894	DINAN, Michael FOUHY, Peter MESKELL, Richard  O'DRISCOLL, Jeremiah FITZGERALD, Edward	p.81 p.109 p.210  p.298 p.101 (top of page)	On loan 1894-95 from Killaloe On loan 1894-99 from Cloyne On loan 1894-1902 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1894-1905 from Ross Exeat from Kerry
1895	TOWIE, James P. O'SULLIVAN, Daniel McDONNELL, James DALY, Charles FANNING, Matthew	p.370 p.322 p.246 p.69 p.97	Ordained for Glasgow Exeat from Kerry On loan 1895-98 from Killaloe On loan 1895-99 from Cloyne On loan 1895-98 from Killaloe (Not on 1987 List - GAA-CL5)
1896	MOLLUMBY, Edward FARRELL, Patrick  AHE(A)RN, Michael	p.212 p.97  p.1	On loan 1900-01 from Cashel On loan 1896-99 from Cloyne d.13 January 1899 at St. Bride's Cambuslang, aged 30. On loan 1896-1903
1897	McCARTHY, Patrick A. AMBROSE, Myles BURKE, Matthew GAVIGAN, Thomas LALOR, Andrew LYNE, Thomas J. McCARTHY, Florence McCREADY, John J. MEEHAN, Thomas O'SHEA, Timothy TRACY, Peter CAHILL, John	p.239 p.2 p.25 p.117 p.183 p.201 pp.237-238 p.243 pp.209-210 p.322 p.373 p.32	Ordained for Glasgow Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1897-1900 from Cloyne On loan 1897-98 On loan 1897-1900 from Killaloe On loan 1897-1905 from Kerry On loan 1897-1905 from Ross On loan 1897-1900 from Killaloe On loan 1897-1900 from Killaloe On loan 1897-1905 from Kerry On loan 1897-99 from Derry On loan 1897-1905 from Kerry (not in 1897 list - GAA-CL5)
1898	HORGAN, Daniel JENNINGS, James B. CARROLL, Matthew J.  CONWAY, Joseph DUGGAN, Denis J. FITZGIBBON, Maurice GREED, John McCORMACK, Michael O'HALLORAN, Patrick J. WARD, Alphonsus C.	p.151 p.158 p.38  p.56 p.89 p.104 p.126 p.243 pp.302-303 p.382	Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1901-1906 from Tuam On loan 1898-1905 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1898-1901 from Meath On loan 1898-1908 from Cashel On loan 1898-1902 from Cloyne On loan 1898-1901 from Killaloe On loan 1898-1901 from Killaloe On loan 1898-1903 from Killaloe On loan 1898-1902 from Raphoe

