

**Origins and Evolution of Special Education for Children with
Intellectual Disabilities in Greater Glasgow 1862-1962**

Lachlan McMillan, M.A., Dip. Ed., Dip. SEN

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Abstract

This thesis traces the origins and evolution of special education for children with intellectual disabilities in Greater Glasgow from 1862 to 1962. This work, then, covers the period from the passing of the Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1862, which is usually considered to be the benchmark for the study of the development of special education in Scotland, to its repeal 100 years later in the Mental Health (Scotland) Act, 1960. It is divided into three sections. The first of these sets the background to the study. It details the institutions, other than schools, in which Glaswegian children with intellectual disabilities could be found in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Each of the sections that follow proposes a hypothesis which it is necessary to appreciate in order to understand fully how this branch of education originated and evolved in Greater Glasgow. Section Two suggests that the provision of special education for these children was the result of efforts by individuals who championed their cause. Section Three deals with the difficulties of financing special education and suggests that economics were probably more important here than in any other branch of education

**Origins and Evolution of Special Education for Children with Intellectual
Disabilities in Greater Glasgow, 1862-1962**

Prologue

“To be few in number and devoid of power should not be overwhelming handicaps in a community like our own which prides itself on its provision for social welfare. Yet these handicaps help frustrate the operation of that welfare when the subjects concerned are also mentally handicapped children”. Commenting on the education of such children in Scotland the writer of the above leader article from The Glasgow Herald of 3 May, 1975 points out how very often such misfortune is left to be borne by the children’s parents or by inadequately trained staff often working with inadequate facilities either because of what he calls ‘traditional attitudes’ or a lack of concern. Such attitudes are nothing new and have dogged special education throughout its history. Indeed it could be reasonably argued that the history of the development of special education in the Glasgow area is the history of the struggle against them.

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1974 came into effect on 16 May 1975. This was the date on which all Scottish children with intellectual disabilities, no matter the degree, finally became the responsibility of the Education Authorities. Until then these children were to be found in a variety of institutions often with no educational provision whatsoever. The appalling situation, not only in Glasgow, but in Scotland

as a whole was summed up eloquently in a speech in 1844 by Lord Ashley, “I believe that not in any country in Europe, nor in any part of America, is there any place in which pauper lunatics are in such a suffering and degraded state as those in Her Majesty’s Kingdom of Scotland” (Tuke 1882, p.44). Schools, Prisons, Poorhouses, Asylums, Imbecile Institutions and Mental Deficiency Hospitals all featured in the lives of these children. Some simply stayed at home with their parents.

However such a history should not be viewed in too narrow or parochial a context, for special education does not exist within a vacuum but is part of a wider context of educational provision for all children so that any consideration of the origins of the education of children with intellectual disabilities must take into account the development of educational provision for normal children. Political, economic and social factors also act upon and influence developments in special education as do advances in medicine and science. Nor can the expansion in special educational provision in Glasgow be isolated geographically, for the development of special education has followed a broadly similar pattern and time scale throughout the Western World with Continental as well as American initiatives bringing important influences to bear on Scottish provision. From this it follows that a study of educational provision in Glasgow for such children from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century cannot be confined within too narrow limits but must consider the wider picture.

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the origin and growth of the concept of special education for children with intellectual disabilities in Greater Glasgow from 1862 to 1962 - from the passing of the Lunacy (Scotland) Act to its repeal one hundred years later. In doing so it will detail the changes in provision from asylum to school, from instruction to education and from segregation towards integration. It should also fill a gap in our knowledge of this area of Scottish education. Furthermore by highlighting inadequacies and unfairness in the past it may help to ensure that these are never repeated.

The study is arranged in three sections. The first sets the scene by outlining the alternatives to schooling for Glaswegian children with intellectual disabilities in the nineteenth century as well as in the present one. Each of the remaining sections focuses on a particular hypothesis which it is important to appreciate in order to understand how special education developed in Greater Glasgow. The first of these hypotheses is that educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities came about chiefly because of the work of individuals prepared to champion the cause of those who could not stand up for themselves. These individuals initiated Royal Commissions, set up the first "schools" for such children and generally showed local as well as national authorities what could be done. The next section puts forward the second hypothesis which is that, in Glasgow, economic factors probably played a more significant role in the development of special education than in any other branch of education. Providing children with special education was more expensive than educating "normal" children. There were those who saw this as a

waste of money as these children would most likely go into a mental deficiency hospital on leaving school. On the other hand there were others who saw educating them as making economic sense as there was a chance that some would gain employment rather than being a lifelong drain on the public purse. The events in each of the sections are dealt with in a chronological order.

For the purpose of this research a search plan for sources was formulated along the lines of that suggested by the American researcher P.C. Brooks (1969, pp.19-20) “Resourcefulness and imagination are essential in the preliminary exploration as well as in the later actual study. One can suppose that certain kinds of sources would exist if he thinks carefully about his subject, the persons involved, the government or institutions concerned, and the kinds of records that would naturally grow out of the events that he will be studying. He should ask himself who would have produced the useful documents in the transactions he is concerned with. What would be the expected flow of events? What kinds of records would have been created? What would be the life history of the documents, from their creation through current use, filing, temporary storage, and eventual retention in a repository where he can consult them? What kinds of materials would one expect to be kept rather than discarded?” It seemed likely that primary sources relevant to this research would be found in logbooks of special schools and classes, annual reports of asylums and of the certified institutions, minutes of public meetings, of committees of parish councils, in letters published in the press, articles in journals and in the relevant debates published in Hansard. The catalogues of major reference libraries such as the

Mitchell Library in Glasgow as well as the libraries of Glasgow and Strathclyde Universities were obvious starting points. Other possible source locations were the Scottish Records Office, in Edinburgh, Strathclyde Regional Archives, housed in the Mitchell Library and the Greater Glasgow Health Board Archives in Ruchill Hospital, Glasgow. As well as checking catalogues direct contact with the relevant archivists seemed a useful ploy and proved fruitful. For the later part of the study personal interviews were conducted with people who had been involved in the provision of education for these children.

General reference works were of some use. The most useful was to be James Craigie's A Bibliography of Scottish Education (1963). Published in two volumes, the first of which covers the time of the topic chosen this was to be an enormously useful source for pinpointing manuscripts, pamphlets, parliamentary debates and a range of other useful primary sources. Secondary sources were located mainly through literary searches in the catalogues of the University and the Mitchell Library. Such searches involved the use of computer, microfilm, and microfiche systems as well as general card indexes so that a by product of the research itself was an increased expertise in information retrieval. These secondary sources, where they did exist, were usually in the form of published histories in an area fairly close to the one being researched without ever being entirely relevant. These are discussed below. Because of the dangers involved in using, wholesale, another writer's facts, wherever possible reference was made to the primary sources on which they were based. In fact every effort was made to use primary sources of data to eliminate the errors

which can occur in secondary sources where information has been passed between people. J.E.Hill and A.Kerber (1967, pp. 55-56) make the point that, "In the process of conducting historical research the investigator should never be satisfied with copies of documents that can be obtained in original form ...". They talk of how, "insignificant errors in reproduction may, through additive or multiplicative effects, produce a resultant error of comparatively great magnitude in the final form of the data". This is a fair point. An example of difficulties with primary sources, however, was presented by H.M.I. reports in school logbooks. These were usually copied in by the Head Teacher and are therefore a secondary source though the logbook itself constitutes a primary source. In this case there was no alternative to using the logbooks as the Scottish Office does not retain H.M.I. reports for more than ten years. However as these logbooks were open for inspection by members of the School Board, as well as H.M.Is., their general accuracy can be reasonably assumed.

Of the secondary sources consulted, three were especially useful. The most useful in giving an idea of the overall development of educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities was that by D.G. Pritchard (1963) entitled Education and the Handicapped 1760 - 1960. This is a highly commendable piece of work outlining the development of education, in England, for the range of "handicapped" children and adults whether blind, deaf, physically or mentally disabled. Despite the fact that it spans two centuries the book is surprisingly detailed using source material from annual reports, reports of official committees, reports of Royal Commissions, Acts of

Parliament, books, articles and unpublished papers. Though the title is somewhat misleading, since the book does not cover developments in Scotland, it was, nevertheless, useful as a guide to the type of developments which well might have occurred in Scotland and the sequence in which they might have occurred.

Regrettably, no corresponding work, as far as can be ascertained, exists for Scotland and it could be that this thesis, which covers a more modest time scale and geographical location, might serve as the first part of a larger work covering developments in the provision of education for such children for the whole of Scotland. Though such a study would be extremely demanding, in terms of time, it would fill an obvious gap in our knowledge of this area and would be a worthwhile contribution to our knowledge of the history of Scottish education.

Also useful and with more direct relevance to affairs in Scotland, especially in the early chapters, was the history written by D.H. Tuke (1882) entitled: Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles. This is a particularly wide-ranging work covering developments, mainly in the nineteenth century, in England, Ireland and Scotland, though additionally, developments in America and in Europe are discussed briefly. An early chapter, of particular interest, takes a historical look at the superstitions surrounding insanity and its treatments - medical or otherwise - and even includes an Anglo-Saxon recipe for a “fiend-sick man”, “Take a spew-drink,

mainly lupin, bishopwort, henbane, cropleek. Pound them together; add ale for a liquid, let it stand for a night, and add fifty libcorns or cathartic grains and holy water". Should this not prove efficacious an alternative strategy is suggested, "In case a man be lunatic, take a skin of mere-swine (that is, a sea-pig or porpoise), work it into a whip, and swinge the man therewith; soon he will be well. Amen". Other remedies mentioned are chains, healing pools, whipping posts, the stocks, incarceration and execution. Quotations from Shakespeare, Sir Richard Burton, Sir Thomas Browne and Sir Walter Scott all add to what is a fascinating historical journey through the perception and treatment of the "insane" by society. The most important chapter with relevance to this thesis is Chapter IX where Tuke turns to Scotland. Here he outlines the main features of Parliamentary legislation between 1806 and 1871 and examines Parliamentary Returns for 1858, 1878 and 1881 for such things as distribution of the insane and the average weekly cost of each lunatic at the time. He then looks at asylums in Dumfries, Edinburgh and Glasgow before commenting in detail upon the report of the Lunacy Commissioners for 1881.

The last of the secondary sources which proved to be very useful was the published form of a series of lectures, "What Asylums Were, Are, And Ought To Be" - five lectures in all delivered before the managers of the Montrose Royal Lunatic Asylum, by W.A.F. Browne (1839), Medical Superintendent of the Montrose Asylum and, formerly, President of the Royal Medical Society, Edinburgh. The first chapter of the book sets out to take a look at the statistics of insanity in Britain, country by country, while the second looks at what asylums were like mainly before the nineteenth

century. Browne catalogues the appalling treatment meted out to people thought to be insane or lunatic - often in monasteries. In one such establishment in the south of France, "every lunatic regularly received ten lashes per day". In England, "Immured in a wretched and comfortless prison house, and left to linger out a lifetime of misery, without any rational attempt at treatment, without employment, without a glimpse of happiness, or a hope of liberation, he was terrified or starved into submission, lashed, laughed at, despised, forgotten. The great objects were - confine, conceal". On the Continent things, if anything, were often worse with these unfortunates sometimes being kept in wooden boxes or cages or even in subterranean holes. After depicting the horrors perpetrated upon those thought to be mentally "inferior" he turns to the asylums of his day. Here he has much to say of untrained and brutish keepers in asylums and of the evidence of continuing cruelty, less severe and less frequent than before, but still happening in the 1830s.

Finally he turns to his idea of what an asylum ought to be. His vision, Utopian though it may seem with its emphasis on cure rather than containment, nevertheless pointed the way in which he thought the care and treatment of those confined in asylums ought to progress. There ought to be libraries within asylums, opportunities for religious worship and instruction, payment for work, proper clothing, opportunities for employment in the gardens or farm and classification aimed at creating little communities, or families, consisting of people suited to each other's society. Some of these conditions were already in operation in some asylums and Browne makes mention of the asylum at Pirna, in Saxony, as an example as well as

two in Naples, “two of the best conducted asylums in the world” where apparently, “the secret of his, the governor’s, whole system, was employment and constant kindness”. The strength of Browne’s work is its unity achieved by a circular journey through the iniquities of the past to the present: improved but capable of much more improvement and, finally, to a vision of the future, readily achievable, and indeed already being achieved in Browne’s lifetime in some of the more enlightened of the European institutions.

Because of the nature of this study and the fact that most of the source materials used were archival, care had to be taken over the validity of the documents and the reliability of their authors. External criticism in the case of this thesis presented no real problem. Firstly because documents relating to educational history are less likely to be forged than, say, documents relating to politics, economics or religion where stronger motivation may exist for creating forgeries or fraudulent accounts. Secondly because most of the documents used were primary and official documents such as school logbooks, admission registers for mental hospitals and the published findings of Royal Commissions. Once satisfied that the documents used were genuine the next task was to evaluate their accuracy and worth. R.M.W. Travers (1978, pp.382-3) has identified a number of useful questions which should be considered when making evaluations of writers. When these types of questions were applied to the authors of the documents used in the present research they served, mainly, to reinforce their reliability. Travers (1978, p.382) also reminds us: “More credence is given to the observations of experts than those of amateurs”. Much of the

documentary evidence studied for this work was written by professional people such as Head Teachers, HM Inspectors, doctors, superintendents of mental deficiency hospitals and reporters to Royal Commissions. All of these would, generally, be regarded as experts. Most of these people were also there at the time the event they were writing about happened which increases the value of the source. The thesis concludes with a brief epilogue summarising what it set out to do, saying how this was achieved and stressing the originality of much of the material.

Chapter One

Alternatives to Schooling 1862-1962

Introduction

The children who are at the heart of this study all exhibited, to a greater or lesser degree, intellectual disabilities. Throughout most of the hundred or so years covered by the study the terms most commonly used to describe them were “idiots”, “imbeciles” and “feeble-minded”. This chapter describes the type of children to be found, typically, in each of these grades of intellectual disability. However, these were imprecise terms and became stigmatising labels which even today are still used as insults. Because of this the generic term “intellectual disabilities” has been preferred in this thesis whenever possible. Where it is necessary to use one of the original labels it will be placed inside inverted commas. The confusion mentioned with regard to degrees of mental “defect” extended to other areas too, especially that of provision. Some of the children, for example, were to be found in poorhouses, others in madhouses, asylums, industrial schools and even prisons. These institutions and the conditions within them are looked at in detail. There simply was no coherent policy for dealing with such children, so that the whole area of intellectual disability during the period covered in this thesis appears rather chaotic. This chapter will define who these children were and where they were to be found before they became the responsibility of the Education Authority. It will also comment on the acceptability of such provision for children with intellectual disabilities.

Who Were These Children?

This question of definition raises problems: the terms used to describe these children, “idiots”, “imbeciles” and “feeble-minded” changed through the years and were not always used with any great precision. For long even the deaf and dumb were legally presumed to be “idiots”. Ann Digby (1996, p.2) writing of such problems concludes that, “Historically ... the subject is confused by a multiplicity of terms”. What can be said is that all of these children showed some degree of intellectual disability in that they failed to reach full mental growth. The first point to be made about these children is that they must be distinguished from children who were mentally ill. Before the twentieth century there was little attempt at any scientific classification of intellectual disability. The term “idiot” is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (O.E.D.) as an uneducated ignorant person or a person so deficient in mental or intellectual faculty as to be incapable of ordinary acts of reasoning. The earliest recorded uses in English occur in Cursor (1300), “thou sais to me als til a sott. Haldes thou me for ani idiot” and in Chaucer (1386), “Wenestow make an ydyot of oure dame?” Attempts at classification came much later. The Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 attempted to define the various classes of “mental defectives”. “Idiocy” was seen as the most severe degree of “mental defect”. The Act defined “idiots” as being, “so deeply defective in mind from birth or from an early age as to be unable to guard themselves against common physical dangers”.

While such labels may be imprecise, MacKay (1989, p.5) suggests, correctly, that they have at least provided a rough operational definition of the people thus categorised. This was indeed the case with the brief descriptions of the 1913 Act

being fleshed out later by others interested in this area. R.S. Woodworth and D.G. Marquis (1965, pp.33-34) described how “idiots” would put their hands into fire or walk into deep water. They went on to relate how this “idiot” class could not learn to wash and dress themselves while the most deficient among them did not learn to feed themselves or care for their bodily needs. They would never be able to talk beyond a few monosyllables. Nor were they capable of any useful task or of any scholastic education. In fact they were capable of understanding only the simplest commands and all their lives would have to be looked after like little children. The 1977 report by HM Inspectors One Year On suggested that where it was possible to assess the intelligence of these children the IQ obtained would be below 35. This was the group with the most serious intellectual disabilities. Until they became the responsibility of the education authorities in 1975 such children were to be found at home with their parents, in mental deficiency hospitals or in the Day Care centres which were beginning to appear in the 1950s. They were regarded as being both “ineducable” and “untrainable”.

Less intellectually disabled than the “idiots” were the “imbeciles”. The O.E.D. defines “imbecile” as being, “mentally weak, of weak character or will through want of mental power; hence fatuous, stupid, idiotic”. Here we can clearly see the lack of precision surrounding these terms with the one label - “idiot”- being used to define a supposedly different label - “imbecile”. The earliest recorded uses of the term in English are in Johnson (1755) and in Wordsworth (1799-1805), “His days he wasted ... an imbecile mind”. The Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 defined “imbeciles” as, “persons in whose case there exists from birth or from an early age mental defectiveness not amounting to idiocy yet so pronounced that they

are incapable of managing themselves or their affairs or, in the case of children, of being taught to do so". According to Tredgold (1970, p.7) they could be taught to understand and would protect themselves against common physical dangers. They would not, for instance, deliberately put their hands into a fire or walk into a pond. He believed that under supervision most of them could wash, dress and feed themselves. However they were defective in their capacity for education so that they were incapable of earning their living or contributing materially towards their support. While they could talk a little they were incapable of learning to read. Lewis Terman's classification, quoted in MacKay (1989, p.3), credits this group with IQs ranging from 20 to 50. The report One Year On places them in the 30-50 range so that already we can see some overlap with the "idiot" group. This group of children were regarded as "trainable". Some would attend training institutions such as those at Baldovan and Larbert and from the 1940s Junior Occupational Centres where these existed.

The least intellectually disabled group defined by the Act of 1913 were the "feeble-minded", a term brought in from American writings in the 1860s. The definition of "feeble-mindedness" given is persons in whose case there exists from birth or from an early age "mental defectiveness" not amounting to "imbecility" yet so pronounced that they require care, supervision and control for their own protection or for the protection of others or, in the case of children, that they by reason of such defectiveness appear to be permanently incapable of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in the ordinary schools. Woodworth and Marquis (1965, pp.33-34) suggest that such children can be taught to do simple routine work without the necessity for constant supervision. In an institution they would be capable of making

beds and running errands. Some might become skilful in tending animals or babies, doing carpentry work or operating sewing machines. However they would still require general supervision otherwise they would be likely to spend money foolishly and be led astray. These children would typically have IQs in the 50-70 range. It was largely children of this “feeble-minded” group who attended the special schools and classes of the Glasgow area from the late nineteenth century onwards.

However it would be wrong to think that there were clear dividing lines between these different classes of children. As will be shown, ascertainment was frequently a problem with children often being placed inappropriately. Both before and after the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 the terms used to define the extent of a child’s intellectual disability seemed to be often confused. Indeed for much of the nineteenth century the terms “idiot”, “imbecile”, and “lunatic”, were for all practical purposes synonymous. Pritchard (1963, p.9) points out that until the close of the nineteenth century the terms, “idiot”, “feeble-minded”, and “mentally defective” were used interchangeably and bore little or no relation to the degree of intellectual disability of the persons to whom they were applied. While there seemed to be some agreement that the “mentally defective” differed from the class of the mentally deranged, the former term applying to a person mentally incapacitated from birth or an early age - i.e., an “idiot”, “imbecile” or “feeble-minded” person; the latter signifying insanity in a person who had been sane - i.e., a lunatic - even here there was confusion over the terms. An article in The Scottish Poor Law Magazine highlighted the uncertainty over the terms used, “ a more clear definition must, if possible, be given of the term “lunatic” than at present - medical men being at variance as to the construction of the word under the existing Act. Mere eccentricity

and imbecility, to a certain extent, should not be sufficient to stamp a man as a lunatic, where he is able, either wholly or partially, to provide for his own wants without risk to himself or others” (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1858-9, Vol. II, p.8). Similarly the Royal Commission of 1857 tried to clear up the confusion over the terms being used but only succeeded in further confusing them. It suggested that in order to avoid any misunderstanding, “it may be proper to premise that, in the phraseology of the Law of Scotland, persons, who, by reason of mental unsoundness are unfit for the management of themselves or their property, are termed ‘furious or fatuous persons and lunatics’, the first of these terms applying to maniacs, the second to imbecile persons or idiots, and the last to insane persons generally. But, as for most of the practical purposes of the present inquiry, the distinction between the different forms of mental unsoundness is unimportant, we shall take the liberty, in accordance with the usual phraseology, of employing the terms “insane persons” or “lunatics”, as applying to them all, unless where a different meaning is indicated” (Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums, 1857, p.3). Even the Lunacy Act of 1890 stated that “Lunatic means an idiot or person of unsound mind” while C.L. Mowat (1961) refers to the “feeble-minded” as “harmless lunatics”. Time has been taken over the definitions of the degrees of intellectual disability and their lack of precision because of the fundamental importance of these points. If children could not be ascertained as belonging to one of the degrees of disability, with reasonable accuracy, then it became difficult to place them in appropriate institutions.

What, in a sense, was more important than a strictly accurate classification was the attitude of society to those children with intellectual disabilities. The attitudes of society towards those of its members who are in some way deviant in the sense of

being seen to be significantly different in some important way from the societal norm, especially where this difference is negatively valued, have been classified by Wolfensberger (1972) in four ways. Firstly “deviant” individuals may be destroyed or persecuted. Here the “deviant” is seen as a sub-human organism, an unspeakable object of dread, who may carry contagion. Though popular with the Eugenics movement in Nazi Germany and America in the 1920s this is not a recent development. In Sparta the laws of Lycurgus approved the abandonment of “idiots” and the exposure of “handicapped” infants. Exposure was also practised by the Athenians even in the time of Plato. Unlike the latter who put deaf children to death the Spartans, showing greater ingenuity if less humanity, merely put them in the great pit at Taygetus. Secondly “deviant” people may be segregated from normal society. Fear of the “deviant” as a diseased organism, or as a menace, caused them to be incarcerated in asylums. Thirdly attempts are made to reverse the “deviant” features by re-education or treatment such as speech therapy and, lastly, methods are sought to prevent future “deviants”. Sterilisation is one method to have been used here.

In Scotland a variety of “remedies” existed. Earlier beliefs in lunacy as a tangible manifestation of demoniacal possession had seen remedies in the form of church exorcisms, holy water and salt, binding to church pillars, whipping posts, the branks and healing wells such as St. Fillans in Perthshire. Dr. Mitchell, Commissioner in Lunacy in Scotland, gives many accounts of healing wells in “On Various Superstitions in the North and West Highlands and Islands of Scotland, especially in Relation to Lunacy” in Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland (1862). To this list should be added the less savoury treatments of blood lettings, emetics,

purgatives, and flagellation as well as the primary treatment - seclusion in a dark room and fetters. This is an area of our past that we can scarcely be proud of though, to be fair, these practices existed in other countries too. Joanna Ryan and Frank Thomas (1987, p.86) remind us that before the late eighteenth century discussions of idiocy are “scattered and fragmentary” but those that do remain are largely concerned with the human status of “idiots”. While some such as Paracelsus, the Swiss physician of the early sixteenth century, tried to establish the full humanity of “fools” there were others who saw them as sub-human. Often the darker aspect revealed itself in over-dominant bodily functions - increased sexual appetite or a lusting for food. In 1720, twenty-three year old W.B. was described by his mother, Jane as, “an idiott and has been so far from his Birth, and never able to putt on his own cloaths ... and is always very glutinous and desirous of meet” (Rushton, 1996, p.50). Even as late as the Victorian period families indicating signs of idiocy to medical practitioners for the purpose of certification would often allude to this animal quality. It should be remembered that in the Victorian period the family took an active part in specifying the indications of intellectual disability and in the process of medical certification. Doctors had little expertise here. It was not until the twentieth century that doctors considered themselves experts in “mental deficiency”.

One indicator of idiocy was a lack of speech or the production of “inarticulate noises” such as “yelling and crying like a cat” (Certificate for T.A., 1881 in Wright and Digby, 1996, p.124). For long the condition was misunderstood and even when the remedies outlined above were no longer current those with intellectual disabilities fared little better. Theirs was then to be the crowded poorhouse or madhouse often under the charge of a brutal keeper often in chains or in beds of dirty straw, often

naked even in winter. It is easy to sympathise with D.H. Tuke (1882, p.4) when he confesses it difficult to understand why and how they continued to live. Until the end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth, the lot of the intellectually disabled child was often to remain in the family working for them in factory or farm from an early age or to be boarded-out or to languish in the poorhouse, prison or asylum. Indeed until the last decade of the nineteenth century the history of the training and education of these children in Glasgow is virtually the history of these institutions. To an extent this was the result of a lack of any scientific means of classifying those with intellectual disabilities and thus of identifying those who might benefit from an exposure to education and also to the absence of a system of free compulsory mass education prior to 1872. Such schools as did exist before this date may have numbered some of these children among their pupils. What they could expect there would depend on the type of establishment they found themselves in.

Schools in Glasgow Before 1872

It is probably reasonable to assume that some Glasgow children with intellectual disabilities would have been in schools prior to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. Though there were certainly some excellent schools in existence before this date many others were of dubious worth, their proprietors more interested in fees than in imparting any education to their pupils. Educational provision even for normal children in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was inadequate to meet the needs of a burgeoning population. Glasgow, for example, doubled its population in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century - from 42,832 to 83,767 and by 1851 had reached 329,097. Not until 1872 were we to see the beginnings of mass compulsory

education. As Gillian Sutherland has noted (Sutherland, G. 1984, p.18) this would precipitate a public debate on the problem of “slow” children in regular classrooms. However, “no education authority had made much effort to compel the attendance of children with severe mental defects”. Many such children would simply be sent back home. In case we should become too critical of schools that took this “easy” option, we should consider the high exclusion rates in Scottish schools today – a situation which of regular concern to the government.

Before this date a combination of burgh schools, voluntary effort, private effort, endowed schools, work, subscription, adventure, industrial and ragged schools attempted to meet the need. Nationally even as late as 1834 only one eleventh of Scottish children attended school. Even where children came to school there were many obstacles to be overcome in their pursuit of an education. Few could attend for more than a year or two. All but a few would have left by the time they were twelve and if they lived near a coal pit or factory they would be at work by the age of ten. In towns boys aged seven could add two to five shillings a week to a meagre family budget by working in a tobacco factory (The New Statistical Account of Scotland 1845, iii-v). There were jobs for Glasgow children in silk mills, iron foundries, potteries, glass works, paper mills and match works. Even after the Factory Acts of the 30s and 40s, which made it an offence to employ children under nine, it was hopeless to expect indigent parents to withstand the temptations to evade the law. Few town children could remain at school after the age of eleven. There were economic pressures, then, on both the burgeoning industrial society and the impoverished parents which created a barrier to education for many children.

Given the situation even for those considered “normal” it should come as no surprise that the situation was decidedly worse for children with intellectual disabilities.

Some of these children would come to be regarded not only as “ineducable” but also as “untrainable” - “in the evolutionary scale lower than the sea-lions or performing fleas” (Petrie, 1978, p.3). This then is the background against which we must view the situation of children with intellectual disabilities in and around Glasgow in the nineteenth century. Dr. Warner, consultant paediatrician to a number of children’s hospitals in London believed, “the great evil is that children who are not capable of being educated by the ordinary methods are exempted from school attendance; that is to say, the treatment they get at the school leads to their exemption, and practically they get no training at all, and they degenerate morally and mentally, until one traces them in the hands of the police” (Tuke 1882, p.304). Dr. Warner’s assertion was backed up by the experiences of others as we shall see below.

The Intellectually Disabled in Prison

In a paper published in the Edinburgh Medical Journal of May, 1861 on “The Statistics of Prisoners: their mental condition and diseases” by J.B. Thomson, surgeon to the General Prison for Scotland at Perth, he is of the opinion, “that as a class the intellects of prisoners are much below the average and that a large proportion are congenitally of imbecile mind”. This linking of intellectual disability to criminal behaviour has for long been a popular concept. Family studies by Goddard (1912, 1914) and also by Dugdale (1910), dealt with in the following chapter, suggested a strong link between the two. However, other studies (Cressey, 1960) done between 1915 and 1930 suggested that this link was less strong.

Thomson's words are an echo of those of his predecessor, Dr. Malcolm, who had made a study of mental diseases and became medical superintendent of Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics in Perth . In one of his manuscripts found among his prison notes after his death he claims that, "On a close acquaintance with criminals of eighteen years' standing, I consider that nine in ten are of inferior intellect" (Scottish Review, 1862, p.55). A similar view was expressed in the report of the Connecticut Commissioners on Idiocy 1866, "In this connection it may be well to allude to a fact developed in our investigations, viz., that from their moral weakness and ungoverned passion, idiots often commit serious crimes and still oftener, perhaps, become accomplices in the crimes of others whose superior mental endowments enable them to use poor wretches as the means for accomplishing their guilty ends" (Scottish Review, 1862, p.56).

An article in the same magazine described the sending of "imbeciles" and "idiots" to prison, "What a picture does this afford of what underlies the boasted civilisation of our times! To think of the majesty of British Law, and all the venerable paraphernalia of punitive discipline - the solitude and silence, the cell and the manacle, the bolt and the bar, put in array against a mixed multitude, of whom only one in ten is of normal mind, and therefore capable of understanding and improving under the discipline. It is beyond measure deplorable that such a state of things should exist among us" (Scottish Review, 1862, pp.55-56). What was more shameful, however, was the fact that among the prison population were to be found children with intellectual disabilities. This practice became even more shameful when, as is shown below, these prisoners were children who had not yet even reached their teens.

Two classes of the insane were sent to prisons at this time: dangerous lunatics sent there as a temporary measure of precaution and criminal lunatics sent to the General Prison in Perth for permanent detention. The General Board of Directors of Prisons in Scotland in their Nineteenth Report (1858) show that at 30 June, 1857 there were one hundred and fourteen insane prisoners being held in Scottish prisons. Of these Glasgow Prison had one female insane inmate who was removed during that year to the Lunatic Department of the General Prison. Lanark and Airdrie both had one insane male inmate transferred to Lunatic Asylums during the year. The Imbecile Ward of the General Prison had at this date six "imbeciles" two of whom were juveniles and twenty-five lunatics one of whom was a juvenile. Juveniles, according to Rule 69, were males under eighteen years of age or females under sixteen. Transfer from the prison itself to the Lunatic Wing and from the Imbecile Ward to the Lunatic Wing took place at times so that prisoners with intellectual disabilities who became troublesome could end up among the lunatics in that particular wing of the prison. The Nineteenth Report (1858, p.49) shows that children featured among the prisoners of the day. Some were incarcerated in the Department for Criminal Lunatics in the General Prison. They could be put there for a variety of reasons. J.J. Junr. aged eleven on admission was sent there for a series of assaults after being found not to be a fit subject for trial on account of "imbecility" and dumbness. A girl, M.G. sixteen years old and declared insane was jailed there for eight months for theft while T.M. a seventeen-year-old boy found to be insane and so not fit for trial was sentenced for theft to be detained in prison until the further orders of the Court. Among the prison population were to be found many cases of such children. Table X of the Report (p.60) provides numerous examples. J.G. is one such. Eleven years of age when admitted he is described as being "weak-minded" and was sentenced to

twelve months imprisonment. W.W., a thirteen-year-old “weak-minded” boy was sentenced to eighteen months. J.McQ. only two years older and also “weak-minded” received twelve months. Girls too are represented. One example is J.M. a seventeen year-old “weak-minded” girl imprisoned for twelve months. The list is lengthy and represents an unsatisfactory solution. It is difficult to accept that intellectually disabled children as young as eleven constituted such a danger to the population that they had to be incarcerated in prisons where they could mix with older, and possibly more hardened, criminals. Perhaps if their time had been spent in a school or a colony for the intellectually disabled, such as that at Sandlebridge, this drastic solution could have been avoided. Mary Dendy, of the Sandlebridge colony, argued this very point. She also claimed it would be more economical to keep such children in a colony rather than send them to prison and that life in a colony would obviate the need for prison (Dendy, 1922).

To be fair to the prison system at that time there were occupational and educational opportunities for the prisoners, including the juveniles. However to what extent prisoners with intellectual disabilities were able to take advantage of these is a matter for conjecture. It was certainly possible for some of them to opt out of any occupation, “Any work performed by prisoners in the Lunatic Department is done voluntarily. Several of the males are employed keeping the various day apartments and passages in order. The females are employed at Sewing and Knitting” (Nineteenth Report, 1858, p.49). Most of the prisoners at that time would be occupied at mat-making, shirt-making, shoemaking, tailoring, weaving, net-making and knitting. There were educational opportunities too since education seemed to be an important part of prison life. However it appears to have been scripturally based,

“much religious knowledge has been communicated to the prisoners” (Nineteenth Report, 1858, p.54) in keeping with Rule 44 concerning, “the spiritual and moral improvement of the prisoners” (Nineteenth Report, 1858, p.54).

Progress was hoped and looked for, “it is to be hoped that, by the Divine blessing, much more extensive and permanent good will be accomplished” (Nineteenth Report, 1858, p.55). This was achieved in some cases as is detailed in the Table (Nineteenth Report, 1858, p.55) which shows the progress of Juveniles involved in the education programme. It has to be said however that the state of their intellect is not indicated so that, at best, we can say that the possibility exists that some children with intellectual disabilities among the prison population may have taken part in the educational programmes available. Of the twenty-four juveniles who were unable to read on their admission to the General Prison in 1857 only one was still unable to read at release. Of the eighty-nine who could read a little on admission, twenty-six at their release could still read only a little. Seventy-two left able to read well compared with the thirteen who could read well on admission. Figures for writing show a similar pattern. On admission forty-two juveniles could not write, while at release only one still could not write. Nineteen were admitted able only to sign their names while at release only two were capable of writing no more than this. On admission only two were capable of writing well whereas by the time of their release this number had increased to forty-two. And so it is with counting. Eighty-nine were incapable of doing this on admission but at release only sixteen were still unable to do this. While prison authorities thought the educational progress of these prisoners to be “very satisfactory” (Nineteenth Report, 1858, p.54) the small numbers who could do these things either not at all or just a little after exposure to the educational

programme might be indicative of the fact that those with intellectual disabilities had access to the programme, though there are dangers in assuming that this was necessarily the case. So many other factors have to be taken into consideration - the length of time spent in jail and on the programme for example. However there were alternatives to prison for Glaswegian children who had committed some misdemeanour or other. In the nineteenth century these consisted of reformatories or industrial schools some of which contained children with intellectual disabilities who had been sent there through the courts.

Reformatories and Industrial Schools

As an alternative to prison the young would be more likely destined for one of the Reformatories or Industrial Schools of the Glasgow of the mid-nineteenth century. J. Greig and T. Harvey (1866, p.98) report that such "schools" claimed to have, "an important bearing on the social wellbeing of the community" that they would, "snatch the young waifs of the city ere they have become hopelessly lost, and place them beyond the reach of temptation, and within the influence of education and correct habits". Glasgow at this time had four Reformatories. Glasgow Reformatory Institution was one such "school" where three hundred boys under the governor, the Rev. A.K. McCallum received an elementary education based on reading, writing and arithmetic. The industrial elements of the curriculum included tailoring, shoemaking, joining, smithing, coopering, printing, bookbinding, baking, wood-splitting, engineering and farming. For the pursuance of the latter Riddrie Farm was attached to the reformatory. Here some of the boys trained for farm labour, learning spade-husbandry, land draining, the cultivation of cabbages and turnips and the

tending of horses and cows. Girls, catered for in separate institutions such as the one in Parliamentary Road, were taught where possible to read, write and “cipher” though the domestic work of washing, scrubbing, cooking and sewing which would have fitted them well for employment on their release seems to have been neglected. Despite the claims made for the success of the Reformatory system many inmates seem to have relapsed after their release. The Chief Constable of Glasgow claimed that the benefits of the system fell far short of what the public believed. Many of the boys returned to their old practices and haunts while the girls found refuge in the streets. Figures for the Girls’ Reformatory show that during the ten years ending 1 January, 1866 three hundred and twenty-nine were discharged. Of these one hundred and thirty-three were sent back to their relatives, “to those relatives under whose roof and auspices they had first learned crime”. Sixteen were sent to other institutions, two were expelled and fifty-five absconded (Greig and Harvey, 1866, p.98-101).

The disappointments of the Reformatory system are not difficult to understand given that children with intellectual disabilities, after their period of confinement there, would be released back into the environment and the situation which had sent them to a Reformatory in the first place. This is precisely the kind of situation that Mary Dendy was warning of in her speech at Dundee in 1922. She argued that it was pointless to spend money and time on intellectually disabled children and then “turn them out into the world” (Dendy, 1922) where they would again get into trouble. This is why Dendy’s life-long colony at Sandlebridge, described in Chapter Two, was such an important initiative. It is also why in the 1920s in Scotland there was pressure building for after-care for those intellectually disabled children on leaving school.

Rather more successful were the Industrial Schools. Glasgow had three Industrial Schools for children who were vagrants and beggars and who, being under twelve years of age, had committed an offence punishable by imprisonment or some minor offence or, being under fourteen years of age, had parents who claimed they could not control them. The Industrial or Ragged School, Rottenrow is one example. The one hundred and thirty-eight boys and eighty-five girls present in the school in 1866 were sent there under a magistrate's warrant having been found begging in the streets or detected in petty offences that did not merit so severe a sentence as being sent to a reformatory. There they were taught some reading, writing and arithmetic as well as industrial employment such as bag making, tailoring and shoemaking. Sewing and household work was reserved for the girls (Greig and Harvey, 1866, p.101).

Glasgow children with intellectual disabilities were sometimes sent to such schools, occasionally outside of the city. These were visited by councillors from the Glasgow parishes. At Slatefield Institution C.McG. had been taught tailoring though, "rather backward in his education" while at Aberdeen Industrial School a Glasgow girl was described as being, "healthy and strong but backward in her education"

(Minutes Book, 1898). Mossbank Industrial School visited in May, 1882 by Messrs. Sellars and Parnie members of Barony Parochial Board and by Mr. Morrison, the inspector, seemed to impress favourably. Two of the children visited, J. and M.G., were described as being, "mentally dull" (Education Committee Minutes Book BPB No. 1). One of the great attractions of these "schools" was that they provided satisfying meals. It has to be said too that they were successful in reducing the incidence of juvenile vagrants. In 1840 there were four hundred juvenile vagrants in the county of Aberdeen where the schools began and by 1846 a mere fourteen.

By the time of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, Glasgow had ten Reformatory and Industrial Schools catering for 1,169 inmates of whom 29 were “mentally defective”. Five of these schools were of mixed sex. Mossbank Reformatory with eight “mentally defective” children had the largest group while St. Mary’s and Slatefield each had four “mental defectives”. Green Street had three while Rottenrow had two “imbecile” children. Three of the schools were for boys only - Maryhill Industrial School which had four “mentally defective” boys, Rose Street with one “imbecile boy” and East Chapeltoun with one “feeble-minded” boy. The remaining two schools and two pupils are unaccounted for. It would appear that generally the children in these schools were well taught, “in the usual elements of book education”. As well as this they were trained in handicrafts such as carpentry, boot making, tailoring and gardening for the boys and dressmaking, sewing and housework for the girls (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Part IV, E 1, pp.383-94). Of course many children with intellectual disabilities were perfectly law-abiding but for a variety of reasons could not live with their families. Reformatories and ragged schools were inappropriate here and often the answer seemed to be to send them to live with other families in the country. This type of boarding-out was in fact the earliest form of community care in Scotland.

Boarding-Out

Education of a sort, if one interprets the word in its widest possible sense, might sometimes have been found in the system of boarding-out of children with intellectual disabilities. It is clear from the Report on the State of Education in

Glasgow (Greig and Harvey, 1866) that Glaswegian children with intellectual disabilities were often boarded-out. Most of the “outdoor” children were boarded with strangers either in towns or in the countryside. Glasgow had for long used boarding-out, a system which had started at Gheel, in Belgium several centuries before when there was no boarding in. By the beginning of the twentieth century this system was also used in Germany, France, Russia, Norway, Holland, Spain, America and some South American states. These systems however differed from that used in Scotland in that they were State undertakings grouped in large colonies under constant supervision so that village asylums were in effect created. The Scottish system had started in the 1850s as a result of compulsion. As there were many insane but few asylums to contain them, the most urgent cases were placed in asylums, the less urgent being left at home.

Section Five of the Scotch Lunacy Act of 1862 empowered the occupiers of private houses which had been duly licensed by the General Board of Lunacy to take in, as boarders, up to four lunatics. The first of these were boarded-out with families in Balfron and Killearn. Education Committee Minutes frequently refer to children with intellectual disabilities being boarded-out as well as to visits being made to the houses of their guardians. In an entry for 23 February, 1882 in a list of names of the children from Barnhill Poorhouse submitted to be boarded-out are two, C. and W.H., who came from Woodilee Asylum (Education Committee Minutes Book BPB No.1). An entry for Friday 10 September, 1886 in Minute Book No.7 of City Parish Glasgow agrees to remove as boarders M.A.McL., M.B., C.I., and M.B.I. all inmates of the City Parochial Asylum. The first named was sent as a boarder to the house of Mrs. Agnes McIntyre, Gartmore, the second to the house of Mrs. Margaret McNiven

Blair, Duchray and the two last named to the house of William McFarlane, horse dealer, Gartmore. While this system did not involve children with intellectual disabilities in formal education at least it removed them from Gartnavel and the City Parochial Asylum.

The report On the Boarding Out of Orphans (1872) highlights the benefits of boarding-out for such children, "The family circle is the most natural one for the bringing up and training of children" and it is encouraging to note that, " These children look upon the heads of the family as their parents, and the younger branches as their brothers and sisters". Females generally assisted in housework, sewing, darning and knitting. The males tended to be employed on farms or in other forms of light labour presumably being given instruction, where required, on how to perform these various tasks. Though the scheme seems to have been successful and the quality of life raised for those involved, there was little educational advantage to be had over the asylum where they had previously been. Nor was the system used by all. Barony Parish, for example, preferred to send almost all of its insane poor to the poorhouse rather than board them or place them in a chartered asylum. While it was to be hoped that the children thus boarded-out would benefit under the tutelage of a diligent Scottish housewife this was not always the case. Here lay one of the dangers of the system: that the greatest care had to be taken to ensure that the recipient of these children was above reproach and not simply taking children as boarders to earn some extra income. I.S., eight and a half and D. and S.R., six and three quarters and four and three quarters respectively were boarded-out with Miss A.G., a spinster. The experience could not have been a particularly edifying one. Though her house was, "exceedingly clean and tidy, as also the children" the girl - I.S. - in particular

“appeared to be anything but happy”. When Miss A.G. was made aware of this she, “launched into a torrent of complaints” against the girl. Further investigation revealed that she had had children from the parish boarding with her for many years, “with the exception of some months last year when confined in Merryflats Asylum” (Education Committee Minutes Book BPB No.5).

Nor was the system of boarding-out universally welcomed. Often the community in which such children were to be placed had misgivings. One example of such is an entry which sought to draw the attention of the Board to the boarding-out of “imbeciles” in the district of Balfroon, “In two of the houses the guardians have taken in this class of boarders. The pay is better, and, as a rule, the trouble less, and we think it is for the Board now to consider whether it is judicious that both this class of boarders be allowed to remain under the same roof” (Education Committee Minutes Book BPB No.5). The complainants went on to observe that, “the boarding out of imbeciles at Balfroon and district appears to be greatly on the increase”. Similarly in the Report on the State of Education in Glasgow (Greig and Harvey, 1866, p.97) a parish minister expressed his relief at the boarders being sent to his village then compared with a few years before when, “a very indifferent set of pauper children were sent to the village - many of them idiots”. It is easy, of course, to be too critical of those individuals or families who took in boarders when neither the parishes nor the country itself seemed particularly concerned with attempts to educate them. Some little help was given in the form of directions issued to those receiving boarders. On pages fifteen to seventeen of the Reports on the Boarding Out of Orphans (1872) a list of directions are given. Nowhere is there any direction as to the educational needs of the boarders and how these needs are to be met. The nearest we

come to this is no.8 entitled "occupation" under which the following is noted, "They shall see that they are employed in work suited to their training and ability, and that they have a moderate amount of outdoor exercise daily, when the weather permits". These instructions were no doubt useful when the boarder did have some kind of training and ability but in the case of children with intellectual disabilities who would have had little if any of either they were of no real value whatsoever.

It is clear from the figures given in the Report of the Royal Commission (1857, p.162) that many of these children in Glasgow and its surrounding area were resident with relatives or strangers. Figures supplied for 1851 show that of the private insane, fifty-five were at home with relatives and ten with strangers while the corresponding figures for the pauper insane are sixty-eight and twenty respectively. The Commissioners accepted that confinement in an asylum was not always the best solution for those with intellectual disabilities, "There exists throughout Scotland a large number of idiotic, and weak-minded or fatuous paupers, of whom the greater proportion have been in this state from birth, and the smaller number have become imbecile in consequence of attacks of insanity or epilepsy. In such cases, although their condition is capable of improvement, a large amount of benefit to their mental state could not be expected to accrue from removal to an asylum or poorhouse" (Royal Commission, 1857, p.182). Yet despite this the report goes on to say that many were being sent to these very places - one hundred and fifty-four private insane and two hundred and sixty-three pauper lunatics in chartered asylums while the poorhouses contained two hundred and forty-four pauper lunatics.

The Commissioners also questioned whether the general wants of those living with relatives or strangers were being sufficiently attended to. Education however was apparently not seen as a “general want”. The Commission found that often people would put difficulties in the way of the removal of their “idiotic” relatives to an asylum. This may have been more the case in the Highlands where there was a very strong attachment towards “imbecile” or “idiotic” relatives so that families would agree to the acceptance of the smallest pittance for their support rather than be separated from them. These feelings may have been mixed up with superstition for there was a prevalent conviction that abandonment of relatives so afflicted would be followed by misfortune. While it might be expected that those living at home would be well cared for and perhaps even receive some kind of education in basic Life Skills this was not the general impression formed by the Commissioners. In a section of their report dealing with pauper lunatics resident with relatives or strangers they describe how among the poor it was not uncommon for the males and females of the family to occupy the same sleeping-room and occasionally the same bed. They cite two instances where a strong suspicion existed that fatuous brothers and sisters had become parents from having been allowed to sleep together. They go on to state how, “In a number of parishes idiot and imbecile females have become mothers, and, in general, to unknown fathers” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.185). This was an appalling situation and could only have happened because of a lack of supervision on the part of the Board of Supervision.

The situation with the private insane resident with relatives or strangers was little better. Most of these were “members of that class which is only slightly removed from pauperism” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.188). Generally speaking

only one such person would be in a home unless more than one member of a family happened to be deranged. For the greater proportion of the private insane the relatives' means did not permit their being sent to an asylum. Accordingly as a general rule they were kept at home. The evidence of Mr. Davidson in Appendix M (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.332) of the report shows the stark reality of what often happened in the place of loving care and basic training of the relative, "Cases have actually occurred where lunatics have been kept, (not from cruelty, or a desire to injure them, but on the contrary, from an unwillingness to part from them) in the houses of their relatives - father or brother - and kept in a manner which, perhaps, was necessary to preserve them from injuring themselves or others, but in a manner which just bordered upon criminal maltreatment". Page 196 describes D.T. seen on 21 September, 1855. D.T. was an "idiot" who resided with his parents who had two other "imbecile" children. When visited he was sitting by the fire almost naked. He was, "very emaciated" and his head and legs covered with a, "cutaneous eruption". Later we find, "His habits are very dirty, and he is frequently beaten with the view of correcting them. His appetite is great but it would appear is generally very imperfectly satisfied" (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.196). Little evidence here of loving care or a desire to nurture a stunted intellectual development.

While admitting that there were undoubtedly individuals who were being well cared for by relatives or strangers the Commissioners maintained that the cases cited were not exceptional, "Many cases similar to [these] have come under our observation, or been reported to us ... the private insane, resident with relatives or strangers, are far from being cared for in a satisfactory way". There was, "No doubt [a] large number ... treated with kindness and consideration" but still there was they felt sure a, "vast

amount of neglect and misery” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.196). They continued, “Reviewing generally the facts now made known to us as to the condition of the insane and idiotic not in asylums, it is obvious that an appalling amount of misery prevails throughout Scotland in this respect” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.188). Their conclusion was far from comforting, “When estimating the condition of the insane not in establishments, it should be remembered that the details furnished by us give only an imperfect representation of the true state of matters. They form only a part of the picture of misery, and had we been able to extend our investigations, it would, we are convinced have assumed a much darker shade” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.197). There were indeed children who lived within this “darker shade”. These were children of the poorest families who could not afford to keep them at home. Their fate was to be sent to the Poorhouse.

The Intellectually Disabled in Poorhouses

Another receptacle for children with intellectual disabilities in Glasgow in the nineteenth century was the poorhouse with its lunatic wards and asylums which were often overcrowded. These offered total maintenance and catered for every type of insanity. Generally however the poorhouse lacked sufficient means for the proper care and supervision of these children. In his *Statements Regarding Poorhouse, Hospital & Asylum Accommodation at Parochial Buildings, Merryflats* (Liddell, 1878, p.8) Dr. Liddell commented on the, “urgent need for increased asylum accommodation”. He showed that out of nine hundred and sixty-three residents of the

poorhouse one hundred and eighty were lunatics. Some of these were accommodated, of necessity, in the poorhouse wards rather than in the asylum. Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century had the Town's Hospital, Barnhill, Merryflats, Barony Poorhouse and Glasgow City Poorhouse. These were forbidding places with an ethos which could hardly have been conducive to education taking place had it been on offer.