1899	DUGGAN, Denis	p.89	On loan 1899-1908 from Cashel
	FITZGERALD, James	p.102	On loan 1899-1910 from Cashel
	HENNESSY, Matthew	p.145	On loan 1899-1908 from Cashel
	QUINLAN, Martin	p.335	On loan 1899-1907 from Cloyne
	SCANLAN, William	p.349	On loan 1899-1902 from Killaloe
	SMYTH, Patrick	p.364	On loan 1899-1903 from Killaloe
	O'SHEA, John	pp.321-322	On loan 1899-1907 from Waterford and Lismore
1900	AHERN, William	p.2	On loan 1900-06 from Kerry
	GRIFFIN, Patrick	p.127	On loan 1900-06 from Kerry
	O'CALLAGHAN, John	p.286	On loan 1900-13 from Cashel
	SCANNELL, Daniel	p.350	On loan 1900-12 from Cloyne
	GIBBONS, Thomas	pp.118-119	On loan 1900-11 from Waterford and Lismore
	FITZGERALD, Edmond	p.100	On loan 1900-12 from Cloyne
	FLEMING, John J.	p.105	Exeat from Kerry
	WALSH, William	p.381	On loan 1900-11 from Cloyne
	O'DRISCOLL, Florence	pp.297-298	On loan 1900-04 from Kerry
	LEONARD, James	p.189	On loan 1900-12 from Cloyne
	AUSTIN, James	p.4	On loan 1900-01 from Killaloe
	RONAYNE, Maurice	p.342	On loan 1900-09 from Cloyne
	CRONIN, Patrick	p.64	On loan 1900-06 from Cloyne
1901	MULLINS, Anthony,	p.220	Exeat from Cloyne
	O'LEARY, Joseph	p.311	Ordained for Glasgow
	WHITE, Justin	pp.384-385	Ordained for Glasgow
	KENNEALLY, Benjamin	p.175	On loan 1901-13 from Cloyne
	LAWTON, Edward	pp.185-187	Exeat from Cloyne
	SHINNICK, Joseph	p.360	On loan 1901-13 from Cloyne
	McGRATH, Mark	p.257	On loan 1901-04 from Killaloe
	O'DEA, John	pp.293-294	On loan 1901-14 from Killaloe
	KELLY, John F.	p.171	On loan 1901-06 from Killaloe
	KEOGH, William	pp.177-178	On loan 1901-14 from Cashel
	CANAVAN, Bartholomew	p.33	On loan 1901-08 from Tuam
	MURPHY, John J.	p.224	On loan 1901-14 from Cashel
	WALSH, John	p.379 (2)	On loan 1901-09 from Tuam
	COWHEY, James	p.61	On loan 1901-14 from Cloyne
	GILLESPIE, William	p.119	On loan 1902-04 from Raphoe
	RYAN, George J.	p.344	On loan 1901-05 from Derry
1902	SCANNELL, Denis (Desmond)	p.350	Ordained for Glasgow
	NOLAN, James	p.279	On loan but later exeat from Kerry to Glasgow
	NOLAN, John	pp.279-280	On loan 1902-10 from Kerry
	(James and John Nolan were brothers)		
	O'CONNOR, Eugene	p.289	On loan 1902-10 from Kerry
	SMYTH, James	p.364	On loan 1903-07 from Killaloe
	LAGAN, John	p.183	On loan 1902-06 from Derry
	COLLINS, John	pp.46-47	On loan 1902-09 from Ross
	KEARNEY, James	p.164	First priest ordained by Archbishop Maguire. Ordained for Glasgow
	O'CARROLL, William	p.287	Ordained for Glasgow
	McKENNA, James	p.261-262	-----
	CORLEY, Thomas	p.59	Ordained for Glasgow
	HOLLAND, William	p.149	On loan, 1905-08 from Ross



1903	KEARNEY, Thomas	p.165 (309)	Ordained for Glasgow
	FARRY, Thomas	pp.97-98	Ordained for Glasgow
	MEADE, John	p.207	On loan 1903-08 from Killaloe
	AGNEW, Thomas J.	p.1	On loan 1903-05 from Derry
	ROCHE, John	p.341	On loan 1903-08 from Killaloe
	PRENDERGAST, James	p.332	On loan 1903-09 from Tuam
	McHUGH, Michael	pp.258-259	On loan 1903-04 from Raphoe
	SWEENEY, Bernard J.	p.366	On loan 1903-04 from Raphoe
	McDAID, James	p.245	On loan 1903-08 from Raphoe
	CUNNINGHAM, Bernard	p.68	On loan 1903-05 from Raphoe
	SHERIDAN, Patrick	p.358	On loan 1903-09 from Raphoe
	NYHAN, Daniel	p.282	On loan 1903-07 from Ross
	SWEENEY, Joseph P.	p.367	On loan 1903-09 from Raphoe
	WALDRON, John	p.375	On loan 1903-10 from Tuam
1904	PRENDIVILLE, Edward	p.333	On loan 1904-11 from Kerry
	O'HERLIHY, Daniel	p.146	On loan 1904-11 from Kerry
	MANGAN, William	pp.205-206	On loan 1904-12 from Kerry
	VAUGHAN, Edward	p.375	On loan 1904-10 from Killaloe
	PRENDERGAST, James P.	p.332	On loan 1904-11 from Tuam
	BARRY, David	pp.7-8	On loan 1905-15 from Cloyne
	McDONNELL, Michael J.	pp.246-247	On loan 1905-14 from Kerry
1905	McINTYRE, John	p.260	On loan 1905-09 from Raphoe
	CRUMLEY, John	p.65	On loan 1905-09 from Raphoe
	MURPHY, Patrick	p.229	On loan 1905-09 from Tuam
	LAVELLE, Michael	pp.184-185	On loan 1905-12 from Tuam
	CULLINAN(E) Patrick	p.66	On loan 1905-09 from Clogher
	LYNCH, John F.	pp.198-199	On loan 1906-11 from Kerry
	HEHIR, Denis	p.144	On loan 1905-08 from Galway
	LILLIS, George	p.190	On loan 1905-10 from Killaloe
	WALDRON, Patrick	p.375	On loan 1905-09 from Tuam
	O'DONOGHUE, Michael	p.297	On loan 1905-16 from Kerry
	BROWNE, William	p.21	On loan 1905-10 from Tuam
	BYRNE, Charles	p.29	On loan 1905-08 from Derry
	COLLINS, Michael	p.47	On loan 1905-09 from Kerry
	O'DONOGHUE, Jerome	p.296	On loan 1905-14 from Kerry
1906	HOURIGAN, Patrick	p.154	Ordained for Glasgow
	CLEARY, John	p.41	On loan 1906-10 from Killaloe
	HILLEE, Christopher	p.147	On loan 1906-15 from Kerry
	KELLEHER, Timothy	p.170	On loan 1906-15 from Kerry
	SHEEHAN, Patrick	p.357	On loan 1906-18 from Cloyne
	SREENAN, Patrick	p.365	On loan 1907-09 from Clogher
	O'GRADY, John	p.302	On loan 1907-12 from Tuam
	COYNE, James	p.62	On loan 1907-12 from Tuam
	LAYDON, Patrick J.	p.187	-----
1907	TROY, James	p.374	Ordained for Glasgow
	SHERIDAN, William J.	p.359	On loan 1907-15 from Raphoe
	O'KELLEHER, Timothy	p.309	On loan 1907-18 from Cloyne
	GALVIN, Mortimer J.	p.116	On loan 1908-16 from Kerry
	MOLONEY, James	p.212	On loan 1908-09 from Limerick
	O'KENNEDY, Michael	p.309	On loan 1907-18 from Cashel
	MURPHY, William	p.229	On loan 1907-10 from Derry
	MURRIN, Denis	p.231	On loan 1908-13 from Raphoe



1908	O'CONNOR, William Joseph KENNY, John F. McKENNA, Paul CORR, Henry	pp.292-293 p.177 p.263 p.59	On loan 1908-12 from Galloway On loan 1908-11 from Tuam On loan 1908-12 from Derry Ordained for Glasgow
1909	McCARTHY, Michael McBRIDE, James McRORY, James FITZGERALD, Edward MORRISEY, Michael  GARVEY, Patrick	pp.238-239 p.234 pp.272-273 pp.101-102 p.217  pp.116-117	Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1909-15 from Derry On loan 1909-14 from Derry On loan 1909-12 from Cork On loan 1909-16 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1909-13 from Tuam
1910	ROCHE, John POWER, David  O'MAHONY, John FITZPATRICK, Michael CRONIN, Richard HACKETT, Patrick A.  McGRATH, Jeremiah	p.341 p.329  pp.312-313 p.104 p.64 p.131  p.256	On loan 1910-20 from Cloyne On loan 1910-18 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1910-18 from Cloyne On loan 1910-20 from Cloyne On loan 1911-15 from Cork On loan 1910-17 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1910-16 from Kerry
1911	WALL, Thomas  McKENNA, Michael  MURRAY, Michael, J.  GAYNOR, Patrick O'CONNOR, James  HACKETT, Michael  CROWE, Daniel, E. COURTNEY, Timothy	p.376  p.262  p.230  pp.117-118 pp.289-290  p.130  p.64 p.61	On loan 1911-19 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1911-13 from Killaloe. 1914-18 Chaplain to British Forces On loan 1911-18 from Waterford and Lismore. On loan 1911-14 from Killaloe On loan 1911-16 from Kerry 1916-18 Chaplain to British Forces On loan 1911-19 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1911-14 from Killaloe On loan 1912-18 from Kerry
1912	KEATING, Patrick F. SYNOTT, Henry  HALLINAN, Patrick  RYAN, William  O'HANLON, John O'HANLON, Thomas HARRINGTON, Michael DENNEHY, Jerome (Jeremiah) O'KEEFFE, Andrew SLATTERY, James	p.166 p.367  p.131  pp.347-348  p.303 p.304 p.138 p.78 p.306 p.361	Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1912-19 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1912-19 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1912-16 from Waterford and Lismore. Military chaplain, 1916-18 On loan 1912-22 from Cloyne On loan 1912-22 from Cloyne On loan 1912-19 from Cloyne On loan 1912-23 from Cloyne On loan 1912-23 from Cloyne On loan 1913-18 from Kerry