The Barony sent its insane poor, including children, to Barony Poorhouse opened in 1850. None were sent to the chartered asylums or licensed houses and few, if any, placed with relatives or strangers. At the time of the Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums in Scotland (1857) this institution had eight hundred inmates of whom one hundred and fifteen were insane. Barred windows and dark seclusion rooms contributed to the cheerless picture painted by the Commissioners. The evidence of Dr. Ford did nothing to improve this image. Speaking of the seclusion rooms he thought it, "impossible that ... they can ever be thoroughly ventilated and purified". The seclusion room for incontinent patients had, "a strong ammoniacal odour". Rooms were often, "without any means of heating". At least there was some occupation for inmates - twenty acres of land where from twenty to thirty male patients laboured. There were also two workshops where patients untwisted cotton, an occupation which could hardly have been mentally stimulating. "In the ordinary department there were workshops for tailors and shoemakers and occasionally an insane person might be employed there; but there are no other workshops, beyond those already mentioned, belonging exclusively to the lunatic ward" (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.170). Females weeded fields or untwisted cotton.

The other Poorhouses were apparently no better. The Commissioners visiting Glasgow City Poorhouse on 15 May, 1855 found rooms ill ventilated, not well cleaned and with floors sometimes saturated with urine. Again the main occupation seemed to be the cultivation of the two acre garden by the ordinary inmates and by some of the lunatics where cabbage and other hardy vegetables were grown. It is clear from a reading of the Report that its authors were unimpressed by the poorhouses of the day. In their opinion they did, “not afford sufficient means for the proper care and supervision of the patients” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.132).

There is little evidence of educational input of any kind here for those with intellectual disabilities although in the 1850s Barnhill did use music to soothe the troubled mind. Apparently “entertainments” of this sort could produce beneficial results and were, “relished with great zest” (Mather, 1882, pp.41-44). There is no indication that children with intellectual disabilities were admitted to the school at Barnhill Poorhouse which consisted of a mixed school room with accommodation for one hundred and fifty children, each child having eight square feet of space. On these figures this may have been a blessing in disguise. In the absence of any clear evidence it is at least likely that those with intellectual disabilities were instead found employment in the stonecrushers’ boxes or in the oakum picking hall or, if female, in the wash-house or the flock picking hall (Barnhill Letter, 1882). If we accept that Religious Instruction could be counted as a branch of education then this was an “education” which was in theory available to them, “all inmates of the Poorhouse, except those who are incapacitated by sickness, infirmity or infancy, shall attend morning and evening prayers every day, and divine service every Sabbath-day”.

Anyone excusing himself from this was expected to spend time in reading from the Bible or in receiving instruction from a minister (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1860-61, Vol. III). Realistically however it would seem that the list of exclusions would have excluded children with intellectual disabilities. If the poorhouse was unsatisfactory in terms of educational provision then the other options for these Glaswegian children - the madhouses and asylums - were just as bad though, in their defence, it should be said that these institutions existed to confine and contain rather than to educate.

The Madhouses of Glasgow

An alternative to the poorhouse, to prison or to keeping children with intellectual disabilities at home was the madhouse. There may have been some small private madhouses in the city offering custodial care even towards the end of the eighteenth century. Certainly there were in the nineteenth century a number of licensed houses operating as private asylums in and around Glasgow for private and pauper cases. These catered mainly for adults rather than children, though in the absence of any documentary proof it may be that at times they had youths in their houses too. Generally they seem to have been overcrowded and largely unsatisfactory. Those in existence in 1855 and referred to in the Report of the Royal Commission (1857) were Langdale House, Bothwell capable of taking eighty-six patients, Garngad House, Glasgow with a capacity of eighteen, Springbank Retreat with room for seven insane ladies, Blackfauld Private Lunatic Asylum, in Rutherglen catering for four and Hillend, Greenock which could take seventy (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II).

One of the most disturbing features of these establishments and one which is highlighted by the Commissioners is the way in which licences were often granted to people who had no knowledge of the nature, nor of the treatment, of the condition of those in their care. Many of these people lacked even the experience of an ordinary nurse in a general hospital. Many had insufficient capital to make satisfactory provision for all the wants of those in their charge. The Report cites examples of proprietors who had previously worked as “victual dealers”, bakers and gardeners. Apart from one, Saughtonhall, none of these houses was built as an asylum. Rather they were adapted, often poorly so, to suit their new purpose. Sometimes even outhouses, “which were never intended for human habitations have, in some cases, been filled with beds” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.101). Usually there were no day rooms so that when they were not in the airing-grounds patients had to stay in their crowded bedrooms. Meals would be taken there with the inmates seated on the beds or squatting on the floor as there were usually no seats provided. Patients tended to be underfed and suffered from the cold. Conditions in some of these madhouses were hardly suitable for animals let alone humans. Not all “madhouses” were privately owned however and children with intellectual disabilities often found themselves in one of the public asylums.

The Asylums

The only other place of refuge at the start of the nineteenth century was the Town’s Hospital, a poorhouse opened in 1733. There were, “six vaulted cells for mad people, the first of that kind built in North-Britain; well suited to their Purpose. There are also Grass-Walks at each end of the Infirmary, inclosed with Walls, for the Use of

those unhappy Persons during their calm Intervals, or that of any other Patients, for whom Walking may be convenient” (A Short Account, 1742, p.22). The hospital hoped to promote its aim of, “Industry, Sobriety, Christian Knowledge and true Piety ... by the joint Advantages of frequent Instruction, Divine Worship Twice a Day, and by the good education of the poor Children employed sometimes in reading, sometimes in Work suited to their Age and Ability” (A Short Account, 1742, p.9). This appeared not to apply to clients with intellectual disabilities for whom basic custodial care seemed to be the sole aim. Confining and containing the “mad” so as to protect the public from their ferocity took precedence over any attempts at therapy, educational or otherwise. The McNair Committee reporting in 1804 saw the Town’s Hospital as, “inferior to none in the Kingdom ... as a receptacle for helpless Infancy and the infirmity of old age” (Andrews and Smith, 1993, p.51) but as nothing more than this. Nor was there any attempt at classifying inmates by rank or type of problem so that those with intellectual disabilities would mix freely with the seriously deranged. However the cells flooded when the Clyde rose and were damp and insanitary. At the same time the increasing number of lunatics exacerbated the already serious problem of overcrowding.

For these reasons it was decided to build an autonomous asylum for Glasgow. Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics was finally to open in 1814 at Dobbie’s Loan, the first purpose built insane asylum in nineteenth century Britain (Andrews and Smith, 1993, p.25). Even by the time of the Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums in Scotland (1857) no national provision existed for the accommodation of the insane poor in Scotland who were therefore dependent on public benevolence. The Royal Asylums which existed at the time were testimony to, “the interest there excited by this most

destitute portion of the community” since these institutions had been, “founded, and in great measure maintained, by the exertions, and benevolence of private individuals” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. I & II, p.60). More will be said, in the following chapter, of the invaluable work done by individuals, especially in the area of educational provision for Glaswegian children with intellectual disabilities.

The new asylum which was to move to Gartnavel in 1843 opened in a mood of great optimism determined upon an ethos of “moral treatment” or “moral management”. It called for greater freedom for patients and emphasised their humanity. Inmates would be free of restraint, live in comfort and receive therapeutic treatment. This was very much in keeping with the moral management movement in Europe largely inspired by the work of Pinel at the Bicetre and later at the Salpetriere where he unchained the lunatics and advocated a “moral treatment” of the insane. Among the inmates of Gartnavel there was always a number of juveniles. A scrutiny of Admission Registers and Admission Warrants shows that in 1850 eight young males between the ages of fifteen and eighteen were admitted. The corresponding figures for 1851 were four, for 1852 six, for 1853 five and for 1854 seven. While it was not the case that large numbers of young people were being confined in asylums, the fact remains that some were. The majority seem to have been admitted suffering from temporary attacks of insanity. Others were “weak-minded”, “idiots” or “imbeciles” though the numbers here were small. To put the problem into some kind of perspective, Lanark which included the City of Glasgow had, in 1851, nine hundred and forty insane citizens of whom one hundred and sixty-three were considered to be “idiots”, lunatics or fatuous persons. Of this latter number six were between the ages of one and ten and thirty-nine between eleven and twenty. One such child was

W.McT. aged nine and a half at admission on 22 March, 1851. Case notes (Gartnavel House Surgeon's Notes, 1851, 153) show that he had been, "fatuous since infancy".

He was not articulate, tore his clothes, broke furniture and was, "apt to bite when angered". He was discharged on 28 June of that year after a four month stay in the asylum. During this period his treatment consisted of the administering of medicines. At no point in the case notes is there a single reference to any other form of treatment such as might have been calculated to stimulate his intellect. The same is true for J.F. who was fifteen on admission on 22 May, 1850 and who had a, "mind dull and weak" (Gartnavel House Surgeon's Notes, 1850, 23). At his discharge on 20 July he was apparently, "still slow and dull". Again there is no evidence of anything being done to try to brighten the dull mind. The same could be said of J.McD. whose mind was, "very weak" (Gartnavel House Surgeon's Notes, 1850, 146) or of J.A. who had a, "mind very weak and childish" (Gartnavel House Surgeon's Notes, 1850, 65) or indeed of any of the other young people who had to spend time there.

Yet in 1851 the Physician Superintendent reporting to the hospital Directors declared, "I have always been of opinion that the proper occupation of the Patients is not only administrative to their health and comfort, but is also a remedial measure of much influence" (Annual Report, 1851, p.22). The Annual Report of two years later recommends, "employment both of body and mind" (Annual Report, 1853, p.33).

Even more illuminating is the Report of 1854 which observes that, "In the modern and more humane treatment of the insane, there is no point more clearly established than that, in the narrow and circumscribed sphere of activity in the lunatic world, employment, both mental and physical, is of the greatest advantage, and hence the importance of devising every means of occupation calculated to amuse and instruct"

(Annual Report, 1854, p.34). Clearly the therapeutic advantage of proper intellectual occupation was understood and acknowledged and yet there was no attempt whatsoever at the education of these inmates nor of those whose stay was longer. Even as far back as 1807 the architect, Stark, who designed Glasgow Lunatic Asylum had recognised that these, “unfortunate individuals ... required all the aids and alleviations which can be afforded them” (Stark, 1807).

One possible reason for this lack of proper provision for mental occupation lies in a rather chilling sentence in the Fortieth Annual Report of the Directors of the Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics (1854, p.3). Under the heading “Treatment” the following appears, “For the good of our Patients, especially, we should be slow to consign any one to the moral and intellectual grave of incurable lunacy”. The “incurable lunatic” then was beyond help where the mind was concerned. Of course the “idiot”, the “imbecile” and the “weak-minded” were incurable since their afflictions represented a lifelong handicap rather than an illness. Based on this kind of thinking it was pointless to attempt any kind of remedial programme aimed at the stimulation of the mind through education. No wonder then that the Commissioners thought that some of the chartered asylums had, “not yet entirely succeeded in their efforts to act upon the modern views of treatment of the insane” (Royal Commission, 1857, Vol. I, p.81). An important point which the Commissioners said nothing of was the fact that asylums were essentially hospitals for the mentally ill and should never have been used to accommodate the “mentally defective” who were not suffering from an illness and therefore not in need of hospital treatment.

Where any “education” existed in the Glasgow asylums it was more akin to behaviour modification than to education in any academic sense. The Annual Reports of the Asylum suggest that “moral management” implied, “a parental kind of authority” by staff over patients (Andrews and Smith, 1993, p.54). Inmates engaging in disruptive behaviour: that is, failing to conduct themselves “morally” would be deprived of some privilege - walking in the airing-court perhaps. For good behaviour they would be rewarded. Seriously disruptive behaviour could result in a harsh physical treatment such as the whirling-chair, “a mobile seat resting on a pivot, which is made to turn rapidly by means of a gear wheel while the violent patient is attached to it” (Billard, quoted in Andrews and Smith, 1993, p.55). This was continued until patients submitted or were violently sick. Activities, alleviations and entertainments seem to have been the thinking of the time rather than any attempt at education. This is probably not surprising given the weird theories prevalent at this time on the causes of insanity and the even more bizarre ideas as to cures - often involving evacuation, or bleeding, at least in the early days of Glasgow Asylum.

What activities were offered to the patients was very much dependent on social class. The forty acre gardens and the piggery would be tended by pauper lunatics working as labourers. Gentlemen patients were offered curling, cricket and billiards. Occasionally patients could learn a new trade. The evidence of Dr. Alexander McIntosh to the Royal Commission mentioned occupations such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry work, smith work, picking oakum - the greatest number being employed in field or garden work. Female patients were employed in, “the usual house work”. Musical concerts were a regular feature and patients were encouraged to play music themselves (Royal Commission, 1857, Vols. II, p.464).

A point worth making here is that an asylum such as Gartnavel with its moral management system was employing the same kind of behaviour modification techniques still used today in some schools for pupils with severe or profound learning difficulties in Greater Glasgow. Teachers here seek to modify extreme behaviours using behaviourist techniques. There is again a similarity in the use of occupational therapies - e.g. rug making, leather working - in such schools which could be seen as modern day equivalents of the sewing or untwisting of cotton at some of the poorhouses and the farm labour and cultivation of vegetable crops practised in some of the reformatory schools as well as in the asylums and poorhouses. One important difference between the two, of course, is that the special school of today is not custodial and its role is, primarily, educational. While there was no education in the academic sense then on offer in these various institutions in the Glasgow of the mid-nineteenth century there were elements of the kind of education usually described as “Life Skills” or “Social Skills” which we see today in some of our special schools.

In the twentieth century intellectually disabled children from Greater Glasgow were still finding their way into the city’s asylums. Records of the Glasgow asylums show that there were still children confined there not because of mental illness but because of low-grade “mental deficiency”. Though their numbers were never very large the fact remains that they were incarcerated in establishments with adults some of whom could be in their eighties and who suffered from various forms of mental illness. The Ninth Annual Report (1905, Table X) of the Govan District Asylum, Hawkhead, Paisley for the year ending 14 May, 1905 shows the presence of a fourteen-year-old boy described as a congenital “imbecile”. The Thirteenth Annual Report (1909,

Table XA) shows two girls of seventeen and eighteen classed as “imbeciles”. Four more “imbecile” boys ranging in age from fifteen to eighteen are shown as being in Govan District Asylum in 1910 (Fourteenth Annual Report, 1910, Table X). Three years later another fourteen-year-old boy is recorded as an “imbecile” (Seventeenth Annual Report, 1913, Table X). In 1916 there are two “imbecile” boys listed, one sixteen and the other seventeen (Twentieth Annual Report, 1916, Table X).

Descriptions of the mental conditions of children such as these are given in the Case Books for the asylum. Thus we learn of H.C.T. a sixteen-year-old from Hollybrook Street chargeable to Govan Combination Parish and incarcerated there in 1914, “He does not understand anything said to him and is an imbecile. He cannot button his own clothes. He cannot speak intelligently”. On the following page of the Case Book he is described as, “An idiot. Unable to speak or understand speech. Noisy, restless, and destructive”. Such children could be detained in asylums for periods of a few months to many years (Govan District Asylum, Male Case Book Q, 1914-15). Other such cases include J.R. aged fifteen, “very confused, doesn’t answer questions, laughs without cause, stares vacantly, mumbles” (Govan District Asylum, Male Case Book Q, 1915-16) or H.H. sixteen from Thistle Street “Defective intelligence, cannot multiply by two. Becomes excited and unmanageable at irregular intervals when he attacks others, breaks windows ... is given to purposeless mischief. Doesn’t comprehend very well ... vacant expression ... would smile meaninglessly” (Govan District Asylum, Male Case Book Q, 1915-16). Children such as these admitted by authority of the Sheriff or of the General Board of Control could remain in an asylum for a period of many years, even dying there. This was the case with J.Mc.N. admitted to Govan District Asylum as a teenager in 1899 having lived previously in

the institution at Larbert and finally dying in the asylum in 1927. The Asylum Register of Lunatics for Gartloch 1896-1906 shows a similar picture. W.L. a thirteen-year-old congenital "idiot" boy previously in Woodilee Asylum was sent there in 1897 though only for a short period while J.H. an "idiot" boy of fifteen was also placed there. So was J.B.B. a fourteen-year-old "imbecile" boy and M.Mc.N a teenage congenital "idiot" girl who was to spend nine years there before being discharged in 1913. Another teenage "idiot" W.J.C. was less lucky, dying there in 1904 after a six year stay (Asylum Register of Lunatics, Gartloch, 1896-1906). The Gartloch Asylum Register of Lunatics (1906-1916) again mentions children with intellectual disabilities being kept there for varying lengths of time - seven children in all - with one girl J.R. dying there in 1924 after eleven years as an inmate.

Minutes of meetings of asylum committees show that punishment was still used in asylums at this time. Restraint was one form used mainly for preventing the removal of surgical dressings. Seclusion was another, used mainly to suppress violent excitement. Such intellectual stimulation as there was came in the form of Occupational Therapy. Govan District Asylum, at Hawkhead had a number of workshops where inmates repaired boots and slippers as well as making shoes and boots. There was tailoring too which involved repairing trousers and making overalls and suits. As well as this there were sewing rooms for the manufacture of aprons, blinds, dresses, socks, towels, sheets and curtains. Comments by visiting Commissioners in Lunacy testify to the value of this form of therapy, "The attention given to Occupational Therapy in its widest sense, that is to say, employing the patients not only to engage their attention but to excite their interest continues to be actively pursued and regarded as of the highest value from the point of view of care

and treatment” (Patients’ Book, Govan District Asylum, 1935). When Dr. Kate Fraser, one of the first women doctors in Scotland, became a Commissioner of the General Board of Control and visited Govan District Asylum she too commented favourably on this aspect of asylum life, “The therapeutic value of occupation continues to be recognised and every effort is made to stimulate the patients to occupy themselves in some way, even if only to a limited and imperfect extent ... the special occupational department ... has been an extraordinary feature of the hospital for many years” (Patients’ Book, Govan District Asylum, 1944). Despite the benefits, such as occupational training, which asylum life could offer it still seems morally wrong to take away the freedom of children simply because they are intellectually disabled. It may be that the real benefits were to the rest of society who had potentially troublesome individuals removed to a place where they would not have to suffer them or even see them.

Another group of intellectually disabled children was to be found in some of the many charitable institutions serving the city. Participating charitable institutions were eight in number. East Park Home for Infirm Children in Maryhill had among its number two “imbeciles” and four “defective” children. As well as medicinal care these children of the poorest class were offered such instruction as their age and health permitted. Smyllum Orphanage near Lanark, an institution of the Roman Catholic Church, had eleven “feeble-minded” and eighteen “defective” children who were employed about the estate when old enough. At Greenhead, the Buchanan Institute for the maintenance, education and industrial training of destitute boys had one “mentally defective” child among its three hundred and thirty inmates. The Royal Glasgow Asylum for the Blind, in Castle Street had five and the Deaf and

Dumb Institution sixteen. Magdalene Institution, in Maryhill, dedicated to the care and training of fallen women contained one hundred and thirty-eight inmates, six of them “feeble-minded”. They were trained in household and laundry work. Situated in James Morrison Street, the City Orphan Home housed children from fourteen to twenty-one who were later admitted to Quarrier’s Homes, Bridge of Weir. Its aim was to educate and find work for some. Among its number were one “imbecile” boy and four “feeble-minded” children. In Kirkintilloch, Waverely Park Institution for Defective and Feeble-Minded Children housed eight feeble-minded girls. In addition the city’s common lodging houses, or “models”, were home to at least one “defective” child. By the end of the nineteenth century a more enlightened approach by Barony Parish Council saw them begin the construction of Woodilee Children’s Home. This would allow the separation of children with intellectual disabilities from the adult inmates of Woodilee Asylum and represented a major advance in the provision of asylum accommodation for such children.

The Children’s Home in Woodilee Asylum

As far back as 1881 the advisability of providing accommodation for low-grade children with intellectual disabilities who were chargeable to the parish had received the consideration of the then existing Barony Parish Council. However the relatively small number of such children on the roll of the parish induced the council to depart from the idea of building a separate home and instead the children were boarded in the Larbert and Baldovan Institutions for “imbecile” children. This was to prove short sighted for by 1893 the question of providing accommodation was again before the parish council owing to the action of the Glasgow School Board authorities who

reported to the various Glasgow parishes a large number of children incapable of education in their schools though quite why it had taken them so long to discover these children in such numbers remains a mystery. The necessity of providing accommodation for the comparatively large number of children with intellectual disabilities in this way placed under their care, decided the Barony Parish Council to sanction the erection of a building for the children. In early infancy all the children were under the immediate care of the parish and were then boarded-out in the two "imbecile" institutions mentioned above. At the onset of adolescence the children were returned to the immediate care of the parish. One reason influential on the parish council in adopting the building scheme was the consideration of having the children wholly under their care.

The decision to erect a home was agreed by the General Board of Lunacy and plans for a building, initially to house thirty-five children, "not susceptible of improvement" were approved. Sir John Sibbald, Medical Commissioner of Lunacy, writing in November 1898 said, "No section of the community has a higher claim for our compassionate sympathy than children of defective or unsound minds, and they have not hitherto received due attention from public authorities. They cannot be suitably cared for in association with insane persons of riper years, and it is in accordance with the humane spirit which has distinguished the Barony Board that they have commenced the erection of a separate house specially adapted to their care and nurture" (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1900, p.570). Dr. Fraser writing in 1900 said, "It is the first house in Scotland built in connection with an asylum for the accommodation of idiot children, and in thus separating them from the adult insane a great advance in their care and provision will have been attained" (Scottish Poor Law

Magazine, 1900, p.570). The need for such provision for these children was further reinforced by Dr. Bruce, the Convener of the Asylum Committee, "There was, at that time, an increasing number of weak-minded children who were classified as non-educable by the ordinary methods of school instruction. Those children, though they needed special care and attention, which their parents could not give them, had little hope of ever being admitted into an institution such as that at Larbert. Indeed, a large proportion of them was considered as unsuitable for training at either Larbert or Baldovan. It was for the reception and care of this rather helpless and hopeless class that the Board of Lunacy ultimately sanctioned the building of a home by the Barony Parish Council" (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1900, p.571). To make provision for "non-educable" children by a District Board was new to ordinary asylum administration and this was the first attempt which had been made in the country. Though the honour of beginning the work belonged to the old Barony Parish, the credit for its completion was due to the council of the larger Parish of Glasgow (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1900, p.572)

Woodilee Children's Home was intended primarily for "ineducable" children though it would be wrong to think that there were always clear and accurate dividing lines between the different classes of children with intellectual disabilities as defined by the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. Children were certainly misplaced at times - a problem mentioned in the report by John Fraser, Commissioner in Lunacy following his visit to Woodilee Asylum on the 27, 28 and 29 May, 1910. Here he cautioned that, "Care should be taken that only ineducable children are admitted. Two girls appeared not to belong to this class; they spoke well and their expression did not indicate any great defect in intelligence. It is a matter for

consideration whether these girls should not be sent to a training school for imbeciles". This is an example of the confusion, mentioned earlier, over the appropriate placement of children due to problems of accurate ascertainment. By this time, however, Dr. Kate Fraser was pioneering the use of the Binet-Simon tests and problems of this nature should have been much reduced.

When the home opened in 1910 it was described as a, "new villa for idiot children" and contained fifteen inmates - seven girls and eight boys - though it was built to accommodate thirty-five children (Report of John Macpherson, 1900). It is interesting to note that the Home is described here as being for "idiot" children - other reports describe them at times as "imbecile". Again the lack of precision over labels is evident. What can be said is that the children had very severe intellectual disabilities as the Case Books for the Children's Home show. What is also of interest here is the fact that many of the children admitted, though recorded as being of this condition since birth, had apparently had no previous care. Presumably then J.B. admitted on 11 April, 1901 aged ten with no record of any previous care had remained for these ten years at home despite being, "childish in manner and appearance, defective in intelligence, dirty in his habits and unable to give any account of himself". Similarly with W.F. ten years old on admittance with no history of previous care despite being, "dull, stupid, unintelligent, unable to do anything for himself, absolutely helpless, and unable to attend to his general wants". Descriptions such as these are common in the Case Books along with phrases such as, "unable to give any rational account of himself", "irrational, cannot speak or understand what is said to him, is an idiot and can do nothing for himself", "quite devoid of understanding", "imbecile from birth", "intelligence so defective that no sign of

reason can be elicited from him". Other children such as A.D. admitted at eight years of age or M.McC. admitted at six had previously been in Larbert Institution. Some such as J.McD. aged fourteen on arrival were transferred from Baldovan. All of the children of various religious denominations were admitted by sheriff's order under two medical certificates (Woodilee Case Book No. A. Children's Home Male).

This was a home rather than a school so that there was no educational provision in the normal sense of the word and no teachers employed to work with the children. The disappointing thing here is that there could have been for in June, 1927 a member of the Woodilee Committee, Mr. Cunningham, drew attention to the cases then treated in the Children's Home and at his request instructions were given to communicate with the Education Authority to ascertain whether an arrangement could be made for the provision of teachers to train those patients under sixteen years of age. The reply from the Education Authority came three months later. It stated that in view of the opinion that these children were not "educable" it had been decided that nothing further be done (Woodilee Committee Minutes, 1927-9, p.8). This inflexible attitude precluded the possibility of education for these children.

Fortunately others were willing to help with occupational training. "A committee of about 12 ladies, chiefly from Lenzie, attend at the institution for two hours every Friday, and teach ... patients occupations introduced by the Brabazon Society ... Smyrna rug making, painting on cards and matchboxes, fancy needlework, wood carving, basket making, and bent-metal work ... This new development in the industrial employment of patients in asylums deserves the warmest commendation from all interested in the welfare of the insane" (Forty-Second Annual Report General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland, 1900, p.82).

That the children were well looked after is in no doubt from a reading of the reports made by the Commissioners in Lunacy (later Commissioners of the General Board of Control for Scotland). Writing following his visit of the 15, 20 and 21 March, 1916, J. Carswell, Commissioner of the General Board of Control commented that, "The children were clean and were neatly and comfortably dressed. There was a striking absence of the disorders due to low vitality so frequently found among this class of defective children. This result can only be attained by constant care and skilful medical and nursing supervision and it is so noteworthy as to call for commendation" (Report of J. Carswell, 1916). Reports of subsequent years confirm this opinion often stressing the kindness bestowed upon the children or the, "excellence of the care of the children in the Children's Home" (Report of John Macpherson, 1919).

Two points should be borne in mind when reflecting upon this undoubted advance in the care of such children. Firstly these were children incarcerated in an asylum albeit removed from the adult insane. Secondly no teachers were employed as these children were outwith the educational system of the day. The value of this new resource, opened in 1900, in terms of educational provision for low-grade children with intellectual disabilities can be seen in the annual reports of Woodilee Asylum. Writing in 1905 the Medical Superintendent describes how he was asked by, "Glasgow Lunacy Board to select 'uneducable' children from Baldovan and Larbert Institutions. This was done and these children were removed from the several institutions to the new home in the asylum. A practical acquaintance with the children has led me to the belief that there is no child whose mental condition is so hopeless as to be described as 'uneducable'. Truly, the bodily condition of many of these children renders education, so far as usefulness is concerned, abortive. It is

exceedingly gratifying to report that some of the 'uneducable' children admitted to the Children's Home are now doing good work in the Asylum gardens and farm" (Woodilee Asylum Reports, 1905, pp.6-7). Nevertheless the placing of children with intellectual disabilities in an asylum and therefore in a hospital environment was not considered altogether satisfactory by the parish council who were soon looking at alternative provision though, again, without any educational provision.

Stoneyetts Certified Institution

As detailed above, prior to the Act of 1913 one of the options for the Parish Council in dealing with "ineducable" children thought to be also "untrainable" was to place them in an asylum such as Woodilee. However this was not altogether satisfactory as an asylum was essentially a hospital catering for "lunatics" who might recover their reason. Children with intellectual disabilities on the other hand were not ill but suffered from a permanent mental disability. Even before the passing of that Act however Glasgow Parish Council had realised that the proper method of treating such children was by maintaining them in a separate institution. Three years before the Act of 1913 the council had anticipated the forthcoming legislation and erected a hospital at Stoneyetts, Chryston for the treatment of epileptics as well as for the care and treatment of "mental defectives". It was being used in this way when the Act of 1913 was passed authorising the erection by local authorities of separate institutions for the treatment of "mental defectives". An application had been immediately placed with the General Board of Control to have Stoneyetts licensed for the treatment of "mental defectives". In this way it became the first institution of its kind in Scotland - a fact of which the Glasgow Parish Council could be justifiably proud.

It was the intention of the Parish Council of Glasgow to have all of its “mental defectives” there. Case notes relating to the Institution provide details of children confined there. Case Books for 1914-1919 show the following: M.R. a fifteen-year-old girl from Shettleston, Glasgow “mentally defective” from birth was admitted in December, 1914. Admitted that same year was E.W. from Stanhope Street, Glasgow. Sixteen years old and graded as “feeble-minded” she is described as being, “nervous, unsettled, slightly unsteady [in her] gait - impulsive as she gives way to her emotions to an alarming extent”. Hers is a particularly tragic case. The only surviving member of triplets she had a mother who was in an asylum, a sister who had committed suicide and a father who was addicted to alcohol. Six months previous to this entry, when aged fifteen, she had given birth to a child. Three of her brothers and three of her sisters were apparently still alive. M.L. aged sixteen from Bernard Street, Glasgow was also graded as being “feeble-minded”. She is described as, “obviously a degenerate being dull of countenance and showing numerous stigmata” and of being, “variable and unreliable in her conduct”. A.W. also from Glasgow admitted from Barnhill Poorhouse was graded an “imbecile”, “she is a bright and happy higher grade imbecile who takes an active interest in her surroundings”. These were the younger of the girls admitted that year though there were others at eighteen all of whom had to live and mix with adult women of various grades of “mental defect” and with ages sometimes as high as the seventies (Stonevetts Certified Institution, Case Notes Females Nos. 1&2, 1914-19).

And so it is with the boys. F.H. from Maryhill, Glasgow aged sixteen and admitted in 1914 as being “feeble-minded” or R.McC. a fifteen-year-old from Pentland Place in the city. A.C. was a sixteen-year-old boy from Collins Street, Glasgow graded as an

“imbecile” admitted from Barnhill Poorhouse and discharged in October, 1916 to J.C. Millburn, Montgreenan. H.D. fifteen and “imbecile” from Craighall Road, Glasgow and again admitted from Barnhill Poorhouse was described as, “lacking in intelligence for a person of his years. He is facile and very contented taking an active interest in his surroundings”. T.G. seventeen years old from Blackburn Street, Govan Combination and graded as an “imbecile” was “obviously wanting in intelligence. He is quiet and amenable to discipline and desires to work which however is only of an elementary kind”. Again there were a number of eighteen year olds admitted between the years 1914 and 1919 and again, like the girls, they lived and mixed with adult, sometimes senile, older patients (Stonevetts Certified Institution, Case Notes Males Nos. 1&2, 1914-19). Their condition was just as unsatisfactory as the girls.

Though there was no teaching of any school subjects, nor indeed any teachers employed for that purpose, there was a large variety of occupations in which patients could take part. Most patients seem to have been well contented as reports by the Commissioners of the General Board of Control, reproduced in the Stonevetts Committee Minutes, testify, “The striking feature of the Institution is the happy relationship between the patients and an excellent nursing staff who vie with each other to emulate the example of the Medical Superintendent. In the varied working departments as well as in the general training and recreations of the patients the staff are heavily interested in procuring a high standard of results and in developing the abilities of the patients to the highest degree. The various domestic offices afford abundant occupation for a large number of girls. The work in each department is well done. At the time of the visit, the weekly Brabazon class was visited and this form of

Occupational Therapy, which has been so long in existence in association with the Glasgow Mental Institutions, continues to develop and afford a pleasant method of instructing the female patients in the production of artistic and useful handiwork. A majority of the able-bodied male patients work on the farm or garden. All the artisan departments employ their quota of patients. All the work seen is highly creditable to the patients and their instructors. The recreation and amusement of the patients are carefully organised with a remarkable insight into the parts which these can play in promoting contentment and also discipline. In this connection the enthusiasm of the nursing staff is again to be warmly commended". (Stoneyetts Committee Minutes, 1927, p.2).

However Stoneyetts did not meet with universal approval. Inmates frequently requested to be discharged while others, including children, decided on positive action and absconded, a toilet window being the preferred means of escape. In its defence, Stoneyetts did seem to have a happy atmosphere fostered by caring staff who stimulated inmates with occupational training. However there was still no education for children confined there, a fact resented by some of the parents of inmates. Not all parents were happy to see their children there. Correspondence between the General Board of Control and Stoneyetts highlights areas where parents were concerned. One such involves a letter from a parent worried, among other things, at the lack of educational provision in the Institution. Dated 21 September, 1919 Mrs. McK. of Pentland Place, Bridgeton, Glasgow writes (the letter is quoted in full - the original spelling is retained), "I am now just arrived home from Stoneyetts Institution after seeing my son and to my surprise I found him with a black eye and his face cut where he had been getting abused by some of the patients. I now appeal

to you to see what you are going to do in this matter as I intend to push it as far as I can. Now to explain how we put our boy away was through the School Board of Glasgow with their faluse pretence telling us if we put him away for six months and pay 3 shillings a week they would put him into a place where there was a school and he would learn something but I have found that there is no school or anything but a lot of labour in the fileds. But I found that there is a lot of mental cases in this place in fact a lot of daft men which I can safely say that my son is neither and I am quite prepared and quite open to get a Brain Specialist to examine my boy as he was put away for stealing twice not mental affected. So I hope to hear from you as soon as possible” (Correspondence from General Board of Control No. III 1919-20).

Another complaint in a similar vein was voiced by a solicitor, J.J.H. of Glasgow on behalf of his client, Mrs. S. - again on the lack of educational provision, “ ... Mrs. S. is quite concerned that her daughter’s present abode is in every way unsuitable. There’s hardly anyone of her own age and she is dull and discontented. She has some musical talent but there is no piano in the establishment. She is learning nothing but laundry and that is not suitable for her. My client is making enquiries as to a more suitable place”. The reply from the Medical Superintendent of Stoneyetts to the General Board of Control regarding Mrs. S’s daughter was however not encouraging, “Mentally she is weak-minded, being very facile and simple in her conduct and conversation. She is very hysterical and easily emotional. Her physical condition is good. I am of the opinion that she could only be discharged to a home where she could receive constant supervision, and as I understand her own home is not suitable I could not recommend that she should be discharged to her mother’s care” (Correspondence from General Board of Control No. III 1919-20).

Often parents simply wanted their children returned to them. Mr. B. of Brown Street, Bridgeton wrote to the Board on 12 February, 1919 (again the letter is uncorrected), "I wish to inform you that I am home from france to work now and I wish my son T.C. who is in Stoneyetts Institution Cryston as i am hear to take controll of my son now as I want him, out as soon as possible and would you kindly let me know and when and oblige" (Correspondence from General Board of Control No. III 1919-20).

Interestingly enough the Board's refusal to comply with this request was taken on educational grounds. They replied that T.C. was, "feeble-minded, and unfit to take proper care of himself. He is, however, capable of further education, and as there is the prospect of his improving if allowed to remain here, I would not recommend his discharge at present" (Correspondence from General Board of Control No. III 1919-

20). Presumably "education" here really means training in an occupation. Parents would sometimes simply request that their children be allowed home as they were needed there and since, in their opinion, they should not be detained there anyway.

Mr. D.McK. of Bridgeton, Glasgow writing to the Medical Superintendent of Stoneyetts in November 1917 asks for his daughter, Katie back, "as I need her very much owing to her Mother's illness ... My daughter is not in your charge as a criminal, she was only by the Sheriff ordered to be detained as a mental defective for one year in 1915 ans she is being detained for two year's instead. In view of the fact that I have lost two brave sons at the front and that I have no one but a married daughter to help in my house, and my own married daughter has to look after her own house and wounded husband, it is particularly hard to keep my daughter Katie away from her ailing mother" (General Board of Control Letters, 1917-19).

It was, of course, hard for parents to take an active role in influencing institutional care where the realities of conditions were largely hidden. If they did object to conditions they were unable to react by withdrawing their children but had to proceed through a maze of bureaucracy. Letters of complaint and requests for withdrawal could be sent to the institution, the local authorities or the government yet action upon this was hampered by administrative confusion over responsibility, by a mistrust of the parents' motives and by the restrictive rules and regulations of the administration. Families often accepted institutional care on the understanding their children, having been excluded from school, would receive a residential education. However on visiting their children and seeing the reality of the conditions they were often, as is shown above, deeply disappointed.

To be fair to Stoneyetts there were factors operating there over which the institution had no control. The main problem facing the hospital was that it was too small but before anything tangible could be done to take advantage of the provision of the 1913 Act the War started and all operations were suspended. At the conclusion of the War there was an embargo on new buildings and discouragement on the part of the central authority to local authorities to incur capital expenditure. Once again money was to prove the stumbling block to provision for children with intellectual disabilities though on this occasion it is easy to understand why. Not until 1921 was the ban lifted and Glasgow Parish Council set about considering what could be done to make up the leeway. One thing that it did do was to transfer some of its "mental defectives" from the overcrowded Stoneyetts to Barnhill Poorhouse supposedly on a temporary basis. In 1920 and 1921, fifty were transferred to Barnhill even though the Barnhill Committee of the Parish Council of Glasgow complained that it lacked the

necessary accommodation and trained staff to look after such patients properly (McKenzie, undated, p.67). There they were to remain for eight years before being returned to Stoneyetts in 1929. At no time did Barnhill have a large community of “mental defectives”. In the year 1925, as an example, out of a total of 2,107 the average daily number of inmates in this class was 50. Although Barnhill records deny the existence of children in the House, except for nursing infants under one year old who were with their mothers, there are references to “boys” presumably older teenagers. Even earlier there had certainly been children resident there as is shown by a letter dated 31.7.1882 which mentions a children’s department complete with school.

Despite protestations about being unable to look after such patients properly, reports to the Barnhill Committee would indicate otherwise. References in the Governor’s Report for 1927 to the benefits of Occupational Training are particularly interesting. He quotes from comments made by the Commissioners of the General Board of Control during their half-yearly visits to the part of the institution licensed for “mental defectives”. Here they said, “Probably in no institution of the same size is so much varied and excellent work done in the domain of occupational therapy. The several workshops presented a bright and busy appearance, and the work done - toy-making, rug-making, basket work, sewing and weaving - spoke of the progress the institution is making in this educational direction ... Comment has frequently been made on the occupational therapy carried on in this institution. It is probably unexcelled anywhere. A new industry - the making of golf clubs - has been introduced and the progress that some of the inmates have made in this work is remarkable. Reference has been made in previous reports to the unusual results

which have followed the association of respectable old people [i.e. aged and infirm inmate craftsmen] with the patients. This association is mutually advantageous. It has given the old people, so to speak, a new interest in life, and the boys do things willingly for these old people that they might not do for their usual nurses and attendants" (Barnhill Committee Minutes, (17.1.1927).

Accommodation problems were also eased to some extent by boarding-out inmates even though at times there were those against this policy. A letter dated 8 October, 1920 from Dr. Ivy Mackenzie to James R. Motion, Inspector and Clerk, Parish of Glasgow expresses concern at the proposal to board-out J.P. and a number of other "mentally defective" girls in private dwellings with strangers. Dr. Mackenzie writes, "This opinion is in conformity with the policy which I think should be pursued in dealing with the treatment of defective girls and young women ...". The doctor goes on to challenge the recommendation to have J.P. boarded-out which, "arose from administrative reasons due to the lack of accommodation at Stoneyetts". He suggests that a more drastic alternative might be preferable, "It is just possible that the General Board if faced with the alternative of boarding-out young female defectives and certifying as lunatics epileptic demented, would recommend the adoption of the latter course". J.P. was boarded-out on 22 December, 1920 with Mrs. T. at Hazelbank. It is clear from general correspondence that decisions on discharging patients were sometimes based not on what was best for them in terms of medical treatment or training but rather on expediency. Dr. Chislett himself, Medical Superintendent at Stoneyetts, writing to J.R.Motion in September, 1920 regarding the boarding-out of certain "female defectives" admits, "that Institution care [is] better

for any type of case, still the above cases are the only female types we have who are not at all suitable for boarding-out, and it would be a serious matter, in view of our lack of accommodation if this avenue of discharge were to be altogether closed”

(General Board of Control Letters, 1917-19). While Stoneyetts had been opened in anticipation of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 other institutions were opened as a direct result of the Act. One such was Caldwell House.

Caldwell House

Govan District Board of Control’s attempts to fulfil the terms of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 came in the form of the purchase of Caldwell House from Colonel Mure of Caldwell. Purchased in 1923 for £7500 the Mansion House and its two hundred acres at Uplawmoor, near Barrhead approximately fourteen miles south of Glasgow, were made ready to accommodate ninety-five children with intellectual disabilities: seventy in the Mansion House dormitories and twenty-five more in the boys’ home in the grounds. There were plans to extend the scheme as Govan had at that time around six hundred certified, or certifiable, cases of “mental defect”. At its opening on 6 June, 1929 Dr. Hamilton Marr, a Senior Commissioner of the General Board of Control for Scotland, spoke optimistically on education for such children. There was no such thing as an “uneducable” child. There is a rich irony here. The General Board of Control was, in effect, the government so that here we have the government, or at least its official voice in matters concerning the intellectually disabled, claiming that intellectually disabled children were capable of being educated while, at the same time, legally excluding many of them from education. The only child who could not be educated,

he believed, was one who was paralysed; that was a child with some physical defect which prevented the receiving of education. Though they would never be normal, children with intellectual disabilities were capable of being educated and made useful to themselves and probably to the community. The central point of an institution for “mental defectives” was its education point. On the other hand, the central point of an asylum was its hospital. They were bound, he believed, for the sake of the community in time to establish a school in such an institution and to continue the education of these children (The Glasgow Herald, 7.6.1929, p.9). Before long there was indeed a “school” operating here and with apparent success as a visit by the Board of Management for Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions makes clear, “We were charmed with what we witnessed at the school and the activities here are showing marked results” (Minutes Caldwell House Sub-Committee, 3.4.1956).

There are a few general points that require to be stated about such “schools”. Firstly, at this time, the intellectual capacities and educational classification of the children in mental deficiency hospitals in Scotland had nowhere been recorded in detail (The Staffing of Mental Deficiency Hospitals, 1970, p.26). There would, probably, be children in these institutions who were “educable” and capable of benefiting from attendance at a special school, as well as children who were “trainable” and who could have been catered for in a Junior Occupational Centre. This was because children were as likely to be admitted for social reasons as for the severity of their “mental deficiency”. In short there were children confined in Mental Deficiency Hospitals who ought never to have been there. Aware of this problem the Secretary of State for Scotland was later to state that “educable mentally defective” children should not be accommodated in “institutions for certified mental defectives”

(Circular 300, 1955). The fact remains that they were. A second point worth remembering is that staff in hospital “schools” were not usually registered teachers but more often nurses or sometimes persons holding a certificate as an instructor in a Junior Occupational Centre. Nevertheless for the children with the most severe intellectual disabilities the Mental Deficiency Hospital offered the possibility of training or, at least, stimulation of some sort.

All three of the hospitals under the Board of Management of Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions: Lennox Castle, Caldwell House and Waverley Park ran hospital “schools”. In 1948 the separate building at Caldwell House, known as the Manual Block, had been converted to provide classrooms and dining accommodation thus giving better facilities for the occupation and training of the children. Caldwell House catered, in the main, for low-grade children so that few of the children there could be regarded as “educable” in the scholastic sense though many were able to benefit from the Sensory or the Occupational Training. In the Report of his visit of 10.9.1957 (Minutes Caldwell House Sub-Committee, April 1955-March 1962), H.B. Craigie, H.M. Commissioner General Board of Control for Scotland, talked of the twenty-one boys and fifteen girls, from a total of one hundred and twenty-eight, who were attending the school. Under supervision they produced a considerable amount and variety of handwork such as leather work, rug making and knitting. Other school activities included singing and dancing. Like most Mental Deficiency Hospital “schools”, the “school” in Caldwell House was run along the lines of a Junior Occupational Centre. Indeed its designation seems to have been something of a problem and it is variously described in the Minutes of the Caldwell House Sub-Committee as a “school” and as an “Occupational Centre”.

There were no teachers employed here. It was in the charge of Nurse Kirk assisted by Occupation Centre Assistants. Simple games and other forms of recreation were participated in. Gardening, under the direction of a male nurse, occupied some of the boys who proved very successful in the local horticultural shows with their fruit and vegetables. The children in the school were also involved in musical productions several of which, including "The Enchanted Emerald", were successfully performed in the Lyric Theatre, Glasgow (Minutes Caldwell House Sub-Committee, April 1955-March 1962). Musical performances such as these were seen as important to the children's training - a fact appreciated by H.M. Commissioner, L.M.D. Mill. He comments on how, "Under the direction of Nurse Kirk, who is in charge of the school and Occupational Centre, the children at Caldwell House have for some years given a performance of an operetta or pantomime at Christmas and have again done so - at the Lyric Theatre, Glasgow. The level of their performance reflected the very greatest credit on all concerned. Such a result can only be achieved by endless time and patience and Nurse Kirk and those who assisted her are to be warmly congratulated. The interest of the long preparation and the achievement of the performance are both valuable for the training and morale of the patients concerned" (Minutes Caldwell House Sub-Committee, April 1955-March 1962).

That the "school" was successful is also seen in Visitors' Reports, "Simple education and valuable training are provided and much attention paid to handwork which provides great interest and satisfaction to the children". Similarly, "I visited Caldwell House today along with Dr. Weir and Mr. Greeves, representatives of the Northern Ireland Health Authority, to see the School for ineducable but trainable children. They were much impressed by the arrangements made for this type of child"

(Minutes of Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions, April 1948-March 1955).

Apart from the children attending the “school” a smaller class, usually of six, was undergoing Sensory Training in the Main House in the hope that some might, in the future, be able to attend the “school”. What this Sensory Training involved is never clearly defined though Margaret Martin, of Jordanhill College, was able to give an idea of what went on. In her talk at the One Day Conference on 10th. October 1962 in the Royal College of Science and Technology, Glasgow she outlined what this work involved. It was an, “ ... attempt to ‘reach’ the child through sensory training.

Training chiefly through the sense of hearing, sight and touch, allied to movement (activities, games, etc.) is coupled with ‘doing’ on the practical side” (The Second One-Day Conference Sponsored by the Scottish Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, 1962 p.22).

Also in the Day Room of the Main House were children unfit to attend the “school” or Sensory Training Class. These children were restless and a major concern for staff was how to occupy them so as to calm them down. “This Day room has a radio but no television and it might well be found - as has been found elsewhere in similar wards - that the children would be considerably less restless when their attention was occupied by watching it” (Minutes Caldwell House Sub-Committee, April 1955-March 1962). In essence what was being offered to the lowest grade of children with intellectual disabilities was nursing provision. Commissioner Mill had also spoken of a high standard of care as well as stimulation and remedial work, the: “lower grade patients in the hospital section were seen to be receiving a very high standard of nursing care, being kept very clean and comfortable in bright surroundings with plenty of toys. The simple apparatus which has so far been provided is helping

patients suffering from varying degrees of paralysis to learn to walk and use their muscles” (Minutes of Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions, April 1948-March 1955). The highest praise for the work done with these lower grade children in Caldwell House comes from a frequent visitor - James Bias - who saw, “ ... the results of constant care and attention. Small things, such as the gleam of tidy hair bedecked with ribbon, the involuntary gestures of children with their guardians, emphasised more than words that the physical comfort of these patients was complete! The layman cannot understand what this means. To smell the air of a ward with double incontinent children without a trace of excretory substances or odour, requires skill and care of a high order! And, that is all here at Caldwell House” (Minutes of Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions, April 1948-March 1955). Much good work was done at Caldwell House and this deserves to be recognised. Despite this, the institution was essentially a hospital for children who were kept outside of the Education Authority’s responsibility. Even at the time of its purchase it was clear that Caldwell House alone could not meet the needs of all Glaswegian children with intellectual disabilities. A larger institution would be needed.

Lennox Castle

After considerable discussion Glasgow Parish Council resolved on 17 April, 1923 to interview the General Board of Control on the necessity for increased accommodation for those among its citizens who had intellectual disabilities. Thereafter proposals were sent to the Scottish Office which encouraged the idea of the provision of a new institution though it was not until 1927 that the Council was able to purchase the Estate and Mansion House at Lennox Castle at a cost of £25000

(Ritchie, 1936). Around the time of its opening in 1936 the Glasgow Herald described it as, "The finest institution of its kind in the country". It saw Glasgow as a "Foster-parent" (The Glasgow Herald, 13.5.1936, p.12) caring for its children with intellectual disabilities by sending them to Lennox Castle. The institution was built to accommodate twelve hundred patients at a cost of £1250000. It involved the planting of one million trees, the bringing into better cultivation of the associated farm land and the formation of a large reservoir to meet the water requirements of the institution. This represented a considerable financial outlay at the time and the Parish Council of Glasgow is to be commended for the undertaking of such a bold venture at a time of financial austerity. Though initiated by the Parish Council of Glasgow the completion of the work was overseen by the Corporation of Glasgow's Public Assistance Department, the intention being to hand over the building to the Public Health Department of Glasgow for administration.