1913	QUILLINAN, Matthew	p.335	Ordained for Glasgow
	POWER, John	p.330	Ordained for Glasgow
	KENNEDY, Joseph	p.176	Ordained for Glasgow
	HAYES, William J.	p.141	Ordained for Glasgow
	DENNEHY, Cornelius	p.77	Ordained for Glasgow
	RYAN, John	p.346	Ordained for Glasgow
	(O')HANLON, Edmund	p.303	Ordained for Glasgow
	CASEY, Dominic	p.39	On loan 1914-18, from Achonry
1914	KEANE, Simon	pp.161-162	Ordained for Glasgow
	ASHE, John	p.4	Ordained for Glasgow
	BOLAND, Peter	pp.11-12	Ordained for Glasgow
	FITZPATRICK, Peter	p.104	Ordained for Glasgow
	O'BRIEN, Michael	p.285	Ordained for Glasgow
	HIGGINS, Joseph	p.147	On loan 1914-20 from Achonry
	WALSHE, Peter F.	p.381	On loan 1914-16 from Waterford and Lismore. Military chaplain, 1917-19.
	McGLINCHEY, Charles	p.253	On loan 1914-18 from Raphoe
	O'CONNOR, Thomas J.	p.292	On loan 1914-23 from Cashel
	KINNANE, Michael	p.181	On loan 1914-16 from Dublin
1915	O'CONNOR, Michael	pp.290-291	Ordained for Glasgow
	SHEEHAN, Denis M.	p.356	On loan 1915-21 from Waterford and Lismore
	FOGARTY, Philip	pp.106-107	On loan 1915-24 from Cashel
	O'CONNOR, Maurice	p.290	On loan 1915-21 from Kerry
	MURPHY, Thomas A.	p.229	On loan 1916-21 from Waterford and Lismore
1916	CULLEN, James L.	p.65	Ordained for Glasgow
	CLUNE, James	p.43	-----
	EGAN, Thomas	pp.94-95	Carmelite until 1926
	KENNEALLY, John P.	p.175	On loan 1916-21 from Waterford and Lismore
	BRADLEY, Hugh,	p.13	On loan 1916-24 from Derry
	DOHERTY, Joseph	p.83	On loan 1916-25 from Derry
	WALL, John	pp.375-376	On loan 1916-25 from Cashel
	McLAUGHLIN, Daniel	p.264	On loan 1916-24 from Derry
1917	AHE(A)RNE, Michael	p.2	On loan 1917-22 from Waterford and Lismore
	KENNEDY, James	p.175	On loan 1917-21 from Kerry
	HARTY, Daniel	p.139	Ordained for Glasgow
	FENNESSY, James Patrick	p.99	Ordained from Glasgow
	FLYNN, Denis	p.105	Ordained for Glasgow
	O'CALLAGHAN, John	p.286	Ordained for Glasgow
1918	SHEEHAN, Denis	p.356	On loan 1918-25 from Cloyne
	O'BRIEN, Patrick	p.285	On loan 1918-26 from Derry
	McMULLEN, William	p.268	On loan 1918-25 from Derry
	McINTYRE, Francis	pp.259-260	On loan 1918-24 from Raphoe
	DEENEY, Patrick	p.75	On loan 1918-23 from Raphoe
	GODFREY, John	p.124	On loan 1918-20 from Tuam

1919	McRORY, Patrick WALSH, Nicholas	pp.273-276 p. 380	On loan 1919-24 from Derry On loan 1919-26 from Waterford and Lismore
	RONAN, James KINANE, Edward CAHILL, William L.	p.342 p.181 pp.32-33	On loan 1919-25 from Cashel On loan 1919-26 from Cashel On loan 1919-24 from Waterford and Lismore
	McGENNIS, Edward SCANLON, John DOHERTY, Constantine DALY, Thomas POWER, Denis	p.250 pp.349-350 p.83 p.70 p.330	On loan 1919-23 from Kilmore Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1919-26 from Derry On loan 1919-25 from Cork On loan 1919-25 from Waterford and Lismore
	HORGAN, Daniel DELAHUNTY, William MULLEN, Alphonsus P.	p.151 p.76 p.219	On loan 1919-24 from Cork On loan 1919-21 from Killaloe On loan 1919-22 from Raphoe
1920	SHEEHAN, Daniel V. RIORDAN, Charles	p.355 p.340	On loan 1920-27 from Cloyne On loan 1920-28 from Cork
1921	O'DOHERTY, Francis COLLINS, Michael	p.295 p.47	On loan 1921-27 from Derry On loan 1921-27 from Derry
1922	CLOSE, James P.  DAVIN, Francis O'MAHONY, Patrick	p.42  p.74 p.313	On loan 1922-28 from Down and Connor On loan 1922-27 from Cashel On loan 1922-28 from Cloyne
1923	COOGAN, Patrick F. HOGAN, James J. McLAUGHLIN, James DEVLIN, Peter O'LAUGHLIN, Patrick MURPHY, John J.Jnr. MOLLOY, Patrick J. McDAID, Denis	p.58 p.148 p.265 p.80 p.312 p.225 p.211 p.244	Ordained for Glasgow Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1923-29 from Derry On loan 1923-30 from Derry On loan 1923-29 from Derry Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1923-27 from Raphoe On loan 1923-27 from ?Derry
1924	McGURK, Aloysius  O'KEEFFE, Daniel LAVERTY, Henry  O'DONO(G)HUE, John FEELY, Timothy MILLIGAN, Hugh O'CARROLL, Michael PHELAN, James  WALSH, James F. LOFTUS, Thomas HARTE, Peter J. BREW, Cornelius HEGARTY, Simon	p.258  p.306 p.185  p.296 p.98 p.210-211 pp.286-287 p.327  p.378 p.193 p.138 p.18 p.144	Ordained for Glasgow. Returned to Ireland in 1937 due to ill-health. Ordained for Glasgow Ordained for Glasgow, but returned to Armagh in 1938, Ordained for Glasgow Ordained for Glasgow Ordained for Glasgow Ordained for Glasgow On loan 1924-27 from Waterford and Lismore On loan 1924-37 from Achonry On loan 1924-30 from Achonry On loan 1924-34 from Achonry On loan 1924-27 from Cloyne On loan 1924-28 from Cork



1925	KELLY, Thomas Snr.	p.172	Ordained for Glasgow
	SWEENEY, Michael	p.367	Ordained for Glasgow
	POWER, Richard	pp.330-331	On loan 1925-28 from Cashel
	LYNCH, John	p.198	On loan 1925-27 from Waterford and Lismore
	WALSH, James B.	p.378	On loan 1925-34 from Achonry
	McGOLDRICK, Columba (Colm)	p.254	On loan 1925-31 from Derry
	RYAN, Edmund	p.343	On loan 1925-27 from Cashel
	AHERN, Jeremiah	p.2	On loan 1925-28 from Cloyne
	KELLY, Thomas	p.172	Ordained for Glasgow
	SEXTON, Peter	p.352	Ordained for Glasgow
	AYLWARD, George	pp.4-5	Ordained for Glasgow
	KEANE, Thomas	pp.162-163	Ordained for Glasgow
	O'RIORDAN, Michael L.	p.320	Ordained for Glasgow
CUMMINS, Patrick	p.67	Ordained for Glasgow	
1926	GILMARTIN, Patrick	p.120	Ordained for Glasgow
	McERLAIN, Joseph	p.248	Ordained for Glasgow
	O'LEARY, Camellius	p.310	Ordained for Glasgow
	BATTEL, John C.	p.9	On loan, but later sought exeat from Achonry
	DONOVAN, Daniel	p.85	On loan 1926-30 from Cork
	HALL(E)Y, James	p.133	On loan 1926-27 from Waterford and Lismore
	MARNANE, Timothy	p.206	On loan 1926-28 from Cashel
	GALLAGHER, John	p.115	On loan 1926-35 from Killala
	McFADDEN, Charles	p.249	On loan 1926-34 from Raphoe
	MAHON, William	p.205	On loan 1926-28 from Kildare and Leighlin
	HENRY, James	pp.145-146	On loan 1926-37 from Achonry
	GRIFFIN, Denis	p.126	On loan 1926-28 from Kerry
	McKENNA, Charles	p.261	On loan 1926-29 from Clogher (1917-26 on loan to Melbourne)
ELLIOT, James K.	p.95	Ordained for Glasgow	
McLOUGHLIN, Bernard T.	p.266	On loan 1926-34 from Killala	

Sources: Rev. Bernard Canning *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland, 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979), to which page numbers refer; and GAA-CL5, the dates in which governed the compilation of this appendix.