From the outset the aim at Lennox Castle was more than just confinement. Writing on the subject of custodial care for the lower grade inmates Dr. C.G.A. Chislett, Medical Superintendent at the hospital, took care to point out that, "custodial care implies both treatment and training" (Report by L.M.D. Mill, 28.11.1961, p.1). Certainly the new design incorporated opportunities for training in the form of workshops attached to the male and female sections where it was intended to train patients in mat-making, tin-ware, tailoring, dressmaking and boot repairing as well as laundry work for the females. If it was found that patients might benefit from a continuation of schooling the intention was that this would be provided. The "school" at Lennox Castle catered for the training of "educable" delinquent boys who were certifiable under the Mental Deficiency Act and who were accommodated

in the Juvenile Section opened in 1942 to meet the need for increased provision. It seems to have functioned successfully until its closure in the late 1950s, "We went first to the school where we saw the boys at work, including rehearsal of a short play written by a boy. I personally was interested in the very happy atmosphere between teachers and pupils" (Minutes Lennox Castle Sub-Committee, 24.1.1958). The visitor here presumably uses the term "teachers" loosely as there were none there at this time. There might well have been however for in May, 1957 the Committee had been asked to consider the advisability of requesting the Corporation of Glasgow Education Department to provide formal education for patients at Lennox Castle Institution. However the Group Physician Superintendent stated that the education of the Institution patients was his responsibility (Minutes Lennox Castle Sub-Committee, 1.5.1957). One month later the Committee was asked to consider the appointment of a Head Teacher with special qualifications for the sixty-one boys at the school. The Committee recommended after discussion that no action be taken in the matter. In fact the "teaching" was done by nurses who found that this, on top of their nursing duties, proved too exhausting, "... the male nurses who are carrying out the duties of teachers find that a forty-eight hour week, involving attendance on very exacting duties, is so exhausting as to make it difficult for them to do full justice to the work of the School as well as that of the wards. As a result, they now request to be returned to the wards" (Minutes Institutions Committee, 9.1.1951). In fairness to Caldwell House and Lennox Castle they provided a home and some training for children who, presumably, would otherwise have been placed in an asylum.

Voluntary acts of kindness played an important part in the success of the hospitals.

“The children in Caldwell House continue to benefit from the kindness and generosity shown to them by the Voluntary Association of Friends of the Institution and by other groups interested in their welfare (e.g. the social clubs of industrial firms), by groups of parents and by members of the nursing staff. Much of the special equipment in the spastics’ ward has been provided by the Voluntary Association, substantial donations have been made to provide amenities for the children, both by groups of parents and by the staff social club of Caldwell House and I was informed that the flowers in the wards were provided in most cases by the nurses” (Minutes Caldwell House Sub-Committee, 10.9.1957). Lennox Castle too had its benefactors. The cost of the paddling pool outside the villa of the young children with severe intellectual disabilities was met by Sir Maurice Bloch and the Auxiliary Committee.

It is interesting to compare this philanthropic attitude with the attitude of Education Authorities towards children with severe intellectual disabilities in Hospital Schools. This is especially so when it is remembered that while Education Authorities prior to 1974 were not statutorily responsible for the education of these children, powers were available to them under Section 141 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1962 to negotiate with Regional Hospital Boards for the transfer of responsibility for education in Mental Deficiency Hospitals. These powers were not duties and despite the example in England and Wales, where in 1970 the education of all school-age children regardless of the degree or the multiplicity of their “handicap” became the responsibility of the Local Education Departments, it would be another thirteen years before the Education (Mentally Handicapped Children)(Scotland) Act, 1974 brought

this about in Scotland. Despite the opening of Caldwell House and of Lennox Castle there continued to be a shortage of accommodation for intellectually disabled children in Glasgow who required to be in an institution.

Shortage of Accommodation

Continual references in the Minutes of the Mental Health Sub-Committee of the Western Regional Health Board make explicit the seriousness of the accommodation situation, "... at the moment it is almost impossible to get a bed for a mental defective in any institution in Scotland ... there is a shortage of several thousand mental defective beds throughout the country" (Western Regional Hospital Board, 16.1.1948) and, "provision for mental defectives and educationally backward children is inadequate in Scotland" (Western Regional Hospital Board, 7.10.1948). One of the factors contributing to this shortage of accommodation was the existence in Lennox Castle of a Maternity Unit which occupied several blocks originally built for the housing of male inmates. At times this meant that further admissions to Lennox Castle were impossible and this in turn affected the situation at Caldwell House and at Waverley Park. A letter from Dr. James P. Curran, Medical Superintendent, Western Regional Hospital Board highlights the difficulties faced in the late 1940s, "Until Lennox Castle can admit patients, the position of Waverley Park and Caldwell House, and for defectives in the community is practically static. Waverley Park cannot get rid of "over fives" ineducable females. Caldwell House is unable to dispose of their "over sixteens" ineducable male and female patients. It was

mentioned at the meeting that institutional provision for delinquent and pre-delinquent mentally defective educable females of school age is non-existent and that consequently many are to be found in Approved Schools. In my experience it is detrimental to the defective child and to the delinquent of normal intelligence to house them together in Approved Schools. The solution to me is the removal of the Maternity Unit from this Hospital releasing two hundred and forty beds for mental defectives” (Minutes of Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions, 8.10.1948).

This would happen but not just yet. Instead a short-term solution was found in the transfer of some cases from Caldwell House and from Lennox Castle to Kirklands Institution thus allowing cases to be transferred from Waverley Park to Caldwell House and to Lennox Castle. What such shortages meant in human terms can be gleaned to some extent from entries in the minutes mentioned above, “where the presence of a mental defective in the home was proving intolerable to the family, the only way that the situation could be dealt with was by having the patient certified and admitted to a Mental Hospital, a mode of procedure which has many objectionable features” (Western Regional Hospital Board, 29.7.1948). An alternative was to leave them in the family home but again the consequences could be disastrous, “Much hardship is being caused because of the impossibility of admitting mental defectives to institutions in the Region; not only to the mental defectives themselves, but also to their parents and relatives who are not in a position to look after them. In many cases the lack of institutional treatment for defectives is causing a complete break-up of homes”(Western Regional Hospital Board, 7.10.1949).

This shortage of accommodation caused problems for the institutions too. During the War the number of appeals received for institutional accommodation for children under five increased rapidly partly due to the fact that owing to the need for manpower it was no longer possible to give the necessary care and attention to these children in their own homes. To meet this situation many of these children had to be certified as “idiots” under the Lunacy laws and sent to Mental Hospitals. At best this was a dishonest manoeuvre, while at worst the sending of children under five to a mental hospital was morally unacceptable. Given the situation at the time however it was necessary if accommodation was to be had for these children. What was less acceptable, however, was the fact that they remained there for years filling beds required for the treatment of patients suffering from mental disorder. This was recognised as a most undesirable arrangement but at that time the only possible way of caring for them.

The Board of Control thought that the Pavilion in Waverley Park which had been used as a bedding store could serve a dual purpose - providing care and nursing urgently needed for such children and also providing training in nursing care for some of the older girls. The Directors agreed, the plan being that the children would be removed at five years of age, later extended to seven, so as to maintain the proper function of Waverley Park and allow for more of the under fives to receive care. In 1943 the Pavilion opened for twenty babies of the “idiot” or very low grade “imbecile” type. Demand rapidly exceeded supply. Children received expert care and responded rapidly. The situation in many homes was eased and the benefit to the older girls was marked.

However partly due to the shortage of institutional accommodation and partly because relatives were unable to care for them at home the number of babies under five steadily decreased to the point where in March, 1951 of the twenty-one children in the Pavilion only six were under five, four were six, one was seven and ten were aged between ten and thirteen years. Many of the older children were restless and impulsive while the younger ones were frail and often unsteady on their feet. Most of the children were up and clearly the situation was dangerous. By the retention of these “low grade” children not only was the special function of the Pavilion brought to a standstill but the usefulness of Waverley Park as a school and Training Centre for “educable” high grade girls was being eroded. These problems were compounded by the presence of twelve girls of “imbecile” grade in the main building. Dr. Kate Fraser, Chairman of the Board of Management of Lennox Castle and Associated Institutions, believed Waverley Park had a high reputation throughout the country. She felt it would be disastrous, “if as a result of the infiltration of low grade ineducable children its special usefulness for the whole country should be diminished” (Minutes Institutions Committee, 6.3.1951). In this she was correct. Training institutions such as Waverley Park were in short supply and it would have been regrettable had it been turned into a mere holding place for children with very severe intellectual disabilities. The problem was where were these children to go?

The Coming of the Day Centres

Facilities for these “low-grade” children were non-existent outside of the institutions mentioned above and this meant that parents would otherwise have the task of caring for their sons and daughters at home, generally without relief. This prompted a group

of parents to attempt to make provision by themselves and thus was formed The Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children. The Association determined on establishing its own provision and opened its first Day Care Centre in Glasgow in 1955. During the next ten years branches mushroomed all over Scotland. As well as offering respite to parents of children with severe intellectual disabilities, these Centres offered the children themselves a stimulating environment where some social training could be undertaken. A detailed account of the origins of these Centres and the work undertaken by them is given in the following section. The branches were run by voluntary effort though they constantly campaigned for local authorities to accept responsibility for the provision of adequate services. This constant pressure was rewarded in 1963 when Glasgow Corporation Health and Welfare Department took over the Laurieston Centre - the first to be opened in Glasgow. Gradually branches in other parts of the country were also taken over by their local authorities. Despite the very real value of the work being done in this area by the volunteers involved it should be remembered that all of these children were outside of the educational system by legal exclusion and would remain so until 1975.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the alternatives to education for children with intellectual disabilities from Greater Glasgow during the period 1862–1962. It has shown how much of this hundred year period was characterised by confusion. The terms used to describe the various levels of intellectual disability were themselves confused. “Idiot”, “imbecile” and “feebleminded” were often used as if they were, in fact, synonyms. This lack of precision meant that children could be placed in

inappropriate provision. Because for much of the period covered there was no legal requirement for children with intellectual disabilities to be educated, and indeed many of them were legally excluded from the education system, they could be found in a variety of institutions other than schools. Unsympathetic attitudes and shortages of accommodation meant that these children, some as young as eleven, were sometimes sent to prison to mix with older criminals. Others, whose offences were petty, were sent to Reformatory or Industrial schools where they received some occupational training. However because of the lack of any after-care service many relapsed after their release.

Many children with intellectual disabilities were perfectly law abiding and some of these were boarded-out with relatives or strangers, the cheapest form of accommodation for them. Once again, however, this did not necessarily involve them in any educational provision and sometimes the care received by those children was far from satisfactory. Much of the blame for this must rest with the Board of Supervision, the body responsible, until 1857, for the care and treatment of lunatics and “mental defectives”. Of those who were boarded-in some ended up in one of Glasgow’s poorhouses. These were depressing places, often with damp and insanitary conditions and providing no educational input for the children. Others may have ended up in a private madhouse such as Garngad. These were, generally, unsatisfactory places, run by unqualified people, the buildings poorly adapted to their purpose. One of the most disturbing features of this confusion over provision for children with intellectual disabilities was that they were often incarcerated in asylums even though they were not mentally ill. While there was no education in the academic sense on offer to such children in the Glasgow asylums there were

elements of what we would describe today as “Life Skills” or “Social Skills”. The point is made, however, that it was morally wrong to incarcerate these children in such establishments where they could mix with older, often senile, patients. Even by the middle of the twentieth century children as young as five were being certified and sent to mental hospitals in Glasgow.

The opening of Caldwell House (1929) and Lennox Castle (1936) offered children with intellectual disabilities access to “schooling” though neither institution was in the control of the Education Authority and the “schools” were staffed by nurses. Nevertheless children there did have the opportunity of taking part in occupational training and were in the company of others who were intellectually disabled rather than mentally ill. In this sense these institutions were an improvement on much of what had existed before. Yet, even after the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913, and the realisation that the intellectually disabled should not be incarcerated alongside the mentally ill, there were still children being confined in asylums rather than in the new mental deficiency hospitals. This was largely the result of inadequate ascertainment procedures, about which more will be said in later chapters. Towards the end of the period covered by this thesis, Day Care Centres began to appear for those children with very severe intellectual disabilities. These were staffed by volunteers and provided a basic training in Life Skills, though the point is made that these children were still legally excluded from the educational system. The situation, then, was totally confused with children often being fitted into labels which were themselves confusing and then being accommodated in a variety of institutions but seldom, if ever, with access to trained teachers or to education.

Of course it is easy to be over-critical. For much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Glasgow had enormous social and economic problems. Overcrowding in insanitary tenement buildings often with open sewers in the courtyards and an inadequate water supply brought diseases and death in outbreaks of typhus and cholera in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. Smallpox and measles also took a heavy toll of the infant population. Contemporary descriptions of living conditions for many paint an appalling picture. The reporter for the West of Scotland Handloom Weavers Commission said of Glasgow, "I have seen human degradation in some of its worst phases, both in England and abroad, but I can advisedly say, that I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery and disease existed on one spot in any civilised country".

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 brought further problems in that many new school buildings had to be provided rapidly and more teachers found. Two World Wars further complicated matters – the first delayed many of the benefits of the 1913 Act, while the second resulted in an embargo on new building for several years. At the same time, however, advances in the education of children with intellectual disabilities were taking place elsewhere in Scotland, in England and abroad. These are detailed in the following chapter. From the confusion outlined in the first chapter there would gradually emerge a new optimism that such children could be improved mentally by education. This growing concept of educability fostered, largely, by individuals prepared to champion the cause of education for these children is the subject of Chapter Two.

Chapter Two

The Early Champions

Introduction

This chapter begins by looking at the human status of the intellectually disabled. In the nineteenth century there were those who, wrongly, believed them to be sub-human. Two ways of dealing with this gradually emerged. The first, which contributed to the mood of optimism evident for much of the nineteenth century, was that education could improve them mentally. "There is not one of any age who may not be made more of a man and less of a brute by patience and kindness directed by energy and skill" (Seguin in Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.93). Indeed the realisation of their potential humanity, their transformation into more socially acceptable people, was one of the main arguments used by the early educationalists for educating them. This chapter shows how this concept of educability grew throughout the nineteenth century. The second method of dealing with their alleged sub-human status emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century when this animal nature, once a source of pity, came to be seen as a danger to society. Provision here came not in the form of education but in confinement and segregation.

Until the close of the nineteenth century there had been no government intervention in the education of Scottish children with intellectual disabilities. This is disappointing as so much had been happening, particularly in Europe and America in the nineteenth century, and published accounts were available in Scotland as shown below. Any progress which had been achieved in this area, in Scotland, had been achieved through the efforts of individuals or groups of like-minded people. Usually

these champions were individuals working on their own initiative so that the development of the provision tended to be piecemeal rather than smooth and continuous. It is important to understand that children with disabilities, regardless of the form that their disability takes, have always been just one of a number of groups competing for scarce resources that include financial, material and human support and understanding. They have always been part of a political and ideological struggle over who gets what, how and why. Unlike many of the other groups they are not in a position to plead their own case and are not treated seriously when they do (Barton and Tomlinson, 1981). It has therefore been left to others to shape their history. Joanna Ryan and Frank Thomas (1987, p.85) sum it up as follows, "What history they have is not so much theirs as the history of others acting on their behalf or against them".

Consequently this chapter also looks at the work of those prepared to champion the cause of these children. Featured here are teachers such as Itard and Seguin, doctors such as John Poole, Johann Guggenbuhl and his work in the Abendberg and W.A.F. Browne of the Crichton Royal Hospital. The efforts of Dorothea Lynde Dix and Edward Ellice with the resultant changes in legislation are also dealt with, as are the Victorian novelists, Charles Dickens and Charles Reade. It looks too at people whose position was more ambivalent. Examples include Mary Dendy and Ellen Pinsent whose advocacy of life-long colonies for the intellectually disabled improved the quality of life for such children. Yet both women were against educating them. Daniel Defoe and Samuel Gridley Howe are others who pushed for improved provision while still regarding the intellectually disabled as sub-human.

Exceptions to the Rule ?

The notion that “idiots” were a consequence of the evils of mankind was for long a recurrent theme in the Christian world. St. Augustine states clearly that “fools” are a punishment for the fall of Adam and other sins (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.87). In folklore “idiot” children were often seen as changelings - sub-human creatures not born of a human mother. The German religious reformer Martin Luther believed that the “idiot” child was an exchange whereby the devil had stolen the human child and then substituted himself for it. “The devil sits in such changelings where the soul should have been” (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.88). Changelings, “more obnoxious than ten children with their crapping, eating and screaming” (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.88) were simply lumps of flesh with no soul. Luther went so far as recommending they be killed. “Eight years ago I myself saw a child of this kind which had no human parents but had proceeded from the devil. He was twelve years of age and in outward form exactly resembled ordinary children ... but if anyone touched him, he yelled out like a mad creature and with a peculiar sort of scream. I said to the princes of Anhalt, with whom I was at the time, ‘If I had the ordering of things here, I would have that child thrown into the Moldau at the risk of being held its murderer’ ” (Tuke, 1882, pp.318-319). Fortunately the Elector of Saxony and the princes disagreed. Attitudes such as Luther’s led to “remedies” in the form of church exorcisms, holy water and salt, binding to church pillars, whipping posts, the branks, and healing wells such as at St. Fillans in Perthshire. To these should be added the less savoury treatments of blood lettings, emetics, purgatives, flagellation and seclusion in a dark room bound in fetters (Tuke, 1882, p.44).

Even some of those who did champion the cause of children with intellectual disabilities saw them as somehow sub-human. The writer Daniel Defoe who argued at the end of the seventeenth century for the creation of a “public fool house” to be paid for by a tax on authors compared “fools” to animals for the apparent “deadness of their souls” (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.91). This is not to be over critical of Defoe, for these were pessimistic times when there seemed little prospect of improving the lot of those who were intellectually disabled as they were considered to be less than human. His thinking therefore was in keeping with the trend of thought at that time, though more humanitarian as it was an attempt to fit “fools” into the rest of humanity. Similarly the American philanthropist and social reformer Samuel Gridley Howe, founder of a training school for “idiots”, nevertheless saw such children as representing the evils of society in the form of their parents’ transgressions. Though Howe is generally regarded as one of America’s foremost humanitarian reformers, he nevertheless saw “idiocy” as a social threat. It is the ambivalent position of people such as those mentioned above which makes it difficult to be too categorical about who were the champions of these children and who were not.

There were others, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who were motivated by what they saw as the spreading evil of “feeble-mindedness”. One such was Mary Dendy a member of the Manchester School Board who believed that the way forward was for children with intellectual disabilities to attend residential schools where they would be detained for life. Motivated not by any disinterested humanitarianism but by fear, she had founded in 1898 the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded. The explicit aim of this

organisation was to keep those with intellectual disabilities under control as it believed them to be, “at the root of most of the crime and misery in our country” (Dendy, 1922). Confinement and segregation for life were the clear intentions here (Potts, 1982). In August 1902 a school and two houses for fifteen boys and fifteen girls were opened at Sandlebridge. The intention was that after the age of sixteen these children all from Manchester board schools would stay on in the adult industrial colony (Annual Report, 1912). Within ten years there were one hundred and fifty children at Sandlebridge with an equal number of adults in the industrial colony. The idea of permanent care very much determined the kind of education that was offered to the children - reading and writing were thought to have little value for them. What they offered was more of a training since Dendy believed that education was a waste of time for them. She dismissed, “the idea that if a defective child were educated more intensively it might become non-defective or efficient” with the words, “Well it doesn’t” (Dendy, 1922). Instead there was much emphasis on the development of eye and hand co-ordination and the training of senses. The need to get children used to the idea of manual work as early as possible was emphasised (Pritchard, 1970, pp.181-2). This was largely in order to keep the running costs at Sandlebridge to a minimum. She was quite rightly proud that at Sandlebridge they were, “pretty nearly self-contained” (Dendy, 1922).

Another important development around this time was the formation by Birmingham School Board of an After-Care Committee. This aimed to help children leaving special schools to find employment as well as to investigate the need for boarding schools and industrial colonies for those who would never be able to face life on their own. Chairman of the Committee was Ellen Pinsent, a colleague of Mary Dendy,

who favoured incarceration of the “feeble-minded”. Pinsent considered day schools ineffective and education for such children a waste of effort. She felt state intervention was urgently required because, “Private charity has been at work for many years and the evil is still increasing. On the other hand there can be little doubt that a thorough and complete system of State intervention would lead to a steady decrease in the numbers of the mentally deficient” (Potts, 1982, p.19). Like Mary Dendy, Ellen Pinsent’s was a pessimistic view more concerned with segregating and confining those who were intellectually disabled than with educating them. To be fair to both Mary Dendy and Ellen Pinsent, what they were offering was residential care and occupation for the intellectually disabled. This was, undoubtedly, an improvement in the conditions of some of the young people whom Dendy had seen when a member of the Manchester School Board, “an imbecile boy, naked, chained and howling in a cellar; a feeble minded young woman nursing her third illegitimate child” (Dendy, 1922). Viewed in this way, theirs was a positive contribution to improving the lot of the intellectually disabled. What would have made it even more valuable would have been an attempt to introduce education in to the lives of those in their charge.

This idea of segregating the intellectually disabled was taken up in the twentieth century by the eugenics movement. This movement was based on the work of Galton in England and Goddard and Dugdale in America, which suggested that mental ability was transmitted from parents to their offspring. Consequently “mental defectives” were a danger to society since they would breed “mentally defective” children. Further they often had larger families than normal couples thus diluting the intelligence of the nation. Dugdale’s study of the descendants of five “mentally

defective” sisters, named Juke, had shown that four hundred of the seven hundred traced were criminals, prostitutes, or paupers (Dugdale, 1877). Goddard investigating the Kallikak family in 1912 produced broadly similar results (Goddard, 1912). The family was traced back to the soldier who had fathered a child by a “feeble-minded” mother. The direct descendants of this marriage numbered four hundred and eighty - one hundred and forty three of them were “mentally defective”, thirty-six were illegitimate, thirty-three were sexually abnormal, twenty-eight were confirmed alcoholics, and eight kept houses of ill repute. Later this soldier married a normal woman and the direct descendants of that union numbered four hundred and ninety-eight. With one exception there was no illegitimacy, no prostitution, no confirmed alcoholism or history of crime among their numbers. (Mental Deficiency Act and the Governing Bodies Concerned, Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints, Vol. XLVI, p.171). Findings such as these reinforced the pessimistic views of many and led to a growing conviction that the expense of leaving those with intellectual disabilities undealt with was very much greater than any expenditure that would be involved in keeping them under proper residential control. Such findings also raised fears concerning the degeneration of the race and led ultimately to demands for the segregation and the sterilisation of the “mentally defective”.

The problem with the work of people such as Goddard and Dugdale is that, at the time, it gave an apparent scientific validity to the belief that “mental deficiency” was, and could only be, inherited. This served to reinforce the fear that those with intellectual disabilities were a parasitic menace to the rest of society. Nowadays it would be recognised that there are factors other than simply low intelligence involved in the creation of problem families – social factors being important, for

example. It should be pointed out too that markedly different results have been obtained. In studies between 1915 and 1930 Cressey (Sutherland and Cressey, 1960) showed dramatically reduced amounts of “mental defectives” among the delinquent and criminal population.

Scotland was not immune from such thinking. A series of lectures under the heading “Mental Deficiency and Racial Decay” delivered during the Annual Conference of the Women Citizens’ Associations, at Dundee on the 26 and 27 May, 1922 contained as its forward the sinister lines, “There are two main roads to race annihilation. One is war. The other, longer, less picturesque, but none the less dangerous reaches its destination through the unrestricted multiplication of the mentally deficient. This is the new menace to the progress of civilisation. Under the searchlight of modern psychology, Mental Deficiency stands revealed as a phenomenon to be dreaded as well as deplored ... We must fight and overcome the great evil or it will overcome us” (Mental Deficiency Act and the Governing Bodies Concerned, Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints, Vol. XLVI, p.161). Such a martial metaphor would no doubt instil fear, perhaps even panic, in the hearts of the audience. This was probably the deepest expression of pessimism ever voiced in the debate regarding the intellectually disabled. Having identified the source of society’s problems as being the “mentally defective” the eugenics movement looked for a practical solution to the problem. The choice lay between two extremes - segregation and sterilisation. Each had its supporters, the latter especially after the first sterilisation statute was passed in the United States of America in 1907. However it was the segregationists who were to win the day in the Parliamentary Legislation of 1913 discussed in some detail below.

In Scotland the extremes of the eugenics approach demonstrated in the forced sterilisation in some American states and in the extermination of “mental defectives” under the Nazis were never apparent. Nor did the eugenicists have it all their own way here. There were others advocating a more balanced approach. One such was Dr. James P. Sturrock, Medical Officer H.M. Prison and Medical Superintendent, Criminal Lunatic Department, Perth. Writing in the transactions of the Perthshire Society of Natural Science (1911, pp.83-94) Sturrock accepted that, “A sound health and sound morality [are] the foundations of a nation’s progress” but added that the real problem was, “how best to promote these”. He believed that most races and civilisations in the past have had their, “prophets of doom” and, “apostles of racial salvation”. The difficulty lay in discovering what had caused the decline of past civilisations, “Though popular opinion is ever ready to make sweeping deductions from the outstanding facts of history, nothing is more certain than that we have no true record of the extent to which the decay of former civilisations was due, either to the presence of similar weakening tendencies to those which exist among ourselves to-day, or to the untimely neglect of those who foresaw the consequences”. He scorned many of the, “synthetic theories” and, “looseness of terms” favoured by the advocates of eugenics. However even Sturrock did not discount eugenics entirely. “The National Eugenics Laboratory has got to prove its title to be considered a new school of biology. We hope for much from it”. He believed that, “Much will be done by steadily proceeding with the segregation of the insane and the degenerates”.

Binet’s perfecting of the work of intelligence testing, started earlier by Galton, was a mixed blessing for the intellectually disabled. On the one hand it allowed the process of ascertainment to be conducted in a more scientific and accurate way. This meant

that more children could be placed in appropriate institutions. On the other hand, the intelligence test provided eugenicists with an apparently objective means of diagnosis and ultimately of segregating children with intellectual disabilities from normal children. Of course there was nothing new in this concept of segregation. It had been recommended by both the Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb (1889) and the Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children (1898). Indeed it is a recurring theme in the provision of Special Education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and more will be said of this later.

Here lies the great irony of the I.Q. test which has played such a dominant role in the treatment of those with intellectual disabilities in the twentieth century. The I.Q. test which assumes a continuum of intelligence from “sub-normal” through “normal” to “super-normal” ought to have lessened the exclusion from the rest of “normal” society of those supposedly “sub-normal” since it presupposed the difference between “mental defectives” and others to be one of degree rather than kind. Yet it has had the opposite effect and resulted in an almost total rejection of the “sub-normal” by the “normal”. Indeed the I.Q. test has been used to identify the formal dividing line between the “normal” and the “sub-normal”. Moreover it was also to allow for a division of the “mentally defective” into “educable” and “ineducable” (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.111). The problem lies not with the IQ test itself but with the uses to which it has been put. Fortunately, despite these fears about diluting the nation’s intelligence and the pessimism resulting from them, there have always been people willing to champion the cause of children with intellectual disabilities.

The Earliest Champions

Philanthropy played a major role in the supply of welfare generally in Victorian Britain - "so many good causes were catered for - stray dogs, stray children, fallen women and drunken men" (Fraser, D. 1984, p.124). G. Owens and P. Birchenall identify this trend in Mental Handicap: the Social Dimension. "It is fortunate that whenever a group of people appear to society to be underdogs there is always someone to champion them" (Owens and Birchenall, 1979. p.57). Sometimes this "someone" was a notable philanthropist actively forcing people to consider the needs of society. Sometimes it was ordinary men and women campaigning ceaselessly until reluctant governments were pressed into action. Among such Scottish champions many of the names are famous: Susan Carnegie for her work with lunatics, Sheriff Watson and Thomas Guthrie for the ragged children, William Quarrier for the orphans.

More often the names are not famous. The women of the various voluntary services, the doctors and the teachers of the early special classes and schools, all played their part in championing the cause of education for children with intellectual disabilities. The motivation behind these "do-gooders" has often been questioned. It has even been suggested that vested interests and power struggles lie behind work that is apparently done out of charity (Barton and Tomlinson, 1981). Some writers see these men and women as egoists and self-seekers or in the case of the wealthy as people involved in "ritual giving" motivated more by fear and guilt than by charity (Checkland, 1980, p.5). However it should be remembered that throughout Victoria's reign and for more than a generation afterwards Scottish children who were blind,

deaf or intellectually disabled relied largely on charitable initiatives. Indeed charity work in Scotland was expected to supplement the only official outlay, namely that made through the Poor Law. In any case why the “do-gooders” championed the cause of children with intellectual disabilities is probably of less importance than what they achieved in doing so. The value of their contribution was recognised at the highest level. Lord Egerton speaking in 1899 of the tributes paid in both Houses of Parliament to the work of the Departmental Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children reminded his fellow Lords of the work which had previously been done by private individuals and by philanthropic societies and which ought to be recognised (Hansard, 23.6.1899, col. 398). While some would provide the buildings themselves, as was the case at Baldovan and at Larbert, others would initiate legislation or undertake pioneering teaching of children with intellectual disabilities.

Even as early as the seventeenth century the way for the education of these children was being prepared by such a champion. “Feeble-minded” adults had been among those taken into custodial care by St. Vincent de Paul, a seventeenth century priest, in the Chateau which was to become the Bicetre - the asylum in Paris. W.A.F. Browne (1839, p.100) tells how before St. Vincent’s efforts, “the madman was, on the continent of Europe, either expelled from society as an outcast unworthy of care or compassion, or burnt as a sorcerer”. St. Vincent de Paul journeyed from land to land preaching his cause. His mission was, “to bring back the sympathies of our nature to their proper channels, to proclaim that the darkened mind was as much the visitation of God as the darkened vision, and that Christianity demanded of the humane and virtuous and powerful to protect, and the skilful to relieve, the one as well as the other”. Browne, as a measure of his great esteem for the priest, believed that, “If

canonization ever was justifiable or excusable it was in this instance". It was to be to the monasteries that the care of such people was left for the next hundred or so years. These were to be their only source of hope at that time.

However it was the Realism of the seventeenth century with its emphasis on nature, the use of the senses and the inductive method in education that was to herald the beginnings of a scientific approach to the study of the child as an individual and hence intelligence. Writers such as Locke and Rousseau emphasised the acquisition of knowledge through the senses and the utilisation of the natural curiosity of the child. For the early educationalists then it was a training of the senses which would ultimately help the "idiots" develop their full human potential, rather than education in an academic sense. Training, then, became a source of optimism that something could at last be done to improve such children intellectually. These writers were to influence pioneers such as Jacob Rodriguez Pereira and Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard. The former, a Spanish Jew of Portuguese origin, was a remarkably successful teacher of the deaf. Not only did his pupils have a natural voice and correct pronunciation but they also had his accent gascon. This success was due to Pereira's analysis of speech into two elements: sound and vibration. He taught his pupils to perceive the vibration and so "hear" through the skin and utter what they had heard. The latter, a medical advisor at the Institution Nationale des Sourds-Muets in Paris, at the close of the eighteenth century attempted to educate a boy found naked and wild in the Caune Woods of Aveyron. The boy later named Victor had no speech, was dirty, bit and scratched and was altogether very far removed from Rousseau's "noble savage".

Attributing the boy's subnormality to his lack of experiences Itard set about supplying Victor with such. Before attempting to work on the boy's intellectual

functions Itard first worked at exercising and improving Victor's sense organs.

Unfortunately he started with hearing, one of the most complex of the senses instead of beginning with touch, the simplest and most basic of the senses. Through a series

of carefully graded exercises Itard attempted to develop Victor's senses one by one.

After five years he regarded his experiment as a failure and Victor as an "idiot" even though he could read a few words, understood much that was said and behaved in an

acceptable fashion. Despite Itard's disappointment the experiment had been a

comparative success. It had changed society's understanding of what could be

achieved with children previously considered to be "hopeless" cases. Indeed there

are those who see Itard as the founder of the education of intellectually disabled

children. His work on the systematic training of the senses would inspire others, most

notably Maria Montessori who would go on to develop a whole methodology of

teaching, still used today, based largely on the work of Itard and his disciple Seguin.

Edouard Seguin, the Apostle of the Idiot, studied medicine and surgery under Itard

who encouraged him to devote his life to working with "idiots". Like Itard he was

inspired by the enormous potentialities of human nature in even its basest form. For

him the purpose of education for "idiots" was quite simply to raise them from their

animal sub-human state, to "remove the mark of the brute from the forehead of the

idiot" (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.93). This could be done firstly by a training of the

body which involved two things: motility, the capacity for movement and sensibility,

the capacity for sense perceptions. Like Itard before him, Seguin adopted a

systematic, methodical approach. The sense of touch was always the first to be

trained. Next came taste, smell, hearing and, finally, speech. For pupils who showed

enough potential there would then follow lessons in reading and language. Finally

the memory and imagination would receive training. Seguin's efforts met with much success and, encouraged by this, he produced books and pamphlets outlining his methods. The most famous of these, The Moral Treatment . Hygiene and Education of Idiots and other Backward Children brought a letter from Pope Pius IX thanking him for his services to humanity (Boyd, 1914, pp.88-129). Seguin believed that each human was a living trinity who feels, understands and wills at every moment of his existence. From this it followed that the teacher first had to deal with the body before moving on to the mental functions and finally the will. In insisting on this serial order and the primary importance of the training of the senses within it he has much in keeping with the other early educators, Pereira, Rousseau and Itard. Here then was the key to success as far as the early educators were concerned. Bodily improvement was seen as the key to mental improvement, "the body is but the instrument, the mind the unseen musician, and the strings must be in tune or no harmony can be produced by the most skilful hand" (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.95). For the early educators, then, training of the senses came first, with those who showed themselves capable going on to a basic education.

It is also worth noting that Seguin, like Itard, was struggling against the conventional wisdom of the day which was that "idiots" could not be educated. Just as Pinel had believed Victor to be an incurable "idiot" impossible to teach, others believed it impossible to lighten the "idiot's" darkness. "Idiots are what they must remain for the rest of their lives ... no means are known by which a larger amount of reason or intelligence can be bestowed upon the unhappy idiot, even for the briefest period" (Boyd, 1914, pp. 88-129). Indeed the Standard Dictionnaire de Medicin, published in 1837, the year Seguin began his educational work with "idiots", thought it, "useless

to combat idiocy. In order to establish intellectual activity, it would be necessary to change the conformation of organs which are beyond the reach of all modification” (Boyd, 1914, pp.88-129). These comments put into perspective the value of the work undertaken by Itard and Seguin in challenging the accepted pessimistic beliefs concerning the ineducability of children with intellectual disabilities. From their work there would gradually emerge an optimism based on a growing concept of educability for these children which would go far beyond a basic training of the senses. Before leaving these early educators it should be said that in some ways they were ahead of their time. Methods developed and used by them had uses for normal children too, though it has taken us a long time to rediscover things such as concentrating on the senses to improve attention or focussing on the individual.

Ironically it was in Scotland, a country slow to begin the work of providing educationally for its children with intellectual disabilities, that some of the earliest suggestions for improving their lot were made. Among these were the ideas of a Scottish physician, Dr. John Poole of Edinburgh. Like Itard and Seguin, Poole saw the value of a sound training of the senses and like Pereira he believed that one sense could substitute for a missing or imperfect one. Again like them his optimism, that these children could be improved intellectually through education or training, was at odds with the conventional wisdom of his day regarding the education of children with intellectual disabilities. His writings would reinforce Itard’s findings concerning the educability of these children and the concept would continue to grow throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Poole

Dr. John Poole's ideas on the efficacy of medical treatment and educational training for children with intellectual disabilities first appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Edinensis* in 1819. Poole made a strong appeal to the conscience of his readers. In highly charged emotional language he described the, "culpable indifference [with which the] poor idiot [was met in his] objectless and staring perambulations among us". Poole saw the "idiot" as the, "recipient of every abuse and cruelty which wantonness or fiend-like perversity thinks properly to heap upon him" and as the object of "brutality and outrage". In his dramatic prose style building climax after climax through a series of rhetorical questions he set out to shame a society which was apparently, "less concerned about the disposal of those living beings, whose weakness ought to call forth our compassion" than it was with the disposal of its dead (Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.4). He drew a comparison between the provision already in place in a city like Edinburgh for other classes of less fortunate citizens and that which existed for those with intellectual disabilities. Other classes of unfortunates in Edinburgh were catered for by Magdalen Asylum, a Lunatic Asylum, a Blind Asylum, an Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, a Home of Industry and, "a great variety of establishments for sundry benevolent purposes" (Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.5). However the city's intellectually disabled were to be found either in the poor-houses or wandering at large. Though not mentioned by Poole the situation in Glasgow at this time was much the same. The less fortunate of this city were catered for by the asylums and the poor-houses while those with sensory handicaps had the Glasgow Society for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb founded in 1819 as well as the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind which was opened in 1828.

Poole saw the main reason for this neglect as being pessimism borne of, “a very general opinion as to their [i.e. children with intellectual disabilities] total incapacity for education” (Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.5). Like Itard and Seguin he went on to challenge the belief current at the time that all children with intellectual disabilities suffered from the same defect and that this was incurable. Instead he argued the case for individual differences and the possibility of successfully educating these children. This could be done by utilising a, “principle of substitution” (Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.5) whereby one faculty substitutes for another “missing” one. Whether this principle of substitution actually works or not is still debatable in the late twentieth century, though Pereira seems to have used it to great effect with his deaf pupils in the second half of the eighteenth century as mentioned above. Even the worst cases, Poole thought, would be susceptible of this kind of approach. He stressed the need for a regime of training in early life to improve the mental faculties of the child just as physical training can improve a weak body. To strengthen the validity of his analogy he cited Gibbon and Sheridan as, “Instances ... of great ability succeeding to long continued feebleness of constitution, which did not even seem to promise mediocrity” (Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.6).

With clear foresight he argued not only for individual differences among those children with intellectual disabilities but also for providing them with an education which matched their ability - which aimed, “to proportion the mental exercises to the mental strength” (Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.6) no matter how little this mental strength might be. Again in his emphasis on the individual Poole, like Itard and Seguin, was ahead of his time. Indeed it would not be until the Education

(Scotland) Act, 1945, more than one hundred years after his writings, that the duty of an Education Authority to provide special educational treatment for its "handicapped" pupils became part of its general duty to provide education for all pupils according to age, ability and aptitude. At its most basic level, Poole argued, the child should be treated with simple nourishment and exposure to healthy air. The next level involved exerting the child's sensations and perceptions while the highest level involved the child's intellectual or moral powers. How similar this concept was to Seguin's later concept of man as a living trinity. This sequence would form the basis of what could be called an ordinary education.

In his thinking Poole may have been influenced by the earlier writings of Rousseau and Itard, though it is difficult to say. It is equally difficult to know how much influence Dr. Poole's article had though any interest would seem to have been in Europe rather than Scotland. The experimental work on the education of "idiots" by the French physicians Ferrus and Voisin at the Bicetre in Paris followed a mere three years after the ideas of Poole had been brought out as a separate volume. What is more certain is that other physicians were also being caught up in this new mood of optimism surrounding the concept of educability and were raising public awareness of the possibilities of educating such children, not only through their writings but by their practical examples. Indeed most of the early work on providing education for children with intellectual disabilities was done by members of the medical profession: Itard, Seguin and Poole were all doctors, as were David Brodie and John Coldstream. Another such was Dr. Johann Jacob Guggenbuhl.

Dr. Guggenbuhl and the Abendberg

The importance of the work of the individual in securing the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities is well illustrated by the work of Dr. Guggenbuhl, a nineteenth century Swiss physician. Though his career would end in ignominy, his impact was great. During a tour of the High Alps in 1836 he had become interested in the cretins living there, "this numerous and degraded class of beings who filled the valleys [and] were left to sink deeper in their misery without one effort being made to help them" (Twining, 1843). Resolved to form an institution for the treatment of cretinism, Guggenbuhl opened the Abendberg Hospice in 1840. He was to dedicate his life to this work. At the time of Dr. Guggenbuhl's work there were thought to be approximately twenty thousand cretins in Switzerland (Geneva, 1848, p.17). Their heads were usually disproportionately large, their lips, tongue and throat had a rather swollen appearance. Usually they were small in stature, dumb, affected by goitres and were intellectually disabled. Guggenbuhl chose the youngest cretin children he could find and took them from their native valleys to an elevation of four thousand feet above sea level. There was even a nursery for children between one and six years of age. Treatment consisted of simple amusements by nurses at first. At a suitable age attempts were made to stimulate the children intellectually through the senses. At first the sense of hearing was worked on. Sound was applied by speaking-trumpets and the child taught to imitate the motions of the teacher's lips and tongue. Next the child was required to make sounds. Then the eye and the sense of touch were exercised. The child was encouraged to handle large wooden letters and learned to associate the sound with the letter. Words were formed and learned in the same way. Again we see the same

approach as that advocated by Itard, Seguin, Pereira and Poole: a training of each sense in turn so as to develop the intellectual faculties – the training of the body before the training of the mind. It would appear that of the cretin children treated in the Alpine retreat about one third returned to their families more or less completely restored to health in body and in mind.

One of the best known examples of the complete cure of cretinism was a Dr. Odet of Montpellier. She was apparently a cretin in childhood but recovered at the Abendberg and passed through a professional education to become the author of a book on cretinism. When considering claims of success such as this it is worth bearing in mind that not all cretins were classified as “idiots”. Of the twenty thousand cretins in Switzerland at the time Guggenbuhl was working, eight thousand were thought to be “idiots”. Extracts from Dr. Guggenbuhl’s last report detail cases such as that of L. a six-months-old girl. At the time of her admission to the Abendberg L. was, “in a fearful state”. Her body was a complete skeleton covered with cold wrinkled skin. Her shrivelled forehead and cheeks gave her the appearance of an old woman. Under the supervision of Guggenbuhl who acted as director, physician and teacher to his little patient-pupils she made rapid progress and in three months her deformities began to disappear. The awakening of her mind soon followed and showed itself in her smiles and manner of noticing everything around her. The gradual change that took place in her in a year could only be compared to that of passing from a mummy state into that of an animated being. After eighteen months on the Abendberg she returned to her native village of Lutzeldorf where she apparently continued to do well and began to speak (Geneva, 1848, p.51-2).

Testimonials in favour of the Abendberg show the esteem in which Dr. Guggenbuhl was held. An undated letter from Dr. Valentin, Professor at Berne, spoke of Guggenbuhl's, "generous efforts" which would, "not only meet with immediate success but also set the example for similar establishments in other countries. That you are destined especially to assist that class of children whose progress has been stopped short at once by Cretinism is proved to me by the little Valaisan whom I saw at the Abendberg. Had he remained at Sion, in his family, he would never have learnt the smallest thing and would certainly have fallen into a state of torpidity of mind as great as that of his body" (Geneva, 1848, pp.67-9). In a similar vein is a letter from M.Germond then pastor at Echallens in the Canton de Vaud and founder of the first establishment of Deaconesses in Switzerland to Madame Gausson at Geneva. The letter dated 17 July, 1845 runs, "success has certainly been obtained and I myself was witness to the transports of joy of some poor parents on finding the great change which had been wrought on their children during the five or six months that they had not seen them. These children could speak and read tolerably whereas before they could hardly pronounce a few words intelligibly" (Geneva, 1848, pp. 75-6). Praise for Guggenbuhl and his selfless work came from Britain too, "It is a good thing occasionally to find a man thus giving up his life to an object of pure, unmixed benevolence; sacrificing everything to a wish which is the continual subject of his thoughts; when that wish is to raise to the condition of human beings a body of his fellow countrymen who have hitherto been consigned to helpless, hopeless idiocy" (Geneva, 1848, forward). Here then was reason for more optimism – children who had previously been "helpless, hopeless idiots" could be transformed by training and education into "human beings". Little wonder that their parents experienced "transports of joy". In a sense Guggenbuhl's success contained the seeds of his own

destruction. Accepting invitations from all over to promote his methods caused him to neglect his programme. The result was that his Alpine retreat deteriorated, he was denounced as a fraud and died at the age of forty-seven.

Had it been confined solely to Switzerland Dr. Guggenbuhl's work would have been of great importance. It went beyond this however. The real importance of Guggenbuhl's work lies in the fact that it initiated similar projects in many other countries as the optimism, that education really could change these children for the better, spread. News of his work was spread abroad by publications such as The Abendberg An Alpine Retreat (1848) written by L.G. Geneva. The introduction written by a Scottish doctor, Dr. Coldstream, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh is quite frank as to why the book was written. Coldstream explains how, "The eulogistic descriptions of the Abendberg hospital ... have been written with the simple view of commending it to the attention and patronage of the British public ... the exciting in his mind of a desire to see similar efforts put forth in his own country on behalf of the like misery which exists in it ... what has been done for the poor goitrous cretin of the Valais may be done for all infant idiots of our city poor ... a numerous class, hitherto neglected, and doomed to live and die like the beasts of the field. Dr. Guggenbuhl's children set free from the inanity of that hideous state in which, but for his exertions, they would certainly have dragged out their weary lives, cry aloud to us to take up the cause of the idiot ... they provoke us to the like labour of love which saved them" (Geneva, 1848, pp. 6-7). It is interesting to note that even by the middle of the nineteenth century a Scottish doctor can still refer to children with intellectual disabilities as having a sub-human status.

In fact Dr. Guggenbuhl had already been influential in Britain thanks to an earlier visit by a Dr. Twinning of London. His work Some Account of Cretinism and the Institution for its Cure in the Abendberg in Switzerland (1843) had already inspired Britain's first school for "idiots", though it would appear to have been more of a home than a school, opened in Bath by the Misses White in 1846. This was followed by Park House, Highgate and by Earlswood near Redhill opened in 1855 due largely to the inspiration of Dr. Guggenbuhl's institution for cretins. In his introduction Dr. Coldstream makes it quite clear that these schools and the asylum must be regarded as the fruits of Dr. Guggenbuhl's work. "Their promoters", he says, "were stimulated by his unexpected success; they were encouraged to go and do likewise in their own sphere ... And doubtless they will have their reward ... and may have the satisfaction of seeing the cause of the poor idiot taken up in good earnest throughout the land, in such a manner as that henceforth he shall not be doomed either to a life-long imprisonment or to the contemptuous treatment of his neighbour, but shall be laid hold of in infancy and subjected to the stimulating effects of all the means, physical and moral, which have been found to act so beneficially on the Cretin" (Geneva, 1848, pp.8-9).

While praising local attempts to improve the lot of the "idiot" such as the Asylum for Idiots at Highgate, Dr. Coldstream argued for a national effort. He believed that just as many of Dr. Guggenbuhl's cretins had been susceptible to improvement under treatment, many "idiots" were likely to be so too. If they could be educated then they ought to be. While they perhaps knew nothing and wished for nothing they, "may yet, through education, become intelligent, reflective and useful - even the most hopeless cases must be subjected to training" (Geneva, 1848, p.29). Coldstream felt

that this was vital since Seguin's experiments on the treatment of idiocy, concentrating on sensory and motor training, had shown that it was impossible to determine which cases might be benefited by treatment and which not without actually making the trial. Unless this national effort occurred the country would have to be satisfied with partial attempts to educate children with intellectual disabilities. Coldstream's optimism no doubt added to the growing concept of educability regarding these children. He believed that if public support could be rallied, "Then indeed will be presented to the world a beautiful instance of the extensive good which may result to suffering and degraded humanity, from the example of a simple individual who, with self-denying zeal, sets himself to work for the benefit of his fellow creatures" (Geneva, 1848, p.32).

It is impossible to know how influential this book on the work of Dr. Guggenbuhl was. However what can be said is that Dr. Coldstream, a Scottish doctor, had taken it upon himself in the introduction to the work to sing the praises of Dr. Guggenbuhl and his, "devoted and self-denying philanthropy" (Alexander, 1848, pp.112-113). He had shown clearly how much the dedicated and determined individual could do to further the cause of education for children with intellectual disabilities. He had also pushed the concept of educability for children with intellectual disabilities and suggested that even the most severely disabled should be exposed to training. It is at least likely that other Scots with an interest in this kind of work could have read and been inspired by Coldstream's words. Indeed Scottish physicians are well represented among the pioneers in this field of education. Another worthy of note was a contemporary of Dr. Coldstream - Dr. W.A.F. Browne.

W.A.F. Browne

The medical profession is well represented among the early pioneers who saw the value of education for children with intellectual disabilities. Among their number was another influential voice for change - that of the Scots physician W.A.F. Browne author of What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought to be (1834). At the time of its publication Dr. Browne was medical superintendent of the Montrose Asylum. He had previously been president of the Royal Medical Society, Edinburgh and was to become the first superintendent of the Crichton Institution. He was therefore a respected and well-known figure in the area of mental health. In a series of five lectures delivered to the managers of the Montrose Royal Lunatic Asylum and published under the title shown above he talks of the principle of tuition being directed against insanity. Browne cites the case of Richmond Asylum where twelve inmates were learning to read thus, "calling up, by means of education, faculties which were previously unknown or dormant" (Browne, 1834, p.93). Later, drawing on Wendt's Account of Asylums in North of Europe (1836) he mentions an extension of this principle in asylums on the Continent. There patients, "have been instructed in the rudiments of science, in drawing, music, have been taught weaving, shoe-mending, and other common arts" (Browne, 1834, p.93). Browne suggested that this kind of approach could serve not only as a distraction but as much more besides.

In his lecture on "What Asylums Ought To Be" he went further and suggested a possible methodology for the education of children with intellectual disabilities based on techniques used in the early education of children of normal intelligence.

"In many respects an asylum should be assimilated to an infant school. The mind has

been reduced by disease to the state of childhood; it displays the same waywardness ... the same capricious desire for the gratification of the most urgent motive” (Browne, 1834, p.193). In this he is similar to Seguin who believed that the education of children with intellectual disabilities should not be set apart from ordinary education. Its methods ought to be simply adaptations of the ordinary methods of education. Yet there was a certain characteristic of youth present upon which the skilful educator could capitalise, “docility ... the sense of justice ... [as well as] simplicity ... which permits the patient to be cheated by amusement or active employment into health and serenity of mind, as the learner is cheated into a knowledge of important truths or practical facts by means of a game at romps, or some merry carol” (Browne, 1834, pp.193-194). Browne cautions against trying to force such children to learn under threat of punishment or disgrace. This would fail for as he reminded his audience, “it is children of different ages that we treat”. Rather we should, “make what is valuable attractive, and what is attractive valuable” (Browne, 1834, p.194). In other words work at getting patients to do what is necessary and proper voluntarily by connecting these things with their comfort and happiness.

Using the primary teacher as his model he argued, like Seguin, for teachers of children with intellectual disabilities adapting their lessons to the ability and aptitude of their pupils, “a different plan must be pursued in leading every individual ... to the point at which we desire to arrive”. Clearly Browne had realised as had Locke, Rousseau, Itard and Poole, the prime importance of the individual in the education process. His vision is idealised, “airy, and elevated, and elegant”. There are no bars or shutters, no chains, no whips, no compulsion. The inmates delight in being active.

“They literally work in order to please themselves”. There is reading, drama and music in rooms which are bright, airy and beautifully furnished. “In short all are so busy as to overlook, or all are so contented as to forget their misery” (Browne, 1834, p.231). Nevertheless Browne’s vision, no matter how ideal, presented a stark contrast to the situation which pertained at that time in the lunatic asylums of Glasgow and much of Scotland, where punishments such as “muffling” were still used.

But Browne was more than just a visionary. His practical work in establishing an educational experiment in the Crichton Royal Asylum in Dumfries represents the first attempt in Scotland to educate children with intellectual disabilities. What was being offered to the children here was more than just a training of the senses. It approximated more to an education in the basics of literacy and numeracy, involving as it did lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic. The First Annual Report (June, 1840) of the Crichton (the hospital did not become “Royal” until July of that year) records this interesting educational experiment. In keeping with other asylums of the day, and certainly with Gartnavel when it opened three years later, the Crichton offered “moral treatment” for its patients. But as a special element in this moral treatment it introduced education. This was done for a number of reasons. Firstly the restoration or even reconstruction of the infirm or diseased mind was seen as being similar to the education of the young and undeveloped mind and as a way of imparting strength, order and precision to the faculties. A second reason was the opportunity of substituting intellectual training for the frivolous games and incoherent conversation which, typically, characterised winter evenings. Also a “school for lunatics” was regarded as a useful way of weaning the enfeebled or diseased intellect from its errors and putting real and useful knowledge in the place

of delusion. The Table of Amusements which appears on page twenty of the report shows that fifteen patients were practising writing in the school in 1840 while twenty-four others were learning to read. Arithmetic was also offered. Admittedly the experiment was limited in scale but it was nevertheless considered by the Crichton to be a “decided success”. A schoolmaster was employed, “and in every case, manifest progress has been made and benefit derived” (First Annual Report, June 1840, p.22). Browne is to be applauded for transferring into a practical reality his ideas on the educability of the intellectually disabled. His belief in this concept was strong enough to employ a teacher in the asylum, a totally innovative step in the middle of the nineteenth century. This is again illustrative of the mood of optimism at that time. It provides a marked contrast to the pessimism felt earlier and which would also be felt later. In the early twentieth century for example, a request for teachers to be employed in Woodilee Children’s Home was denied on the grounds that these children were thought to be “ineducable”.

The report was optimistic in tone. It had many encouraging things to say, which ought to have been picked up by the Glasgow institutions, about the introduction of education into the lives of asylum patients, “an idiot, of the ultimate development of whose intelligence there can exist no hope, has, from the possession of an imitative power, made such advancement as to show that a judicious system of training, adopted in childhood, would have rendered him equal to a boy of very inferior abilities, but capable of bearing a certain share in the business of life” (Annual Report, 1840, pp.21-22). Case notes for the period offer further details. A girl, J.D. aged sixteen, a “congenital idiot”, was apparently involved in the school at the Crichton. An entry in her notes for June, 1846 describes her as an, “infant in

intelligence” who has been found to be, “educable”. Though uttering only a “monotonous sound” or a “plaintive moan” in the place of speech she was taught, “times, localities and authorities” (Case Notes, 1846, 336). Proof of the beneficial effects of education can be seen in the case notes for H.B. a fourteen year old “idiot” admitted in October, 1854 who had previously been an inmate for four years of a school for “idiots” in Bath. Variouslly described as an, “untamed troublesome child” and as, “irritable and occasionally violent” he became quieter, more docile and more willing to adapt to suggestions and to regulations after being, “subjected to Educational training” (Case Notes, 1854, 688). Under the tuition of Mrs. Dalgairns, H. worked at reading and cyphering. It is hard to appreciate why the inmates of the Glasgow institutions were denied access to such a, “new agent ... added to the science of moral treatment” (Annual Report, 1840, p.21) when such an experiment was taking place only a few miles away and when the report of its success was readily available to them. Had those in authority in Glasgow Asylum read the report they would have been made aware that, “All minds, however weak and intractable, are susceptible of a certain degree of culture and expansion by education, and the idiot should not be shut out from the pale of improvement” (Annual Report, 1840, p.22). Clearly they ought to have read the report so as to keep abreast of current developments. Failure to do so would have to be considered disappointing, if not negligent.

Support for Browne came from various quarters, most notably perhaps from the Scottish Temperance League. This should hardly surprise us given that one of the suspected origins of intellectual disabilities to appear commonly in the bizarre lists of causes current in the nineteenth century was the abuse of intoxicating liquors. In an

article published in the Scottish Review (1855, pp.251-252) under the title of "Treatment of the Insane" the writer, on behalf of the Scottish Temperance League, defends Browne's visions of the asylum of the future. They are, "not the mere rhapsody of an enthusiast - one of the luxuriant visions of a day-dreamer". He sees them instead as, "the confident predictions of a 'practical man', of an asylum superintendent who had closely studied the organisation of asylums and the conditions and interests of their inmates, both in this country and on the continent, and whose mental energy, varied talents, and enlightened philanthropy have enabled him (in the institution over which he now presides with such distinction - the Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries) to realise and more than realise his once most sanguine hopes". While the language is flowery the points made are valid. Browne's work in translating his ideal vision into a practical reality at the Crichton is praised. He had shown how the asylum could be, "transformed from a jail into a palace, from an abode of mental darkness, gloom and misery into one of mental sunshine and cheerfulness, by the simple substitution of the law of kindness and the full recognition of the benefits of occupation, education, and recreation instead of the terrorism and tyranny which formerly prevailed. He has fully and beautifully illustrated, in the admirable annual reports which have made their author facile princeps of Scottish (and, we are inclined to think, of British) psychologists, the facts that the intellectual, moral, and affective faculties are rather dormant than wholly absent in the majority of the insane, and that the soul-sympathies and finer affections, the powers of reason and intelligence, may be made gradually to expand, like the delicate petals of a tender flower under the warm beams of a noonday sun, by the revivifying influence of kindness, occupation, and amusement". It would be difficult to find a better testament to the educability of the intellectually disabled than is

provided here. Clearly the belief that these children could be improved through education or training was spreading. Browne's institution, the Crichton Royal, was a fine example of the new institutions which were appearing in the early to middle nineteenth century. In parallel with the growing concept of the educability of children with intellectual disabilities, there was a growing feeling that asylums had to be more humane places. This resulted in a rapid growth of new asylums practising moral management. In the sixty years before 1840 seven new asylums were founded in Scotland. Glasgow Asylum founded in 1814 became Royal in 1844 and was resited at Gartnavel in 1843.

Inspired by work such as Browne's, The Scottish Temperance League, acting as a pressure group, called for a change in the public's attitude to asylums. They assured them that asylums had changed for the better and now recognised the, "benefits of physical and mental exercise in the forms of occupation, instruction, and recreation". They regretted however that it was, "still necessary to impress this fact on the public mind", proof that not everyone was caught up in the new mood of optimism. Most of the recommendations made in the article are sound. The writer for example suggests a change in the terminology from the coinage of the day - "lunatic", "asylum", "madhouse" - with their unfortunate connotations, to less prejudicial American terms such as "hospitals for the insane". These would be more suggestive of the curative and caring functions of such institutions. To highlight the importance of education he quotes Dr. Kirkbride in the Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane (1853), "When the body and the mental faculties are trained harmoniously together, the result cannot but prove satisfactory" (Scottish Review, 1855, p.255).

While much of the early awareness raising on the subject of educating children with intellectual disabilities can be attributed to interested doctors, the credit cannot go entirely to the medical profession. Ordinary citizens were also actively campaigning as the concept of successfully educating these children gathered momentum.

Through the pages of publications such as the Scottish Poor Law Magazine members of the public had their say too. Volume II of 1859-60 contains a letter to the editor on the subject of "Madness". Here the writer argues that, "Ministering to a mind diseased [is] a duty incumbent upon all who can lend any assistance". He believes that, "of all the different states of lunacy or idiocy, that which we are called to look upon in children, who are born in that state, is the most melancholy".

In the "Correspondence" pages of the same publication just five years later appears an article entitled "Something About Idiocy and Insanity". The writer makes an impassioned plea to our sensitivities. "Of all the conditions to be deplored in the wide range of human existence, that of mental aberration, in the shape of idiocy or madness, seems to make the most direct and powerful calls upon our sympathy" (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1864-65, pp.146-147). Then comes advice on the importance of teaching for such children. Merely, "guarding against accidents, and furnishing them with food, clothes and lodgings" is not good enough. He uses the economic argument by claiming that society can be, "relieved of a very heavy burden, by having them taught in some cases to be self-supporting, and even among the lowest grade of development, brought so far as to take care of themselves". Almost all of the intellectually disabled, he believed, were capable of mental improvement through some kind of education or training. "It has now become an established fact, that few even who are born in a state of idiocy are so devoid of

capacity to operate upon in a training point of view, but what some improvement can be made upon them, in many cases to the extent of being rendered self-supporting” – evidence again of this growing concept of educability, generally, which contrasts with the general feeling at the time Itard was working. His perceptive article ends as it started with an impassioned plea to the reader’s better nature. The training of “idiots” he assures us is, “the noblest [work] in which the mind of men can be engaged - in raising a mind where nature has been stunted in her gifts, from some transgression of her laws, to, if not a level, at least to an approximation to the ordinary intellects around it”. Writers such as these highlighted public awareness of the problems of children with intellectual disabilities and the good that educating them might do. There were, however, other individuals who were prepared to go further and bring pressure to bear on the government. The American reformer, Dorothea Lynde Dix and the Member of Parliament for St. Andrews, Edward Ellice, were two such people.

Dorothea Lynde Dix and Edward Ellice

Another individual from abroad who made a significant contribution to the cause of education for Scottish children with intellectual disabilities was Miss Dorothea Lynde Dix. “The American Invader” as Dr. W.A.F Browne liked to call her saw her lifetime project as the proper care of “lunatics”. She was a humanitarian and social reformer, responsible for major reforms in the care of the mentally ill in the USA and abroad. Shocked by the common practice of incarcerating the mentally ill in jails with criminals, she spent a year and a half investigating conditions in her home state of Massachusetts and in 1843 reported her findings to the state legislature. Her

arguments resulted in substantial enlargement of the state hospital in Worcester. Capitalising on this success she turned her attention to other states and abroad. Altogether she was responsible for the construction of thirty-two hospitals in the USA and others in Canada, Europe and Japan (Marshall, H.E. 1937).

After her campaigning tour of Massachusetts, Miss Dix turned her New England zeal towards Great Britain and in 1855 visited Scotland. Perhaps not surprisingly she experienced great difficulty in gaining admission to the lunatic asylums of Scotland which served only to arouse her suspicions. When she eventually did, Miss Dix was appalled by the neglect she saw of the pauper lunatics there and by the miserable conditions in which she found the inmates of asylums. She declared her intention of reporting what she had seen to Parliament. Despite attempts by an Edinburgh official to steal her thunder Miss Dix presented herself in London before the Home Secretary and the Duke of Argyll and shocked them by what she had to report. Essentially she was interested in pushing for better provision, in the sense of better conditions and more humane treatment, rather than education. However her work would ultimately go beyond the former and have important repercussions for the latter. "At her instance, and without any public movement on the subject, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the State of the Lunatic Asylums of Scotland. No one, we are sure, could read the report of the Commission [i.e. of 1857] without feeling grateful to that lady for having been instrumental in exposing proceedings which were a disgrace to this or to any civilized country" (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1025). Almost single-handedly Miss Dix initiated a Royal Commission which was to have far-reaching consequences for the provision of education in Scotland for children with intellectual disabilities. While much praise is due to Miss Dix it is to

the lasting shame of a great city like Glasgow and a country like Scotland, “which boasted of its religious and humane principles” that such an important and overdue report, “was entirely due to the exertions of a lady who was not a native of England, Scotland or Ireland, but of the United States” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1025-27). The Commission criticised many aspects of the treatment of those with intellectual disabilities in Scotland and made a number of important recommendations which were to form the basis of the Act of 1857. Among the most important of these was the recommendation of a means for ensuring greater caution in respect of houses for the reception of the insane. Basically this would involve the appointment of a Board of Commissioners in Lunacy with the power to grant licences.

Laudable though they were, the actions of a well-intentioned individual and the Report of the Royal Commission were not enough. Ultimately what was needed was a Member of Parliament to take up the gauntlet. In the event one did appear. One of the most vigorous supporters of the Commissioners’ findings was the member for St. Andrews, Mr. Edward Ellice. Ellice considered the report, “one of the most horrifying documents” he had ever seen (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1025). He went on to commend it to his fellow Members. Having examined the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Lunatics in Scotland, “he found such important matter in it affecting the administration of the law in that country, so many charges of evasion and disregard of the law by the authorities paid and nominated to carry it into execution [that] no one acquainted with the facts, possessing the common feelings of humanity, could refrain from demanding of the government that something should be done to alleviate the sufferings of the persons to whom the

Report related ...The persons to whose condition he wished to direct the attention of the House constituted, probably, the most helpless class of the whole family of human beings - that class which, under the dispensation of Providence, had been deprived of reason, and which in all countries almost, from the most remote times and in the most savage nations, had been regarded as having peculiar claims upon the sympathy and protection of their fellows. In England and Ireland Boards had been appointed, under which the law for the protection of lunatics had, generally speaking, been satisfactorily administered. He was ashamed to admit that in Scotland unfortunately the state of things had been lamentably different” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, pp.1020-21). Ellice vehemently challenged the Government to act on the Commission’s recommendations. At the same time he castigated them for not enforcing the law as it stood at the time which, “in great measure was very ample for the protection of the great proportion of the pauper lunatics in Scotland, if it were properly administered” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1021).

Another target for Ellice was the Board of Supervision, the equivalent of the English Poor Law Board, responsible for pauper lunatics. In particular he attacked the reports of the Board as, “untruths, and entirely deceptive, year after year, as to the real state of the lunatics in Scotland” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1025). Ellice was able to show that the Board’s claims that it had improved the condition of the insane were palpably untrue and that in fact their condition and treatment was, “diametrically opposite to what was there stated” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1025). He further charged them together with the sheriffs, “with an almost total neglect of the duties which were incumbent upon them under the law”. He therefore called for the Government, “to pronounce a severe censure upon those authorities”

(Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1021). Should it fail to do so, “he conceived they would be abdicating their functions” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1036). Ellice demanded not only that the law be changed to the betterment of lunatics in the future but that the law as it stood at the time be properly enforced, “the country has a right to expect from the Government that they would see the existing law enforced forthwith and immediately as affected the proper treatment of lunatics” (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. cxlv, p.1023).

Sir George Grey agreed that some guilt must fall upon the Board of Supervision but sought to dilute this blame by attaching it to the parochial boards, the inspectors of the poor and the sheriffs. Furthermore he promised to introduce a Bill to remedy the evils which had been highlighted. Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P. for West Surrey raised two further points of interest. Firstly that an excellent Bill to end these very evils introduced by Lord Rutherford in 1848 had been rejected because of the expense it would incur - not a single petition having been presented in its favour. Secondly he drew attention to the absolute neglect of the pauper lunatics by the Church of Scotland. This he believed was the worst feature of all, “in nothing did the system appear so bad as in the treatment of pauper lunatics, the rich lunatics being sufficiently well taken care of” (Tuke, 1882, p.352). Ellice was roundly praised by other members for bringing the House’s attention to what was, “a disgrace and a scandal” to Scotland (Tuke, 1882, p.353). A scandal of a different sort was the virtual silence during this debate on the part of those Members from Glasgow and its surrounding area - the area with Scotland’s greatest concentration of population as well as her highest incidence of people with intellectual disabilities. Of the two Members representing Glasgow at the time, Robert Dalglish said nothing while

Walter Buchanan spoke only briefly at the committee stage of the Bill and then only to complain that it was being pushed through too quickly. Archibald Hastie representing Paisley had nothing to contribute while Edward Pleydell Bouverie, Kilmarnock and Renfrew was equally silent as was Sir Michael Robert Shaw Stewart representing Renfrewshire. Sir Thomas Edward Colebroke M.P. for Lanarkshire made a modest contribution to the debate as did Alexander Murray Dunlop, Greenock during the second reading of the Bill. Apart from Ellice the most enthusiastic speaker for the Bill was Henry Drummond an English M.P. representing West Surrey.

The conclusion of the work started by Miss Dix and continued by the Royal Commission, then by Mr. Ellice was a government Bill brought in by the Lord Advocate on 9 June, 1857, "to alter and amend the laws respecting lunatics in Scotland". Important changes were to be made under the Act. No longer would sheriffs be able to interpret the law regarding lunatics as they pleased. Scotland would now be divided into districts in which asylums would be erected by an assessment laid on for the purpose. In addition there would be a Commission, an Inspector-General, a secretary and a clerk who would form a Board which would have the power of granting and refusing licences for asylums and which would have certain duties of inspection. Despite minor opposition on its second reading the Bill was passed on 25 August, 1857. Most of the opposition was based on the grounds of expense rather than efficiency. However this was eloquently crushed by Mr. Drummond. He reminded his fellow members that, "There were plenty of representatives of the ratepayers in that House, but no representatives of the lunatics of Scotland. They seemed to have no friends there, while really they were the

persons who stood most in need of being represented” (Tuke, 1882, p.356). In one respect however the Act was flawed. It failed as had other legislation before it to distinguish between the “mentally defective” and the mentally ill. Despite this, optimism that things could be improved remained high. Pressure groups would continue to work for greater change. Among the most vigorous was a group of individuals who joined together to form The Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland. Many of these were churchmen who spoke out at meetings and raised money for the aims of the society. The Reverends Arnott, Smith and Dr. McLeod are some of those mentioned. In this work they were acting as concerned individuals rather than representatives of the church. As mentioned above, the role of the Church of Scotland, and for that matter the Roman Catholic Church, in alleviating the condition of the intellectually disabled, was extremely disappointing in the years between 1862 and 1962. This is a topic which will be returned to later.

The Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland

For those campaigning for education for these children, the Act of 1857 was a disappointment. Pressure groups continued to push for change. The Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland formed in 1859 sought to raise public awareness regarding the need to educate them. Here they succeeded. Fund raising for the, “erection of a building which is to be at once a School and a Home, especially adapted for the educational and industrial training, and also the general amelioration of the mental and bodily states of young persons who are afflicted with impaired mental powers” (Scottish Review, 1862, pp. 53-54) was another of their targets. In these endeavours they were ably assisted by the Rev. William Arnot who estimated

that of the two thousand two hundred and thirty six “imbeciles” in the country at that time about six hundred were of an age suitable for education. The Society felt that Scotland had fallen, “grievously behind other countries in making suitable provision for her helpless children” and that it was a slur on the national character. They pointed to the numbers of juvenile “imbeciles” incarcerated in prisons as “deplorable” and called for, “an effective agency ... to interpose, at once a shield from evil influences, and a healthful discipline which would develop their feeble powers in a direction honouring to humanity, and consistent with the wellbeing of society”. The Society reminded the Scottish public of the abuse to which children with intellectual disabilities were subjected. Often they were regarded with, “aversion ... or ... as legitimate objects of scorn and contempt” (Scottish Review, 1862, pp. 56-57). At other times they became, “the butt of thoughtless boys, and the jest of coarse men” (Scottish Review, 1862, p. 59).

Throughout, the article stressed the “imbecile’s” capacity for improvement through education. It ended with an appeal in highly figurative language by the Rev. Arnot for funds for the Institution for Imbeciles. In a conceit based on Nature healthy children are seen as blossoming olive plants while the “imbecile” child is a diseased plant afflicted by a, “dreary mildew” (Scottish Review, 1862, p. 62). Parents are asked to follow the dictates of their hearts and from a gratitude for their own offspring being normal to express their thankfulness by donating to the Institute. To raise more funds for the erection of the Institute the Society commissioned two separate articles. These appeared first in the Christian Treasury and then in July, 1861 were published as a small book for the general public entitled The Imbecile and their Training. Profits from the sale were to be given to the Society to increase its

funds. This publication by the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland served an important function in raising public awareness of what was then happening outside of Scotland. Quoting from Abendberg (Geneva, 1848) with its introduction by Dr. John Coldstream of Edinburgh the writer outlined the success of Dr. Guggenbuhl in Switzerland working with “idiot” children, “in whom the mind does not seem so much deranged as departed - gone utterly - not a gleam of the spirit left - the household dog looking incomparably more human” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p. 18). Reference was also made to the work being done at that time in France, Prussia, Austria, Denmark and England where institutions were, “affording relief and education to hundreds of individuals” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p. 14). Perhaps the most moving evidence of the success of offering education to children with intellectual disabilities referred to in this publication is the extensive quotation from the Seventh Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded Children. Couched in quasi-religious language the report claimed that, “man, suffering and forlorn in the form of idiocy, can be restored from a degraded and mis-shapen manhood, to take upon himself the comeliness of the redeemed and immortal ... the gloomy have been made happy - the idle, industrious - the profane, ashamed of their profanity - the unloving, affectionate - the speechless, to speak - the unproductive, self-supporting” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p. 22).

It is interesting to note again the mixture of the emotional and the economic argument. Here once more is evidence of the concept of education affording the intellectually disabled an escape from their sub-human status, their “misshapen manhood”, to a more human “comeliness”.

Publications such as this gave an added impetus to the growing concern over the treatment of children with intellectual disabilities while, at the same time, highlighting the concept of educability and Scotland's relative lack of action here. The Society had been prompted into action, had in fact been founded, because of the belief of its members that there was perhaps "no section of distressed humanity which has hitherto been deemed a more hopeless one, and for whose amelioration less effort has been put forth, than that of imbecile youth". They believed that this particular section of society had been, "almost entirely neglected" (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, pp.12-13). In this belief they were close to the truth. They were not, however, the only pressure group working to improve the lot of those with intellectual disabilities. Some nineteenth century writers were also bringing the need for action here to the attention of the public further adding to the growing momentum.

Victorian Writers as a Pressure Group

An interesting and valid point raised by Dr. Brodie while resident physician at Larbert was that concerning the influence of writers who had taken up through the periodical press the subject of the education and treatment of children with intellectual disabilities. Brodie mentions articles appearing the year before (1859) - in Meliora, in July and in the North British Review in August. In February Good Words had "The Wow O' Ruven" - an insight into the deeper spiritual instincts of "idiot" life. Christmas publications appeared too, one example being Witless Willie, the Idiot Boy by Mary Mathieson. The object was to enlist the sympathies of young persons of the affluent classes of society on behalf of children with intellectual

disabilities. Brodie was correct to see these writers as being influential but the real literary influence in highlighting the plight of such children lay with the Victorian novelists of the day. Two of the most outstanding examples are Charles Dickens and Charles Reade. Both were writers who were essentially humanitarian and who, through their art, were capable of rousing similar feelings in others. It is worth remembering that in the days before modern technological media the printed word in pamphlets, newspapers and novels could be enormously powerful.

In an early twentieth century lecture in Falkirk Parish Church R.D. Clarkson, Medical Officer of the Scottish National Institution for the Education of Imbecile Children, outlined the influence a writer such as Dickens was able to wield. The exposure of the miseries of the Marshalsea in Little Dorrit (Dickens, 1985) signalled the end of imprisonment for debt while Florence Nightingale's task in establishing a capable and sympathetic nursing profession was made all the easier by the iniquities of Mrs. Gamp. The extinction of shameful schools such as Dotheboys Hall was hastened by the horrors portrayed in the establishment run by Wackford Squeers in Nicholas Nickleby (Dickens, 1993). Dickens in particular gives the reader numerous life-like portraits of children with intellectual disabilities in his works and shows their degradation and abject misery when left without any training or education. Jo the crossing-sweeper in Bleak House (Dickens, 1993, p.182-183) "sums up his mental condition, when asked a question, by replying that he 'don't know nothink' ". Jo exists rather than lives in the most appalling of conditions, "Jo lives ... that is to say, Jo has not yet died ... in a ruinous place ... It is a black dilapidated street, avoided by all decent people". He is uneducated and confused, "... unfamiliar with the shapes, and in utter darkness as to the meanings, of those mysterious symbols, so

abundant over the shops, and at the corners of streets, and on the doors, and in the windows! To see people read, and to see people write, and to see the postman deliver letters, and not to have the least idea of all that language - to be to every scrap of it, stone blind and dumb!" The feeble-minded Jo as portrayed by Dickens is regarded, indeed regards himself, as being little better than an animal. He does not need, "to be told that I am scarcely human ... but to feel it of my own knowledge all my life!" "To see the horses, dogs, and cattle, go by me, and to know that in ignorance I belong to them, and not to the superior beings in my shape, whose delicacy I offend!" The intellectually disabled Jo is all too aware of his sub-human status. Part of Jo's tragedy is precisely that he knows he is different - something less than his fellow men who shun him and are offended by his presence. This idea of the normal in society being offended by the presence of those with intellectual disabilities is taken up again in David Copperfield (Dickens, 1993, p.176) where Mr. Dick's brother, "didn't like to have him visible about his house, and sent him away to some private asylum place" where he, "would have him shut up for life".

Intellectually disabled youth and the harsh extremities of such an educational system as existed in the middle of the nineteenth century are brought together in Nicholas Nickleby (Dickens, 1978, pp.143, 161-2, 210-11). Smike a "feeble-minded" youth of Dotheboys Hall, "wore a skeleton suit, such as is usually put upon very little boys". He is condemned to be a drudge at the school: first to get up in the morning, last to get to bed at night, brushing the boots, cleaning the floors and doing anything else that Squeers and his wife can think of. His spirit has been broken through ill-treatment, "What sufferings mine have been!" he muses. Dickens goes on to tell us, "Stripes and blows, morning, noon, and night, were his only portion". Abuse is

heaped on him by his fellow schoolboys, "... he was the common jest and scoff even of the uncouth objects that congregated about him". Smike's sense of isolation is shown when he is thinking of a boy who had died in Dotheboys Hall. He wonders, "What faces will smile on me when I die! ... who will talk to me in those long nights? They cannot come from home; they would frighten me if they did, for I don't know what it is, and shouldn't know them. Pain and fear, pain and fear for me, alive or dead. No hope, no hope". As with Jo in Bleak House the sub-human standing in society of children with intellectual disabilities is again evident. Smike is keen, "to show his attachment to the only person [Nicholas] - that person a stranger - who had treated him, not to say with kindness, but like a human creature". Significantly he attempts to please Nicholas by studying and improving. The child, himself, seems to know that he is educable and that education offers him the hope of improvement intellectually. "The poor soul was pouring hard over a tattered book with the traces of recent tears still upon his face, vainly endeavouring to master some task which a child of nine years old, possessed of ordinary powers, could have conquered with ease, but which to the addled brain of a crushed boy of nineteen was a sealed and hopeless mystery.

It would be hard to be unmoved when reading of the plight of Smike and Jo. And there are numerous others. Barnaby Rudge, a "feeble-minded" intellect, who is the central figure in the historical novel of the same name and whose intellectual disabilities expose him to many dangers, even to the point of being condemned to death. Maggy in Little Dorrit (Dickens, 1985, p.339) whose remedy for all who are in need is to, "Send [them] to a hospital, where [they] shall have chicking everyday

and be took care on". The charming Mr. Dick in David Copperfield (Dickens, 1993) and David's child-wife, Dora Spenlow, incapable of growing up and like so many of the others doomed to an early death, are further examples.

There were accusations that Dickens' characters were exaggerated as they may well be. If they are however they are deliberately drawn in such a way to achieve the desired effect. In his lecture in Falkirk, Clarkson defended Dickens' characterisation, "all true art consists in the faithful representation of some truth in Nature, and that the greatness of a work of art depends on the height or the depth or the wideness of the artist's vision of the truth, and on his power to body forth his vision that other men may see it and be glad. If then these sketches of feeble-minded folk are true works of art, as I believe they are, they must tell the truth, and nothing but this, about the models from which they were made, and they must tell more of that truth than most men can easily see" (Clarkson, 1909). Though Clarkson was writing in 1909 his comments are just as valid for the situation as it existed in the mid-nineteenth century. Using the hero of Barnaby Rudge (Dickens, 1993) as his example he lamented, "Would that Barnaby's fate might be that of all the feeble-minded of whom he is a type!" He reminded his audience that even in 1909 there were hundreds of people like Barnaby "on our streets, in our workhouses, and in our prisons, for want of somebody to take care of them, and some work they could do" (Clarkson, 1909). This unsatisfactory state of affairs was highlighted again with reference to David Copperfield, "Most of the feeble-minded are as easily managed and as happy, when fully occupied as Mr. Dick was; but in this twentieth century there is no legal arrangement possible in Great Britain whereby they may be taken care of, unless they are certified as lunatics, and treated as such" (Clarkson, 1909).

Like Dickens, Charles Reade was determined to expose the social evils of his time and in particular the prison system and the asylums for the insane. "It was his mission to gibbet abuses and injuries, to set the ball rolling, in the hope that sooner or later the legislature would spare a week or so from the incessant game of scrambling for office, in order to stamp his ideas with the hallmark of authority" (Reade and Reade, 1887, p.136). Again like Dickens, Reade was accused of exaggeration, "Reade's pictures, true in detail, are yet not true as wholes, because they are composite and not typically true. Such exaggeration may make effective propaganda but it does not make either history or art" (Sutcliffe, 1994, p. 549). Reade may have overplayed his hand at times -for example in Hard Cash (1863) the hero is wrongfully imprisoned as insane, his father really made so by medical malpractice, his sister lies dying of injuries received from another maniac, his uncle is "imbecile" and his father and one of his physicians become monomaniac. His writing nevertheless achieved at least part of his "mission". An essay in The Nation (1870) described It Is Never too Late to Mend (1853) as a, "powerful work of genius". It told how, "The book created a great sensation and was read by everybody: effected its author's purpose - viz., compelled the public to insist that the Model Prisons' system should be looked searchingly into" (Nineteenth-Century Literary Criticism, 1982, p. 540). In any case Reade disputed allegations of exaggeration. He claimed that he had authority for all the incidents questioned in his novels. Indeed much of the background material used for Hard Cash was based on a mass of information on the subject of lunacy and the lunacy laws as they existed at that time supplied by a friend, Dr. Dickson. The novel was therefore, "a fiction built on truths [gathered] by a long, severe, and systematic labour, from a multitude of volumes, pamphlets, journals, reports, manuscript narratives, letters and living people sought out,

examined and cross-examined to get at the truth on each main topic” (Reade and Reade, 1887, p.135). The novel Hard Cash stung the medical profession to the quick notably a Dr. Bushnan, physician to a private lunatic asylum in Wiltshire. He launched a bitter attack on Reade. However Reade’s novel was based firmly on fact and Bushnan was eventually turned out of his own asylum. The author in The Saturday Review claimed, “a man must be six times a greater writer than ever lived, ere he could exaggerate suicide, despair, and the horrors that drive young and old to them, or - write a libel on hell” (Reade and Reade, 1887, pp.151-152).

This raising of public awareness by writers such as Dickens and Reade might have been expected to produce an immediate public outcry and a rapid improvement in the lot, educational and otherwise, of children with intellectual disabilities. This would not happen until the close of the nineteenth century. In the meantime the first real practical attempts at educating these children - many of them from Glasgow - had already been taken. The earliest institutions for their education had appeared by the middle of the nineteenth century at Baldovan, near Dundee and at Larbert. It is this educational provision which is the subject of the following chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with a number of issues related to children with intellectual disabilities. It has shown how a mood of pessimism existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries based on a feeling that all “idiots” suffered from the same incurable disability and were not susceptible of any mental improvement. The eugenics movement in the early twentieth century, with its warnings of a dilution of national intelligence due to the prolific breeding of the intellectually disabled - the root of all of society’s evils - further added to this pessimistic view. For some, one solution to the problem of such people was to segregate them from the rest of society. Two advocates of this approach are identified in the chapter – Mary Dendy and Ellen Pinsent who both believed that education was wasted on these children and that life-long segregation in a colony, such as that at Sandlebridge, was the answer. In an attempt to present a balanced approach, the point is made that these women made a positive contribution to the welfare of children with intellectual disabilities by providing them with accommodation and occupation. The development of the IQ test in the early twentieth century is mentioned together with its importance as a diagnostic tool which offered doctors a more scientific and accurate approach to the ascertainment of the intellectually disabled. However criticism is made too of the fact that this tool could, at times, be misused.

This chapter also shows how there were individuals prepared to challenge this pessimistic view of the intellectually disabled. An early pioneer was St. Vincent de Paul journeying from land to land to spread his message that the more fortunate should aid the less fortunate. This more optimistic approach was carried forward by

writers such as Locke and Rousseau who encouraged an acquisition of knowledge through the senses, and by teachers such as Pereira and Itard. The latter, in particular, with his partial success in attempting to educate a boy found naked and wild in the woods of Aveyron changed society's understanding of what could be achieved with children previously thought to be hopeless cases. Itard and his disciple, Edouard Seguin, were inspirational in their work with the intellectually disabled and largely responsible for the concept of educability which was identified as growing throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Credit is paid to the influential role of doctors in the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities. The early nineteenth century writings of the Scottish physician, Dr. John Poole, contain some of the earliest suggestions for educating these children and it may be that he was influential on the French physicians, Ferrus and Voisin, whose experimental work on the education of "idiots" followed a mere three years after the ideas of Poole had been published. There were influences coming into Scotland too and especially important here was the work of Dr. Guggenbuhl with the cretins and "idiots" of his Abendberg hospice. His success in educating them were widely publicised in a book, the forward to which was written by another Scots doctor, Dr. Coldstream. Dr. Coldstream pushed for a national effort in Britain similar to Guggenbuhl's and was largely responsible for the setting up of the institution for the education of "imbecile" and "idiot" children at Larbert. When a similar institution opened at Baldovan it would be organised along the lines of Guggenbuhl's in the Abendberg. A huge debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. Guggenbuhl as his influence can be clearly seen in the formation of these two institutions – the first in Scotland – for the education of such children. Even before

this there had been a successful experiment in the Crichton Hospital in Dumfries at educating children with intellectual disabilities. The doctor in charge here, W.A.F. Browne, was well aware of developments in the education of such children in England and on the Continent. In the late 1830s he started a school in the Crichton Hospital. Given these examples of success on the Continent and in the Crichton experiment, it is disappointing that little further development took place for Glasgow children until the opening of Baldovan in 1852.

Nevertheless, momentum for change was gathering due to a new optimism that children with intellectual disabilities could indeed be improved mentally through education. The debate would widen to include individual members of the public who pushed for change through periodicals such as Scottish Review and the Scottish Poor Law Magazine . Later, Victorian novelists such as Charles Dickens and Charles Reade would add their weight by highlighting the iniquities faced by those who were intellectually disabled.

Chapter Three

Educational Provision – The Early Years

Introduction

The nineteenth century would start and end in pessimistic mood. In between, however, was a period of optimism. This was based on the belief that those with intellectual disabilities could be improved, mentally, by a combination of moral training and education and resulted in the foundation of the two earliest institutions in Scotland built to provide accommodation and education for such children. These were Baldovan Asylum, near Dundee and The Scottish National Institution for the Education of Imbecile Children, at Larbert. Both were the end result of work by individuals committed to the cause of these children and were largely inspired by the work of Dr. Guggenbuhl in the Abendberg. They afforded a training in Life and Social Skills to “idiot” and “imbecile” children as well as a basic education in Reading, Writing and Number Work for those children capable of it. Both of these institutions are looked at in detail.

Eventually School Boards in Greater Glasgow would respond by setting up special classes, the first being in Oatlands School, Glasgow in 1898. This chapter looks at the work of its inspired teacher, Catherine Kevan Aitken. It also looks at the work of another innovative teacher, Mary Naismith Russell in Abercorn School in Paisley and at the early system of after-care she devised for her pupils as well as the Occupation Centre she established for school leavers. The expansion of special classes in Glasgow is traced both before and after the Royal Commission on the Care

and Control of the Feeble-minded which is itself looked at in detail. One consequence of this commission was the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 which grouped the intellectually disabled into a number of categories but which some saw as a repressive act aimed at removing the freedom of these people. This is discussed critically within the chapter.

Glasgow's use of special educational establishments not under the control of the Education Authority is also discussed with reference to Waverley Park and St. Charles' Certified Institution. Throughout, the importance of skilled teachers for the success of special education is emphasised and the chapter finishes by looking at the work of D. Kennedy Fraser and his pioneering qualifying course, for teachers of the intellectually disabled. This course, which began at Jordanhill College, in 1922 was the first of its kind in Scotland.

The Ogilvys and Baldovan

It was not until 1852 that the first practical attempt was made in this country at educating children with intellectual disabilities. The credit for this goes to Sir John and Lady Jane Ogilvy of Inverquhar. Sir John devoted much of his life to working for the public good. An M.P. for Dundee from 1857 to 1874, he was also Convener of Forfar, a J.P. and an honorary colonel of the 1st volunteer battalion, the Black Watch. The Ogilvys had worked among the poor of Dundee and were aware of their distress. They also had a personal interest in children with intellectual disabilities as they had such a son. Baldovan Orphanage and Asylum, an institution for educating the "imbecile", was erected four miles from Dundee at the Ogilvy's expense. It

opened in January 1855 and followed closely the work of Dr. Guggenbuhl in Switzerland where they had sent their son for treatment. The Directors' First Annual Report (1856, p.1) showed clearly that they based their work at Baldovan on the methods of the Swiss doctor. "The treatment practised at the Baldovan Asylum is in all respects similar to that introduced and followed out with so much success by Dr. Guggenbuhl, at Abendberg, Interlaken, ___ so that the patients enjoy all the benefits of his system without the necessity of leaving this country". Good food, fresh air and exercise were combined with education and training. A system of grading, detailed below, was used to determine what should be done with each pupil. For those in the lowest grades training was offered along the lines of the Life Skills taught in some of Glasgow's special schools today. This involved training in feeding, washing and dressing. Those in the slightly higher grades were taught occupations such as sewing, knitting, weaving, household and garden work. The highest grades attended the school to work on colour recognition, shop lessons dealing with money, reading, writing and speech.

An interesting experiment which showed clearly the enlightened thinking of its founders was the integrated approach at Baldovan: in the same building, though under a completely different management, was a small institution for orphans and destitute children. This was in addition to the twenty or thirty "idiot" children whom Baldovan was capable of accommodating. The idea was that bringing up different classes of children together would result in the "imbecile" children benefiting from their association with the orphans, "The advantage of having such children, healthy in body and mind, to be companions for the imbecile children during their play hours, when they have advanced to a certain stage of cure, need hardly be pointed

out" (The Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.16). This partial integration was also a feature of the institution at Larbert and of the earliest school board special classes in Glasgow. Later, however, in keeping with the push for the segregation of the "feebleminded", pupils in special education would be segregated from ordinary pupils. Segregation would later become official policy in Glasgow and is discussed in some detail below.

Greater Glasgow did make use of this new facility - Paisley being first to send an "imbecile" child when in 1855 G.C. was admitted to Class 1. A year later on 27 August, 1856 S.L. a pauper "imbecile" aged nine was admitted paid for by Ebenezer Adamson, Inspector of Poor, City Parish, Glasgow. While City Parish made some use of Baldovan sending single children in the years 1868, 1873, 1875 and 1876 it was to be Govan and Barony which were to make the greatest use of the Ogilvy's Institution. Govan first sent a child W. McK. aged 14 on 19 November, 1875. He was admitted to Class 111 and paid for by Andrew Wallace, Inspector of Poor, Govan Combination Parochial Board, Glasgow. Thereafter this Parish made steady use of Baldovan, 1895 being a year of special note when it sent four pauper children, three of whom were "congenital idiots" while the fourth was an epileptic. Barony sent its first child a seven-year-old pauper "imbecile" boy D.M. on 27 April, 1856 paid for by its Inspector of Poor, Peter Beattie. After this it regularly sent two or three in one year. No one area sent children every year. Two particular years stand out in Barony's use of Baldovan: 1878 when six of its children were admitted - five boys and one girl - all to Class 111 and, even more noteworthy, 1897 when no fewer than fourteen children from Barony were admitted. Among them were two brothers, R. and J.W., eleven and five years old respectively, admitted on 6 March, 1897 -

pauper “congenital idiots” as were all the others admitted that year. While almost all of the children admitted from Glasgow and its surrounding area were paupers paid for by the parochial boards and authorised to be sent by the Board of Lunacy there were private cases too paid for by a member of the child’s family. This type of admission was always in the minority. The Fifty-Eighth Annual Report shows that of the admissions between 1855 and 1912 one hundred and fifty-three were private while seven hundred and sixty-one were pauper admissions paid for by the appropriate parochial board.

Mention has been made of the class to which children were admitted. The Baldovan system consisted of a grading from 1 to V in terms of the acquirements and capacities of the children. Most of the children from the Glasgow area were admitted to Class 111 which meant that they could speak and understand speech and could be taught to work. At this level what was being offered was more of an occupational training than an education. There were however some exceptions. G.C. mentioned above was admitted to Class 1 signifying that she could understand speech but did not speak though she could dress and feed herself. Another exception was L.D. aged eleven on her admission to Class 11 on 3 December, 1872. This grading meant that L. from Barony Parish could speak and understand speech. There are no indications in any of the records of any children from the Glasgow area being admitted to the higher grades: IV where children could be taught to read and write or V where they could read books for themselves. This is not altogether surprising given the severity of the intellectual disabilities of most of the children placed there. The First Annual Report (1856) spoke of the children as, “helpless and afflicted patients” - a fact often alluded to by the Commissioners in Lunacy who visited Baldovan annually. “The

Commissioner is more and more convinced that scholastic education is useful to such children only as a means of awakening their mental faculties. It is almost hopeless to look forward to any of them reading for amusement or information” (Annual Report, 1861, p.6). This was fine as the main aim of Baldovan, taken from the First Annual Report, was the, “amelioration of their condition” so as to place, “them in a position to act for themselves, or earn their own livelihood”. On their visit of 28 July, 1874 the Commissioners found that, “intellectual improvement is, in the case of the great majority, hardly to be looked for. Six girls, however, are more or less useful in the scullery, laundry, etc; and about the same number of boys are occupied in the garden, tailoring, going messages, etc.” (Annual Report, 1874, p.13).

The curriculum offered to the children sent there from the Glasgow area can be gleaned from the Annual Reports. That for 1859 tells how, “The children are occupied at school for one and a half hours in the morning and one and a half hours in the afternoon. One hour is devoted to gymnastics, and the remainder of the day is spent in walking, at play, in looking at pictures, stringing beads, balls, etc.” (Annual Report, 1859, p.7). Here we can see the continuing belief in the importance of bodily training favoured so much by Itard and Seguin – gymnastics, walking, play and the finer motor control exercises involved in stringing beads. This is not to suggest that the intellectual development of the children was neglected. A healthy balance appears to have been struck where possible, “while the physical development is in the first place attended to, the mental is by no means neglected; and the more intelligent and educable have made good progress under the careful teaching of the Governess” (Annual Report, 1874, p.12). “There is evidence that progress has been made by several of the pupils; the development has taken place rather in the direction

of industrial pursuits, in the regulation of the temper, and in the softening of the disposition, than in the increased strength of intelligence or in specific attainments. In two girls the improvement described is very decided" (Annual Report, 1862, p.7).

Though little could be done for a minority of the children admitted who, "either on account of their backward youth or on account of their physical defects, nothing but nursing can be afforded them" for the majority of the children something could be done. Each was, "capable of learning something. So every department in the Institution is made a teaching centre; the school, the kitchen, the laundry, the household, the garden, and now the mechanic's shop, each absorbs its quota of children to be instructed. In each and all of these departments children are employed according to their capabilities, and though all are slow in learning, some acquire a dexterity and aptitude that worthily repay the immense amount of patience and labour involved in their instruction" (Annual Report, 1913, p.7). Yet even in these early days of optimism the clouds of pessimism were beginning to appear on the horizon, for it was obvious that not all children with intellectual disabilities could be improved by training or education, despite the time, effort and expense involved in attempting to do so. Indeed a reading of the Annual Report of 1913 would, no doubt, have added to the feeling of pessimism which was beginning to emerge around then. This claimed that no less than half of the children discharged in 1912 were sent away, "not improved and not improvable - one to parents, four to poorhouses, two to asylums for adults, one to be retained as a servant in the Institution, all the others boarded out or otherwise disposed of by the Parish Councils responsible for their welfare" (Annual Report, 1913, p.110). Scrutiny of the children from the Glasgow area on the Register of Lunatics for Baldovan Asylum shows this mixture of success

and failure. D. M. pauper "imbecile" from Barony was discharged improved on 8 September, 1877. On 17 October of that same year J. McM. and R. McL. were both discharged improved. For others there was to be no improvement. Such was the case with A. R. G. admitted on 17 December, 1866 aged six and a half, a private patient paid for by his father and discharged on 19 October, 1876 with a note in the observations column of the Register which says cryptically, "not suitable for Institution". The same was true for S. F. admitted at the age of fourteen on 4 September, 1897 a pauper "congenital idiot" paid for by Govan Combination Parochial Board. She was discharged three months later unimproved.

When considering these apparent failures to improve such children at Baldovan three things should be borne in mind. Firstly the very severe intellectual disabilities of many of the children admitted. Secondly the fact that children often arrived at Baldovan when too old to take full advantage of its training opportunities, "It is certain that mentally defective children who require to be sent to such an institution as Baldovan do not benefit by having their admission delayed until long past school age" (Annual Report, 1913, p.7). In that year - 1913 - of the one hundred and ninety-eight pupils in attendance, ages ranged from three to seventeen with the average age being ten. Lastly parents often interfered with the training of their children by removing them at will after a short residence, "It would never be tolerated that a normal child who has been sent to school should be withdrawn almost immediately again at the individual indiscretion of a parent to whom the law in the case of a mentally defective child allows a responsibility for which nature has unfitted him" (Annual Report, 1913, p.9). Why parents should do this is a matter of conjecture. In

some cases it may have been due to the kind of disillusionment which Dr. Brodie, as detailed below, ascribed to some of the parents of children at Larbert. In other cases it may have been due to economic necessity.

That Glasgow and its surrounding area did provide educational provision in the second half of the nineteenth century for some of its children with intellectual disabilities by sending some of them to Baldovan Asylum is beyond question. What is more questionable is why it did not send more. Between the years 1855 and 1900 eighty-three children were sent from Scotland's centre of greatest population - encompassing Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, Bishopbriggs, Cumbernauld, Kilsyth, Old Monklands, Pollokshaws, Ayr, Kilmarnock, New Cumnock, Auchinleck and Irvine. This represents less than two children a year from a population of such children which the Rev. Arnot estimated in the early 1860s to be around six hundred (Scottish Review, 1862, p.54). Another question which deserves to be answered is why Glasgow with its huge population and wealth could not emulate what had been done by a husband and wife team using largely their own funds. The importance of Baldovan is that it was the first real effort in Scotland to cater educationally for children with intellectual disabilities. It showed in practical terms what others had been arguing theoretically - that such children could benefit from being exposed to education and training. In keeping with similar developments elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Baldovan was later to become a hospital - Strathmartine. However Sir John and Lady Ogilvy were not the only members of the public to become involved in a practical way in the education of those with intellectual disabilities. After describing the work of Baldovan, the writer of The Education of the Imbecile expressed his hope for the future, "Deeply impressed as we are, with a sense of the

gratitude which the nation owes to the worthy baronet and his lady, who have so liberally and well commenced this good work in Scotland, we cannot but hope that they will have the satisfaction of seeing their example followed in many parts of the country. This, we are assured, would be regarded by Sir John and Lady Jane Ogilvy as the best reward they could meet with. May they be long spared to enjoy such rewards _____ blessed in blessing others!" (The Education of the Imbecile 1856, p.16). Their example would indeed be quickly followed, by a doctor from Edinburgh and his wife.

The Brodies and Larbert

The first real step towards the development of a large National Institution to deal with the increasing problem of "mental deficiency" in Scotland was taken in 1855 again thanks to the efforts of individuals. Once more the credit goes to a husband and wife team - Dr. David and Mrs. Brodie who opened the Edinburgh Idiot Asylum at 10 Gayfield Square, Edinburgh. The Brodies believed that there were sufficient numbers of children with intellectual disabilities in Edinburgh let alone Scotland to merit the opening of an educational institution. They therefore resolved to assist those children who were, "the subject of impaired mental powers, and who wait for that amelioration of their condition which, elsewhere, they have already been proved capable of receiving" (The Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.16). As in the case of Baldovan the founders were keen that the Edinburgh school should be self-supporting though donations were gratefully received. Early attempts to have the school established in conjunction with some of the large and wealthy Edinburgh schools failed because it was found impossible to "graft" the Brodie's school on to

any of the rich Edinburgh schools without illegally contravening their charters.

Finally a tenement building at 10 Gayfield Square was settled on. As was the case with Badovan there was an early experiment in partial integration with the mixing of children who were intellectually disabled with those who were not but who suffered from, "bodily ailments [which made them] unable to take their place at ordinary schools" (The Education of the Imbecile, 1856). This was an interesting concept and one which existed in some special schools in Glasgow, such as Summerton Road, well into the second half of the twentieth century.