Notes:

1. For some priests, diocese of ordination and/or terms of engagement are not know.
2. Prepared in the process of compiling table 12(b)

APPENDIX 3

GLASGOW CATHOLIC INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND ORPHANAGE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Rev. Alexander Munro, Chairman  
James Lynch, Esq., Deputy Chairman

Rev. James Bonnyman  
Rev. J. J. Buckley  
Rev. Valentine Chisholm  
Rev. John Dwyer  
Rev. Peter Forbes  
Rev. Emmanuel Kenners  
Rev. Anselm Lomax  
Rev. Edward Noonan  
Rev. T. B. Parkinson, SJ

Mr. Charles Cairney  
Mr. Edward Dougherty  
Mr. R.L. Guirbara  
Mr. McGee  
Mr. John McGuire  
Mr. Mortimer  
Mr. Peter Murty  
Mr. Patrick Rogan

Treasurer	Rev. Peter Forbes
Secretary	Rev. T. B. Parkinson
Superintendent	Rev. E. Noonan
Assistant (Boys' House)	J. Orr
Matron of Girls' House	Mrs. Black, Superioress, O.S.F.
Auditors	Rev. T. B. Parkinson, Mr. R. L. Guibara
Actuary	R.W.Hamilton, Public Accountant
Medical Attendant	Dr. Mullan

**COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT**

Chairman	)	
Deputy Chairman	)	
Treasurer	)	Ex Officiis
Secretary	)	
Rev. Superintendent	)	

Rev. James Bonnyman  
Rev. V. Chisholm  
Mr. P. Murty

Source: GAA-RI28 Glasgow Industrial Schools and Orphanage,  
printed report, 1869



## WEST OF SCOTLAND CATHOLIC TEACHERS SALARY SCALE 1903

## West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association.

Scale of Salaries as amended at the General Meeting of 19th Dec. 1903.

For Headmasters:—

200 average or less	—	£120	minimum with increment assured.
Between 200 and 350	—	£150	" " " "
Between 350 and 500	—	£175	" " " "
Over 500	—	£200	" " " "

For Headmistresses in girls' or Infants' Schools:—

200 average or less	—	£90	with annual increment assured.
Between 200 & 350	—	£100	" " " "
Between 350 & 500	—	£120	" " " "
Over 500	—	£130	" " " "

For Assistants:—

Men trained (capable of taking P.T.'s) — £90 with annual increment assured.

Men untrained — £75 with do.

Women trained (capable of taking P.T.'s) — £75 with do.

Women untrained — £60 with do.

For Headmistresses in Mixed Schools:—

200 average or less	—	£100	with annual increment assured.
Between 200 & 350	—	£110	" " " "
Between 350 & 500	—	£130	" " " "
500 and over	—	£150	" " " "

Increment for Masters £10 per year.

" " Mistresses £5 " "

" " assistants £2.10/ for males & females.

Until £100 is reached: then £5 for males — and £3 for females.

Length of service and qualifications to be taken into account.

APPENDIX 5  
PERSONAL LETTERS



44, Pine Close,  
INGATESTONE,  
Essex CM4 9BT.

13.x.1984

Dear Miss McHugh,

I am writing with regard to some research I am doing into the English College, Bruges. Fr. Dilworth suggested contacting you.

The College was founded by an English convert, Sir John Sutton, in 1538/9, and lasted until his death in 1573. It was used by most of the English and Welsh bishops at the time, training British and Belgian/Dutch etc. students. However, a few Scots students were there as well, and on a separate sheet I give what I already know of them, though I haven't yet tracked them down in the Scottish Catholic Directory. I was wondering whether there might be correspondence about the Belgian and Dutch priests at Glasgow, and whether there might be anything specifically about Bruges. My guess would be that the few Scots students that did make it to Bruges were sent by Eyre soon after his appointment in 1868, as, having been V.G. at Hexham, he was already familiar with the College (Hexham trained a number of men there).

I am concentrating mainly on Westminster Diocese, where I work as assistant archivist at present, as well as Southwark and Birmingham. However, I should be interested to know whether you have any extant material from the Western District or Glasgow Archdiocese.