The aims of the school at Gayfield Square were admirable and forward-looking. The importance of general physical health to mental health was recognised and laid down as the first aim of the school. Again this is something which the Edinburgh Idiot Asylum had in common with Baldovan as well as some of the other early educators. It is precisely the reason why Dr. Guggenbuhl took the cretins of the Swiss valleys from their native environment up to a height of 4000 feet above sea level. It also reinforces the point, made earlier, that for the early educators bodily improvement was seen as the key to mental improvement. Interestingly enough until very recently physical education was one of the few legally prescribed subjects on the curriculum of secondary schools in Scotland. Its importance in special education today is still recognised by leading educators in this field such as Dr. Kitihara, arguably America's foremost authority on the education of autistic children, who advocates that each day begin with pupils engaging in strenuous physical activity. Resources and methods which had been found to be successful in dealing with such pupils elsewhere were used by the Brodies and modified where necessary. Again the importance of occupational training was recognised and it was this rather than any

kind of scholastic education that was offered to most of the children there. Another aim of the school was therefore, “in the cases of the more advanced pupils, the providing of some suitable occupation giving healthy employment at once agreeable and profitable to all their powers; especially keeping in view such occupations as may fit the pupils for future usefulness and intercourse with society” (The Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p.18). It is to the credit of the Brodies that they continued with their enterprise despite much public prejudice. Realising that a converted tenement building in a city centre was not an ideal setting for the care and training of such children and preferring a less congested situation for their work, the Brodie’s appealed to the public for more suitable accommodation. This part of the venture met with considerable success. Where they experienced more difficulty was in persuading proprietors who were only too willing to rent their properties to private tenants to rent for the purpose the Brodies had in mind. It took a good deal of time before a suitable site was found, largely because of public prejudice. Indeed but for the pleas of the parents of some of the children in their care it is likely that the Brodies would have given up in despair. However a site was eventually found at Morningside. This was to prove too small necessitating yet another search.

The Brodies enjoyed much success in their work with these children . Their first pupil was A., a nine-year-old girl of poor parents. A. had never walked and was spotted lying outside a cottage door, “in a very degraded state” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p.27). Her parents believing her condition hopeless were only persuaded to send her to Gayfield Square after being shown reports of the successes other institutions had had. On arrival her treatment began immediately, “baths, friction, hourly exercise of a varied kind” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861,

p.29). Within six months she was walking with assistance and articulating more distinctly. At the same time her mental training was going on. She learned prayers, learned to sew and to, “make herself useful by hemming towels and dusters” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p.31). In addition she was taught to read words of three and four letters often being taught by pictures. After four years A. was sent away when the Brodies moved their institution to the country. The letter written by her father to Mrs. Brodie on the return of his child is heartwarming. The spelling and punctuation are as they appeared in the original.

“July 21, 1859

Dear Friend, - I received your kind letter, stating that you are all well. I have to let you know that we are all the same. Your dear A_____ is in good health, and as well pleased as ever. ...She always speaks of you, and Miss C., and Miss B., and the names of many of the childrine. ...She is making Good improvement in reading, she writes some Coppeys, and sewing. She tell me to tell Mrs. Broadie that she is a Good Girle, and so she is. She still continues to improve in every way. There is many coming to see her that knew her before she went to you, and now they would not know her and well Pleased to see her improve so much. ... We all thank you, and all her teachers, in the trouble they took in our Dear Child. ... My best love to the Dr. A_____ sends her love with a kiss to mama, the Dr., Miss C., Mr. D., Miss B., Mrs. F. and many more ...” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p.27).

The letter is quoted because in its simplicity and honesty it is a poignant reminder of the happiness and the hope that education could offer the parents of such children, let alone the improvement it could afford in the children themselves. Clearly then the mood of optimism generated by the belief that training or education could be

beneficial for children with intellectual disabilities was not confined simply to those involved in their education. It was evident in the parents of these children as well. It is also a moving testimony to the work done by an individual husband and wife. Not all the children in the Brodie's care were as amenable as A. Indeed their third child B. was more of a devil. Wild and uncontrollable with a violent temperament, he would attempt to throw other boys into a nearby stream and, if not watched, to strike his baby sister. Under the guidance of Mrs. Brodie the boy was taught self-control. Eventually he became kind and considerate to the other children including A. As with A. the boy had to be sent away on the move from Gayfield Square to the country house. A lack of suitable accommodation and funds made it impossible to take them. Just as had happened with A., a parent of B. this time his mother wrote to Mrs. Brodie complaining of the sights the child now saw in the asylum and of the inefficacy of keeping him in restraint there while what he really needed was to be educated to control his temper. The tone of the letter is one of regret that this opportunity had been lost to her son.

These letters appeared in the small publication The Imbecile and their Training brought out by The Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland in 1861. A publication such as this with its case studies of hopeful children who had to be turned away made a great impact on the public's emotions. But it also served a practical purpose, for it spelled out the need for a larger institution to carry on the work that the Brodies had been doing successfully at Gayfield Square and then at Morningside. Accordingly it detailed plans for a public subscription to be raised throughout Scotland to collect funds for the venture. Ground was to be sought if possible in a location between Edinburgh and Glasgow and a large institution

erected. There would be three departments: the first for children of wealthy parents who would enjoy the style of board to which they were accustomed; the second for children of less affluent parents who could still afford to pay a moderate charge and the third department for pauper children who would be boarded-out and educated free of charge. One of the main aims of the Committee of the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland was to highlight the need for educational provision for these children., “The Committee have, at various times, had under their consideration the desirableness of endeavouring to procure the recognition by the State of the claims of Pauper Imbecile Children, as regards their training. With this view, a deputation from the Society ... waited upon the Lord Advocate ... and they are not without hopes that, in the forthcoming Lunacy Act, some measure such as they contemplate may be introduced” (First Report, 1862, p.7). The new building was sited half way between Edinburgh and Glasgow, at Larbert. In 1863 the first nine children were received and a Second Annual Report was issued. This tells of the lost opportunity to do something nationally for such children , “to have a provision introduced by which the Board of Lunacy would have been entitled ... to send to such an institution as that at Larbert, all children who in their opinion could be benefited by curative treatment” (Annual Report, 1863, p.8).

This same report thanks another group of individuals who gave of their time and energy to further the cause of children with intellectual disabilities. None of these people are famous and most of their names are long forgotten. They are remembered only in the name of the organisation to which they belonged. These were the ladies of the Ladies Auxiliary Association, Glasgow who, “last Autumn met in Glasgow, and, as an auxiliary association, divided the city into districts, and undertook the

labour of collecting subscriptions from house to house in small sums which would otherwise have been lost" (Annual Report, 1863, p.9). This association was similar to the one in Edinburgh and the later ones in Greenock, Kilmarnock and Paisley. It is important to realise the enormous contribution these women made especially the collecting of much needed funds.

The Glasgow area made much use of this new facility, though as with Baldovan it was very much a British resource with children coming from various parts of Ireland, from London, Manchester, Wick, Aberdeen - indeed from all parts of the United Kingdom. However the Admission Registers show that some of the first children admitted came from Glasgow. J. D. eight years old had an application made in 1863 by his mother, while thirteen-year-old B. K. was sent by a Mrs. Morrison. Applications were also made in that year for M. D. aged thirteen, A. G. eighteen years old and G. B. - all of Glasgow as well as for J. R. fourteen and J. L. both from Greenock. Children could be admitted in a number of ways. The first was by election where children were admitted free of charge. The Institution had always aimed to be philanthropic and charitable. In its constitution of 1869 a system of election of pupils by the votes of annual subscribers was set up and it was reported in the following year that of the first twenty-two children admitted six were received entirely without payment and ten at a rate much below the cost of maintenance while six were received as private cases (A Record of the Foundation, History and Growth of the Institution, 1940, p.5). Children could also be admitted as private pupils paying either the full payment of £50 pounds per annum or a reduced payment of from £25 - £40 for those unable to pay the full rate of board.

Those children from Greater Glasgow who did attend the institution at Larbert as elected or private pupils found it to be not only a home, “but more especially a school, for the Imbecile” (Annual Report, 1864, p.5). The education offered was matched to the abilities of the pupils and again we see training in Life Skills and occupational training, with a more scholastic education for those capable of it. The importance of bodily health was again appreciated and catered for within the curriculum. “The education proposed will include not only the simple elements of instruction usually taught in common schools, where that is practicable, but will embrace a course of training in the more practical matters of every-day life - the cultivation of habits of cleanliness, propriety, self-management, self-reliance, and the development and enlargement of a capacity for useful occupation. As promotive of these objects, pupils will receive such physical education, and such medical, moral, and hygienic treatment as their peculiar and varied conditions demand” (Annual Report, 1864, p.5). Here then was a curriculum, with an emphasis on Social and Life Skills, which would not look out of place in a school for children with severe or profound learning difficulties at the close of the twentieth century.

The Ninth Report (1870) gives more precise details of the curriculum on offer to the sixty-five children then under the guidance of the teacher, Miss Thomson. Children were taught speaking - thirty-three could speak fairly, sixteen indistinctly, six could make a few sounds only, while ten did not speak at all. The children were also taught arithmetic - eight could work easy sums, eleven could count up to 100, eighteen could count a little, while twenty-eight could not count at all. Clock lessons were taught too - ten could tell the time to a minute but thirty-four could tell none of the hours. The use of utensils at meals was taught - forty-five could use a fork and knife,

two could use a spoon and fork, seventeen could use only a spoon and there was one boy who had to be fed. In addition there were classes in needlework, colour lessons and shop lessons. One interesting point mentioned briefly in the report is that two of the pupils assisted in alphabetical teaching. Occupational training featured large in the institution with four boys employed with the gardener, eight with the shoemaker, four with the joiner, three at sack-making, four at pumping water and six at shoe cleaning. Nine girls were employed in the domestic service of the house. Time not spent at the above could be devoted to amusements - in summer outdoor gymnastics, cricket and croquet and in winter dancing twice a week, shop lessons, evening readings and various household games. Later, as detailed in the report of 1880, children were graded I - V as at Baldovan. Grade I neither spoke nor understood speech. Grade II understood speech but did not speak while Grade III could speak and could be taught to work. Grade IV could be taught to read and write and Grade V could read

Some parents were disappointed with the progress of their children while attending the institution, "The parents of the children, from whom one might expect the heartiest recognition of the efforts of our staff, generally find the result not to reach their anticipations, and always to fall short of their wishes". This was probably due to unrealistic expectations. Most children however did show some improvement, "The work goes on, nevertheless, day after day, and there are few pupils that do not show improvement: in some the improvement is considerable; in others not very great, especially if measured against the enormous trouble expended. In a few cases there is no change for the better" (Annual Report, 1880, p.11). Here again, as at Baldovan, some of the seeds of the later pessimism were already in place, for despite all of its

successes and the optimism aroused by them, it was clear even this early that not all of its intellectually disabled children could be improved through education or training. Nevertheless many parents appreciated the work being done. A letter from Mrs. C. claims her son, "David has improved in reading and writing, and in his general behaviour" while Mr. R. believes his son, "James has been very healthy, and we all know a great improvement in him this year, both in learning and speaking" (Annual Report, 1880, p.19).

A letter dated September 1869 reads, "Dear Sir - I have much pleasure in informing you that my boys are decidedly improved since last year. I am greatly encouraged in sending them back to you, because, being their first year, I did not expect so much. Their health is good, their habits and manners greatly improved, and their mental development is manifest to all my friends, as well as to myself and family. William is so sensible, so much wiser as we may say, that I think he might very easily be taught some useful employment. As to book-learning, I cannot say so much for their progress in that way; but I am decidedly of the opinion that children of their class can never be taught much from books. I approve of your system of training them to usefulness, and by the exercise of patience and kind treatment, their minds can be so far cultivated as to be able in some degree to comprehend the simple truths of the Gospel ... I trust that, with God's blessing on your labours, there will be a still greater improvement in them when they return home next year" (Annual Report, 1870, p.1).

Despite Dr. Brodie's importance for the success of the Larbert institution there are other names in the Directorate which stand out prominently. One such is Dr. Coldstream. Influenced by Guggenbuhl's work in the Abendberg, his was the inspiration from which Larbert sprang. The Minute adopted at his death states, "That he was the one raised up by God to originate the establishment of an Institution for the improvement and education of the imbecile youth of this country and it is to his prayers during many years and to his striving against ever-recurring difficulties that we owe the formation of this society and the erection of this building" (*The First Fifty Years in Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints*, Vol. XLII, p.1178).

The success of institutions such as those at Baldovan and Larbert, however, was not enough. "Great as has been the attainment, it is after all but one stage in the greater things that must be in the future if the sad national need to which it bears testimony is to be met, when it is borne in mind that Baldovan and Larbert, with one or two smaller Institutions, provide for only about one-fourth of probably at least two or three thousand in Scotland who stand in need of like provision" (*The First Fifty Years in Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints*, Vol. XLII, p.1193). This kind of thinking together with the disappointment of the Act of 1857 and the continuing pressure from individuals and pressure groups led to the Lunacy (Scotland) Act of the 29 July, 1862 "An Act to make further Provision respecting Lunacy in Scotland". This Act represents the first statutory recognition in Scotland of the needs of the "mentally defective" as distinct from the mentally ill. There are those who believe that this Act is the "benchmark" for plotting the growth of statutory provision in Scotland for the "mentally defective". This may be to exaggerate somewhat the importance of the Act. For one thing the confusion over the labels used for different

grades of intellectual disability is not cleared up by the Act. The first of its twenty-five sections consists of an interpretation of the terms used. Here it is clear that the term "lunatic" crucial to interpreting the Act and making it workable is vague and imprecise. "Lunatic", when used in this and the recited Act, shall mean and include every Person certified by Two Medical Persons to be a Lunatic, an insane Person, an Idiot, or a Person of unsound Mind" (Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1862).

Where the supporters of the Act have a valid point is in Section 7 which made it lawful for the Board of Commissioners in Lunacy to grant licences to any Charitable Institution established for the care and training of "imbecile" children. No fee was to be charged for this service. Here then is the first mention of the training of children with intellectual disabilities in any Act of Parliament for Scotland. In the historical perspective of the provision of education for such children this is the real importance of the Lunacy (Scotland) Act of 1862. The Act, while of great importance, still did not guarantee education for children with intellectual disabilities. Clearly pressure for the realisation of the goal of education for such children would have to continue. At the same time pressure was building for a national system of education to replace the piecemeal provision which then existed in Scotland. This would result in the Argyll Commission of 1864 set up to investigate the parochial, burgh, parliamentary, middle-class, normal and adventure schools at the elementary level and various higher class schools. The result of the Commission's work was the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 which introduced compulsory education for children from the age of five to thirteen. Interestingly enough this Act contains the earliest recognition of the State's duty to meet the needs of children with disabilities. In Section 69 the provision as regards attendance is declared to include blind children.

The importance of this Act for children with intellectual disabilities was that it highlighted the number of such children who could not cope in ordinary schools. These were children whose intellectual disabilities were not severe enough for them to be sent to Baldovan or Larbert, or incarcerated in an asylum. Documentary proof of this is available in the school logs and registers, post 1872. Registers of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal are useful in this respect. A particularly good example is the register for Buchan Street School, 1874 -1896, which, in its attention to detail makes it clear that there were children in attendance who simply made little or no progress as measured by their failure to move through the six Standards existing at that time. J. S., for example, was to leave Buchan Street on 6.4.1874, aged twelve, but presented at no Standard. R.W.G. is another such case, leaving aged ten on 19.6.1874 after a four-year stay during which he was presented at no Standard. This was the case, too, with H.H. who left on 24.6.1874 at the age of thirteen. Similar evidence can be found in the records for other schools around this time.

Of course, there could be many reasons for children not being presented at any Standards: protracted illness causing the child to miss a lot of teaching, emotional problems and so on. With many, however, the strong suspicion is that they simply were unable to cope, let alone progress, with education in the ordinary schools. Many of these children, as well as having learning difficulties themselves in the schools which they were obliged to attend, also caused difficulties for others by disrupting classroom learning.

The Departmental Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children, appointed in England in 1896, illustrated the problems faced as well as caused by such children. This Committee acknowledged that, "By far the greater proportion of feeble-minded children who are attending school at all are found in the ordinary schools". They saw this as being unsatisfactory and though the children were, as a rule, treated kindly found that little success was achieved in their instruction, "They are classified with some regard to age, so that the older scholars may not be in the lowest classes, but chiefly according to their attainments ... They are taught the same subjects as the other children, but in a lower standard in reading, writing, and arithmetic and with little expectation of success in class subjects. They 'pick up what they can', 'take their chance' and 'mark time', generally taking an extra time in the infants' class and two years or more in a standard" (Departmental Committee, 1898). Miss Matilda Mary Blackmore, Head Mistress of the St. Michael and All Angels' School, Woolwich, told of a class of fifty-one pupils, four of them feeble-minded, under the charge of a pupil-teacher aged fifteen. One of the feeble-minded was mischievous and would, "tear her pinafore" and throw things around while another was, "a naughty girl, generally". Asked, "Are they a nuisance in the school; do they fight?" Miss Blackmore replied, "Sometimes; sometimes it is a great strain to the teacher to keep them quiet at all, and, occasionally, they will burst out laughing or crying" (Departmental Committee, 1898). Nevertheless that these children were educable was not in dispute. The question was how best to provide for them educationally. Special education, in special classes or special schools, became identified as a need not only of benefit to those children unable to cope in ordinary schools, but also for the normal children who would be less vulnerable to classroom disruption. Europe provided examples of good practice here.

In European countries, as well as in North America, the response to this increased need for special education was a continued expansion of provision, particularly in the form of special classes for slow learners or pupils of low mental ability. These classes were modelled on the German Hilfsklassen, or Hilfsschulen, help classes or help schools, which first appeared in that country in 1859. The early history of such classes is traced in a paper read by G.E. Shuttleworth, Medical Examiner of Defective Children for the School Board of London, entitled "Training of Defective Children under School Boards" and published in the School Guardian in March 1900. In this he traces the formation of special classes for the instruction of dull, backward, and defective children to Germany. Shuttleworth estimated that in 1900 there were no fewer than six thousand children receiving special instruction within the limits of the German Empire.

By the time of Shuttleworth's paper, compulsory elementary education had been in existence in Scotland for twenty-eight years. Yet the only specific educational provision, outside of the institutions at Baldovan and Larbert, for Scottish children who were intellectually disabled was one experimental class held in the toilet of a Glasgow school. This lateness to provide for such children in the Glasgow area is even more surprising given the claims of success for special classes. Shuttleworth, for example, tells of children considered hopeless in the ordinary schools being enabled, by the special instruction given to them, to follow useful practical careers. Indeed, some children had apparently been able to return to ordinary Standards after a period of special instruction. Here then was further evidence of the educability of such children.

In Scandinavian countries such institutions had existed for upwards of twenty years before 1900. Their history was traced by Shuttleworth in a paper entitled “Memorandum As To Special Classes for Instruction of Abnormal Children in Norway” and reproduced in Appendix 37 of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, 1889. In it he described special classes in Christiania and Bergen. These were held in the public elementary schools, “for the separate instruction of such pupils as are found incapable, in consequence of nervous or mental ‘abnormality’, of following the ordinary school curriculum” (Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, 1889). Shuttleworth described one of the classes in operation at Christiania since 1874. Here three teachers instructed twenty-eight “abnormal” children, most of them “mentally defective”. Such a ratio of teachers to pupils, approximately one to ten, allowed for a fair amount of individual attention.

As was shown earlier this focus on the individual had been seen as of the utmost importance by the early educators. Seguin, for example, thought that “respect of individuality is the first test of a teacher” (Boyd, 1914, p.94). The methods of instruction used were those which had been found to be effective in the improvement of imbecile children and which had been so favoured by teachers such as Itard and Seguin, “exercises to fix the attention, to quicken the perception by cultivating the senses, to overcome nervous irregularities by specially adapted drill, and to promote industrial usefulness and moral control” (Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, 1889). Results seem to have been favourable with the result that many students, after special instruction for a year or more in such special classes, were able to rejoin the ordinary school.

Germany provided more examples of good practice. In Germany the auxiliary school was designed for children who had failed to be promoted after two years in a public elementary school but not for those whose mental capacity was too low. Subjects taught included Religion (Scripture, history, catechism, hymns), German Language, calculation, writing, cultivation of the senses, domestic knowledge, singing, gymnastics, and manual work. Shuttleworth also referred to the wish of the Minister of Education, von Gossler, that auxiliary classes should be instituted in every town of twenty thousand inhabitants and over. He ended by suggesting that, based on the successful precedents, in Germany and Scandinavia, such auxiliary classes might usefully be started in schools in Great Britain. Such classes would serve a special purpose in observing and classifying children: “After a certain time spent in such a special school a selection might be made, and some would be fit to enter an ordinary school whilst others ought to be sent to a special training school for feeble-minded children” (Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, 1889). In a final appeal for auxiliary classes he admits their costliness since well-trained teachers must be well paid but points out the long-term cost-effectiveness, “In the long run the result, taking into account the remunerative industry of restored pupils, would probably be on the side of economy”. He then goes on to invoke a Christian motive: “But apart from mere economic considerations, is it not the duty of a professedly Christian nation, even in relation to our educational systems, to ‘gather up the fragments that nothing be lost?’” (Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, 1889).

Shuttleworth’s appeal to Christian motives is interesting, given the disappointing role of the churches in the development of special education for children with intellectual disabilities. Reference has been made earlier to the 1857 debate in the House of

Commons when Henry Drummond, representing an English seat, drew attention to the absolute neglect of pauper lunatics by the Church of Scotland. The Commissioners of the Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums in Scotland had tried to obtain accurate figures, from the Board of Supervision, for the number of pauper lunatics in Scotland. Having failed here they then turned to the clergy where they again failed. The suspicion was that the clergy had more regard for the ratepayers than for the pauper lunatics. Of course there were individual churchmen who did help. The Reverend Smith of North Leith regularly spoke at meetings of the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland and tackled the parochial boards for their lack of action. Others who were active on behalf of these children were the Reverend Arnot who attempted to collect figures for the number of imbecile children in Scotland, the Reverend Dr. MacLeod who tried to stimulate people to donate money to the cause of these children by speaking out at meetings and the Reverend Cullen who did likewise. Also worth mentioning is the work of the Glasgow Evangelist Association which, prior to 1906, often contributed to the cost of conveying "defective" children to and from schools. Likewise the Sisters of Charity, who, in 1916, opened St. Charles' Certified Institution in Partick. However, although the Glasgow Archdiocese was a regular contributor to the funds of this last institution, the work of the churches on behalf of the education of children with intellectual disabilities remained disappointing during the period being written about.

Despite examples of success from abroad as well as the urgings of people such as Shuttleworth, it was not until the close of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century that educational provision in the form of special classes in Board schools can be seen to occur. After an idealistic and optimistic start

in the middle of the nineteenth century the movement towards the provision of a system of special education seems to have lost its momentum. A climate of pessimism now replaced the earlier optimism. Possible reasons for this are the failure to realise expectations of miraculous cures, the unwillingness of the public to pay the cost when it realised how many children were affected and also ideas as to the inherent inferiority of those with intellectual disabilities. The early institutions had been established within a climate of optimistic expectation of improvement since, "tis not decreed the idiot born, must a poor idiot die" (Grove, E. 1856, p.4). By the beginning of the twentieth century however considerably less emphasis - politically and professionally - was being placed on improvement. Indeed there was an increasing discourse on confinement, which would be reflected in the legislation of 1913, with its shift towards compulsory segregation and a more custodial system. Victorian optimism was replaced by Edwardian pessimism which was to reach its climax in the early years of the twentieth century. "Edwardian doctors, psychologists, social workers and social theorists differed widely about the precise causes and symptoms of "feeble-mindedness", but ... they were virtually unanimous in their belief that the condition was largely incurable" (Harris, 1993, p.244). This kind of pessimism surrounded the asylums too. The promise of the new asylums with their regimes of moral management was simply not fulfilled. Instead they became institutions for repression whose main function was custodial (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p.97).

Certainly in Scotland, both in terms of educational provision and the statute book, the same kind of lull can be identified. After the opening of Baldovan and Larbert Institutions there is no more educational provision specifically for such children until

the end of the century. In the statute books there is a similar gap between the Lunacy Act of 1862 and the Education of Defective Children (Scotland) Act of 1906.

Nevertheless it was against this background of growing pessimism that the first special class in Glasgow and for that matter Scotland was set up at the close of the nineteenth century. The concept of educability was not confined to children with the severest intellectual disabilities. By the end of the nineteenth century the momentum had taken in those children whose intellectual disabilities were less severe and who either languished in the lower divisions of ordinary schools or who did not attend school at all. This first special class was an experiment by the School Board of Glasgow which proved successful and was fairly rapidly copied elsewhere. It is important to realise that the success of these early special classes was due to the skill and dedication of the individual teachers concerned. Had these earliest special classes been unsuccessful then provision may well have come to an end or at best been further delayed. These teachers were women who had undertaken this difficult and demanding work often without any specialised training or any extra remuneration. Among the many dedicated professionals working in this new field of education around this time the names of two are worthy of special note, Catherine Aitken and Mary Russell.

The Early Special Classes

The first of these pioneering teachers was Catherine Kevan Aitken. Encouraged by the results of special classes in England, especially London where she had undertaken such work, Miss Aitken resolved to do something for the, "large number of afflicted children" in Scotland and in particular in Glasgow. Accordingly she

wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, to highlight the problem and ask that children with intellectual disabilities in Scotland be afforded the same benefits as those similarly afflicted south of the border. She wrote, "There are unhappily a great many children who are suffering from mental or physical defect, but who are neither imbecile nor lunatic. These children by reason of their infirmities, are unfitted for ordinary school life, but yet are capable of receiving instruction in classes specially adapted for them. The education of such afflicted children in London has for some years been undertaken by the School Board there. The work has also been begun in other parts of England. In Scotland, however, there is no adequate provision for the Education of such children. Hitherto they have been sent to Asylums and other Institutions often with children who are actually Imbecile or Lunatic".

This is an extremely important point referred to by Miss Aitken. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act though of great importance was not a panacea. It did not specifically include intellectually disabled children among those for whom provision was to be made. Many children with intellectual disabilities from Greater Glasgow continued to be sent to asylums, prisons and institutions such as Baldovan and the Scottish National Institution, Larbert. She continued, "A laudable attempt is being made by the School Board of Glasgow to introduce the work of Special Class teaching into their Schools, and your humble servant has been appointed to the honour of beginning this work. One great difficulty lies in the way of the progress of this movement. There is no Special Grant for the Teaching of Defective Children, such as has been given by Her Majesty's Government for the instruction of Blind, Deaf, and Dumb Children. Yet the instruction of Defective Children is as costly, if not more so.

The classes are necessarily small, the services of experienced Teachers are indispensable and the amount of Kindergarten material used is expensive. For the sake of those afflicted little ones, so sadly handicapped, will you be so Kind as to bring their needs before the notice of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who has such Queenly sympathy for the sorrows, and needs of all Her subjects, so that she may see fit to direct that a Grant may be applied for the betterment of these weaklings of the Great Shepherd's flock" (Letter from Catherine Aitken, 1898).

Miss Aitken's letter was acknowledged and would be considered she was informed. However criticism was made of her lack of a clear definition of the class of children to whom she was referring. This was an astonishing criticism given the opening lines of her letter which bear an uncanny resemblance to those of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899 - one year later. Such criticism could be viewed as simply a stalling tactic.

Miss Aitken however was made of sterner stuff. Following the passing of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899 she wrote to the Duke of Devonshire acknowledging his, "excellent Bill for the betterment of defective, and epileptic children". Again she stressed, "the pressing need for such a remedial measure being extended to Scotland". And again she praised the, "Schools for Special Instruction in London, and elsewhere in England" while pointing out how "in Scotland, children who are defective, or epileptic, are placed in asylums to their great detriment". She mentioned the attempt, "made during the past year, in Glasgow, to establish a Special Class upon a somewhat similar system to that followed in the London Special Schools". Again she made a case for a special grant for the running of such classes. She talked of the Glasgow attempt, its success and

subsequent commendation by Her Majesty's Inspectors. Then she went on, "the lack of Government provision for the tuition of this class of children; as School Boards as a rule, are not willing to take up work which implies increased cost in Education, without the guarantee of an increased grant for the same, and are apparently quite willing to relieve themselves of all responsibility in the matter by placing such children in the charge of the Parish, or charitable institutions" (Letter from Catherine Aitken, 1899).

Miss Aitken's next ploy was to seek a personal meeting with Sir Henry Craik, Secretary of the Scotch Education Department. A letter from her brother the Rev. Patrick K Aitken to John Struthers, Dover House, Whitehall asked for a letter of introduction for his sister, Catherine, to enable her to meet Craik when he opened a new school in Govan on 1 November, 1900. She was, "extremely desirous of meeting him with the view of personally bringing before his notice the experiment - the first of its kind in Scotland - which has been made in Glasgow under the auspices of the Glasgow School Board to provide for the education of defective, weak, and backward children and of which she has had sole charge for nearly two years" (Letter from Patrick Aitken, 1900). In the event Miss Aitken did not get to meet him. Her efforts had not however gone unnoticed. In a Departmental Memorandum Struthers wrote to Craik telling him of the request and referring to Catherine Aitken as the, "lady who during the past session was stirring the waters in connection with the bill for the education of defective children" (Memorandum from John Struthers). At the same time Miss Aitken had been advertising this educational experiment.

An article in the Glasgow Herald of 13 February, 1904 while very much in support of these special classes bemoans the fact that they took so long to get started. The letter, itself, testifies to the growing interest of the general public in the education of these children. Indeed from time to time articles would appear in the newspapers describing the progress of the class. To the writer, "it seems strange that Scotland, which for so many years led the van of education, should have now to take a place in the rear as regards the education of the feeble. On the Continent and in America there are many schools and other agencies for the development and training of those whose mental or bodily powers are impaired. Some have been going for over fifty years whereas in Scotland as recently as seven years ago there was no such thing as a public school or class for the mentally or physically weak. The consequence was that these children had to gain what education they could [if any] in institutions for imbeciles, asylums, or poorhouses" (Glasgow Herald, 1904, p.9).

The writer then goes on to describe the first of these classes, the first in Scotland, which was opened in the Autumn of 1898 in Oatlands School using a school lavatory as a classroom. Miss Aitken was the class teacher, "Both cripple and mentally feeble children were taught together - this novel kind of teaching was called an experiment, and notices of the progress of the class appeared from time to time in the daily papers". The article continues, "The idea of teaching weak children by themselves was at first scorned, but the results proved the benefits and "Facts are chieils that winna ding' ". At the time this article appeared there were in fact twelve Glasgow schools which were running special classes for "defective" children. All of these according to the writer had sprung from, "a humble beginning". As mentioned above this "humble beginning" had its roots in Oatlands Public School. The school had

been built by Glasgow School Board at a cost of £14,860.13.3 to accommodate one thousand two hundred and eighty-six pupils. It opened in August, 1875 although the “defective” class did not start until 5 August, 1898 - more than a quarter of a century after the Act which was supposed to bring in elementary education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen. Such a wasted opportunity to improve the lot of children with intellectual disabilities through the provision of education represents a very real tragedy and poses the question why this should have happened. The answer may well lie in a short sentence contained in the Glasgow Corporation publication entitled, 100 Years of Education in the City of Glasgow 1872-1972. This states that, “Physically and mentally handicapped children were a problem which the early public schools were neither able nor expected to cope with. For the most part these unfortunate children simply remained uneducated” (Glasgow Corporation, 1972, p. 25). Schools then apparently did not feel competent to deal with such pupils - presumably because of a lack of expertise in the form of specialist staff or perhaps of specialised facilities (themes which Strathclyde Region would come back to in the 1990s in their Every Child Is Special policy document). It would appear that despite the growing concept of educability the early schools still regarded such children as being in need of medical treatment rather than education.

In mitigation it should be said that the task facing the School Boards of what is now the City of Glasgow after the Act of 1872 was one of enormous proportions. Every parish was entitled to a School Board. In Glasgow they varied greatly in size, from Springburn with only four hundred and fifty children of school age, to the School Board of Glasgow with over eighty-seven thousand. Not only did they have to bring a certain missionary zeal to their work- the Southern and Eastern districts of Glasgow

had been, “in a state of almost entire educational destitution” prior to 1872 - but they had the task of building the new schools, finding the teachers to staff them and making the new system work. Of its school-age population of eighty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four in 1873 the School Board of Glasgow could accommodate fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety though the average attendance was only forty-two thousand six hundred and fifty-five. By 1881 its school-age population had actually fallen to eighty-six thousand eight hundred and thirteen with accommodation for seventy-three thousand one hundred and fifty and an average attendance of fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and eight (School Board of Glasgow, 1882, p. 4). Within six years of its formation the Board had built for twenty-five thousand, “Yet as quickly as the Board schools went up others closed down. Kirk schools, charity schools and private schools rapidly disappeared. Consequently twenty-six thousand boys and girls were still without a desk. It took a few more years of furious building before there was room for all” (Glasgow Corporation, 1972, p. 8). The School Board of Glasgow built well and the solid Victorian buildings still standing from this period of rapid building bear testimony to this fact.

Clearly there were real problems involved in making the new system work and it would be wrong to try to minimise the achievements of the various School Boards. However the fact remains that despite examples of special classes in education for children with intellectual disabilities and their outstanding success on the Continent, let alone England, Glasgow was not to follow the first German examples until fifty years after their start in that country. This represents six generations of such school children for whom nothing was done to meet their special educational needs. The

fact that the class opened in Oatlands Public School in Glasgow in August, 1898 was the first in Scotland gives little cause for celebration. Given the importance of this experiment entries in the school log are rather disappointing in their sparseness. Most of the details concerning the “Defectives Class” are to be found in the copies of the reports of Her Majesty’s Inspectors contained in the logs. The first of these is dated 23 June, 1899 when, after a three-day visit, the Inspectors were clearly impressed with the work of the class, “The classes for scholars of defective intelligence form an interesting experiment. They are conducted by Miss Aitken in an energetic and sympathetic manner, and the teaching is stimulating, while the children are interested and happy. The scholars make very creditable progress in Reading and easy oral Arithmetic, Object Lessons, Kindergarten Handiwork and Clay Modelling. On the other hand, the progress in such an elaborate subject as slate arithmetic is inappreciable. A good classroom should be provided for them, even if the attendance of the school should be so far restricted” (Oatlands Public School Log, 23.6.1889).

What was being offered to these children was education in the scholastic sense rather than the training which was on offer to most of the children at Baldovan and Larbert, the implication being that they were more “educable” than the others. Though not formally recognised, for education purposes, until the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, the concept of three grades of intellectual disability was now distinguishable. The least severe were the “feble-minded” children who were considered educable and for whom provision was now beginning to appear in the form of special classes. Next came the “imbecile” children some of whom were in Baldovan and Larberet

receiving a training in Life Skills or in the basic skills of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic if they proved able enough. Finally there was the most severely disabled group for whom little other than nursing could be offered.

Selection for these special classes followed, to some extent, the recommendation contained in the Report of the Departmental Committee (1898). Teachers in the ordinary schools submitted the names of likely candidates to their Head Teachers who would then arrange for these children to be examined by the medical officer. The Departmental Committee had further recommended that at the examination, the second stage in the admission process, four people should be present - the teacher of the school where the child had been, the medical officer of the school authority, a representative of H.M. Inspectorate and the teacher of the special class. There is no indication however that the examination process for admission to the special classes in the Glasgow schools followed this recommendation very closely. Rather it would seem from entries in the school log books that the decision to admit or not was left to the medical officer. In an entry in Hayfield School Log for 17 May, 1906 we learn that, "Dr. Edwards called this afternoon for the purpose of examining certain children for the class for Defectives". Similarly an entry dated 30 October, 1914 in the Finnieston Log reads, "Dr. Marshall, the Medical Specialist for Mentally Defectives, visited the school yesterday and to-day for the purpose of examining children who are thought eligible for Mentally Defective Classes". The process of examination in the Glasgow schools then seemed to be an entirely medical one - without the presence of any of the educational specialists in the form of teachers and H.M. Inspectors which had been recommended in the Report of the Departmental Committee. This is yet another example of the important influence that the medical

profession had in the evolution of special education. As has been shown earlier, many of the earliest pioneers were in fact doctors – Itard, Seguin, Guggenbuhl, Poole, Browne, Coldstream and Brodie. While their contribution to the development of special education is undeniable, the powerful position in special education of people without teaching qualifications would gradually lead to a tension which has lasted into the twentieth century.

Under the guidance of Miss Aitken the pupils in the “defectives” class seemed to flourish. H.M. Inspectors’ report of 1900 states, “the class for children of defective intelligence, twenty-two in number, makes a pretty good appearance in reading, does well in Writing and Oral Arithmetic, and derives benefit from the lessons in Modelling and Colour” (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 1900). No mention is made of any improved accommodation although other general comments in the report, mentioned below, suggest how difficult conditions could be throughout the school. Despite the problems the special class for “mentally defective” children continued to succeed due mainly to the skilful teaching of the teacher now in charge, Miss Monteagle. The redoubtable Miss Aitken who had done so much to ensure the establishment and early success of the experiment had by now left, “The class of mentally defective children is making remarkable progress under the skilful and sympathetic supervision of Miss Monteagle” (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 1902). The success of the experiment in Oatlands had not gone unnoticed by the School Board of Glasgow and in January, 1901 two teachers were sent to London to be trained for this type of work. In April of the same year centres were opened in Finnieston and Camlachie Schools while in September the School Board of Govan started a class for such children in Pollokshields.

While Miss Aitken, despite her vigorous efforts, had been unsuccessful in her attempts to secure for these classes a special government grant of the type paid for the education of the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, the classes for “mentally defective” children in the Glasgow Schools were eventually recognised for funding in terms of Article 20IIb of the Scotch Code. This meant that in 1903, for example, the grant awarded for the “defective classes” in Oatlands was £104.12.00 which was at the rate of £4.3.8 per scholar on an average of twenty-five (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 1903). This rose throughout the years and compared favourably with the grant paid to the ordinary school. In 1910 the “defective” classes’ grant with an average attendance of one hundred and thirty-one was £424.0.4 while the grant for the ordinary school with a roll in excess of twelve hundred was £1257.5.1 (Hayfield School Log Book, 1910). The important role played by economics in the evolution of special education in Greater Glasgow is dealt with in more detail in Chapter Five.

The over-riding impression gained from the log books of the earliest special classes for children with intellectual disabilities in the three Glasgow schools - Oatlands, Finnieston and Camlachie - is that they were a great success. This statement is based upon copies of H.M. Inspectors’ reports to be found in the log books, on the opinions of visiting members of the School Boards and also on the fact that visiting delegations from other School Boards in the Glasgow area replicated the experiment in their own schools. From the outset the scheme had been welcomed by H.M. Inspectors. On their first visit to the special classes in Oatlands they were of the opinion that, “The classes for scholars of defective intelligence form an interesting experiment” (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 1899). A similar view was expressed when Finnieston opened its special classes, “A very interesting feature of

this school is the recent formation of two classes, one consisting of mentally defective children, and the other of cripple children. The collecting of these children [i.e. the mentally defective children] into a class by themselves under a specially qualified teacher is a beneficial arrangement both for the children themselves and the homes from which they are temporarily removed” (Finnieston School Log Book, 1902). On their visit to Camlachie School in 1902 they believed that, “Nothing but good can result from the teaching of these children in small classes by specially qualified teachers and cordial praise is due to the School Board for the enlightened policy which has led to the institution of such classes”(Camlachie School Log Book, 1902). They clearly attributed much of the success of these classes to the personal qualities of the staff involved. In Oatlands Public School they praised the, “energetic and sympathetic manner” of Miss Aitken as well as her “stimulating” teaching. Similarly Miss Monteagle is praised for her, “skilful and sympathetic supervision” and later for her, “sympathy and tact”. Skill, patience, care, attention and diligence are all qualities ascribed to the teachers of the “defective” classes at Oatlands (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 1899, 1903).

And so it is for Finnieston and Camlachie. The Inspectors’ report of 6 March, 1903 for Finnieston states that, “The classes for defective and cripple children are conducted with sympathy, judgement and skill” while at Camlachie on 26 June, 1902 Miss Penwick was succeeding with such a class because of her “patience, perseverance and sympathy”. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of these ordinary teachers in the successful development of special education for Glaswegian children.

On these visits success was measured in a number of ways. One way was to look for evidence of good work among the children. This they found in all three schools. In Hayfield to which children with intellectual disabilities had been transferred from Oatlands in 1905, H.M. Inspectors found that, "The work is remarkably good" and later that, "Remarkably good work is done in the defective classes" (Hayfield School Log Book, 1906, 1907). In the log book for Finnieston H.M. Inspectors enthused over the success of the classes for "mentally defective" children. They talked of, "wonderful success" and "remarkably successful results" (Finnieston School Log Book, 1902, 1906, 1908). At Camlachie such children were also achieving, "wonderfully successful results" and "a very creditable measure of success" (Camlachie School Log Book, 1909, 1910).

Perhaps a more accurate measure of success would be signs of progress being made by the children in these classes. Here again H.M. Inspectors found cause for celebration. They were, for example, able to report that in Oatlands, "The scholars make very creditable progress in Reading and easy oral Arithmetic, Object Lessons, Kindergarten Handiwork and Clay Modelling". Later they were able to report that, "the children have made good progress during the year" and to talk of, "the improvement that is being effected in the mental and physical condition of the great majority of the children" (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 1899, 1903, 1908). On a visit to Finnieston in 1906 H.M. Inspectors noted that a, "very marked progress has been made, especially in writing and arithmetic". Two years later there was still a, "distinct improvement being gradually effected in the mental and physical condition of many of the children" (Finnieston School Log Book, 1906, 1908). Again in Camlachie they found that, "The class of Defective Children is making good

progress indeed in the hands of Mrs. Bruce” (Camlachie School Log Book, 1904). Success here was measured in educational terms: progress in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic among other things, whereas in Baldovan and Larbert success was more usually measured in improved social skills or competence in an occupational skill.

Of course success could be judged in other ways too. It could for instance be seen, if not measured, in the happiness of many of the children in the special classes or by the interest they showed in their lessons. At Hayfield the, “children [were] happy and interested in their work” (Hayfield School Log Book, 1909). At Finnieston H.M. Inspectors felt that the teachers, Miss McWilliam and her assistants were, “to be congratulated on the bright and happy appearance of the children” (Finnieston School Log Book, 1907). In Camlachie’s special classes they observed, “the discipline is excellent and the pupils are interested” (Camlachie School Log Book, 1903). Pupils were sometimes transferred from the “defective” classes to the ordinary school. This was considered to be an indication of success as far as H.M. Inspectors were concerned, “The number of pupils who pass into the ordinary school in the course of a year is only one evidence of the success of these classes” (Hayfield School Log Book, 1910). On their visit of 10 April, 1907 to Finnieston they congratulated the teachers of the “defective” classes, “on the number certified as fit to join the classes of the ordinary school”. This type of transfer was common to the other schools with special classes. Writing of the “defective” classes in Camlachie School, in their Annual Report of 9 November, 1908, H.M. Inspectors observed that, “During the past year the progress made by three of the children was such as to warrant their transference to an ordinary school”. However H.M. Inspectors were keen to stress that this kind of transference while satisfying, “should not be made the

principal object of instruction". Rather this should instead be, "the discovery and development in each pupil of those powers which will tend to render him or her useful in later life" (Hayfield School Log Book, 1912). But the success of these early classes for children with intellectual disabilities in Glasgow did not end there. Such was the interest aroused that there were children on waiting lists for admission to them as witnessed by an entry in the log for Finnieston School, "a number of children are waiting for admission" (Finnieston School Log Book, 1909). Also impressive was the number of children from these classes who gained employment on leaving school. An entry in the log of Camlachie School for 18 January, 1907 gives an insight into this, "Since last visit the enrolment has increased from 39 to 56, while employment has been found for all the pupils who have left". From the same school one year later came the report, "of those who left on attaining the age of 14 every one succeeded in obtaining employment" (Camlachie School Log Book, 1908).

However it was not only H.M. Inspectors who lauded the success of these special classes. Board members too were generous in their praise. On a visit to Finnieston School on 14 August, 1902 the Rev. Dr. Boyd and Dr. Henry Dyer, both members of the School Board, called on both the "defective" and the cripple classes. They were evidently, "well pleased with the appearance of the classes". A similar entry for 15 June, 1904 indicates that, "Mr. Haddows, Board Member, called and visited the Cripple and Defective classes. He was delighted with the work being done for these weaklings". Such visits by members of the School Boards were a regular feature of the school year and there is no shortage of flattering comment in the source materials. Indeed members of other School Boards began to visit these first

successful classes with a view to setting up similar ones in their own schools. "A deputation from the Old Monkland School Board accompanied by the clerk from our Board visited the school today seeking information with regard to the classes for Physically and Mentally Defective Children and spent time with these classes" (Hayfield School Log Book, 1906). Camlachie was visited by, "Rev. Father Currie of St. Anne's who wished information regarding Defective class" (Camlachie School Log Book, 1905). Indeed other schools sometimes used one of the pioneer ones as a training centre for their own staff as in the case of the Paisley Board in 1907, "The School Board of Paisley have arranged for a lady to be attached to our Defective Classes for three months. The Board has arranged that Miss Margaret Russell will commence duty on Monday 15th. inst." (Finnieston School Log Book, 1907). This was an invaluable service, for it should be remembered that until 1922 there was no qualifying course, in Scotland, for teachers of intellectually disabled children.

Encouraged by the early success of Oatlands, Finnieston and Camlachie, School Boards in and around Glasgow began setting up more and more special classes for children with intellectual disabilities. It was often the case that the staff required for the special classes being opened in other schools were drawn from those at the three earliest participating schools. For example an entry for 7 February, 1907 in the Finnieston log details how, "Miss Maggie M. D. Pollock left the Cripples Dept. today to begin duty tomorrow in Bridgeton Mentally Def. Centre". As the concept of educability continued to grow so too did the number of classes set up to cater for these children. Soon other schools were being mentioned in connection with the formation of special classes for "mentally defective" children - Shields Road, Dennistoun School, Port Street, Cranstonhill, Bishop St., Washington St., Grove

Street, Yorkhill School, Dobbie's Loan School, London Road School and Freeland School - all within sixteen years of the first experimental class being started.

Meanwhile in the schools earliest involved in the scheme things went from strength to strength. In Hayfield a school with a roll in 1907 of nine hundred and four, a fifth class for "mentally defective" children was added, "The Board have intimated this morning their determination to open the new class for defective children in this school and fixed Monday the 16th. inst. as the opening day" (Hayfield School Log Book, 1907). Similarly by 1905 Finnieston School had five classes for such children with five teachers in charge of them. The following year it catered for one hundred such pupils (fifty-six boys and forty-four girls) out of a total school population of one thousand two hundred and sixty-two. Camlachie by 1910 had four classes for "defectives".

The school day in the early special classes was close to that which had been recommended in the Report of the Departmental Committee - two and a half hours in the morning and two in the afternoon with one and a half hours between the morning and the afternoon sessions. At Finnieston the hours were - 9.15 to 12 and 1 to 2.30 and at Camlachie 9.15 to 11.45 and in the afternoon 1 to 2.45. During this time pupils were offered, "instruction in the ordinary subjects". This meant: Reading, Writing and Oral Arithmetic together with Manual Work such as modelling. This Manual Work was apparently well done, "The Manual Work is especially praiseworthy" (Camlachie School Log Book, 1908) and was displayed at the regular sales of work held in each school where it seemed to sell readily. There are many references in the school logs to such sales of work. One example was that held in Finnieston on 2 December, 1910, "The sale of work done by the pupils in the Special

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However the curriculum on offer to the children in the special classes in Oatlands, Finnieston and Camlachie was not above criticism. In particular H.M. Inspectors saw the curriculum as being too poorly differentiated from the one in the ordinary schools. They believed, “The curriculum is too slightly differentiated from ordinary school work and very much more should be done in the way of physical exercise, organised games, and recreative work generally. The room set apart as a playroom should be more freely used for real play” (Hayfield School Log Book, 1912). An entry for the same year in Camlachie School’s log makes a similar point, “It is impossible to emphasise too clearly the fact that the curriculum for these pupils must be very much more elastic than the normal curriculum” (Camlachie School Log Book, 1912). This concept of differentiation would be highlighted again in the second half of the twentieth century when there was a shift away from the child deficit model of special education to an understanding that the key to combating a child’s learning difficulties lay in changing the curriculum to suit the child rather than trying to change the child to suit the curriculum. Curriculum differentiation is still a matter of concern for schools in Greater Glasgow today. As recently as the early 1990s, Strathclyde Region was still voicing the need for “an appropriately differentiated curriculum” in schools to take account of each child’s individual learning needs (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1991).

From the outset the intention was to segregate these children. This is in contrast to the early days at Baldovan and Larbert where the aim was to have normal children under the same roof as those who were intellectually disabled, albeit in separate classes. Though both of these experiments in partial integration failed, this was

initially a positive attempt to mix the children at meal times and intervals in the hope that the intellectually disabled might benefit from this. In the early special classes, however, a different philosophy prevailed. The special classes are frequently referred to in the log books as the “Special School” as if they were somehow a separate entity. They were indeed often housed in a separate building, “The two classes for mentally defective children which have been accommodated in the main building for the last few years were transferred to-day to rooms in their own building across the playground” (Hayfield School Log Book, 1914). In Finnieston School the classes for such children were transferred from the main school to the Queen Margaret Settlement Rooms to relieve pressure on the Senior Division. H. M. Inspectors encouraged this segregation on the grounds that it was to the advantage of the “defective” pupils, “It is in the best interest of these children that they be kept apart from the ordinary pupils” (Hayfield School Log Book, 1912). No light was ever thrown on just how it was in their best interests.

It would be wrong to be too critical of the segregationist policy of these Glasgow schools since quite apart from the advice of H.M. Inspectors in this direction it had been a clear recommendation of the Departmental Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children. In the section of the Report headed, “Organisation and Staffing of Special Classes” it is made clear that children with intellectual disabilities, “should not be mixed with ordinary children for any lessons”. While not requiring a separate construction for the teaching of such children the authors of the report did recommend separate constructions in the case of playgrounds, entrances and exits, cloakrooms and corridors (Report of the Departmental Committee, 1898, pp.15, 22). Indeed even before this The Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb (1889)

had recommended that “feble-minded” children should be separated from ordinary scholars in public elementary schools. Segregation was also favoured by the 1920 Educational Requirements of Glasgow report . This recommended the adoption of segregation as a matter of policy, favouring “a complete severance of Special Classes from the ordinary school”. Not until 1955 do we hear any suggestion of integration. Circular 300 of that year advised that most children requiring special educational treatment should receive this in ordinary schools. By 1962, however, such children in Greater Glasgow were still attending separate special schools. There are ethical issues surrounding the segregating of children from their peers and the stigma that this can involve. More is said of this in the conclusion to the chapter.

One important fact which should not be overlooked when discussing the development of special classes for children with intellectual disabilities is that until 1908 there was no such provision for Roman Catholic children in Greater Glasgow. After the passing of the 1872 Act, Roman Catholic schools had decided to remain outside the public system and it was not until 1908 that the provision for such children made by the School Boards of Glasgow was extended to include Roman Catholic children. The first of these classes was opened in 1908 in Govan Street School. In that year it was established as a combined Day Industrial and Special School. In 1911 the same policy was adopted in Anderston District with the opening of Cranstonhill Day Industrial and Special School. In order to cope with the growing needs of Roman Catholic children with intellectual disabilities in the south side of the city, Roman Catholic “physically defective” children were transferred from Govan Street to Hollybrook Street Special School and from Cranstonhill to Yorkhill. No records have survived from Govan Street or Cranstonhill. However log books do

exist for Dovehill Public School where a special class for such children was opened in May, 1908 under the instruction of Miss Elsie Mitchell. In all of the above the special classes were taught by Roman Catholic teachers apparently with the same kind of success as seen above in the other special classes in the Glasgow schools, “The classes for defective children are taught with patience, sympathy, and skill; and in all subjects the progress made is extremely satisfactory” (Dovehill Public School Log Book, 1909). Special classes in Glasgow continued to expand and flourish so that by the time of the 1920 Educational Requirements of Glasgow report there were eighteen centres for children with intellectual disabilities (Washington Street, Dalmarnock, Queen Mary Street, Barrowfield, Camlachie, London Road, Parkhead, Alexander’s, Dennistoun, Adelphi Terrace, Govan Street, Hayfield, Dobbie’s Loan, Grove Street, Rockvilla, Centre Street, Pollock Academy and Shields Road Schools). In addition there were two centres for both intellectually and physically disabled children (Dovehill and Rosemount schools). All of these were attached to ordinary schools.

While these early special classes had been organised on an ad hoc basis, the Act of 1906 (An Act to provide for the Education and Conveyance to School of Epileptic and Crippled and Defective Children), to a certain extent formalised the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities in Scotland. The Act made it, “lawful for a school board in Scotland, if they think fit, either alone or in combination with one or more school boards, to make special provision for the education, medical inspection and, where required, for the conveyance to and from school of epileptic or crippled or defective children between five and sixteen years of age within their education district”. Previous to this School Boards had no power to

pay for the conveyance of these children and the expense incurred was usually met through the contributions of private donors in connection with the Queen Margaret Settlement, the Glasgow Evangelistic Association and the Partick Ladies' Committee. However the Act, like the corresponding English Act of seven years earlier, merely empowered rather than compelled School Boards to take action on behalf of such children. As in the case of the English Act not all School Boards would exercise their powers. A real opportunity of making the provision of education for these children in Scotland a legal requirement of School Boards, rather than a discretionary power, had been lost. This is a pity as it would be another seven years before this would happen. The subsequent Education (Scotland) Act, 1908 improved the situation somewhat but still lacked the vital element of compulsion. Section 5 of the Act made it lawful for School Boards which already made special provision for the education of children with intellectual disabilities to require their parents to provide efficient education for such children up to the age of sixteen. This was all very well in the case of School Boards already offering special classes but it did nothing to encourage the widening of such provision.

That the success of the special classes was due in no small measure to the skill of the individual teachers involved is clear from HMI reports and has been discussed above. But there were more than just teachers were involved. The work of the charitable societies should not be overlooked. In the early years of the special classes children would be brought to school in horse-drawn cabs provided by charitable societies. In the morning milk would be dispensed by the ladies from these societies who would return at lunch time to serve the children a meal. They were often involved in the annual treat given to the "defective" children as witnessed in the log for Hayfield

School 13 January, 1911, "The Annual Treat given to the pupils of the Cripple and Defective Departments was given this afternoon. A large number of ladies were present and the children seemed to enjoy themselves thoroughly". It is important that praise be given where due - to voluntary work such as this as well as to the work of private individuals such as Catherine Aitken. The point has already been made that Lord Egerton, when talking of tributes paid in both Houses to the work of the Departmental Committee, reminded his fellow Lords of the work which had previously been done by private individuals and by philanthropic societies and which ought to be recognised (Hansard, 1899, col. 398). That this is a recurrent theme in the evolution of special education in Greater Glasgow is shown by similar remarks made by the Secretary of State for Scotland in his report Education in Scotland in 1966 (HMSO, 1967, p.41), "voluntary bodies and individuals continue to make a significant contribution to special educational provision."

Reference has also been made regarding the possible motivation behind such philanthropic works and there are writers such as Tomlinson (1982) who suspect that self-interest is the prime motivating force here. Certainly Thomas Braidwood in his pioneering work with the deaf seemed to be motivated largely by profit. It may well be that Itard in his work with the wild boy of Aveyron was more interested in the nature of the experiment than in Victor himself. Others may simply have enjoyed the glory of becoming well known for their efforts in this field. However it is questionable whether the motivation behind the work was of any great importance. The real importance lay in establishing and then widening provision. If the end result justified the means by which it was brought about then this is really all that matters.

Another outstanding champion of children with intellectual disabilities was another lady teacher, Mary Naismith Russell. Given the Freedom of the Burgh of Paisley in 1961 to add to the M.B.E. she had received from King George V for her outstanding pioneer work on behalf of such children Mary Russell is a supreme example of the individual prepared to struggle on behalf of those who cannot do so for themselves. Mary Russell had in fact dedicated her life to, "the welfare of handicapped children ... Her work was her all-absorbing enthusiasm; it filled her leisure; it was her life" (Finest Memorial, 1968, p.5). In 1907 she had volunteered to teach "backward" children while her sister, Margaret, took on those with physical disabilities. She began in Abercorn School with fourteen children with intellectual disabilities and seventeen with physical disabilities. The school grew quickly so that five years later the number had swollen to two hundred and eighty children. The year 1912 saw the opening of a new specially designed building known as the Special Classes Public School Paisley, the name eventually being changed to Sandyford School in 1946. Her organisation and teaching methods were based on a sympathetic understanding of, and concern for, the pupils under her care. Her interests were wide and were shared with the staff. Under her guidance study circles were held to discuss the latest books dealing with all aspects of special education.

Her interest in her pupils did not stop on their leaving school. She organised a most efficient after care service so that former pupils could be guided and helped with problems both personal and economic (Finest Memorial, 1968, p.5). This was an important initiative and, given the remarks of Mary Dendy mentioned earlier, a much needed service. There really was little point in spending time, money and effort on educating such children if, at the end of their schooling, they were simply turned out

into the streets with little hope of employment. However Mary Russell's scheme was a more humane solution than Mary Dendy's in that in the former's scheme the intellectually disabled retained their personal freedom. The Paisley After Care Committee formed in 1920 and of which she was a founding member was staffed entirely by volunteers. They had the following objectives: firstly to form a representative central body which would deal with young people with physical or mental disabilities outside institutions and which would establish direct communication with them, with their parents and guardians, with employers of labour and with government officials if required. Secondly to organise the work of caring for such young people. Lastly to stimulate activities for their care and control and to arouse public interest therein. These "defectives" included: all children with physical or intellectual disabilities, including those below school age, those regarded as "uneducable" by the Education Authority, those leaving school but not subject to the Acts, and those placed under guardians. Blind and deaf-mute children were also included (Paisley After-Care Committee, 1923). In 1920 a successful application for a grant towards expenses was made to the General Board of Control who urged them to extend their work pointing out that in England the after-care of "defectives" was attended to by one society with headquarters in London and branches all over the country.

Two years later in June, 1922 a Scottish Association of After Care Committees was formed at a meeting in Glasgow. The conference at the Royal Technical College was attended by a large number of representatives of Parish Councils, Education Authorities, representatives of the Educational Institute of Scotland, District Boards of Control, Association of School Medical Officers and National Special Schools

Union. At the meeting a letter was read from Sir Leslie Scott, Solicitor-General for England and President of the Central Association for Mental Welfare, the essence of which was that the English system consisted of an equal combination of statutory and voluntary elements in the personnel. Sir Leslie's letter, read in his absence by Mr. W.W. McKechnie, HM Inspector of Special, Industrial and Reformatory Schools for Scotland, pointed out the great awakening which was taking place with regard to the problems of those with intellectual disabilities. Educationalists were devoting more time to the study of the training of children not so gifted as their normal brothers and sisters and immense strides had been made in knowledge of the methods by which appeal could be made to them. Instead of being left to stagnate hopelessly in lower standards of ordinary schools they were more and more being collected in schools and classes where the education given was adapted to their needs and capacities. In institutions even the lowest grade children were now recognised as capable of responding to systematic training. He also pointed out the need for continuous care which was the greatest need of such children and which the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913 completely failed to provide. The only way to ensure adequate continuous care was by the formation of voluntary societies such as the proposed local care committees in Scotland (The Glasgow Herald, 1922, p.5).

These were fine words but based on optimism rather than accuracy. Five years later the suggestion of employing teachers to train the "ineducable" children in Woodilee Asylum would be rejected by the Education Authority of Glasgow and for some time to come that same Authority would not have an After-Care Committee. Instead a paid lady visitor attached to the Attendance Office visited the children in special schools as well as the homes of such children nearing school-leaving age. She also

reported on misdemeanours and bad home circumstances and suggested to the Authority institutional treatment where this was thought necessary. She endeavoured to find situations for some of the children and visited their homes for a year or two after they had left school. In view however of the number of these children in Glasgow she could deal with only a small proportion of them. This was an unsatisfactory situation. Though the meeting then decided to form a Scottish Association of Care Committees the decision was not unanimous. Matthew Reynard, Inspector of Poor, Glasgow and members of Glasgow and certain other Parish Councils made it known that they were present merely with a watching brief and had no authority to commit their respective bodies. They pleaded unsuccessfully for delay. Even so it was not to be until 1923 that Glasgow formed its own After-Care Association. Two of the main aims of the Scottish Association of After-Care Committees were to set up throughout Scotland local committees and to establish Occupation Centres for children who were unable to benefit from attendance at special classes or schools or who had left such schools but were unable to find employment.

In the pioneering work of establishing Occupation Centres in the Glasgow area Mary Russell was again a leading figure. An article in The Glasgow Herald in March, 1922 headed "Keep Your Eyes on Paisley!" described her school, Abercorn, as the best special school in Scotland. It went on to describe the Occupation Centre which she set up there in 1919 as a "most praiseworthy adjunct to the school". The Centre managed by the After-Care Committee under Mrs. Fern of the Education Authority arranged for any former pupils who so desired to attend the Special Classes School on Wednesday of each week from 10 am. to 3 pm. with a view to getting work which

had been ordered or making goods for sale. The goods which were either made at home or in the school included such items as rugs, carved trays and tables. Though unable to get a situation this work gave these young people, "security at home instead of swelling the melancholy army of hopeless unemployables. No higher tribute to the teachers can be paid than is by the demeanour of the children and the expression on each young face; no stronger evidence is wanted in favour both of the necessity and the benefit of after-care work than that supplied by the Abercorn School After Care Committee. When we all realise that the means of preserving bodily health, of healing or alleviating both mental and bodily diseases are in great measure in our own hands, possibly we shall set higher estimate upon them and take more seriously our responsibilities in connection therewith" (The Glasgow Herald, 1922, p.9). What was being praised here by The Glasgow Herald was the beginning of Community Care of children with intellectual disabilities. In its early days eight boys and five girls attended the Centre and were even provided with a free lunch. One of the Committee members paid the fourpence for each of the children concerned. Any articles not sold by the month of December were exhibited at an exhibition of work which often resulted in the articles being sold and fresh orders being received. The pupils received a small sum for each article made (Paisley After-Care Committee, 1923).

Even when Mary Russell retired in 1944 she still kept in touch with one thousand four hundred of her former pupils. Some of them were by then sixty years old. Perhaps the most fitting tribute of all was that years after she had retired former pupils were still finding their way to Sandyford School because for them the school represented security, understanding and enjoyment (Finest Memorial, 1968, p.5). In

an act of typical unselfishness she donated to the school in 1960 the M.B.E. awarded to her by King George V and presented by King Edward VIII. Her resignation in 1960 at the age of eighty from the Paisley and District Voluntary Association for Mental Welfare, on whose executive she served for many years was described as, "a great loss to the association" (Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette, 1960, p.4). The success of this association prompted the General Board of Control, in effect the government, to invite them to set up a National Association and this was eventually to become the Scottish Association for Mental Health. Not for the first time then the ability of individuals to prompt government action had been demonstrated. This same power was to be seen again in the setting up of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded.

The Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908

The power of individuals to influence government action was demonstrated again at the beginning of the twentieth century when a mood of pessimism was building up with regard to the intellectually disabled. By this time a strong movement had developed in favour of the segregation of those with intellectual disabilities. It was supported by eugenicists and social workers who worried, among other things, about a proliferation of the intellectually disabled and a corresponding reduction in national intelligence levels. It also came to be supported on financial grounds. It was felt that heavy expenditure on the education of these children could only be justified if it was seen as preparatory training for a more permanent type of care than could be given under the existing laws. The government was impressed by the strength of the movement. After a petition was presented to them calling for a Royal Commission

and signed by 140 influential people, a Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded was appointed in 1904 (Lapage, 1920, p.8). The Commission sat for four years during which time it took evidence in Scotland. The Commissioners found the state of those with intellectual disabilities in Scotland to be unsatisfactory. Dr. Carswell, Certifying Physician in Lunacy to the Glasgow Parish Council, believed that there existed, “a large class of feeble-minded persons who [did] not come within the shape of existing lunacy legislation, the character and degree of whose mental infirmity is not easily defined, and for whose proper control and care no satisfactory provision exists, although they are nevertheless a burden upon the community, being found in special schools, industrial schools, reformatories, poorhouses, prisons” (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, p. 61).

The evidence of Dr. John Macpherson, one of the Commissioners in Lunacy, supported this assertion of a lack of provision. He considered that if two new institutions were erected [i.e., in addition to the two then existing at Larbert and Baldovan] between, “eight hundred and one thousand children of a more or less educable type would be provided for, and the present state of matters would be greatly ameliorated, or perhaps wholly mitigated” (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, p.31). At the time of the Commission’s investigations there were eleven special classes for such children - eight in Glasgow and three in Govan. Though the Scotch Education Department claimed that there were twelve, one of these schools- in Dundee - was for crippled and invalid children. Of the children with intellectual disabilities not in one of the eleven special classes, such education as they might receive was given to them in the classes of the elementary schools or in their homes or at the two institutions for the education of “imbecile” children, those at Larbert

and Baldovan. Witnesses interviewed by the Commissioners felt that this was an unsatisfactory state of affairs, "It may be taken as proven that in the ordinary elementary schools feeble-minded children receive no proper attention or education. The two questions for settlement therefore are: whether the system of special classes should be extended throughout Scotland and, if so, under what conditions; and how far institutional education is necessary on the lines of the schools at Baldovan and Larbert or otherwise" (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, 23311, 23391).

Further evidence of the misplacement of such children was provided by Dr. Urquhart, physician to the James Murray Royal Asylum, Perth. He found that out of three thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine children in elementary schools there were thirty-two, or about 0.9 per cent., who were, "either feeble-minded or very dull and backward and who were not properly placed in those elementary schools" (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, 24494-6). Even when there was a willingness by parents to have their child properly placed the problems involved were almost insurmountable. Such was the view expressed by Dr. Thomson, one of the physicians to the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, in Edinburgh who saw children such as these as out-patients. He had experience of the difficulties faced by parents trying to get assistance, "When a mentally defective child occurred in a family and required skilled instruction or removal to an institution for training or special care, the difficulties were in most cases practically insuperable". He felt, "there was a crying need for outside help of some sort." In the case of, "imbecile children, who are altogether unfit for ordinary school lessons but were able to go about freely ... at home they go steadily downwards, and learn all

sorts of undesirable ways, besides interfering greatly with the work of the house ... Yet they could not be allowed to live on the streets without a certainty of rapid deterioration". For them, "institutional accommodation in Scotland is altogether inadequate". Dr. Thomson then went on to point out some of the weaknesses of the admission system. The parents of these children would seldom have the influence to secure their admission to Larbert by election. If they tried to get admission through the parish council great difficulties were often met with, "Sometimes when the case is a dangerous one and the parents are destitute, the child is removed more or less promptly. If the parents are respectable working people, however, it is much more difficult, because the authorities generally demand so large a proportion of their entire income, that the proposal is regarded as prohibitive and the negotiations promptly brought to an end" (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, p.209). Yet another example of the importance of economics in special education which is dealt with more fully in Chapter Five.

Even for those children who did find a place at Larbert or Baldovan, the only institutions in Scotland at the time for the education of children with intellectual disabilities, things were less than satisfactory. Dr. Clarkson, Medical Officer of the Scottish National Institution for the Education of Imbecile Children at Larbert, Stirlingshire referred to eight hundred and one patients who had been discharged, "only forty-two were, in the opinion of the superintendent, able, partially or wholly, to maintain themselves on dismissal, and we know of only four that are certainly maintaining themselves without supervision" (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, p.71). Statistics such as these simply reinforced the pessimistic views of many. Clarkson was concerned that many of

those dismissed would then live without any supervision. He knew a good many were either dead or in an asylum and that three girls had had illegitimate children. Sixty-five of them were under the charge of the parish councils and were entrusted to their parents simply to save expense.

The conclusion which he submitted was that the application for special teaching or care should not be left entirely to the parents. This often resulted in the wrong type of children being admitted to these institutions, "If the parents do not act, and if the child is not so mischievous as to be dangerous to others, or so helpless as to overburden its mother and make her apply for relief from the rates, no steps are obliged to be taken for its education or subsequent care. In consequence of this the educational institutions are filled by large numbers of ineducable cases. These require only to be kept clean and warm and to be fed, and this could be done much more cheaply in some such additions to asylums as the Glasgow Parish Council have at present at Woodilee, or perhaps even better in one or two large establishments specially erected for the purpose". Clarkson believed that if the two institutions for "imbecile" children were freed from the encumbrance of having to maintain and try to teach a large number of "ineducable" children they would probably between them be able to provide all the accommodation required for the "educable imbeciles" in Scotland (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, p.71).

Clarkson's view was backed by other medical opinion. Dr. Sutherland had experience of one hundred children educated in these institutions, "In most of the cases the institution did no more, perhaps less, than capable parents, if they were kept

at home, or a good Scotch housewife would have done, if they were boarded-out, at half the cost” but, “It was not the fault of the two institutions; they were not suitable cases for them” (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, p.239). If such children were to have some form of permanent care which would include the provision of education or training of some kind it appeared this could not be done satisfactorily in lunatic asylums or poorhouses. Dr.Ireland who was for some years Medical Superintendent at Larbert believed that in order to be a proper place for an “imbecile” the poorhouse would require to be small and the matron very benevolent, “I have seen imbeciles in poorhouses: they were clothed and fed and perhaps kept clean enough, but they were neglected and nothing was done to amuse or employ them”. As to their suitability for lunatic asylums he believed that in them, “the more intelligent learn all manner of tricks; as for the helpless ones, they are apt to be cuffed and beaten and pushed about. I have seen very peacable imbeciles who have been trained in establishments, and when they were in lunatic asylums they became like wild beasts in a year or so” (Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, 1908, Vol.III, 24033, 24037).

Not surprisingly the Commissioners found that a large number of “feeble-minded” children did not go to a special school since there were no such schools in Scotland save in Greater Glasgow. They also found that those who were trained could seldom take an adult place in the world and wholly or in greater part support themselves. They could never become mentally “normal” but would always need protection though under supervision they could work usefully. At eighteen though they might be trained to a certain point they would fall away under the pressure of life and would often be found in poorhouses or prisons or living disreputable lives. Gradually

two main views of the dilemma formed. The first was that there should be, according to the requirements of the particular individuals and their circumstances, supervision or if need be segregation with or without some kind of detention so that their downfall might be prevented. The second was that they should be assisted by training or education in special classes and possibly to some extent in institutions but that at the age of eighteen public responsibility for them should end.

The Report was not uncritical in its section on Glasgow. As regards special classes, for example, it suggested that the results did not appear to be better in Glasgow than elsewhere. While the education in cleanliness and manners was of great importance they believed that there was a large number of these children who would never be able to support themselves wholly or in part. Dr. Carswell in his evidence to the reporters claimed that he would, "be surprised if the number of children who passed through the special schools and ultimately became self-supporting [reached] 20 per cent" (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VIII, p.395). He was able to show that of thirty-seven children with intellectual disabilities taken off the roll in 1901-1906 three were sent on to the school for "imbeciles" at Larbert, seven were at home unable to work, one was boarded-out, one was sent back to a Roman Catholic school and one was imprisoned for assaulting his mother, one had died, five had been drafted into ordinary schools and five were working (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VI, p.373). Dr. Clarkson as well as Miss Monteagle, a special class teacher, favoured boarding schools which they felt should be placed under the control of the Board of Lunacy (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VI, p.380). In the majority of cases children were removed by their parents immediately on reaching the age of fourteen years. It was felt that if the children could have two years more training in an industrial school

or colony they could make their way in the world. Most witnesses agreed that after-care in some form was necessary. For some, a colony such as that at Sandlebridge seemed an attractive proposition. It undoubtedly performed a useful social service by absorbing a potentially troublesome group and offering them accommodation and training in occupations. However colonies represented a life-long alternative. The intellectually disabled were contained in them, without their consent, for life. Even the term used to describe this provision - colony - has unfortunate overtones, reminiscent of the penal colonies. Indeed the traditional response to problem groups in this country was, for long, to ship them off to the colonies, in the case of criminals Australia. At its most sinister the argument might run that the intellectually disabled were also a problem group and since euthanasia and sterilisation were both unacceptable, a neat and acceptable solution was to place them into a colony where the rest of society would not have to suffer them or even see them. Here they could be prevented from breeding and so would eventually become extinct – a kind of social euthanasia in fact.

While basically happy with the close alliance that operated in Glasgow between the School Board as the education authority and the parish council as the local lunacy authority it was clear to the reporters to the Commission that as the obligation of dealing with the various classes of “mentally defective” persons was, “more seriously and completely undertaken” there would have to be, “a large extension of provision other than special schools, both for children of school age, and for young persons ... [entailing] ... reconsideration of many arrangements” (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VI, p.373). The medical investigators felt too that further powers were required to enable children to be kept in special schools until sixteen years of age and

to segregate where necessary in farm and handicraft classes those obviously unfitted to become self-supporting thereafter (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, 21927). They suggested that the policy of the School Board of Glasgow of extending their special class accommodation so that ultimately all known children with intellectual disabilities would be accommodated therein should be continued. This, in their opinion, together with careful classification would meet the existing needs. Such children should be retained in schools until the age of sixteen. The final two years of their education, from fourteen to sixteen, should be devoted to the cultivation of whatever aptitude for special occupation had been shown by the pupil. The reporters saw clearly defined areas of responsibility for providing for children who did not attend normal school classes. As the number of children between the ages of five and sixteen who were suitable for special classes was relatively small they should be under the educational care of the School Board. However the general responsibility for the care of these children should remain with the local authority. On the other hand it was clear from a comparatively early age that the local authority would have to provide accommodation for the care, treatment and training of the children in institutions or homes (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, p.63).

The Commission then went on to make a number of important recommendations. First among these was that the central authority for the protection and supervision, including education and training, of the "mentally defective" should be the General Board of Lunacy in Scotland which should be designated the Board of Control. The word "hospital" should be substituted for "asylum". The word "lunatic" should be discontinued and, of prime importance as regards educational provision, the term "mentally defective" should be defined in a number of classes as follows: persons of

unsound mind and persons mentally infirm - both incapable of managing themselves or their affairs; "idiots" - so deeply defective in mind from birth or early years that they could never be left alone; "imbeciles" - able to guard themselves against common physical dangers but incapable of earning their own living; "feeble-minded" - possibly capable of earning a living though incapable of competing on equal terms with normal people; "moral imbeciles" with criminal or vicious propensities; epileptics; inebriates; and the "mentally defective" among the blind and the deaf and dumb. Of the remaining recommendations the most important was that the local authority be under statutory obligation to provide for the manual and industrial and other training of all "mentally defective" children save those in the first two of the above classes - those of unsound mind and the mentally infirm - except those children who had not otherwise been properly and suitably provided for. The duty of parents to provide for the education, instruction or training of their children was clearly spelled out in the recommendations (Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, p.70).

These recommendations in so far as they went were sound. However they missed the opportunity of widening the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities by excluding from the recommendations those children not already provided for. Also disappointing was the absence of any recommendation for the after-care of these children so that many people would still see the education of such children as wasteful of public money since at the end of their schooling in special classes or one of the institutions they would simply be turned out into a society in which many were incapable of earning their own living.

It was to be five years before the government acted on the Royal Commission's recommendations as they related to Scotland. What eventually resulted was the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. The Act though in some ways disappointing did result in some improvements. Definitions of the various classes of "mental defectives" were changed to include children specifically. The class of "imbeciles" was now to include persons in whose case there existed from birth or from an early age "mental defectiveness" not amounting to "idiocy" yet so pronounced that they were incapable of managing themselves or their affairs or, in the case of children, of being taught to do so. This was an important change for even though the Act was not specifically an educational one it nevertheless classified children with intellectual disabilities by educational criteria. In the case of the "feeble-minded" we find that children classified as such would by reason of such "defectiveness" appear to be permanently incapable of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in the ordinary schools (Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913). The Act also made clear the duty of parents and of School Boards and parish councils to provide for "defectives". In the first instance it was the duty of the parents or guardians of "mentally defective" children between five and sixteen years of age to make provision for their education. Should the parents be unable, financially, to do so then the duty fell upon the School Board. The School Board also had a duty to ascertain what children within their area were "mentally defective". It further had the duty of ascertaining, "which of such children [were] incapable by reason of mental defect of receiving benefit from instruction in special schools or classes, or of receiving such instruction without detriment to the interests of the other children" (Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913). Its duty on finding such children was to notify their names and addresses to the parish council and the

General Board of Control. In effect this meant that as regarded “mentally defective” children the School Board was charged with the duty of providing education for “feeble-minded” children only. The other classes of “mental defectives” under the Act: “idiots”, “imbeciles” and “moral imbeciles” they had no educational responsibility for.

This is the real disappointment of the 1913 Act: that having made School Boards legally responsible for the ascertainment of children considered to be “mentally defective” it did not then place upon them the statutory duty of making suitable provision for their education. Nor did it address the problem of those “mentally defective” children considered to be “uneducable”. Those “defective” children thought to be “educable” that is those in the “feeble-minded” class could be educated in a special school or class. Those considered “uneducable”, the “imbeciles” and “idiots” could be placed in a certified institution such as Baldovan or Larbert or under guardianship at the request of the parents and with the agreement of the General Board of Control. Asylums and later colonies and day centres were other possibilities for their provision as was such occupation as could be offered by the family. They were in fact regarded as a medical responsibility at best “trainable”. For the most hopeless cases medicine in the form of hospitals was the only recourse. Critics of the Act saw it as a repressive measure designed to take away the freedom of those who were intellectually disabled. It could be seen as a panic response to the pessimistic reports of the Eugenics Society with its gloomy forecasts of a reduction in national IQ levels. Despite its shortcomings, the Act of 1913 was of great significance as regards the provision of education for children with intellectual

disabilities. It is also significant that such an important Act was the result of recommendations made in the Royal Commission of 1908 and, as such, the indirect result of pressure by interested individuals.

Despite the gloom and doom surrounding the Act of 1913, the response of the School Board of Glasgow and that of Govan to the recommendations contained in the Report of the Royal Commission was to continue much as before but to expand the provision of special classes and schools year by year. In the session 1908-1909 beginning at the time of the Commission's Report there were seven hundred and forty children with intellectual disabilities being educated in the schools of the School Board of Glasgow - a rise of one hundred and eight from the year before. These were accommodated in nineteen centres, eight of which (Bridgeton, Finnieston, Freeland, Grove Street, Hayfield, Shields Road, Govan Street and Port Street) provided classes for children with both physical and intellectual disabilities. Another eight (Calton, Camlachie, Centre Street, Dennistoun, Dobbie's Loan, Dovehill, Keppochhill and London Road) accommodated only those with intellectual disabilities. The remaining centres were devoted to the education of children with physical disabilities (School Board of Glasgow, 1908-1909, pp.15-29). By the following year the number of centres for children with disabilities had risen to twenty-two. Ten were exclusively for those with intellectual disabilities and six of the remaining twelve provided classes for children with both intellectual and physical disabilities. Staff had increased too from seventy-six teachers and eleven nurses to ninety-one teachers and twelve nurses. The number of children on the roll of the special classes in Glasgow School Board Schools on 30 June, 1910 was eight hundred and twenty-five (School Board of Glasgow, 1909-1910, pp. 21, 50). By

1920 the figures had risen to thirty-five centres and schools at which such children were educated. Staff now numbered two hundred and twenty-five teachers and twenty-four nurses. Of the thirty-five establishments eight schools were for children with both intellectual and physical disabilities. Two centres attached to ordinary schools were again for those with intellectual as well as physical disabilities while there were eighteen centres for pupils with intellectual disabilities. A total of one thousand four hundred and forty children with intellectual disabilities were catered for. Even so there were at that time thirty-eight such children awaiting admission to special schools in Glasgow (Educational Requirements of Glasgow, 1920, pp. 52, 58).

In line with the increasing provision for children classified as “feeble-minded” an increasing number of “imbecile” children were being notified to the various Parish Councils under Sections 2 (2) and 3 (2) of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. In 1910 before such a requirement was made a legal obligation twenty-four such children were recommended to be referred to the Parish Council. The corresponding figure for session 1919-1920 was one hundred and sixty-five with a further nineteen being sent to certified institutions at the instance of the Authority (Education Authority of Glasgow, 1919-1920, p. 14). Changes are noticeable too in attitudes towards educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities in the Glasgow area between the Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded and the 1920 Report on the Educational Requirements of Glasgow. Shortly after the findings of the Royal Commission, Dr. Carswell was arguing for a more flexible definition of “mental defect”. “I have also found a certain number of children who could not be certified defective on first examination, and I

have adopted the course of certifying them as of doubtful mental defect, and placing them in a special school for a specified period of a year ... the tendency to regard mental defect in children as being always congenital in origin, and therefore incurable, is, I consider, unfortunate. Those children have only now for the first time in history come under detailed investigation and observation ... and it would be wrong to limit the conception of the function of special schools to providing for children whose deficiency is essentially similar to that of the imbecile child, though less in degree. The mental defect which renders a child incapable of receiving proper benefit from instruction in the ordinary public elementary schools may be limited to letter or word blindness, or to delayed development of the special centre in the brain, or to a condition of mental bewilderment caused by bad physical conditions, all of which need not entail permanent mental deficiency. These cases are urgently in need of the kind of care which the special school provides ... the distinction between mere backwardness on the one hand and imbecility on the other can be made, but the term mental defect should be elastic enough to include many cases of children who will recover from their disability” (School Board of Glasgow, 1910, p.51).

This was enlightened thinking by Dr. Carswell particularly his recognition of the caring role which the special school performed. Traditionally education had been seen as a means of changing the child with intellectual disabilities into a worthwhile, happy and useful member of society - of removing, “the mark of the brute from [his] forehead” (Ryan and Thomas, 1987, p. 93). Hence the disillusionment when expectations associated with the education of these children failed to be realised largely because they had been unrealistic to begin with.

However even while Dr. Carswell was making his point the School Board of Glasgow was expressing such disillusionment at the small number of such children who were able to return to ordinary classes after spending time in special classes. This was especially so when compared with the number of children with physical disabilities able to do so, "It is not possible even in the most favourable circumstances, to bring many of the mentally defective to the intellectual level of the normal child, and although their lives are brightened, and they are taught habits of obedience and self-control in school, the Board feel more and more strongly with increasing experience of this work that, until the large majority of these children are put under State control after the age of 16, much of the time, money, and trouble spent on them at school is practically wasted" (School Board of Glasgow, 1909-1910, p.21). This pessimistic view contained a plea too for after-care which Dr. Carswell had seen as of great importance in 1910, "The after-care of children educated in Special Classes is a matter of great importance. It is a question requiring serious consideration whether after-care should not begin at the age of 14" (School Board of Glasgow, 1910, p.51). By the session 1919-1920 the Education Authority of Glasgow employed one full-time woman officer to visit the homes of children with intellectual disabilities who had left school on reaching the age of sixteen, and also such children who had been exempted from school attendance. Her duties were supervision and giving assistance in obtaining suitable work where this was a possibility. In that particular year one hundred and eight "defective" children had been granted exemption from the special classes though not all of them had intellectual disabilities. However by 1920 the Education Authority of Glasgow was beginning to think in terms of the total segregation of these children rather than their placement in special classes in the ordinary schools. This was a move which they

would gradually make and which would bring them into line with the shibboleth of the eugenicists. The report of 1920 recommended that, "the keeping of defective children in the ordinary schools should be regarded entirely as a makeshift arrangement, and when the more pressing problems have received attention, the policy of a complete severance of Special Classes from the ordinary schools is worthy of the consideration of the Authority" (Educational Requirements of Glasgow, 1920, p.56).

During the years between the wars further classes attached to ordinary schools were established for children with intellectual disabilities but there was little extension of provision in other directions. Another possibility mentioned in the report was a residential school for such children along the lines of the one which had been provided at Burnside for children with physical disabilities. Here boys were involved in vocational training which the School Board of Glasgow had started in their schools in 1915. Motor engineering or allied trades proved to be the most popular. This day school with residential accommodation would allow any children with intellectual disabilities who were living or being educated in unsatisfactory conditions to be suitably housed and taught. In fact by 1920 the Education Authority was already sending some of these children to residential special schools. Where the home conditions were so bad that children with intellectual disabilities could not get the necessary care or where their behaviour was unsatisfactory they might be removed from their home and sent to Waverley Park, or St. Charles' Home. Where parents withheld their consent the children could be removed by order of the sheriff.

Waverley Park and St. Charles'

The year 1905 was important to Glasgow not only because the Royal Commission had been collecting evidence for a year, but also because in that year was founded the Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children. This was not so much an example of an individual influencing the development of educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities as it was a group of philanthropists. The objectives of the association were twofold. Firstly the providing and maintaining of a Home or Homes for the protection, elementary education and industrial training of "defective" and "feeble-minded" children at Waverley Park, Kirkintilloch or elsewhere in the West of Scotland. Secondly the promotion of the welfare during school age and the after-care of such children. Girls admitted - i.e. "educable mentally defective" girls of school age - found themselves in a Home where the Directors set out to make life as natural and uninstitutionalised as possible. Annual Reports comment on the good health of the girls and of how they had, "benefited to a remarkable extent, both physically and mentally, from the care and training bestowed upon them in the Home" (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, 1909, Vol. XXVI, p. 5). As well as a sound training in ordinary household and laundry work given by the Matron, Miss McCall and Miss Macdougall, her assistant the normal subjects of the curriculum were also taught by the teacher, Mrs. Bruce. Again, as in the special classes, we see a blend of scholastic education and training of an occupational nature. H.M. Inspectors' Report of 1910 describes how, "On the day of the visit (which was not announced) everything was found in good order. A careful examination of the pupils furnished

clear evidence that relatively excellent progress had been accomplished in Reading, Composition and Writing, Arithmetic, and the various subsidiary subjects of the curriculum, while it was not less plain that well directed efforts had been made to awaken and cultivate intelligence. That valuable training in practical work had also been given was shown by the variety of the pupils' own handiwork. In sum, the skill, patience and ingenuity which are brought to the task of instructing these mentally defective children evoke and merit admiration" (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, 1910, Vol. XXVIII, p. 5). This reference to the successful work of the school, which makes it all the more regrettable that State funds were not forthcoming for all of the girls therein, is a common feature of the annual reports.

In the Report for 1912 we find that H.M. Inspector, "considered the results of Mrs. Bruce's teaching surprisingly good, and he was confirmed in his opinion of the wisdom firmness and kindness which are brought to the work of instructing and training the pupils. The relations between the teacher and pupils are of the happiest kind, and the Committee feel they are unusually fortunate in having secured the services of so excellent a teacher as Mrs. Bruce" (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, 1912, Vol. XXXII, p. 9). It is clear from comments such as these that once again the successful provision of education for such children was due in large measure to the skill and dedication of the individual teachers concerned.

In 1920 at the suggestion of the Scottish Education Department the Directors decided to abandon the certificate for Waverley Park as a Certified Industrial School since from the passing of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913

“mentally defective” children were no longer being committed under the provisions of the Children’s Act. It was arranged therefore that the Secretary of State for Scotland should transfer the five remaining cases which were then in the Institution under the Children’s Act to the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act. From then on the Institution would be entitled to receive only committed cases under the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. It seems a pity that such a legal manoeuvre could not have been enacted at the same time in the case of the twelve uncertified girls who were still in the Institution. They would then have qualified for State grants. When girls did leave the Home they went to private guardianship, the guardianship of their parents, to other institutions or occasionally to asylums. (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Vol. XLV, p.5).

Exhibitions of work were a feature of life at Waverely Park. One such is reported in the Sixteenth Annual Report, “On Saturday, 17th. September, the Home was thrown open to the public. In response to the Directors’ invitation a large number of ladies and gentlemen interested in the work gathered from various centres at Waverley Park. An exhibition of the girls’ work was given. This included crochet, embroidery, knitted garments, wool rugs, China painting, etc. The school children under the direction of their teachers, Miss Steven and Miss Speirs, gave exhibitions of dancing, musical drill and singing”. (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Vol. XLVI, p. 4).

The year 1916 saw the opening of St. Charles’ Certified Institution in Margham House, Partick, Glasgow. This Institution was conducted by the Sisters of Charity, an order founded by the seventeenth century Roman Catholic priest, St. Vincent de Paul

who has been mentioned above as one of the first champions of the intellectually disabled. Some three hundred years after his death, the man described by Browne (1839, p.100) as, “the father of the poor, the steward of Providence” was still, in a sense, improving the lot of such children. Here, at last, we see some direct involvement in the education of children with intellectual disabilities by the Catholic Church. The school was established for Catholic children with intellectual disabilities within the Archdiocese of Glasgow. As in the case of Waverely Park, St. Charles’ Certified Institution was authorised to receive “educable mentally defective” children though here they were of both sexes. By 1920 there were twenty-six boys on the roll and thirty-five girls. A year later these numbers had risen to twenty-seven boys and thirty-eight girls though the Institution was licensed to take seventy children: thirty-one male and thirty-nine female.

Regular inspections by officers of the General Board of Control testified to the high standard of care, education and training given to the children. Mr. J. Carswell, Commissioner of the General Board of Control, on an inspection visit on 18.4.1921 found that the inmates were, “clean and tidy, and bore evidence of being cared for in a kind and efficient way ... It is noted with special satisfaction that the Medical Officer takes full notes of every case and there are many indications that the warm interest he shows in the work affords valuable assistance to the Sisters in the care and training of the children ... The evidence of kind and efficient care and management created a most favourable impression” (Annual Report of St. Charles’ Certified Institution, Vol. XLV, 18.4.1921). Any of the children who showed an aptitude for learning were instructed in the usual subjects of education as well as in religious instruction. The majority was instructed in various forms of domestic work and in

sewing, knitting, basket-making and other industries. Once again we can see the combination of training, mainly occupational, and education for children considered to be educable. A good deal of success seems to have been achieved by the pupils, “Three boys and three girls obtained prizes and certificates in open competition in connection with the Children's Market Scheme for work submitted, consisting of rug-making, knitting, embroidery and wood fret-work” (Annual Report of St. Charles' Certified Institution, Vol. XLV, 18.4.1921). Altogether, “Very satisfactory progress is made with schoolwork, and the handwork is specially creditable” (Annual Report of St. Charles' Certified Institution, Vol. XLVI, p.6).

Things seemed just as satisfactory the following year, “the children were seen at play and their general health was good. The kindly and efficient care given to them was reflected in their happiness, contentedness and excellent discipline. They are well and carefully taught in well furnished and comfortable schoolrooms, and their interest is excited and their intelligence stimulated by a variety of occupations. A fine display of fretwork was shown ... and two of the children have obtained certificates for good workmanship at this special hobby” (Annual Report of St. Charles' Certified Institution, Vol. XLVI, p.7). Time and again in H.M.I. reports on special schools at the time the highlighting of “sympathy”, “care” and “excellent teaching” reflects the vital role played by the individual classroom teachers in the success of special education. The debt owed to these teachers was acknowledged by many interested in this field of education. One such was W. W. McKechnie, secretary of the Scottish Education Department, whose comments are noted below. Such excellence depended more and more on a sound training. This was initiated in Glasgow by a gifted individual, D. Kennedy Fraser.

Teacher Training and D. Kennedy Fraser

As so much of the success of special education for children with intellectual disabilities depended on the teachers concerned it was imperative that they should receive appropriate training for the job. In the early years of special education in Glasgow, staff had occasionally been sent to Manchester for training. However an initiative of great importance for the provision of education for these children in Scotland occurred in 1920 with the setting up of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. The initiation of new courses and the collation of syllabuses of instruction and prospectuses was undertaken by its Central Executive Committee, "The new body decided at once to establish a course for teachers of the blind (at Moray House) and made arrangements to send to Manchester University students training to teach the deaf. It agreed to combine with the Glasgow Education Committee in providing courses for teachers of mentally defective children" (Cruickshank, 1970, p.163). Pressure had been steadily growing from people such as W.W. McKechnie, HMI of schools, later to become Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, highlighting the need for specially trained teachers to undertake this kind of work.

In her article entitled, "The Training of Teachers for Special Education in Scotland" (Blythman, 1978) Marion Blythman describes how the job of running a training course, acting as Adviser to the Education Authority in Glasgow, undertaking the

ascertainment and running a Child Guidance Clinic was offered first to Cyril Burt. His rejection of the post opened the way for Kennedy Fraser being appointed and the first endorsement course held in Jordanhill College began in October, 1922. It is to his credit that at a time when most countries concentrated on caring for these children rather than on trying to educate them Kennedy Fraser was producing trained specialists whose object was, "to get the mentally handicapped child out of his difficulties by sound teaching based on an accurate diagnosis through testing" (Blythman, 1978, p.39). This development, important and laudable as it was, should be viewed in perspective. The enrolment in the first class was nine and the course which was planned for a year's duration had to be shortened to one term.

By 1931 W.W. McKechnie was able to report that, "no child who is unsuited to the ordinary school is denied the opportunities of the Special School" (Blythman, 1978, p.39). Though such a claim was wrong, since the most severely intellectually disabled children were denied such opportunities until 1974, he was more accurate in his second claim that teachers were now better trained for their special work. It is a measure of the quality of the work done by Kennedy Fraser that for the following thirty years these courses at Jordanhill, initially the sole source of training in Scotland for teachers in special education, hardly changed. The training of teachers was not the only problem facing special education. Again W.W. McKechnie was to the forefront highlighting the difficulties at public meetings as well as suggesting where the remedies might lie. This is the subject of the following chapter.

Conclusion

The period covered in this chapter was a period of great change. Change in mood, from an optimism for much of the nineteenth century, based on the belief that the intellectually disabled could be improved mentally by education, to a pessimism at its end which spilled over into the early twentieth century. This pessimism was the result of a combination of factors. One was the fear, spread by the eugenicists, that there would be a proliferation in the numbers of the intellectually disabled which would lead, ultimately, to a lowering of the nation's intelligence. Given the understanding of human intelligence at that time these fears were not altogether unreasonable, though with hindsight we can now see that they were groundless. Another source of pessimism was the apparent failure of the institutions and special classes to improve, mentally, many of the intellectually disabled to the point where they could hold down jobs or return to normal classrooms.

As well as these changes in mood there were changes in provision too, for this period saw the start of the first purpose-built provision for children from Greater Glasgow who were intellectually disabled. This early provision fits neatly into the tradition of the individual championing the cause of such children. Baldovan and Larbert both offered residential accommodation to these children but, more importantly, education too. For most of the pupils there this really meant a training in Social or Life Skills, for, at this time, the optimistic view still prevailed that many of these children would be fairly independent and able to hold down jobs on reaching leaving age. This element of training was still present in the curriculum offered in the early special classes in Glasgow which combined this with a more scholastic education.

Encouraged by examples of auxiliary classes on the Continent, the first special class in Scotland opened in a toilet in Oatlands School, in Glasgow, in 1898. The class was taken by Catherine Kevan Aitken whose success here saw the opening of similar classes in Finnieston and Camlachie Schools and a continued expansion throughout the following years. As with Baldovan and Larbert the success of these classes depended greatly on the enthusiasm, dedication and talent of the individual teachers. Indeed another pioneering teacher of the intellectually disabled, Mary Naismith Russell, was awarded the M.B.E. for her services to education. HMI reports continually praised the energy, enthusiasm and skill of these women. Though most were without a specialist qualification, as no qualifying course existed in Scotland until 1922, the success or failure of special classes for these children rested upon their shoulders. They are owed a great debt by the rest of society, not only the teachers but the lady volunteers also featured in the chapter, who assisted the teachers by running trips, escorting children to school and helping out during the lunch break. Despite scaremongering by the eugenicists and the disappointment of the Act of 1913 with its more custodial approach to the problem of the “feble-minded”, educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities continued to expand in Greater Glasgow. While the School Board of Glasgow fulfilled its statutory obligations in terms of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy Act, 1913 by providing education for children considered to be “feble-minded”, there was a lack of enthusiasm apparent in its Annual Reports. This lack of a total commitment to special education is taken up again in the following chapter.

The push for the segregation of intellectually disabled children from ordinary children continued to gain momentum during this period. By 1920 complete segregation was the stated intention of the Glasgow Authority. At this time there were eighteen centres for intellectually disabled children, all attached to ordinary schools. Gradually, however, Glasgow did adopt a policy of centralisation with larger groups of children being established in special schools rather than dispersed throughout a number of special classes. In the second half of the twentieth century there has been a gradual change of thinking as regards segregation. One argument against it was, and still is, that it is simply wrong to separate a group of children from their peers simply because of a disability which they happen to have. This leads to such children being stigmatized.

While children with intellectual disabilities would continue to be segregated until the end of the period covered by this thesis, a more humane approach would begin to appear in the second half of the twentieth century. Circular 300 (1955) suggested that, increasingly, pupils requiring special educational treatment should be educated in ordinary schools, while the Warnock Report (1978) broadened the concept of special education by claiming that as many as one in five children could experience learning difficulties in the course of their schooling. In 1990 the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child directed that all States should adopt a policy of ensuring that the rights of all children - including all children with special needs - are upheld. Initiatives such as these made segregation less acceptable. Instead of segregation, with its associated stigmatization, what was really needed was more positive action to promote the rights of these children. One example of this more positive action was the policy document Every Child is Special produced by

Strathclyde Regional Council in the early 1990s. Whilst admitting that for some children with specific disabilities separate special schools would always be required, the document laid out a policy of non-segregation of children with special needs.

Despite the growing concept of educability concerning children with intellectual disabilities, those with the severest disabilities, the “idiots” and the “imbeciles” were still outside the educational system of the day. At best they were catered for by training in Baldovan or Larbert. At worst they simply stayed at home with no training or education at all. This was unacceptable. Problems were looming too in other areas, most notably that of ascertainment. This is looked at in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Continuing Problems in Special Education

Introduction

Despite the pessimism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the growing concept of educability meant that provision of special classes in Glasgow continued to expand. In addition there was provision at Waverley Park and at St. Charles' and, for children considered to be trainable rather than educable, at Baldovan and Larbert. However there were still problems which dogged the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities in Greater Glasgow in the first half of the twentieth century. A major problem concerned the ascertainment of children with intellectual disabilities. This had always been a difficult area, as mentioned earlier, and would continue to be so until the close of the period covered by this thesis. Other serious problems concerned the supply of specially trained teachers, particularly in the non-denominational special schools, and the provision of suitable accommodation since many of the schools used for special education were unsatisfactory with classrooms which were too small in buildings which had often been put up for other purposes. While the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945 had brought children considered ineducable but trainable into the education system, the lack of any educational provision for the most severely intellectually disabled children presented, arguably, the most pressing problem of the day. Fortunately there were still individuals willing to tackle these problems on behalf of the children concerned.

W.W. McKechnie

Although much progress had been made in the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities much yet remained to be done. As already detailed the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 had distinguished between different grades of “mental defectives”: the “feeble-minded”, the “imbeciles” and the “idiots”. Of these only the “feeble-minded” children were the responsibility of the Education Authorities and in the Glasgow area those Authorities had responded by creating special classes and schools for such pupils. Such educational provision, some of which was already in place long before the Act, continued to develop and expand for the next thirty years. However it was not without its problems. Some of these, highlighted by the Royal Commission of 1908, have already been mentioned. Provision for such children did not meet the demand, children were misplaced, while for those children considered ineducable there might or might not be some kind of training.

One individual in particular, an HMI later to become Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, spoke out continually about the inadequacies of the system as it then was. In a series of talks in and around Glasgow in 1922 W.W. McKechnie then Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools, Western District outlined the main problems as he saw them. Speaking at Stirling on 21 January, 1922 to the members of the Stirling Local Association of the E.I.S., on “Mentally Defective and Sub-Normal Children” he pointed out that there were many of these children in Scotland who had not been certified as such and for whom no educational provision had been made. The number of “mentally defective” children certified in Scotland and in

schools set apart for their use, especially residential schools, was about two thousand five hundred. It was fairly certain however that the actual number was at least twice this figure. He went on to make an appeal for increased accommodation for these children and laid great stress on the necessity of forming throughout the country after-care associations whose object would be to look after such persons (The Glasgow Herald, 23.1.1922, p.7). The need for an after-care service for intellectually disabled children, and Glasgow's relative lateness in providing one, has been discussed earlier.