I hope this enquiry causes no inconvenience.

Yours sincerely,

*Stewart Foster*  
Stewart Foster.

Mr. Stewart Foster,  
44, Pine Close,  
Ingatestone,  
Essex CM4 9EG.

26 October, 1984.

Dear Mr. Foster,

We have in the Archive here a box entitled "Clerical Education-Propaganda, Bruges and Douai", which contains some correspondence specifically about Bruges. As the number of relevant documents is not large, I photocopied them, and enclose them with this letter. Also enclosed are copies of the ordination notices of the Rev. Alphonsus Van De Rydt, and the Rev. Peter Henry Terken; and the obituary notices of the Rev. Peter Evers, Very Rev. Hubert Canon Van Stiphout, Rev. Charles R. Brown, Rev. Peter Hilgers, and Rev. Peter H. Terken. I have not, so far, been able to trace the obituary notice for the Rev. Alphonsus Van De Rydt. During my searches of the Scottish Catholic Directory, I noticed other seemingly Belgian or Dutch names, and I have therefore enclosed additional obituaries for Revs. Louis and Emile De Backer, Rev. Arthur Bayaert, Rev. Louis De Meulenaire, Rev. Theophilus Delbeke, Rev. Frederick Letters, and Rev. Albert Charles Marie de Lespaul. As you will notice from the lists for 1916 and 1928, other names also appear, but I have not been able to trace them in the Directory.

Please accept the enclosed copies with our compliments, and I hope that they are of use to you in your researches. I am sorry for the delay in sending them to you. If I retrieve further relevant information, I will forward it to you.

Yours faithfully,

*Mary McHugh*  
Mary McHugh,



44, Pine Close,  
INGATESTONE,  
Essex CM4 9EG.

29.x.1984

Dear Miss McKugh,

Thank you for your letter of 26 October, and for the very generous enclosures. They shed much light upon the Scottish links with the Bruges College, and also upon the connections between Scotland and the Belgian/Dutch clergy in the period after Bruges closed (1873). This has saved me quite a bit of work. I have been, like you, archival assistant for an Archdiocese (Westminster), for the past year, and my interest in the Bruges College springs from the fact that two priests in this locality were trained there in the last century, and that when I looked in our own archives to see how much material there was on the subject, and how little anyone has done re-writing about it (except a few articles in Flemish), I thought it a good topic. Moreover, in England I have so far found at least 120 priests who were ordained from Bruges, or received part of their training, in the period 1859-73.

In a recent letter Fr. Dilworth commented on the fact that Scotland too has benefitted from the link with the Low Countries, and that, as the material you have kindly sent shows, this link was continued beyond the brief connection with the Bruges College.

I don't think I mentioned it in my letter, but I am myself due to move to Glasgow next month, where I have a new appointment. I have been in contact with Fr. Boyle earlier in the year as well, with regard to Fr. John Charleson, the famous convert from Presbyterianism, who, after his ministry in Glasgow Archdiocese, retired to Essex and who is buried in the nearby village of Stock (in a grave adjacent to a Bruges-trained priest!). I have even managed to find one or two elderly people who can remember him.

Finally, if you will forgive such a lengthy letter, perhaps you could supply one other piece of information which will be of use with regard to a short piece of work I have been doing (since I knew of my move:

North). I have been examining our "Roman Letters" at Westminster, and have translated a few documents bearing upon Manning's visitation of Glasgow in 1867. These have not, to my almost certain knowledge, been seen before. The main item is the letter from Propaganda asking whether Manning would be willing to undertake the visitation. I thought of offering a transcription with a few comments for the Miscellany section of the Innes Review, but, before I can do that, I should like to know if you can give me the date of the Prefect (Cardinal Barnabò)'s letter to the Scots Vicars suggesting that Manning should come to do the visitation. Prof. McClelland's articles in the Cath. Hist. Review do not give a precise reference, only that Barnabò replied to the Vicars' letter of 5 Sept. 1867 and that the Vicars accordingly replied to his, agreeing that Manning should be the <sup>visitator</sup> visitator. Our letter asking Manning if he would like the job is dated 13 Sept. 1867. It implies that Barnabò was on the verge of contacting Scotland about that time, so perhaps you can track down his letter for me?