Less than a month later on 17 February, at a meeting in Glasgow, McKechnie spoke to the Hillhead Section of the Glasgow Women Citizens' Association on the problems that arise in connection with children with intellectual disabilities. Speaking on the gravity of the problem of accommodation for them he said that at that time there was in Scotland accommodation for only one thousand two hundred. However provision was required for between six and seven thousand. Not to train such a child was to lose a precious chance of turning it into a good citizen. It was very necessary that the public should awaken to the seriousness of the problem and insist that for reasons of humanity, of safety - since a large percentage of criminals belonged to the "mentally defective" class - and also in the long run for reasons of economy that the right accommodation and training be provided for these children (The Glasgow Herald, 18.2.1922, p.8). Shortly after this on 2 March he was in slightly more optimistic mood seeing, "hopes of practical results from the awakening of interest and concern, and of women taking their share of a national duty and responsibility". This was a rather surprising observation when it is remembered that special schools and classes were staffed almost entirely by women, that theirs was

the inspiration behind the first special classes in Glasgow and for that matter in Scotland and that much of the work done with ineducable children, especially those also considered to be untrainable, was done by women's voluntary groups. He believed that there had been progress and that that this could be built upon, "Much depends on the after care of defectives and much can be done by following up the splendid work of our teachers, to whose zeal and patience and timeless enthusiasm we owe more than is generally realised for the modifying of the inhuman view that such children are fit only for the lethal chamber" (The Glasgow Herald, 2.3.1922, p.9). This last phrase is shocking to our society today with its ideas of equality and positive discrimination, though it is difficult to see how it could have been any less shocking even then. McKechnie, then, saw the teachers as champions of these children which they indeed were as was discussed in the previous chapter.

However there was still room for much improvement as he pointed out at a lecture delivered to an audience of Women's Citizens Associations in Dundee in May, 1922. The problem as he saw it lay in the ascertainment process. Here he was correct. It had been a problem for many years before and would continue to be a problem until the close of the period covered by this thesis. HMI report of 1960 (Special Educational Treatment in Scotland, HMSO) stressed the need for a team of experts working together in the ascertainment process. The report also highlighted the variation in the criteria used by the different authorities to ascertain "mentally defective". The attitude of authorities was also a significant feature in this ascertainment process. Her Majesty's Inspectors believed there to be hundreds of children with IQs of about 70 in Glasgow special schools, whereas Renfrewshire and Ayrshire Education Authorities were reluctant to remove such children from ordinary

schools. That ascertainment was a difficult and somewhat inexact exercise is not in question here. Problems in this area had, of course, been highlighted by the Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children. Then, in 1908, the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded commented that, “none of the witnesses were (sic) able to offer any verbal definition of the degree of want of intelligence which constitutes a defective child” (in Wright and Digby, 1996, p.12).

Ascertainment of “mental defect” where it existed was a duty of the Education Authority under the Act of 1913. McKechnie this time blamed the teachers, “... those I wish to get at, first and foremost, are the teachers, and especially the headmasters and infant mistresses ... Many teachers think that the only person to be dealt with is the idiot and the imbecile; others present every turbulent child for examination, while again there are the teachers (headmasters and infant mistresses) who consider it a slur on their Infant Department to have pupils in it certified as mentally deficient ... I hold that it is for the school teachers to co-operate with the doctors more than they have done in the past. It is intolerable that we should have so many of our mentally defective children in Scotland absolutely unprovided for ... In Glasgow alone there are two thousand one hundred children certified mentally defective at the present moment. I say boldly, dogmatically, and confidently that there are something like one thousand more to come ... It really is deplorable. It is for the teachers to be up and doing. The teachers are the people after all who know best about this thing ... Yesterday, in Aberdeen, ... I heard a headmaster remark, ‘It is absolutely useless keeping these children in a school where they are learning nothing’. The possibility is they are learning something worse than nothing” (Mental Deficiency and Racial Decay, Vol. XLVI, pp.165-167).

Almost ten years later he was still highlighting the failure of the ascertainment procedure. Speaking at a meeting of the National Special Schools Union in Edinburgh 1931 reported in the Scottish Educational Journal of 19 June of that year W.W.McKechnie, by now Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, talked of the misplacement of children and the need to improve the ascertainment process. This could be done by, “more interest in the subject, doctors with more time and knowledge, teachers with more courage and training, and a Department stimulating and helping everyone” (McKechnie, 1931, p.732). He remembered how, “Not so long ago children with intelligence quotients between 50 and 70 - the very people who should be in special schools - were retained in the ordinary schools, and only those of 50 and under were deemed mentally defective” (McKechnie, 1931, p.732). Often these children were sent to special schools only when they were in their teens.

In 1922 as many as twenty-two counties in Scotland had made no provision for such children. Judged by these standards the situation in Glasgow at this time, as reported in the Educational Requirements of Glasgow report (1920), mentioned above, was reasonably satisfactory. According to McKechnie’s estimates at least one per cent of the population should be considered “mentally defective” and since there were then eight hundred thousand children in Scottish schools we should expect to find eight thousand children in classes for the “mentally defective”. In fact in 1930 there were only half that number. McKechnie could only conclude that in Scotland in 1930, “there are still many children in the ordinary school who ought to be in the special school learning instead of having no opportunity to learn” (McKechnie, 1931, p.733). He also believed that the standard of accommodation for these children, particularly in the special classes, was far from satisfactory. Admittedly by 1930 things had

improved since his, “very vivid recollection of the schools or rather the classes of twenty years ago. They were usually held in the less good parts of the ordinary school buildings - to put it mildly: I am told that many are still so accommodated. In one case the rooms were so thoroughly unsatisfactory that in the picturesque words of a member of an Education Authority, who must remain nameless, Senior Wranglers would have become mentally defective in them” (McKechnie, 1931, p.733).

The special schools, on the other hand, were somewhat better. The Corporation of Glasgow Education Committee’s Scheme of Education for the Glasgow Area shows that at 3 September, 1937 the Education Authority in Glasgow had one thousand three hundred and sixty “Protestant” “mentally defective” pupils on the rolls of their special schools and classes and one thousand one hundred and eight Roman Catholics. While a number of primary schools - Broomloan Road, Hayfield, Rosemont, St.Aloysius’, St. Andrew’s, St. Luke’s and Shields Road - still had special classes attached to them there were separate special schools at Balgray, Bridgeton, Colston, Cranstonhill, Eastmuir, Greenhead, Henderson Street, Hollybrook Street, Kennyhill, Middlefield, Percy Street, Rottenrow, Summerton and Yorkhill (Corporation of Glasgow, 1937, pp.7-10). Glasgow like most other Scottish towns had instituted a policy of centralisation with larger groups of children being established in special schools rather than special classes. With very few changes this was the system that prevailed in Glasgow for many years to come. This centralisation was largely on a territorial basis but other factors were taken into account such as the desirability of a good locality. Yorkhill Special School, for example, was moved to Garscadden and Colston was made a special school. The centralisation of older boys

and girls for technical training continued though parents sometimes objected to the distance that their children had to travel. However while things may have improved, the standard of accommodation in special schools in Greater Glasgow was far from satisfactory. Even by the mid 1950s there would still be only three special schools - Percy Street, Hollybrook and Summerton - which had been specifically built for children with intellectual disabilities and ,of these, Hollybrook was wooden and would have to be considered a temporary structure.

By the end of the period covered by the thesis the situation was little improved. H.M. Inspectors were still complaining of such children being taught in, "old second-hand schools and converted houses with many inadequacies and few attractions [with] classrooms which are far too small for effective teaching" (HMI, 1960, pp. 27-28). This must have been a depressing situation for staff and pupils since these are the very pupils who require a stimulating environment in which learning can take place. While it is true to say that Glasgow did produce an ambitious building plan for special education in the mid 1950s, little would come of this as is shown below. McKechnie ended his speech with a plea that special classes or schools should contain children with intelligence quotients between 50 and 70, or 75. Certainly children with I.Qs of under 50 should not be in these establishments. Such a situation he believed did exist and was a, "stupid effort to grow roses on thistles". What McKechnie suggested was an amendment of the 1913 Act giving Local Authorities the power to train the so-called "uneducables". This was not to happen for them until the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945.

Mr. McKechnie was correct in his views on the failings of the ascertainment process. Comments by the Medical Officers involved in the ascertainment of school children appear in the School Board of Glasgow's Register of Mentally Defective Children (School Board of Glasgow, undated). These show that the process was a fairly imprecise one with children often being on the borderline between different categories of "mental defect". These records would suggest that these children were usually given the benefit of the doubt. G.D. examined on 8 January, 1909 aged eight is a case in point. Here the Medical Officer's report indicates, "Doubtful mental defect. Should be tried in special class for a year". Shorter periods might also be recommended for trial purposes. This was the case with H.M. aged ten when examined on 4 December, 1908, "Doubtful mental defect. She is very backward. Would advise a trial of six months in special classes". Sometimes children even if ascertained as "mentally defective" would be given the chance of education in the ordinary school if it were thought that they might benefit from this. This happened with M.McP. aged six when examined on 9 November, 1913 and ascertained as "Mentally Defective Class 1" but when re-examined on 22 April, 1920 deemed worthy of, "a chance in the ordinary class". Similarly with M.W. examined on 4 March, 1914 aged eight. Then the advice given was, "Try for a year in special class". Later the medical officer felt, "This girl might be passed out of the special class". W.R. a seven year old boy examined on 17 October, 1933 and found to be, "backward and condition is suggestive of feeblemindedness". But, "On account of physical defects [will] postpone certification until further examination and necessary treatment". Until then he suggested, "further trial in ordinary classes [and a] further examination [which] should not be in less than six months after correction of defects". W.R. was later graded "feeble-minded" and sent to special classes.

To be fair, children with severe intellectual disabilities were often given the benefit of a trial period in a special class. One such child was N.S. six years of age when examined on 16 March, 1916. Then the Medical Officer was in some doubt as to her category, "Feeble-minded. Imbecile? Might be tried for six months in special class". D.S. is another example of this. Examined when he was nine on 19 June, 1908 he was found to be, "Mentally Defective Class 2". The notes go on to report, "This boy is very defective, and is restless, "If he does not improve in a year, he should be re-examined with a view to his removal to [an] Imbecile Institution". Two years later on 11 March, 1910 he was re-examined. Again he was given the benefit of the doubt, "Has made some progress, but is still very defective. Habits improved. Might be tried for a year longer unless pressure on accommodation occurs".

Despite the fact that ascertainment was carried out in a sympathetic manner and was a difficult procedure for the doctors involved, the Register of Mentally Defective Children indicates that McKechnie's assertion that children were misplaced was a correct one. There are numerous references to children in special classes later being found to be "ineducable" and excluded from the Education Authority's schools. D.D. is one, a feeble-minded boy who after five years in special classes was ascertained as "Uneducable - suitable for an Institution. Excluded on 23/1/29". M.H. was another. Ascertained at eleven years old on 30 April, 1928 as, "Feeble minded - Special classes" he was later found to have been misplaced. On 14 April, 1930 he was removed from education, "Exclude, Institution case". Children with intellectual disabilities could also be removed from the education process if the examining Medical Officer believed their attendance at school to be not in the best interests of the other children. Though this seemed to have been a fairly rare occurrence it did

sometimes happen. A.L. a fourteen-year-old boy suffered this fate. An entry in the register for 22 April, 1937 refers to his being, "excluded by the doctor as detrimental". A similar fate befell W.R. aged twelve when on 17 June, 1935 he was also, "excluded by the doctor as detrimental". The power of the Medical Officer, the doctor, was paramount here. One criticism which McKechnie did not level was that ascertainment was at that time a medical matter only. It was not to be until much later, indeed not until the Education (Scotland) Act, 1969 that it was made clear that the ascertainment process should be much wider involving psychological, educational and other reports. It should also, if possible, include the views of the child's parents and teachers. With hindsight it is possible to see that the ascertainment process in those early days of special education was narrow in its vision being limited to medical practitioners and so flawed.

To be fair to the doctors involved in this process it should be acknowledged that they were working in a new field with no strict guidelines to help them. By 1910 Dr. Kate Fraser, at that time School Medical Officer to Govan Parish School Board, was pioneering the use of the Binet-Simon tests in examining children. Having administered these tests the results had then to be used to classify the children. Doctors such as Dr. George Arbuckle Brown, Principal Medical Officer, Govan Parish School Board acknowledged the difficulties involved in defining and classifying, for educational purposes, the different degrees of mental development of school children. He attempted to divide children of abnormal mental development into three groups. Group I consisted of dull and "backward" children, cases of delayed mental development, and cases of "spurious mental deficiency". Group II included truly "mentally defective" children of all degrees. Group III included the

"imbeciles" and the "idiots". However even so Dr. Kate Fraser found it difficult to distinguish between children in the first two groups. She knew that the Binet-Simon tests, while useful, were by themselves insufficient. Anticipating future developments she appreciated that a wider knowledge was required involving, if possible, the child's parents and teachers (Govan Parish School Board, 1910, p.47). This was an enlightened approach by Dr. Fraser which, to an extent, anticipated the Education (Scotland) Act of 1969 which, quite correctly, made it clear that the decision to ascertain should not be a medical matter only. As well as a medical examination, psychological reports should now be considered and, if possible, the views of parents and the children's teachers. Importantly, ascertainment was now seen as a continuing process, so that Education Authorities had to keep cases under review.

Glasgow's reluctance to develop special educational provision within the city had been well known to the Scottish Education Department (S.E.D.) for many years. Correspondence between departments highlighted the problem, "The authority have no plans of development in their minds for special schools in the city. If they are not forced to produce one, they will continue to use special schools as an excuse for building new ordinary schools and the result may be: (1) A lopsided system of special schools housed in badly placed localities, in temporary buildings and in second-hand accommodation, with unnecessarily heavy transport costs: (2) A surplus to their needs of ordinary schools and possibly vacant schools" (Letter from J.A. Smith, 22.11.54). Another letter from the S.E.D., in the same year, to H.M.I. Gillan is in a similar vein, "I think it would be very useful if you could take preliminary steps to induce the Director of Education to give consideration to a scheme of

education for handicapped pupils in order that the needs of the city may be properly considered. It is indefensible that the Authority should be going on indefinitely housing handicapped pupils in quite unsatisfactory buildings and particularly in small units scattered here and there throughout the city" (Letter from J.S.B. 31.12.54). It is difficult to know whether this unsatisfactory state of affairs existed as a result of a lack of any real commitment by Glasgow to special education or a reluctance to commit funds to this particular area of education. In the event Glasgow did come up with a school building programme for special education for 1955-57. For secondary pupils with intellectual disabilities it was proposed to provide separate co-educational schools for "Protestant" and Roman Catholic pupils from the age of thirteen. This would require seven schools, four "Protestant" and three Roman Catholic. Four of these would be new buildings. For primary pupils six schools would be needed, four "Protestant" and two Roman Catholic. Again four of these would be new buildings. In addition there would be seven new school buildings for pupils who had intellectual disabilities as well as those who had physical disabilities. However almost as soon as it was drawn up the plan was modified and it was then proposed to reduce the numbers of classrooms in some of the primary schools and to build only one new secondary school, at Danes Drive. The official reason for this scaling down was falling rolls. Ambitious though the plan was Her Majesty's Inspectors were still able to complain of the standards of special school accommodation in their Report of 1960.

Staffing in special schools in Glasgow presented problems too. Despite the early lead shown by Jordanhill College and Kennedy Fraser in the formation of a qualifying course for teachers involved in special education, a shortage of suitably qualified

teachers was a continuous cause for concern. The problem of staffing was greatest in Glasgow “Protestant” schools for children with intellectual disabilities as well as for those with physical disabilities. Here it was necessary to employ many married and retired women and changes of staff were frequent. The position in Glasgow Roman Catholic schools however was better with most staff having the special qualification for the work. Indeed at times there was a surplus of these teachers some of whom were then employed in the “Protestant” schools (Inspectors’ Report, August 1960, p.28). Lack of funding may again have been a contributory factor to this situation with Authorities reluctant to send a teacher who could not really be spared from a normal school onto a course. Such a teacher would have to be seconded on full salary. As shown above the opportunity to gain the special qualification had existed in Scotland since the 1920s. In short the lack of appropriate funding, which had dogged the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities since its start, was still creating difficulties one hundred years later.

“Ineducable” but “Trainable” Children

Problems existed in other areas too. While more and more children ascertained as being educable were being provided for in Glasgow’s special schools and classes, there was a growing concern surrounding those thought to be trainable. This would lead to an increasing public discontent. An inadequacy not touched upon by McKechnie was the lack of educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities so severe that they were considered unsuitable for special schools. As was shown earlier, the pioneering work here had been done by Mary Russell in Paisley in the 1920s. There was to be little change until 1938 when the Secretary of State for

Scotland set up a Committee to enquire into the Scottish Mental Deficiency and Lunacy Acts. The Committee reported in 1946. One of its recommendations was that Education Authorities be given a duty to make provision for "trainable mental defectives" of school age. This provision had, in fact, already been included in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945 which recognised that with some children there was a degree of handicap that required what could be called training rather than education. The Act reflected a profound change in outlook, resulting in an official recognition that the broad purpose of education was essentially the same for intellectually disabled children as it was for their more fortunate counterparts. Yet it was something of a double edged sword for, by creating three categories of mental handicap, it reinforced the concept of children who were ineducable but trainable and also of children who could neither be educated nor trained. The Act of 1945 thus provided for the exclusion from education and training of the children with the most severe intellectual disabilities, those considered ineducable and untrainable. This was an unfortunate occurrence which consigned these children to an educational wilderness for many years to come. In fact Occupational Centres had been running in Glasgow since around 1927 for children considered "ineducable" but "trainable". These Centres were part-time, three in number, were under the supervision of the voluntary After-Care Association of Glasgow and were financed by the Welfare Committee.

However the members of the Secretary of State's Committee felt that provision for those children under sixteen who were considered unsuitable for education in the special schools or classes and who were then passed to the Public Assistance Authority was unsatisfactory. Indeed it was felt by some that such children were

worse off than they had been before the Act of 1913 as only a few were sent or required to be sent to certified institutions. No other provision for their training such as Day Occupation Centres was made by the Public Assistance Authorities as they were not specifically authorised by Statute to do so. In any case the Public Assistance Authorities were concerned mainly with the provision of relief in necessitous cases. They had no facilities for giving specialised education and training. Consequently the Committee recommended that the duty of providing education and training for all "mental defectives" up to the age of sixteen should be laid upon the Education Authority. This recommendation would be enshrined in the legislation of 1945.

These new additions to the Education Authority's responsibility, children with IQs usually between 40 and 55, were now accommodated in Occupational Centres which were defined in Section 143 of the act as special schools. These Centres were set up by the Education Authority in a number of Glasgow primary schools. In addition to the three which existed prior to the Act of 1945 a further three were recommended by the Education Committee of Glasgow Corporation in October, 1946. Transport would be provided for pupils at a cost of £110 per week and a staff of eighteen additional teachers together with six instructors would be engaged. The accommodation for the Centres was provided in Annfield, Balornock, Craigton, Garscadden, Mount Florida and Springbank schools. The estimated annual expenditure for the Centres in 1946 was £12,882. By 1948 there were nine such Centres and seven years later ten. These were located in the following primary schools: Abbotsford, Annfield, Dobbie's Loan, Elmvale, Kelvinhaugh, Shettleston, Shields Road, Temple, Tureen Street and Wolseley Street. The Centres were administered in the same way as special schools though in essence they were

entirely separate units. Each made provision for forty-five children, "Protestant" and Roman Catholic children being taken together (Corporation of Glasgow, 1955, p.5). The emphasis was on personal and social training rather than education, the curriculum being very similar to that favoured by the early educators with an emphasis on Life and Social Skills. Personal hygiene was taught to the children as was feeding and dressing themselves. Simple crafts, music, dancing and games all featured in the curriculum in an attempt to develop the children's sensory skills. Reading and Arithmetic were not formally taught but the children would have practice in recognising everyday words and phrases such as those found on notices, in counting small numbers of objects and in recognising the value of coins.

While the children themselves seemed to be quite content in such Centres, the Centres provided two other important functions. Firstly they provided respite for the parents of these often demanding children and secondly they relieved special schools of children who would often take up much of the teacher's time with little hope of any progress being made. There were two ways in which children could be admitted. They could be placed directly into an Occupational Centre where it was clear, when they attended school initially, that their intellectual disability was such as to make it impossible for them to benefit from attending a special school. In cases where a child was placed in a special school, or even an ordinary school because of the difficulty of assessing the degree of the "mental deficiency", then that child would be transferred when it became apparent that no progress was being made in school. Though criticism could be made regarding the fact that few teachers were employed in these Centres despite the fact that they were a responsibility of the Education Authority,

that purpose-built accommodation would not appear for twenty years and that there seemed few young (under thirty years) staff employed, an important philosophical barrier had been breached with this attack on the concept of “ineducability”.

The reasons for such a shift in thinking lay not only in the inherent weakness of the Public Assistance Authority as a provider of education or training but also in the public discontent in a system where an Education Authority could be responsible for the education and training of children with intellectual disabilities above a certain level of intelligence but not for those children below that level. Further it seemed reasonable that the Education Authority which had at its disposal all the means including trained staff for giving instruction and training to such children should be the body to do so (Report of the Committee on the Scottish Lunacy and Mental Deficiency Laws, 1946, pp.80-81). But more than this, ideas of equality and diversity were beginning to be voiced in Scottish education. Five years after the Committee’s Report ideas such as these were highlighted by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. It spoke of intelligence and aptitude tests establishing the fact of individual differences and drawing attention to the need for variety in content and methods of education. This emphasis on the individual in the process of training was the very point being made by Locke, Seguin and Poole more than one hundred years earlier. To meet the needs of children with intellectual disabilities an education diverse in content, method, and organisation was required. Only such an education could provide equality of opportunity (Report of the Advisory Council, 1951, p.7). Then again only recently totalitarianism in the form of Nazi Germany had been defeated with its philosophy of a superior race of beings and its purges of those with intellectual disabilities. What was to follow, at least in theory, was a more caring,

humane society where such children should be educated not because society needed to take precautions against them but because they were, “younger brothers of the human family and they need our help” (Report of the Advisory Council, 1951, p.7). Further evidence of this more humane approach can be seen after the coming of the National Health Service when an attempt was made to remove some of the stigma associated with mental hospitals and institutions for “mental defectives” by a change of name. For example Glasgow District Asylum, Woodilee would become Woodilee Hospital.

As a result of these changes the after-care of such children was becoming a much more formidable task. What was eventually decided at a meeting of special school Head Teachers and the Supervisor of Occupational Centres, held in Glasgow in 1947, was that instead of one after-care committee there should be seven regional ones. Each would be responsible for one senior special school and the group of contributory junior schools. While the administration of after-care would pass to the local Health Authority - in Glasgow the Health Committee of the Corporation - social, recreational and vocational training would still be a matter for the Education Department (Corporation of Glasgow, 1947, pp.1-2). Freed from the voluntary duty of supervising the three part-time Occupational Centres for “ineducable but trainable” children, in existence prior to 1945, the new after-care committees concentrated on the following: arranging for school visits by employers, arranging for meetings of staff and parents of children approaching sixteen, recruitment of voluntary visitors for children recently left school and the organisation of clubs for senior pupils.

It would be wrong, however, to create the impression that things were now greatly improved. While there certainly had been improvements in provision for children with intellectual disabilities much still needed to be done. For example the situation in the Occupational Centres was still far from satisfactory. By 1960 Glasgow had eleven such Centres. Some of these such as the one at 13 South Portland Street were run by Glasgow Corporation under Section 51. Others were run not by the Education Authority but by The Association of Parents of Handicapped Children in co-operation with Glasgow Health Department. Occupational Centres tended to be on the top floors of primary schools and to, “fall heir to the least satisfactory buildings” (Inspector’s Report, August 1960, p.28). However as Her Majesty’s Inspectors pointed out it was better to have poor accommodation than none at all, “no complaint can be made if an Authority shows that it prefers to use makeshift accommodation rather than make no provision at all for these children” (Inspector’s Report, August 1960, p.28). While this is true, if an Authority decides to make provision it is surely better to make decent provision from the outset.

Children in the category “ineducable but trainable” had been the responsibility of Education Authorities in Scotland since the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945. Prior to this children receiving training in Occupational centres were “reported” children and as such directly the responsibility of the local Health Authorities. In the 1945 Act however “special school” was defined to include Occupational Centres. The only children who could now be “reported” by the Education Authorities were those ascertained to be incapable of receiving education or training in a special school. The effect of these changes was to extend the responsibility of Education Authorities for

providing special educational treatment to a grade of intellectually disabled children which formerly had been classified as “ineducable”, so that more of these children were now within the educational system as a result of the 1945 Act.

While voluntary bodies, especially the parents of the children concerned, were prepared to play their part there appeared to be a lack of interest on the part of many Education Authorities. Many education authorities had as yet not accepted the duty laid on them by the 1945 Act. There were children capable of benefiting from training in Occupational Centres who were still being looked after by the Health Authorities in Certified Institutions. This created a legal difficulty as Health Authorities had no power to provide education or training. To circumvent this any training the children received was regarded as part of their hospital treatment. At one point in the 1950s the Centre at South Portland Street had a waiting list of over four hundred. It is difficult to understand how this could have been allowed to happen when shortages in this area of special education had been known about for years. “Approximately half the children in this category are, because of shortage of accommodation, at home under whatever supervision and training their parents can provide” (Aldridge to Mauchlan, Fielden House, 28.6.55). The word “training” is important here. Qualified teachers were still seldom employed in Occupational Centres. Instead the staff often consisted of educated women skilled in some handicraft with some experience in the Girl Guides or Youth Work (SAMH, 1947). There was no pressure on the Centres to employ qualified teachers as children there received no formal education but rather a social training. Again a lack of funding affected the quality of training which could be offered. Training in cleanliness and personal hygiene could be given in any premises which offered access to lavatories

and wash-hand basins. However training in simple household tasks, bed making and dish washing for example, required rooms specially set aside for the purpose. The severely limited accommodation in a number of existing Centres hindered, or totally prevented, this kind of training (Inspectors' Report, August 1960, p.16). The concept of educability, which had been growing since the end of the nineteenth century with the resulting appearance and proliferation of special classes and schools, had apparently still not reached this area of education authority responsibility to any significant degree. Certainly it had not even come close to those children dealt with below – those considered to be incapable of both education and training.

“Ineducable” and “Untrainable” Children

The children with the most severe intellectual disabilities, abandoned educationally in 1913 indeed even legally excluded from education and training by the Act of 1945, would not become the responsibility of the Education Authorities until the Education (Scotland)(Mentally Handicapped Children) Act, 1974 which came into effect on 16 May, 1975. After this date Education Authorities had to provide educationally for such children. Previous to this all that was required by the Act of 1945 was that the Education Authority identify these children and report them to the local Health Authority which should provide the special care required. This was likely to be in a Mental Deficiency Hospital. They were still seen then as a medical problem and the responsibility of the Health Authority, rather than as children requiring training or education and the responsibility of the Education Authority.

In fact all of the pioneering work in providing education for Glasgow children excluded from schools and Junior Occupational Centres because of the severity of their “mental” defect and from Mental Deficiency Hospitals because of lengthy waiting lists was undertaken by volunteers, underlining again the debt of gratitude which is owed by society to the pioneering work done by such people. Not only were they involved from the beginning in helping at Baldovan and Larbert, then at outings and mealtimes for special class pupils in Glasgow but they continue to assist in a similar capacity today.

In this case these volunteers were initially parents such as those who came to form the Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children - later renamed the Scottish Society for Mentally Handicapped Children. Founded by a group of five parents in April, 1954 the Society was originally intended to help mothers by offering some respite and reducing the isolation they felt as parents of children with very severe intellectual disabilities. Care rather than education or even training was what was intended for most of the children who were very severely intellectually disabled. Acceptable social behaviour was aimed for using simple behavioural modification techniques. Toilet training and the ability of children to occupy themselves were other aims. For a few children, success in these areas would lead to their being promoted to an Occupational Centre. Facilities for such children were at that time virtually non-existent and this meant that parents would otherwise have had the task of caring for their sons and daughters at home, generally without relief. These parents represent one of the finest examples of individuals championing the cause of children with intellectual disabilities. In this case the individuals actually created the provision themselves.

The Newslink newsletter of Enable (the Scottish Society for the Mentally Handicapped) for Spring 1994 reminds readers that, “the achievements and efforts of the first members should never be underestimated” (Enable, 1994, p.15). In the same issue Jim Henderson, one of the Society’s founder members, expands on this, “On reflection I feel that we were fortunate in the high quality of the men and women who formed that first committee and in the dedication they brought to their work” (Enable, 1994, p.14). The idea for a Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children had come to Jim Henderson while watching a television programme dealing with a mother and her child with intellectual disabilities. He found equally energetic and enthusiastic supporters in Mr. and Mrs. Shapter, Dr. and Mrs. (later Sir Samuel and Lady) Curran, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan McIntosh and Mr. and Mrs. George Maugham.

In March, 1954 with the assistance and cooperation of Barbara Watson, at that time in charge of special schools in Glasgow, the inaugural meeting was held in the Glasgow Corporation Authority Hall in Bath Street. Dr. Curran acted as Chairman and the meeting was held to be a tremendous success. Most of the three hundred who attended became members of the SAPHC which was formed that same night. In his opening address of the 1956-57 Annual Report the President, Dr. S.C. Curran highlighted this neglect with which these children had been treated for so many years. He spoke of, “the years of neglect of, and indifference to, the needs of mentally handicapped children [and of] mentally handicapped children in Scotland receiving no daily instruction or occupational therapy” (SAPHC Annual Report, 1957, p.4). Jim Henderson became Secretary and within six months the first branch of the Society was formed in Blairgowrie. By the end of the first year branches were

in process of formation in Lanarkshire, Dumfries and Galloway, Aberdeen and Edinburgh and the gift of Craigrownie Castle, later to become the Stewart Home, had been accepted from Miss Ella Stewart.

The year 1955 also saw the first Centre opened in Glasgow when Mrs. Mary Barton provided accommodation in her home in Broomhill Drive, Glasgow. A large playroom, small nursery room, bathroom and kitchen facilities meant that a start could be made with twenty children. These were divided into two groups of ten, each group attending for five days per fortnight. Physiotherapists, trained nurses and a lady doctor were among the fifty ladies who voluntarily staffed the Centre and who, perhaps surprisingly, were not mothers of such children. The children seemed to be very happy at the Centre and to benefit from the companionship of other children. Indeed two of this early group were re-examined and passed for admission to Occupational Centres encouraging the idea of extending the instructional side of the work. Although this can hardly be compared to the growing concept of educability seen earlier in connection with children whose intellectual disabilities were less severe, there was nevertheless an awakening to the fact that something more than nursing care could be offered to these children. During the first five years the office bearers Dr. S.C. Curran, Chairman; Mr. T.A. Fortune, Vice Chairman; Mr. George Maugham, Treasurer and Mr. Jim Henderson, Secretary spent much of their time addressing meetings in various parts of Scotland. As a result by the end of 1959 the Association could boast of twenty branches and eighteen centres of various kinds opened for children with very severe intellectual disabilities.

After just a few years the Centre was forced to close. However the number of requests for places there forced the hand of Glasgow Corporation Health and Welfare Department. Thomas Tinto, in charge here, instructed one of his staff, Mr. Roddick who himself had a Down's Syndrome son, to try to find new accommodation. The Centre then moved to new premises in Carlton Place. The new accommodation was in Laurieston House, a beautiful Georgian building dating from 1807. Previously it had belonged to the Parks Department and it is unlikely that the local authority would have found any other use for it. Alterations were made to provide a playroom, a nursery and a laundry. The latter was an indispensable facility since those associated with the Centre in its early years estimate that about eighty-five per cent of the children there were doubly incontinent. The success of the Day Centre was due almost entirely to the energy and dedication of the "Ladies of Laurieston House". These ladies accompanied the drivers in the morning to pick up the children and their toilet bags and taught and cleaned these children when they soiled themselves. No sophisticated equipment existed in the house for this so that it had to be done manually. They were determined ladies, anxious that the House should not close for even a single day, not even during an outbreak of enteritis.

While not formally trained for working with children with such severe intellectual disabilities, the ladies sometimes attended classes and lectures given by Professor Hutchison in the Sick Children's Hospital. They considered the teaching of acceptable social behaviour very important for these children as is illustrated in the case of a hyperactive autistic Nigerian boy, M. He had to be taught to sit still especially while at the table. This was eventually done by a rewards system of his favourite biscuits as well as by making a great fuss of him when he was performing

well. Often it could take years to get a child to spoon feed. Bette Archibald, one of the original ladies, recalls the five years it took to get one girl, DG, mobile and into the playroom to pour tea for another child. These were particularly important aims, for the two basic requirements for having a child admitted to an Occupational Centre were that it should be able to feed itself and that it should be toilet trained.

Admission to an Occupational Centre such as the one in South Portland Street, at the rear of Laurieston House, was always the main aim of the Day Centre. Whenever a child was successfully assessed for an Occupational Centre this released a place in Laurieston House for another child to be taken from the constant waiting list. It seems a pity that such provision should exist in only one Centre, run by volunteers, when there was always a waiting list for admission and therefore an obvious need for a larger Centre or a second one. Those in authority in Glasgow must surely have been well aware of this situation. All of the equipment used in the Centre was bought from donations made by parents and friends. The local authority provided none. Thomas Tinto did however provide Laurieston House with a Medical Officer, Dr. Maude Menzies, who gave invaluable support.

This new Centre at Laurieston House continued to expand. By 1959 it was able to take fifty children though their attendance was still limited to one day each per week. The hope now was that a second Centre could be opened thus increasing the number of days on which the children could attend. Social outings were arranged for the children with the annual summer trip to Symington and the Lord Provost's Christmas Party being the highlights of the year. In the 1958-59 session two more "Day Centre" children were re-assessed and up-graded to Occupational Centres. This concept of offering training to any of the children thought to be capable of benefiting from it

became more and more important in the work of Laurieston House. Consequently to help even more children attain the standard required for admittance to Occupational Centres two women from Jordanhill Training College - Miss Martin and Miss Morrison - spent a good deal of time studying and assessing the children in an attempt to devise an improved scheme of training (SAPHC Annual Report, 1959, p.13). The following year four more of the forty-nine children now attending the Centre were up-graded to Occupational Centres. By the 1960-61 session Laurieston House was catering for seventy children though still for only one day a week each. During 1961-62 the Centre continued to flourish with five children up-graded to Occupational Centres and one given a trial at a special school. Three of the younger ones were transferred to the Corporation's new Nursery Centre for children with intellectual disabilities in Moffat Street. The Day Centre at Laurieston House was renamed the Junior Care Centre in the 1962-63 session when its maintenance was taken over by Glasgow Corporation Health and Welfare Department. They installed new laundry equipment and improved the toilet arrangements. Between seventy and seventy-five children were now attending the Centre on one day per week each. They were looked after by sixty-six ladies who gave up their time to work as volunteers (SAPHC Annual Report, 1963, p.27).

The pioneering work done by the Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children did not end with the Laurieston House Day Centre. In 1955 the Society was gifted a Victorian Castle - Craigrownie Castle, Cove - by the Stewart family and decided to create a centre offering respite to families, children and carers. Two years of voluntary restoration work by the members saw the project completed and in 1957 The Stewart Home was passed by the Home and Health Department as being suitable

for twenty-five children up to the age of thirteen. This was to be Scotland's first Short Stay Home for children with intellectual disabilities. Here they could be accommodated for periods of up to eight weeks. Local Authorities agreed to pay the cost of maintaining a child sent from their particular area. Glasgow was always a major user of the facility sending one hundred and thirty children there throughout the year 1958-59. The second biggest user that year, Lanark County sent eleven children. Although The Stewart Home was never intended as a training establishment for the children, many cases of marked improvement were noted over the years - especially in the social habits of the children. Some who had been bottle fed on admission learned, while there, to feed themselves. Others had been toilet trained before discharge (SAPHC Annual Report, 1960, p.9). These kinds of improvements showed what could be accomplished when such children were removed from their home environments where their mothers, faced with other household duties, simply did not have the time required to train a child with very severe intellectual disabilities.

The Society also cooperated with the Education Department of Glasgow in the opening in 1958-59 of two Evening Clubs for those over sixteens with intellectual disabilities though they believed that what was really needed was the opening of more Senior Day Occupational Centres for vocational training. The following year saw a teacher being attached to these Clubs to attempt the teaching of reading and writing to those interested. Another initiative was the opening of a Work Centre in 1960 in a church hall in Glasgow's Moffat Street. This catered for young people with nowhere to go after leaving their Junior Occupational Centres. By the 1962-63 session there were twenty-three young men and nineteen young women employed

there. Every fortnight they received a small pay packet, initially 7/6d, and this together with the companionship at the Centre meant much to them. Here the young people spent their time stringing calendars, and making polishing pads and mats with materials donated by local firms. Soon the Work Centre became an accepted part of their lives (SAPHC Annual Report, 1961, p.21).

As well as in the City of Glasgow itself significant developments were occurring in the surrounding area. The Airdrie Branch of the Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children opened an Occupational Centre in 1956-57 catering for six children over sixteen three days a week and for six children under sixteen on two days a week. The following year saw a Day Centre for thirteen children on two days a week in Hamilton and another in Carluke open for five days each week provided for seven children. In 1959-60 the Lanarkshire Authorities would open a new Centre in Newmains. By 1963-64 the Lanarkshire Branch had Junior Care Centres operating in Bishopbriggs, Coatbridge, East Kilbride and Rutherglen. Dunbartonshire had corresponding Centres in Cumbernauld and Milngavie/Bearsden (SAPHC Annual Report, 1956-57, 1963-64). The Society also provided a valuable Welfare Service giving advice and help in emergencies. Much has been made in this thesis of the important contribution made by volunteers in the field of special education. However it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to overestimate the value of the work which was done, and still is, by volunteers such as these. As well as creating facilities where none had existed they also acted as an effective pressure group - making representations to government, "guiding" those Local Authorities reluctant to implement the provisions of the Mental Health (Scotland) Act, 1960 and showing Local Authorities and the public what could be done.

The story however is not one of complete success. The early 1960s also saw a number of lost opportunities. Some of the Society's funds were still being diverted towards the setting up of services which it was the duty of the Local Authority to establish. It was the responsibility of a Local Authority to set up and maintain, under the Education Acts, Occupational Centres for children under sixteen years of age and, under Section 27 of the National Health Service (Scotland) Act, 1947, to provide after-care services for all people leaving special schools and Occupational Centres.

The Mental Health (Scotland) Act, 1960 came fully into operation on 1 June, 1962. The act was probably the result, rather than the cause, of changing public attitudes towards the problems of mental health. It repealed the Lunacy (Scotland) Act of 1862 and removed the stigmatising labels such as "imbecile" and "idiot". It also made it easier for those needing periods of hospitalisation to enter and leave hospital without being certified or decertified. Fortunately one thing the Act did not do was include the recommendation of the Dunlop Committee that special schools and Occupational Centres, for children under sixteen, should be transferred to the local Health Authority. This would have been a huge step backwards to the days when these children were considered a medical responsibility. Some of the credit for this change in public attitudes must go to the Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children which continued to pursue and achieve its aims. One of these aims was, "... to urge action where no education, training, and equipment are available for mentally handicapped children" (The News Letter, March 1959, p.2). Where local authorities neglected their legal responsibilities, e.g. the setting up of Occupational Centres for children with intellectual disabilities, the Association saw it

as its, "duty to impress on the local authorities the need for these services" (The News Letter, March 1959, p.2). It is not surprising that members of the Association should have received national recognition for their work - Jim Henderson would receive the M.B.E. while fellow founder member Dr. Samuel Curran would be knighted.

Outside of the Association, pioneering work was going on in other areas too. Dr. Norrie Wattie, Principal Medical Officer (Maternity and Child Welfare) working with Glasgow's Health and Welfare Department, was pioneering plans to help children with intellectual disabilities at a younger age than ever before. Realising the importance of early educational intervention in the lives of such children she called for Occupational Centres to be built and equipped to accommodate a certain number of children of pre-school age. Thus the concept of educability in relation to children with intellectual disabilities was widened to take account of children of pre-school age. Her scheme of Pre-Occupational Centre training for twenty such children in a Glasgow nursery offered care and training for the children and relief for the parents. The educational objectives of the nursery were to train the child to help itself - to feed and wash itself, to use the toilet and be able to occupy itself happily and continuously. In effect what was being offered was a basic training in Life Skills which would later allow such children to take their place in an Occupational Centre or special school without disrupting the work of the other children there.

Conclusion

By the end of the period covered by this thesis then, much had been achieved in the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities. The growing concept of educability continued to develop with Glasgow adopting a policy of centralisation, sending more and more children to special schools rather than special classes. Ideas of equality and humanity at the end of the war resulted in a more caring society as witnessed by the establishment of the National Health Service (Scotland) Act, 1947 when attempts were made, mainly by changes in terminology, to remove some of the stigma associated with intellectual disability. A need for diversity and equality of opportunity in education was also being voiced. Feelings such as these resulted in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945 which redefined Occupational Centres as special schools. This brought under the aegis of the education authorities a group of children considered ineducable but trainable who had previously been the responsibility of the health authorities. They would later be found in Glasgow's schools for "severely mentally handicapped" children. This expansion of the education authority's responsibility was a very real advance in provision for these children.

Yet there were still serious problems facing special education in Greater Glasgow. One of the most pressing was the situation facing those children with the severest intellectual disabilities. For them the Act of 1945 had resulted in a legal exclusion from education, though they had, in fact, never been included anyway. Officially these children were classified as being not only ineducable but also untrainable – a situation that would nowadays be considered outrageous and totally unacceptable and which ought to have been then as well. The concept of training for these children

would only gradually develop. Some basic training was being offered to them by the mid-1950s - once again thanks to the efforts of volunteers, a recurring theme in this thesis and in the history of educational provision for these children in Greater Glasgow, who set up Day Centres and gave a basic training in Life and Social Skills. Although the city authorities did offer some help in terms of accommodation, gifting them Laurieston House, the concept of educability would not really reach these children until 1975 when the Education (Mentally Handicapped Children)(Scotland) Act of the previous year came into force. From then on they would fill Glasgow's schools for the "profoundly mentally handicapped".

A major problem which had existed since the opening of the earliest institutions at Baldovan and Larbert was the accurate ascertainment of children with intellectual disabilities. Reference has been made earlier in this thesis to the recommendation of the Departmental Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children (1898) that those involved in this process should include the teacher of the child, the medical officer of the school authority, one HMI and the teacher of the special class. Later, the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 had made school boards legally responsible for the ascertainment of "mentally defective" children. While the development of IQ tests had made ascertainment a more scientific and accurate process there were still problems with children continuing to be misplaced. W.W. McKechnie, an HMI and later Secretary to the Scottish Education Department, highlighted some of the problems involved. Some teachers presented every difficult child for ascertainment, while some were too embarrassed to present any and still others believed it was only "idiots" and "imbeciles" who were to be dealt with.

Until the close of the period covered by this thesis, indeed even beyond it, ascertainment would continue to be problematic. H.M. Inspectors, in their report of August 1960, repeated the calls of the Departmental Committee for a team of experts to be involved in the ascertainment process. They highlighted a vagueness in the legislation which made it difficult to say whether a medical examination was a necessary part of ascertainment. Interestingly they also called for a broad agreement on what was meant by “mental handicap” – an extremely important point – as the decision to place children in this category determined not only the type of education they would receive, but also put them in an inferior position in relation to others. These observations reinforce similar points made at the beginning of the thesis regarding confusion over labels for different grades of intellectual disability and how this could cause problems for appropriate placements. It would not be until 1969 that the process of ascertainment was recognised as being much wider, involving psychological reports as well as medical reports and, if possible, the views of parents and teachers.

Problems within special education were not helped by Glasgow’s apparent reluctance to commit itself fully to this field of education – a reluctance highlighted in letters from the Scottish Education Department. Many of the special schools within the city were in an unsatisfactory condition, sometimes in buildings which were designed for other purposes. When the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945 redefined Occupational Centres as special schools, the Education Authority employed few teachers in them and again they were housed in inappropriate buildings. Many of the staff involved in special education, at least in the “Protestant” schools, lacked the specialist qualification which, from 1922, had been available in the city’s Jordanhill College.

The strong suspicion here is that Glasgow was unwilling to pay for the cost of these courses. Perhaps the most serious problem, however, was that of those children considered ineducable and untrainable. For them there was to be no provision for training until the first Day Centre was opened in Glasgow in 1955 by a group of volunteers. Opened to offer respite to mothers of these children, Laurieston House gradually took on more of a training role, teaching the children basic skills such as toileting, washing, dressing and feeding.

Chapter Five

The Economic Factor

Introduction

It would be pleasing to be able to state that the mood of optimism in the nineteenth century which resulted in a growing concept of educability regarding children with intellectual disabilities also resulted in a corresponding growth in funding for their education. Unfortunately this was not the case. Instead, the mood of pessimism which settled over the education of these children at the start and again at the end of the century has always hung over the question of the funding of their education. Since the earliest days of the movement to educate children with intellectual disabilities the economic consequences of doing so or not doing so have been keenly debated.

This section looks at the economic arguments associated with the provision of education for such children. It suggests that the concept of education for Glasgow children with intellectual disabilities was influenced not solely by the intrinsic worth of education, or humanitarian considerations but rather by the economic effects on the community. This is perhaps not surprising given the substantial costs which education imposes on both local and national governments. As recently as 1980 an article in the Times Educational Supplement (8.10.80) reminded readers of the importance of economics in education. Commenting on the Education Act, 1980 the writer pointed out that, "the three words that appear most often in the White Paper ... are not ... special educational needs. They are Present Economic Circumstances".

These “economic circumstances” became more and more important as government grants gradually made up more and more of the income of schools. Sources of school income in the Glasgow of the mid-nineteenth century are provided by the census of 1851. This shows the limited impact of parliamentary grants at that time. In parish schools they accounted for 1.1 per cent of school income while fees accounted for 37.2 per cent. Similarly in public schools, as a whole, parliamentary grants contributed 3.8 per cent while fees again contributed 37.2 per cent. In later years the share of parliamentary grants would gradually increase. In 1870 / 71, for example, 10 per cent of the income of state-aided schools came from endowments, 22 per cent from voluntary contributions, 37 per cent from fees and 31 per cent from grants (Anderson, 1983, p.527). This rising cost of education to the public has never been universally acceptable. In Glasgow, for example, in the 1920s the Scottish Citizens’ Union was unhappy at government moves to reduce class sizes from sixty to a maximum of fifty. Their objection was based not on educational grounds but on the grounds of the cost of £2500000 to be borne by the ratepayers.

The author of The Three Rs or The Excessive Cost of Education in Glasgow (Simpson, 1927, p.5) showed how the education rate had risen from 2 / 5 per £ in 1917-18 to 3 / 8 per £ in 1926-27 and was set to reach 6 / - per £. He spoke of, “burdens the ratepayers of Glasgow [were] ... obliged to carry”. He went on to claim that in the twelve years between 1914 and 1926 the population of Glasgow had increased by 6.2 per cent while the municipal rates had risen by 134 per cent. He warned of the, “financial exhaustion of both tax and rate payer” in the face of educational extravagance which saw Head Teachers receiving an average pay of

£943.19.7, Head Mistresses of special schools £583.6.8, schools being flooded by “experts” and the Authority paying a teacher on retiral a full eighteen months salary. (Simpson, 1927, pp.6-7).

This chapter shows how, for some, the intellectually disabled were seen as a source of income. The owners of private madhouses profited from providing for intellectually disabled persons as the parochial boards were often reluctant to make other provision for them. Similarly parochial boards favoured the boarding-out of such people because it was the cheapest way of accommodating them. Even when attempts were made, in Parliament, to improve the lot of the intellectually disabled they often failed because of the potential cost involved. Little wonder then that the supporters of education for intellectually disabled children should point out the desirability of educating them as it would help these children become more self-supporting and less of a drain on the public purse. Despite this, however, this chapter shows how the earliest institutions for their training - Baldovan and Larbert – were constantly struggling for funds and relied very much on charitable donations. Funding was a problem for the early special classes in Glasgow too. Initially they received no extra grant for their work. This caused problems with poor accommodation and classrooms which were often overcrowded. The need for special education to be cost effective was reflected in the curriculum on offer which emphasised occupational training. This chapter also shows how the failure of many of these pupils to secure jobs on leaving school led to public dissatisfaction and the setting up of a Royal Commission to investigate the care and control of the “feeble-minded”. This took evidence from America and Europe where State funding for institutions for the intellectually disabled seemed to be more generous. The financial

situation of the two residential institutions for the intellectually disabled used by Glasgow - Waverley Park and St. Charles' – is described and the point made that they also were constantly struggling for funds. For some people the solution to the economic problem of the intellectually disabled was to keep them in an adult colony where they could achieve a near self-sufficiency. The work of Mary Dendy is highlighted here. The chapter ends by looking at the development of Day Care Centres for the most severely intellectually disabled children. Up until their takeover by Glasgow Corporation Health and Welfare Department these, too, relied greatly on the generosity of the public.

The Situation in Glasgow

Even before the first attempt in Glasgow at providing education for children with intellectual disabilities the economic arguments were being paraded. Dr. Coldstream writing the introduction to The Abendberg argued the economic sense of educating children with intellectual disabilities. He favoured an attempt in Britain similar to that happening at Dr. Guggenbuhl's institution in Switzerland, "public economies, no less than considerations of Christian charity, demand that it should. At the moment all adult idiots whose habits make them either disgusting or troublesome to the public are incarcerated in asylums for life and cost the community for their board etc. a large sum annually". Coldstream believed that education could lighten this financial load, "yet many might have been delivered from idiocy if they had been properly treated while young - they might have been so far improved by a few years of timeously applied education as to have been rendered capable of conducting themselves rationally and of labouring for their own subsistence. Parochial

allowances of £10 to £12 p.a. for three or five years might have prevented the necessity of expending £15 or £20 a year for the whole term of their existence after maturity - a great saving to the public purse" (Geneva, 1849, pp.30-31).

This was far-sighted thinking by Coldstream who realised that money invested in the education of these children might provide a long term financial benefit to the community. Paying to educate them now would lessen the burden on the public purse which they must otherwise be in the future. This seems to be a fairly logical argument. That economics should be so openly considered when deciding whether or not to improve the lot of these children may seem rather tasteless to us today.

However given the situation in Glasgow at that time it is perhaps understandable.