I hope all this is not too inconvenient, and I apologize for a lengthy letter.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

*Stewart Foster*  
Stewart Foster.



103 Deakin Leas, Tonbridge, Kent TN9 2JT

Tonbridge 358866 (STD: 0732-358866)

1st December 1986

Dear Miss McHugh

I think the best approach to your queries is to answer your specific questions, and then make some suggestions.

(1) The 1948 equation was of value in its time, and that includes up to 1962 (the end of your period). But it no longer serves; not because of "falling numbers", as you suggest, but because the equation was primarily sensitive to baptisms and marriages and these are not nearly so important in the total Catholic community as they once were when the population was largely in the younger age range under 45.

(2) Eyre's method relied on baptisms alone. This had some relevance when all Catholics - "nominal" as well as "active" - responded to family religious pressures to have their children baptised as early as possible - the fear of limbo for eternity if the child should die without baptism. It is, I think, important to grasp that in earlier generations "Nominal" Catholics were only one generation at most away from being "active" Catholics; today "nominal" Catholics may be up to three generations away and therefore family pressures to conform are to that extent diminished. Today, with the great improvement in infant mortality, there is the danger - I exaggerate to make the point - that baptism has become as much a social event as a sacrament, a re-run of the wedding reception, usually held several months after birth.

You may also care to look at Note 23 of my 1978 article on the large proportion of the children of mixed marriages in America who are not baptised. There is indirect evidence that the children of mixed marriages in Scotland are not being baptised.

While Catholic primary schools appear to have on their rolls nearly all the children of the appropriate age groups who were baptised nevertheless the rolls in Catholic schools in the seventies and early eighties fell proportionately much faster than those in non-denominational schools. To me this suggests an unquantified number of children from mixed marriages who are not being baptised (i.e. the American experience).

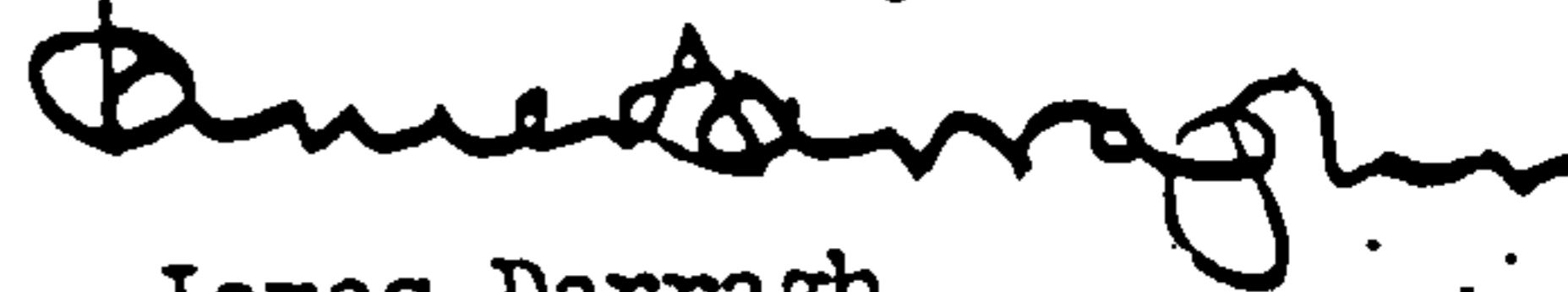
The conclusion I draw from all this is that there are too many question marks on baptisms to use them with any confidence as a factor.

I think you may find that for purposes of academic respectability the best index of the nominal strength of the Church is the Registrar General's percentage of Catholic marriages in particular areas. I should have said earlier that all my population files are now in Columba House; and among them you will find (probably on file III) a complete set of RG marriage figures for each year of your study period, broken down into main local areas which should help you to construct a set for the "Western Province" as well as pinpointing the principal areas of Catholic growth inside it. Since these figures were published by the RG they are eminently quotable. They are, of course, subject to interpretation and to the qualification of being a factor at the younger end of the community. But since you have chosen to end at 1962 I doubt if this should be an inhibiting defect up to that date - again see Note 20 on my 1978 article.

Lastly you may consider Mass attendance figures where these are available. My present feeling is that these are the best guide we have in the 1980s for estimating the active Catholic population - at about 700,000 to 725,000 in 1985, I think.

I hope that all of this is of some help. With every best wish,

Yours sincerely



James Darragh