The city had enormous social and economic problems as detailed earlier. Poverty and disease were rife. More than four thousand people died in the cholera outbreak of 1832 (Glasgow's Glasgow, The Words And The Stones, 1990, p.121). Contemporary descriptions of living conditions for many Glaswegians paint an appalling picture. In 1839 Lord Shaftesbury visited Glasgow walking, "through the dreadful parts of this amazing city". He believed nine tenths of the crime and nine tenths of the disease came from the dreadful living conditions of many. "Health would be impossible in such a climate ... The air is tainted by exhalation from the most stinking and stagnant sources, a pavement never dry, in lanes not broad enough to admit a wheelbarrow" (The Journal of Lord Shaftesbury, 1888). To be fair to Glasgow it has to be said that to tackle problems of this magnitude takes a great deal of public money and the public purse is not bottomless.

Intellectual Disability as a Profitable Business

Paradoxically while providing education for children with intellectual disabilities was an unwelcome idea for some because of the cost involved, there was money to be made from those with intellectual disabilities as well as from the mentally ill. There was nothing new in this and indeed there was a royal precedent dating back to the England of mediaeval times. This was the Prerogativa Regis, a document setting forth the various royal rights and duties including those over the intellectually disabled. There were two categories here - natural fools or "idiots" and persons non compos mentis ("lunatics"). With "idiots" the king acted as guardian and profited from the exercise, keeping any rents or profits collected by the crown during the "idiocy" in excess of the cost of the individual's upkeep. For "lunatics" the crown provided more extensive protection but at no charge to the individual. Richard Neugebauer (1996, p.32) details how from 1301-1392 and from 1485-1540 the mentally "handicapped" constituted eighty per cent of all extant officially examined cases of mental disability. He concludes that, "Solely from an epidemiological perspective, this ratio of congenital handicap to all severe psychiatric disorders is highly improbable and could be the result of the crown's reluctance to handle non-profitable disability cases". It very much seems to be the case that in the mediaeval period royal protection was linked to profit.

The profit motive however did not end with the mediaeval period. The Report of the Royal Commission, 1857 details private madhouses where financial profit was clearly the main aim of the proprietors. The usual charge per patient per year was twenty pounds though Langdale charged twenty-four pounds and one shilling which

would make for a very profitable enterprise providing running costs were kept as low as possible. The Commissioners were well aware of this, "When we take into consideration the mode in which the licensed houses for pauper patients are conducted, and compare the accommodation and treatment they afford with that which is provided in chartered asylums, we cannot doubt that these rates, in the larger houses especially, leave a considerable margin as profit to the proprietor"

(Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1857, p.103). Given that this was the case it is unlikely, to say the least, that these private concerns would have attempted to provide an education of any kind for any children who happened to be in their care.

One of the recommendations in the report was that there should be in private licensed houses, "a good supply of books, with other means of recreation and amusement"

(Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1857, p.112). What they had in fact found was nothing in the form of training and virtually nothing in the form of occupation for those patients living there. Some of the houses did have small gardens which offered some occupation but in some cases the grounds for seventy, eighty or even ninety people were less than an acre. Only Langdale had a quantity of land sufficient to afford any proper employment. Seldom was there an attempt made to provide the males with any kind of work though the females could assist in the house and the laundry and, where possible, occupy themselves in needlework. The report concluded that, "the want of the means of occupation is one of the many evils of the licensed houses" (Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1857, p.112). The Commissioners were highly critical. They believed that, "The sole aim, especially in the houses where the patients are principally paupers, has evidently been to accommodate the greatest possible number, at the smallest outlay" (Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, 1857, p.103).

Clearly any persons unfortunate enough to find themselves in a private licensed house could expect little or no mental stimulation. Rather they could expect to be, “Exposed to the danger of privation and neglect” (Report by Her Majesty’s Commissioners, 1857, p.125). The report clearly highlighted the inherent dangers of the system, “Economy being the main object of the parochial boards, and profit that of the proprietors, it is not difficult to conceive how their combined operation must affect the condition of pauper patients in licensed houses” (Report by Her Majesty’s Commissioners, 1857, p.103). While the neglect of children with intellectual disabilities was apparent to many, the cost of improving their situation was often a stumbling block.

Parliamentary Efforts

Even when Parliament tried to improve the lot of those with intellectual disabilities their efforts could be thwarted because of the cost involved. Speaking in Parliament in 1857 Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P. for West Surrey, explained to the House how an excellent Bill introduced by Lord Rutherford in 1848 to end these very evils had been rejected because of the expense it would incur. Not a single petition was presented in its favour. Again and again in the parliamentary debates of this time the influence of economic considerations underlying the treatment of those with intellectual disabilities is seen. Edward Ellice, M.P. for St. Andrews explained to the house how, “from motives of economy on the part of the authorities” the majority of pauper lunatics were allowed to remain in their parishes, the responsibility of strangers or relatives (Parliamentary Debates Vol. cxlv, p.1027). The Commissioners of 1857 had experienced great difficulty in obtaining accurate figures from the Board

of Supervision regarding lunatics. Having failed there they turned to the clergy but again failed. This had, “induced the suspicion that many of the clergy had on this matter more regard for the pockets of the rate-payers than for the condition of the pauper lunatics” (Parliamentary Debates Vol. cxlv, p.1028). Later in the same debate the parochial authorities are subject to the same charge, “in providing accommodation for insane paupers, the parochial authorities have more consulted the interests of the ratepayers than the well-being of the patients. Economy is their rule of conduct” (Parliamentary Debates Vol. cxlv, p.1029). To be fair the same charge might, at times, have been laid against the general public. When Dr. Andrew Duncan, deeply affected by the mental sufferings of the poet Robert Fergusson, published a pamphlet urging the foundation of a lunatic asylum in Edinburgh, the public would contribute only £100 and the project failed.

Ellice told of how patients were removed from the asylum at Perth, which happened to be a good one, to be sent to a private house which had bid a smaller sum for their charge, “without any regard whatever to the manner in which they would be treated” (Parliamentary Debates Vol. cxlv, p.1030). What was happening here then was that choice of accommodation was not based on what would be best for the person involved but solely on what would be cheapest. The “culpable economy” of the parochial boards could be seen in the meagre allowances - e.g., two shillings a week in the City of Edinburgh - paid to feed and clothe pauper lunatics boarded out with relatives or strangers (Parliamentary Debates Vol. cxlv, p.1035). Six years later this was raised to six shillings. Goods produced by boarders could be sold in the neighbourhood as a means of extra income. Boarding-out the intellectually disabled was, in effect, the cheapest form of provision available.

At the second reading of the Lunatics (Scotland) Bill, 1857 Mr. Baxter, a Scottish Member, again referred to economic pressures when he confessed to regretting, “that any portion of the people of Scotland, in their dread ... of increased taxation, should have shown an inclination to treat lightly the evils which had been exposed by the Commissioners” (Parliamentary Debates Vol. cxlvi, p.1169). Despite minor opposition on its second reading the Bill was passed on August 25, 1857. Most of the opposition was based again on the grounds of expense rather than efficiency. As mentioned in Section One this was eloquently crushed by Mr. Drummond who reminded his fellow members that, “There were plenty of representatives of the ratepayers in that House, but no representatives of the lunatics of Scotland. They seemed to have no friends there, while really they were the persons who stood most in need of being represented” (Tuke, 1882, p.356). This idea, strongly voiced in the opposition to the Bill of 1857 during its second reading, of those with intellectual disabilities being a financial burden on the country is a recurrent theme in the history of their educational provision. Conversely one of the main arguments used by those keen to see the provision of education for such children was that if educated they would probably be able to provide for themselves either wholly or partially and be less of a burden to the community.

The Desirability of Being Self-Supporting

Principal Macfarlan speaking at the public examination of the inmates of the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind on May 10, 1838 talked of the various employments taught in the school of industry, “by which [the blind] are enabled to earn the means of subsistence by their own exertions, instead of becoming a burden on society”

(Scottish Guardian, 10.5.1838). This idea is echoed in Statements of the Education, Employments, and Internal Arrangements Adopted at the Asylum for the Blind, Glasgow (1844) where the author, John Alston, Treasurer of the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind points to the importance of an early education for the blind. The neglect of this, “has led to the wandering, mendicant habits of thousands, who, had a little early care and attention been bestowed upon them, would have become useful both to themselves and to society. The surest method of suppressing public begging by the Blind, is to train them when young to habits of industry, by which they can provide for themselves” (Alston, 1844, pp. 23-24). In essence the same argument was applied by some to the education of children with intellectual disabilities. On balance the cost of educating them seemed to be a worthwhile economic investment, “The effort required, so far as a pecuniary contribution is concerned, is, for a national object, a mere trifle. The benefits to be secured ... are above all price”. And later in the same article on the education of “imbecile” youth, “On economical grounds, indeed, the question could be strongly argued; for the imbecile is not always the useless, abject creature which rises before the mind’s eye as ‘a poor idiot’. There are among them many individuals with powers, in some respects unquestionably above the average of ordinary humanity” (Scottish Review, 1862, pp. 54-55).

Other writers argued a similar case sometimes highlighting successes in other countries where children with intellectual disabilities exposed to education had been, “put in the way of earning their own subsistence” (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p.14). The importance of these economic considerations was not lost on the general public as was demonstrated in Section Two where an example was given from the Scottish Poor Law Magazine of 1864-65. Here the writer points to the

economic advantages of educating such children - some may become self-supporting thus relieving society of a heavy financial burden. Even the most severely intellectually disabled, "the lowest grade of development", might be shown how to take care of themselves (Scottish Poor Law Magazine, 1864-65, p.147). Evidence of the efficacy of offering education to children with intellectual disabilities is contained in the Seventh Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded Children . The report in a highly stylised language claims that, "man, suffering and forlorn in the form of idiocy, can be restored from a degraded and misshapen manhood, to take upon himself the comeliness of the redeemed and immortal ... the gloomy have been made happy - the idle, industrious - the profane, ashamed of their profanity - the unloving, affectionate - the speechless, to speak - the unproductive, self-supporting" (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p. 22). Significantly enough the climax of this statement illustrates the economic value of educating such children.

The Financing of the Earliest Institutions

Yet despite the apparent economic benefits to be had from educating children with intellectual disabilities, making some of them self-supporting and relieving the country of the financial burden of caring for them, the earliest Scottish institutions for this purpose had to generate their own funds. When it opened in 1855 Baldovan aimed to be self-supporting though charges were modest. It was a deliberate policy of the directors of Baldovan Asylum, mentioned in their Annual Reports, to keep charges low so that parochial boards could afford to send some of their pauper "imbecile" children there. These charges, detailed in the Annual Report of 1880 and

apparently unchanged since its opening, were £13. 10s. for a child at or below nine years of age. This rose by £1 a year for five years after admission. After this the board charged became a matter for special arrangement with the directors. In the case of very helpless children whose care involved more staff there was an additional charge varying from £5 to £10 a year (Annual Report, Baldovan, 1880).

Glasgow children with intellectual disabilities spent more of their time there on industrial training than on academic pursuits. Again this is hardly surprising since the first of the Annual Reports (1856) had contained the following statement, "And if it shall be the means of rescuing any number of its inmates from their state of mental imbecility, and placing them in a position to act for themselves, or earn their own livelihood, it will have conferred an unspeakable blessing not only on the individuals themselves but on the community generally" (Annual Report, Baldovan, 1856, p. 1). This is another clear reference to the financial desirability of educating such children. The children were trained for various types of employment. This was commended by the Commissioners in Lunacy. During their inspection of 1859 they felt there was, "good ground for commending the general arrangements ... [pupils are] taught, or induced to walk, perform various acts together, and to engage in digging, wheeling barrows, etc. Fourteen can already, after a fashion, and in various degrees of perfection, use a spade, etc. One is training as a tailor and with considerable prospect of success. The Reporter regards the arrangement as fraught with great benefit to the Imbeciles, as involving still farther progress, and as indicative of a correct appreciation of the direction in which amelioration should be attempted" (Annual

Report, Baldovan, 1860, p.7). The education of the children here was geared therefore towards the occupational with the clear intention that this would help them become self-supporting on leaving the institution.

The institution retained its charitable status into the early years of the twentieth century drawing subscriptions from the public and levying admission fees. After the passing of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act in 1913, however, there were fewer private cases and more rate aided ones. Baldovan was becoming more of a National Institution. However the financial situation with which the Directors were faced throughout the years was never satisfactory according to their annual reports. The report for 1910 tells how up until that year, “the teaching in the school was carried on under very great disadvantages as the absence of funds prevented a proper school being built” (Fifty-Sixth Annual Report, 1910, p.11). Fortunately the receipt of £1000 from the Trustees for Charles Anderson of Fettykil helped provide a series of excellent schoolrooms. This theme of financial hardship is a recurring one throughout the institution’s annual reports. The report for 1920 opens on a similarly gloomy note. “If the year 1919 was an anxious one, the year 1920 has been equally so, and no less difficult. The Directors are particularly anxious as to the present financial position of the Institution. In spite of the greatest care the Accounts shew a big deficit on the year’s working”. The deficit for that year, based on an income of £14911.4s.10d and an expenditure of £15842.10s.1d. was £931.5s.3d. (Sixty-Sixth Annual Report, 1920, p6). Their financial situation was so serious at that point that the Directors anticipated a substantial increase in the rate of board for the following year. This did not happen however.

His Majesty's Commissioners of the General Board of Control reporting on their visit of 14 May, 1920 were in no doubt as to the problems faced at Baldovan, "...the educational arrangements are satisfactory ... the difficulties which the Institution has to encounter are purely those of limitation of resources" (Sixty-Sixth Annual Report, 1920, p.16). Yet by this time Baldovan had relinquished its charitable status and was maintained from public sources. Of the two hundred and sixty children in residence in that year only nine were of the private class while the remaining two hundred and fifty-one were rate aided, their fees being paid either by parish councils or by Education Authorities.

This was a trend that would continue until Baldovan became a hospital under the National Health Service. The Sixty-Seventh Annual Report, for example, showed a deficit on the year's working of £830.11s.10d. Of the two hundred and sixty-three children there at that time, three boys and five girls were privately maintained while the remaining two hundred and fifty-eight were rate aided. Of these one hundred and one were maintained by Education Authorities and one hundred and fifty-five by Parish Councils. These figures showed a further increase in the number of Education Authority cases, the figures for the years 1919-1921 being sixty-six, ninety-one and one hundred and one. Indeed a number of the parish council cases had originally been sent by Education Authorities and became chargeable to the Parish Council on reaching the age of sixteen. Although it is fair to say that Glasgow was making less use of Baldovan by this time it still sent some children there, maintained mainly by the Education Authority. In this particular year Glasgow had one child at the institution maintained by the Parish Council and three by the Education Authority (Sixty-Seventh Annual Report, 1921, pp.8, 9).

By 1921 The Directors of Baldovan, faced with an ever-worsening financial situation, had prepared and submitted a Draft Agreement for the formal handing over of their institution to a combination of District Boards thereafter responsible for its administration. This finally happened in 1925 when an incorporation was formed with representatives from Aberdeenshire, Forfarshire, Kincardineshire and Perthshire which became responsible for its management. It then went on to flourish as a colony closely affiliated with the Psychiatric Department of St. Andrews Medical School. Even after the ending of its charitable status, Baldovan continued to accept assistance from former subscribers and friends. Annual Reports include lists of possible non-monetary gifts for consideration. Included here are such things as simple story books, picture books, slippers, scribbling paper, pencils, cigar boxes for toy making and old flannel for scrubbing cloths. Apart from the absence of any requests for money the items are precisely the types that might well have been requested by an organisation relying on charity.

As was the case with Baldovan the founders of the Edinburgh Idiot Asylum, opened in 1855, were keen that it should be self-supporting though donations were gratefully received. When the Brodies felt that they needed to move to a larger institution an appeal to the public was launched. It was felt that a sum of around ten thousand pounds would be required to cover the cost of the site, the erection of the building and the services of the teachers, nurses, attendants and the ancillary staff. One thousand pounds had already been raised mainly from bequests, so that the appeal hoped to raise the remaining nine thousand. For this it asked the people of Scotland to make, "a strong pull, a long pull, and a pull all together" (The Imbecile and their Training, 1861, p.44). To the appeal was added the weighty medical testimony of

Professor Sir William Gairdner. He spoke of the objects of the work thus, "Only those who had been placed in the position of giving advice in such cases could truly present to the public the difficulties that attend on the education of imbecile children in their own homes ... the great difficulty began at the period of schooling, for it was utterly impossible, in many cases, even to think of training such children in an ordinary school and there were often no materials for the proper training of them at home where the parents had commonly neither the time nor the skill necessary for the purpose" (The First Fifty Years in Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints, Vol. XLII, pp. 1164-5). Dr. Brodie's mother-in-law opened a penny fund by donating the first penny. This can still be seen in the Royal National Institution, Larbert.

These efforts, particularly those of the Brodies, drew the attention of a growing number of public-spirited people who recognised the virtual lack of provision for such unfortunate children in Scotland. Public meetings were held in Edinburgh and Glasgow and influential committees formed to raise the funds for building this larger institution. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Committees were eventually combined and after three years of work in 1862 the new Committee of the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland presented its first report. At the first meeting held on February 3, 1862 in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh figures from the Lunacy Commissioners were quoted to the effect that of the two thousand two hundred and thirty-six lunatics then present in Scotland, three hundred were children under fifteen years of age. As mentioned earlier the Rev. Arnot went further claiming that there were, in fact, six hundred such children suitable for admission into an educational establishment of the kind proposed. Another speaker at the meeting, the Rev. Mr. Smith of North Leith held that, "imbecility in the case of pauper children ... if

uncured ... constituted an abundant fountain of pauperism and crimes, and sooner or later the community must put its hands into its pocket and pay for the expense of such imbecility at a rate of expense which, if timeously and judiciously expended in cherishing such an institution as it was now proposed by this society to establish, might not only tend to alleviate the burden of such individual cases of imbecility, but to check most entirely the increase of such cases in the land" (First Report, 1862, p.20). In short the building of new premises could be seen as an economic investment in the future. His argument here is identical to that of Dr. Coldstream, quoted above – invest in education for these children now and you save money later as they do not become such a drain on public resources.

The Second Annual Report of the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland was issued in 1863. This detailed areas from which funds had come.

Among these were voluntary institutions as well as individual citizens. This report also thanked the Ladies Auxiliary Association, Glasgow who divided the city into a number of districts and organised the door to door collecting of funds (Annual Report, Larbert, 1863, p.9). It is important to realise the enormous contribution these women made to the running of the institution. In their first year the Ladies Auxiliary Committee (i.e. of Edinburgh) raised £1350 (Annual Report, Larbert, 1862, p.6).

Though some of the fund raising for the Larbert Institution was sporadic and temporary, the effort that was to endure was that of the Ladies' Auxiliary. The appeal first made to the Ladies was for their help in raising funds for the start of the institution but the work remained throughout the subsequent years the mainstay of its charitable work. "It would be difficult - impossible indeed - to bear adequate testimony to the volume of that work and to the loyalty and devotion by which it has

been characterized ... The value of that help was not only in the raising of money. In the earlier years particularly, the ladies of the Auxiliary Association were largely instrumental in softening the prejudice that existed in the minds of many towards work of the kind then being promoted" (The First Fifty Years in Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints, Vol. XLII, p.1168). Among the many other expressions of sympathy in the object of the institution was one that was unique. In 1863 the Hon. Mrs. Mackenzie started a fund called "The Thankoffering of Parents for Intelligent Children" which gathered substantial sums from year to year.

While the parochial boards of cities such as Glasgow apparently contributed nothing, initially, towards the institution many Glasgow citizens are featured in the lists of subscribers mentioned in the Annual Reports. The First Report (1862) mentions donations from William Paul (£30), Miss Fraser (£7.18.4), A. Macdonald Jun. (£50), A McMillan Esq. (£10), Miss Jane McMillan (£2.7.0), Mr. Whyte (£1.8.0) and Alex McLaren (£10) - all residents of Glasgow. This generosity is featured in many of the reports. The Second Report (1863) for example features eighty-seven subscribers from Glasgow some of whom, such as Andrew MacEwan of St. Vincent Street, are listed as annual subscribers. Indeed the Board of Directors of the Institution, formed of gentlemen connected with both Edinburgh and Glasgow, had as Treasurer Mr. Michael Connal the enterprising and philanthropic Glaswegian merchant and Dr John Grieve another Glaswegian as Secretary. Donations appeared too in the form of legacies from Glaswegians. The Annual Report of 1880 details some: £500 from the late Alexander Turnbull Russell, £100 from Jane Gilbert Graham of West George Street, Glasgow and from Mr. Bell Esq., also of Glasgow, the sum of £200. Yet despite the generosity of Glaswegians there were those who

thought that more could have been done. Speaking at the annual meeting in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow on 3 February, 1863 the Rev. Dr. MacLeod did, "not think that Scotland, in general, and Glasgow, in particular, has that interest in this Society which it ought to have" although he hoped that the report, the adoption of which he had moved, "will cause a quickening in the hearts of our people generally" (Annual Report, Larbert, 1863, p.26). Certainly the people of Glasgow and its surrounding area had at least a moral responsibility for such an institution as the Rev. G. D. Cullen reminded them at the same meeting. "This is a Glasgow as much as it is an Edinburgh Institution ... why, of all places in the country, is the building we are erecting put down, not in Glasgow or its neighbourhood, nor in Edinburgh or its vicinity, but in Larbert? It is with the view of serving both cities" (Annual Report, Larbert, 1863, p.31).

As early as the Public Meeting of the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland held in Edinburgh in 1862, criticism was being levelled against parochial boards for their lack of action to improve the lot of children with intellectual disabilities. The Rev. Mr. Smith speaking at that meeting believed, "it was the duty of the parochial boards of the country to do something towards the cure of imbecility and towards the elevation of the imbecile children of the poor out of their low, degraded, burdensome condition, into a state in which they might be able to contribute at least so much to their own support. He did not think that the members of parochial boards were discharging the duty which we had the right to expect at their hands if they merely performed the ministerial office of receiving and doling out, through their inspectors, the sum that was necessary to support the cases of pauperism ... [they should be] ... checking the fountains of pauperism. He held that it

was unnecessary to prove that those imbecile children might be elevated and made so far useful and intelligent members of society. This might be held as an established fact ... [further, it should be pressed upon the attention of parochial boards that] ... the present was perhaps the most favourable opportunity that was likely to present itself to them in aiding in the erection of an institution which should receive children who were labouring under this calamity from different localities, and train them to be useful members of society” (Annual Report, Larbert, 1862, p.20). The view was expressed that if parochial boards were to contribute towards the cost of building this new institution then their children would be viewed favourably when applications for admission were made. It would seem however that the parochial boards did not avail themselves of this opportunity.

A suggestion in the First Report of the Committee of the Society for the Education of Imbecile Children in Scotland (1862) was to go even further, “the Parochial Boards themselves should subscribe the funds necessary to build accommodation for this purpose. It will also be for consideration whether or not power should be asked from the Legislature, by which the sending of Imbecile Children, depending upon public support, to such an institution might, under certain restrictions, be rendered compulsory upon those who have charge of them” (Annual Report, Larbert, 1862, p.8). It would appear then that in these early years of development the various parishes in the city of Glasgow lost an excellent opportunity for establishing educational provision for many of their children with intellectual disabilities in order to save money. In effect they were costing their parishioners even more money. These children, “who, by treatment in such an Institution, might have been made capable of maintaining themselves, have, for want of such means of instruction,

remained helpless burdens on their parishes throughout their lives". These words from the 1853 Report of the Board of Supervision refer to Baldovan but they could apply equally well to Glasgow and the Larbert Institution. Again like Baldovan, education at Larbert was geared very much towards the occupational. The importance of vocational training was clearly recognised, the aim being, "in the cases of the more advanced pupils, the providing of some suitable occupation, giving healthy employment, at once agreeable and profitable, to all their powers; especially keeping in view such occupations as may fit the pupils for future usefulness and intercourse with society" (The Education of the Imbecile, 1856, p. 18). Occupational Training featured large in the Institution with boys employed with the gardener, shoemaker, joiner, at sack-making, and shoe cleaning. Girls were employed around the house.

Though the institution at Larbert was constantly struggling for funds, at least until its takeover by the National Health Service in 1948, the value of the work it was doing with its children was recognised. This can be seen in the 1870 Annual Report where the Board of Lunacy inspectors quote from Dr. De Vitre, Chairman of the Royal Albert Asylum for Idiots and Imbeciles of the Northern Counties of England who had earlier visited at Larbert, "It is deeply to be deplored that such a valuable Institution should pine for want of funds in a country so noted for its benevolence, and it can only arise, it is apprehended, for want of information among the public generally, that the necessary funds are withheld" (Annual Report, Larbert, 1870, p.14). A point missed by the inspectors and Dr. De Vitre was that of the disgrace of such work having to rely on public donations when Scotland and its cities such as Glasgow were prepared to do so little. This very point had been highlighted in the

Report of the Resident Physician, Dr. David Brodie. In the Third Report, 1864 he had stated, "In view of the abundant proof now available of the capacity for discipline, and education to usefulness, presented by a very large proportion of imbecile youth it is much to be lamented that we should be so far behind almost every other Christian country in recognising our civil and social responsibilities towards that class" (Annual Report, Larbert, 1864, p.21).

As was the case with Baldovan, the financing of the Larbert institution gave constant cause for concern. In their Forty-Ninth Annual Report the directors outlined the precarious financial state of the institution. "The financial condition of the Institution is satisfactory when account is taken of losses caused by death, removals and by long continued commercial depression, causes which undoubtedly affect the Annual Subscriptions. The steady growth of the Endowment Fund, now yielding £804.13s.11. is satisfactory. This increase compensates in some measure for the falling off of Annual Subscriptions; but this only meets a depletion and increased and increasing claims require increased financial support" (Forty-Ninth Annual Report, 1910, p.13). Most of that financial support came from charitable sources and private pupils. Of the children in residence at 14 May, 1909 fifty-nine were supported by their friends, seventy-nine by the funds of the institution and seventy-five by parishes. The remainder were private cases (Forty-Ninth Annual Report). It is worth reflecting on how much more these institutions might have achieved, and how many more children would have received a training and become self-supporting to a degree, had more money been provided by both local and national governments. This lack of appropriate funding was also apparent when the first special classes for children with intellectual disabilities were started in Glasgow.

The Funding of the Early Special Classes

The exponents of education for children with intellectual disabilities were often ready to admit the relatively high costs involved. Usually however they were able to balance this against what they saw as the resulting economic benefit. G.E.

Shuttleworth arguing for the development of special classes in Britain based on the European model did just this. While admitting their costliness, since well-trained teachers must be well paid, he pointed out the long-term cost-effectiveness, "In the long run the result, taking into account the remunerative industry of restored pupils, would probably be on the side of economy" (Royal Commission, 1889, Appendix 37, p.371).

A similar view was taken by Catherine Aitken, the teacher of the first special class in Glasgow and for that matter Scotland. She also recognised the expense of special education, as has been shown in the details of her struggles to secure a grant for the first special classes in Glasgow. An article in the Glasgow Herald of 13 February, 1904 supported Miss Aitken's point regarding a grant. Like Miss Aitken before him the writer of the article commented on the need for a special grant for specialised education such as this, "Extraneous help in this work is more needed in Scotland than in England since the English Education Act makes suitable provision by Government Grants for the education of all kinds of feeble children ... [and it is to be hoped] ... this class of education will be catered for by the forthcoming Education Bill for Scotland. It is expecting too much to depend on private benevolence to any great extent for the provision of a scheme of such national importance as the education of the feeble". The "private benevolence" mentioned by the writer was to be very

important to the success of the earliest special classes in Glasgow. In the early years of the special classes the children would be brought to school in horse-drawn cabs provided by charitable societies. Lady volunteers dispensed the morning milk, assisted at the mid-day meals and helped during outings.

However despite the praises of HM Inspectorate the story of the early special classes in the Glasgow area is not one of unqualified success. Lack of appropriate funding meant that accommodation and overcrowding were constant problems though these affected schools generally and were not peculiar to the special classes. An entry in the log of Oatlands Public School for 29 June, 1900 shows how serious a problem overcrowding was. It tells of one hundred and twenty-four boys receiving instruction in sewing from a single teacher. In the Third Standard one hundred and sixteen pupils were similarly employed again under one teacher. Such problems existed for the special classes too. Indeed in the earliest H.M. Inspectors' report on the first of these classes in Oatlands in 1899 they stated that, "A good classroom should be provided for them, even if the attendance of the school should be so far restricted" (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 23.6.1899). The "classroom" at that time was a converted toilet in the school. Three years later they again commented on, "several instances of overcrowding" (Oatlands Public School Log Book, 29.8.1902).

When these classes were transferred to Hayfield School in December, 1905 things fared little better, "The arrangement by which two classes are taught in one room is very unsatisfactory especially in the case of defective children" (Hayfield School Log Book, 11.4.1911). Similar complaints were still being made in 1912 and 1913. Things were much the same for children in Finnieston. An entry in the log for

January, 1912 admits that, "Accommodation [is] a problem in the school". Indeed it was. At one point in 1912 two classes for such children had to be accommodated in Cranstonhill V.F. Church Hall though both were later moved to Finnieston Annex.

Special education probably more than any other area of education had to be seen to be cost effective. There was little point spending money in educating children with intellectual disabilities if on leaving school they could not find jobs and so became a burden on their community for the rest of their lives. As was the case with Baldovan and Larbert this kind of thinking was reflected in the curriculum offered to the children. One area of the curriculum which especially concerned H.M. Inspectors was that of manual work. They felt that it ought to be differentiated so as to enable these pupils to be useful in later life, "It is desirable that the older boys ...should have their energies employed in manual occupations of a suitable nature. To this end the Managers should consider the advisability of appointing a duly qualified male teacher to give instruction in tailoring, cobbling or other work of a similar kind" (Hayfield School Log Book, 14.1911). This was very much in keeping with recommendations in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children (1898) which had recommended that no less than six hours a week be given over to Manual Instruction. The reason for this emphasis had been clearly stated on page nineteen of the Report, "one of the direct objects of manual work is ... to prepare them to earn wages on leaving school at the age of sixteen" (Report of the Departmental Committee, 1898, Vol. I, p.19). Not only was their manual work sold during exhibitions of their work in the schools concerned but, more importantly, it was regarded as a preparation for a productive and useful adult life after school. This was seen as the whole purpose of their education.

Instruction in certain trades and crafts continued to be an important feature of the curriculum in special schools for many years and was especially strongly supported by Govan School Board. They believed that the best approach to the training of these children was through the senses and that manual work, the making of things, held the attention of such children in a way that abstract teaching did not. The training of such children, the Board believed, should be limited to the simplest scholastic subjects - reading, writing and arithmetic as far as they could be taught to them. Then should come the training in the manual workshop - training in bootmaking and mending, paper and cardboard box making, woodwork, leather work and so on. Additionally both boys and girls would be taught sewing and knitting as well as cooking and ordinary domestic housework.

The Board's advocacy of special trade classes was based firmly in economics. They believed that by training in some useful work or trade, "they may - in some cases at least - become self-supporting in some degree. It is not at all likely that they will become completely self-supporting without constant supervision of their work by some competent person; but there is no reason why they should not contribute something toward their own support ... Only by the establishment of such special classes for the older boys and girls will it be possible to obtain the greatest possible benefit from the money at present spent on the education of the mentally defective children" (Govan Parish School Board, Eighth Annual Report, 1915, pp. 32-33). Their education here is spoken of as if it were a balance sheet showing profit and loss. This is not to deny the importance of the balance sheet in education. A good deal of public money is spent on education and it should be spent as wisely as possible.

Towards the end of 1916 trade classes were instituted in two of Govan School Board's special schools - bootmaking in Summerton and tailoring in Middlefield Special School. The children concerned were taught the rudiments of these trades and seem to have progressed well, "when one takes into account the mental capacity of the children it surprises one to find that such excellent results can be obtained". (Govan Parish School Board, Tenth Annual Report, 1917, pp. 21-22). By 1930 older Glaswegian children were being given instruction in certain trades and crafts at eleven centres, five for boys and six for girls. Consequently the success of special schools and classes was often judged against the numbers of children who were able to provide for themselves on leaving them. The criterion of success therefore was an economic rather than an educational one.

However the efficacy of such classes was soon called into question given their heavy demands on local expenditure and the unemployment rate among their leavers. By the time of their 1920 Report on the Educational Requirements of Glasgow the School Board of Glasgow was expressing disillusionment at the small number of children in special classes who were eventually able to return to ordinary classes. While the children were taught self-control and obedience it was not possible to bring them to the intellectual level of normal children. The Board felt that without a system of after-care to look after these children from the age of sixteen the time and money spent on them was being wasted (School Board of Glasgow, Annual Report, 1909-10, p.21). Such public dissatisfaction with the entire system of caring for and educating these children was reflected in the appointment, in 1904, of a Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded.

The Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded

This was to be of major importance in the development of educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities in the Glasgow area. The influence of the economic factor can be seen in the terms of reference of the Commission. It was concerned to look at, "The numbers of mentally defective persons whose training is neglected, over whom no sufficient control is exercised, and whose wayward and irresponsible lives are productive of crime and misery ... and much continuous expenditure wasteful to the community" (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908).

Results from the English schools were not encouraging. An example was the South London School with three hundred and forty-three pupils. Of these fifty-eight had left, over age at the time of the Reporters' visit, fifty had returned to the ordinary school, seven were described as "uneducable", twenty-two were removed to institutions, seven had died, one hundred and two remained in the school and eighty-eight left the district under school age. Of those who left under age, sixteen were not earning at all, eight occasionally made small earnings and, "would never be self-supporting, and [probably] would soon be on the rates", twenty-six had fairly regular and unskilled work though might never become self-supporting and seven earned good wages but may have been dull and backward rather than feeble-minded in the first place (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VIII, Chpt. XV, pp.97-98).

Other special schools in London produced broadly similar results. These prompted Dr. Kerr, the Medical Officer (Education) of the London County Council to estimate that, "about one third [i.e., of children in special schools and classes in London] will be capable of materially contributing to their own livelihood after leaving, one third

will partially contribute; but require an after-care association of some kind to watch over them, whilst the remainder should not be allowed to mix with the rest of the community, but should receive some kind of custodial treatment". Indeed Dr. Kerr felt that the estimate of one third of successes according to the reports of the special classes in London was probably too optimistic. Other English cities were experiencing similar results. In Birmingham of fifty-one children looked at after leaving special school nineteen were wage earners while thirty-two were doing no work. Similarly in Liverpool where three hundred and twenty-two such children were studied about forty-seven per cent. would never earn their own living, twenty-eight per cent. would probably earn under control and twenty-two per cent. would become wage earners. Figures such as these suggested to some that, "the years of special and expensive education were probably entirely wasted" (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VIII, Chpt. XV, p.101). From the English experience there seemed to be abundant grounds for a change in the system of educating and caring for such children.

The Reporters to the Commission were able to experience the effects of changes such as these in their visits to institutions in America and parts of Europe. In American Institutions they found much to be admired. "The American Institutions are ... the result of the practical experience of men who have made it their life's work to study this particular problem, and these institutions appear to us, in their methods of treatment, administration, and finance, to be examples that, in many respects, may be imitated in our own country with great advantage" (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. II, pp.132, 136). Most of the American Institutions seem to have been started as schools for "feeble-minded" children in the belief that most could be

educated so as to take their place in the world alongside their normal brothers and sisters. This idea however had been modified by experience to the opinion that only a very small fraction of the "feeble-minded" could stand alone however excellent their education may have been. As a result institutions in America tended to limit their instruction to such manual work as the "feeble-minded" were found able to do and as would afford them occupation and happiness as inmates of permanent working homes. Thus here too economics had effected a narrowing of the curriculum. It was also felt that the provision of schools for these children had to be accompanied by permanent homes for adults. The schools otherwise became congested with adults who had grown up in them and whom the managers felt constrained to retain there for fear of the disasters which could have fallen upon them had they been turned out into the world. Expert opinion condemned as ineffective and wasteful an institution which lacked a custodial department, or colony, or other annex for adults (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. II, p.133).

In contrast with the situation in Glasgow, financial aid from the State appeared to be generous. For the clothing of each State pupil institutions were paid six pounds per year. Many children were wholly or partially maintained by the State. In Syracuse State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children, founded in 1851, the State paid for the support of one hundred and twenty children whose parents or guardians were unable to pay for them leaving only fifteen to pay the whole or part of the cost. The funds of the home were provided by the State in the form of annual grants paid by the legislature. Similarly New York City School for the Feeble-Minded and Custodial Asylum, on Randall's Island, was supported by the State of New York. In Pennsylvania, Elwyn School for Feeble-Minded Children had been started in the

1850s by contributions from private individuals with a State subvention to carry out the training of “idiot” children following the methods of Seguin. This received State grants for building purposes as it expanded and also received generous allowances for the maintenance of the inmates. Figures for 1904 show that of the one thousand and eight children therein seven hundred and ninety were wholly or partially supported by the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the City of Philadelphia. New Jersey’s Training School for Feeble-Minded Boys and Girls was so generously supported by the State that it allowed the Institution to amass savings which were then devoted to additional buildings and a farm (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. II, pp.17, 43, 80, 81, 83, 99).

As well as receiving grants from the State coffers, good management could generate funds. The expense of running the establishments was often defrayed by the selling of goods produced or manufactured by the inmates. In Elwyn School for Feeble-Minded Children, Pennsylvania the superintendent, Dr. Barr estimated that in the sewing room alone three hundred pounds worth of work was produced annually. The farm at the Syracuse State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children, New York returned three thousand six hundred pounds yearly. More importantly significant savings in running costs were made by employing inmates to do domestic and other work for which outside employees would otherwise have to be hired and paid. It was estimated that using inmates in such a way saved the New York City School for the Feeble-Minded and Custodial Asylum, Randall’s Island four thousand and eighty pounds each year (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 85, 17, 44, 16). American institutions then seem to have been on a firmer financial footing than their counterparts in this country.

Europe too provided good examples of sound economics.. In Denmark their treatment had traditionally been effected by private enterprise and charity. Funding for Institutions came from State grants, parishes and private supporters. Interestingly enough the earliest State aid came indirectly in 1857 in the form of a lottery. Originally the State paid half the expense of maintenance for the child. By 1901 there were only thirty-two such children in Danish institutions for whom the family paid the full amount of maintenance. (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. V, 23, p.296).

Sweden at this time had thirty-six institutions for its eight hundred and eighty-nine “idiot” children. Children capable of instruction went to schools. Those who had left school went to working houses while those incapable of instruction went to asylums. Financial support for these institutions came from societies, county councils and private charity. As well as this every “educable” child in the schools received a State grant of two hundred and fifty krone (approximately thirteen pounds, forty-five pence) and every pupil in the working homes one hundred krone (five pounds sixty pence). It had also been decided that from 1905 onwards a State grant would be given for “uneducable” children in the asylums. On leaving school the pupils were sent to working homes. For males these were usually in the country, specialising in agriculture, gardening and farming animals. For females the homes were generally to be found in towns where inmates practised weaving, knitting and sewing. An enlightened feature of the Swedish system was a college in Stockholm established in 1878 to provide teachers for these children. The course was supported by the State at an annual cost of twelve thousand krone (approximately six hundred and sixty-six pounds) (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. V, 23, p.304).

Not only is there a stark contrast between the money set aside for the education of children with intellectual disabilities in these areas of Europe compared with Scotland, but in the training of teachers too there were differences. The first college courses in Glasgow, and indeed Scotland, for the training of teachers for special education did not start until forty-four years after the establishment of the Stockholm college. Even then it was much more modest - initially lasting for only one term and catering for just nine teachers. Ten years later, in 1932, Circular 85 appeared entitled "Courses for Training of Teachers of Mentally Defective Children" (10 February, 1932). This detailed a reduction in the length of the qualifying course from six to three months. The intention here was to reduce the cost of the special training and make it possible to provide a large supply of teachers qualified to deal with children who were intellectually disabled. In theory a large supply of qualified teachers would have resulted in an extension of provision for such children. Yet almost one hundred years after the opening of the Swedish college many teachers in special education in Scotland did not have the qualification required by the code (H.M.Report, Special Educational Treatment in Scotland, 1960). Though, by then, facilities for training under Article 51 of the regulations existed in both Jordanhill and Moray House Colleges of Education, the numbers attracted to these courses were small. In the late 1950s and early 60s the Jordanhill course was attracting between eighteen and twenty-six teachers per year and Moray House between five and eight. Such a poor turn out might have been the result of a lack of interest among teachers. However, as suggested earlier, Her Majesty's Inspectors suspected an underlying economic reason believing that Authorities may have been unwilling to second teachers, on full salary, from normal schools to one of these courses.

Allegations were numerous that the parish councils were often unwilling, because of the expense involved, to provide for children with intellectual disabilities in their area. In his evidence Dr John Macpherson, a Commissioner in Lunacy, claimed to have been informed by several medical men that parish councils bargained about “imbeciles” before acting on certificates or obtaining certificates for them (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, 21350-21355).

Dr. Clarkson, the Medical Officer at Larbert, was able to provide further evidence of the inactivity of parish councils. He talked in his evidence of, “ten children of school age. Two of these are in well-to-do families, being quite satisfactorily taught at home; one is in the institution at Larbert; two go to a board school where they are allowed to sit with the crowd they know best and do nothing; while the remaining five are allowed to stay at home and do as they please. The school board ignores them, and as long as their parents can support them, the parish council will have nothing to do with them. Two of them at least would be greatly benefited by education in a special institution. The school boards in the rest of the country” - i.e., outside Glasgow and Govan where the education of children in special classes was already being undertaken by the Boards - “ignore such children, and the attendance officers wink at their absence from school as soon as it has been shown that they are incapable of benefiting from the instruction given there. They might be allowed to attend to keep them out of their parents’ way ... but they are generally allowed to stay away on such occasions as the visit of an inspector. As the parish councils also ignore the existence of such cases, unless they are very mischievous or troublesome, or so burdensome to the parents that they become chargeable to the rates, their detection and treatment is left to their parents, and these, as a rule, are poorly fitted

for the task” (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, p.70, c.2). This neglect was, quite simply, to save on the money which would otherwise have to be spent on these children.

More was to come however. Dr. Bruce, a member of the General Medical Council for Scotland, was urged in examination to state that the parish people knew every “imbecile” child in the place. He insisted that neither they nor the medical men in the district knew the cases, “I could mention” he said, “a particular case told me by an Inspector of Poor, lately, where a child was treated with the utmost cruelty and they only discovered that when the poverty became so severe that the Inspector of Poor was called in”. It was then put to him that it was the duty of an Inspector of Poor when he got word that there was a person of unsound mind in the parish requiring relief to send a medical man and get a certificate and follow certain procedure. Here again Dr. Bruce insisted that such a practice was not carried out either in the case of “imbecile” children or “imbecile” adults. The inspector was, “quite content to be in the position of not knowing that a particular pauper was imbecile” (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. III, 24130, 24131, 24133). This type of neglect was not unique to Scotland. Jonathan Andrews (1996, pp.81, 86) suggests that in England idiocy was conceived of as less immediate a problem than lunacy, requiring parochial and other authorities to assume lesser responsibilities. For “idiots” the cost of institutional care could be prohibitive - they might easily and considerably more cheaply be kept at home. That parishes and individuals were prepared to spend time and money going to court to argue a case, and thus avoid the burden entailed by the support of an “idiot”, is a sign of how expensive such a burden might be and how seriously and reluctantly it might be regarded.

The importance of the economic factor can be seen again in the fact that it is the first thing to be mentioned in the extensive recommendations for Scotland made by the Commissioners. Even before the recommendations proper there is inserted a short three paragraph preamble, the opening paragraph of which is devoted to the refusal to pay any more than was strictly necessary for the “mentally defective”- “It is not intended that the maintenance at public expense of the mentally defective ... should be extended to those who either at their own cost or at that of their relatives or friends can be otherwise suitably and sufficiently provided for” (Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, Vol. VIII, Chpt. XLV(1), p.401). This despite the fact that witnesses had publicly declared that children returning even to their well-to-do families after a period in an institution such as Larbert or Baldovan were apt to be totally uncared for and neglected.

In Recommendation V the Commissioners were keen that, “economy in construction and management of institutions should be a question considered and reported upon by the Board from year to year”. This was a perfectly reasonable recommendation. Economy is, indeed, important but not to the extent of sacrificing quality or even neglecting to make any provision. However the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded was not the only important event in the early 1900s as regards the provision of education for children with intellectual disabilities. In 1905 a residential school for children with intellectual disabilities was opened on the outskirts of Glasgow.

Waverley Park and St. Charles'

As has been mentioned above the early 1900s were very important for Glasgow. Not only did 1904 bring the appointment of a Royal Commission, but a year later brought the opening of Waverley Park, a home and school for educable girls with intellectual disabilities. Once again the problems of financing educational provision for such children can be seen in the development of Waverley Park. In order to purchase the Home and grounds an appeal was made for subscriptions. This returned the sum of £2369.4s. 1d. of which £2142 1s. 3d. was expended on the price and legal expenses involved in the purchase. A further £226 16s. 2d. was spent on converting and equipping the former laundry as a schoolroom and some of the offices as a wash-house, laundry and drying room. The Scotch Education Department made a grant and the School Boards of Glasgow and Govan provided slight additions to this, furnishing a sum of £137 5s. 7d. for the year to 31 May, 1908. However this only just sufficed to pay the teacher Mrs. Bruce's salary. Additional income was raised by the Directors' policy of requiring a weekly payment towards the maintenance of the children. This payment ranged from 1/6d. to 7/6d. according to the circumstances of each case. This would be met by the parents or the parish councils concerned. In 1908 parents' contributions amounted to £59. 3s. 6d., those of the Parish Council of Glasgow £85. 18s. 2d. and those of Govan Parish Council £147. 15s. 0d. While the sale of inmates' work realised £5. 17s. 6d. the biggest single source of income was still that provided by donations and subscriptions - a sum amounting to £188. 10s. 0d. These donations and subscriptions ranging in value from 2/6d to £20. 0s. 0d. came mainly from the city, with Glaswegians accounting for eighty-eight of the one hundred and fourteen listed donors and subscribers in the Annual Report of 1908.

Donors from outside of Glasgow were spread over Central Scotland: Torrance, Kirkintilloch, Mauchline and Edinburgh. Some came from London and one even from Saskatchewan, Canada. Again for the separate fund for donations for the purchase of Waverley Park, Glaswegians and Glasgow companies such as J.S. Templeton which donated £500. 0s. 0d. proved to be most generous. There were also non-monetary donations of things such as clothing and games (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Report for 1908).

This continued reliance on voluntary contributions and on general financial support from the public was a feature of life at Waverely Park as witnessed in the annual reports. Whenever the Home needed to be extended as it did on several occasions this was usually funded by an appeal to the subscribers and to the general public. The extensions of 1912 to provide accommodation for forty more girls as well as a modern lodge for the gardener provide one example. Of the £2318 required, the greater share, £1941, was raised by an appeal to the subscribers. The sum required to complete payment for the construction and to equip the buildings, £650, was raised by an appeal to the public (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Report for 1912). Despite the increasing grants both national and local paid to the Directors of the Home year after year to meet the increased cost of living, the prospect of financial ruin was never far away. On 1 April, 1917 the Home Office granted an extra 1/- per week from the "Variable Grant" on the condition that the local authorities made a corresponding increase. Accordingly the School Boards of Glasgow and Edinburgh raised their weekly grants to 4/6d. and 5/6d. respectively. The Scotch Education Department as part of their national policy of raising the status of teachers made an addition of £25 to the salary

of the Association's head teacher. In spite of these welcome improvements the increased cost of food and other items ate heavily into the increased grants and the accounts closed with a deficit of £69. 0s. 5d. for the year 1917 (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Report for 1917). It seems a pity that an institution such as Waverley Park which was working so successfully with these children should have been denied the necessary State assistance which would have allowed it to concentrate entirely on the welfare of the girls in its care instead of continually struggling for survival.

One of the factors which compounded the financial problems of Waverley Park was its concern for its inmates. The Home was originally intended for "defective" and "feeble-minded" girls of school age. In 1909 it was certified as an Industrial School for Mentally Defective Girls - the first in Scotland to receive this certificate.

However in view of the Association's belief that the after-care of these girls was no less necessary than elementary education and also taking into account the dearth of accommodation in other institutions, the Directors tended to retain after the age of sixteen girls who were unfit to be returned to their own homes. This policy, though benevolent, was to prove costly for with the passing of the Children's Act in 1908 and the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act of 1913 only committed or certified girls qualified for grants. This meant that for the older girls admitted to the Home before they could be brought under either Act no government grants were available. Except for small contributions from parents and guardians the Directors were compelled to look to their subscribers and to the charitable public for the support of these girls. Not only did this put a strain on finances but it necessarily limited the number of new girls who could be received into the institution. The

Sixteenth Annual Report the last available in the Parish of Glasgow Collection of Prints puts the number of girls in the Home on 31 December, 1921 at eighty-nine. Seventy-seven of these were certified under the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. Twelve however were those "old girls" for whom the Directors were, "compelled to look to their subscribers and to the charitable public" (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Sixteenth Annual Report). It is a great pity that State guidelines were so inflexible that they could not be applied retrospectively to ease the plight of children such as these who had the misfortune to be "mentally defective" before the State decided, albeit belatedly, to do something about it. The extra cost of grants for these twelve girls would surely not have amounted to very much.

As mentioned above the Directors decided to abandon the certificate for Waverley Park as a Certified Industrial School as, since the passing of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act 1913, children were no longer being committed under the provisions of the Children's Act. The five remaining girls who were then in the Institution under the Children's Act were transferred to the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. From then on the Institution would be entitled to receive only committed cases under the latter Act. For the support of the twelve uncertified girls in the Institution who still did not qualify for State grants the Directors, as before, simply had to continue to rely on the goodwill of the Scottish public. The exhibitions of work at Waverley Park when pupils' work would be sold provided a welcome addition to the Home's finances. Though never very large, sales of work provided a significant amount of revenue when compared with the other sources of income. Details from the Abstract of Treasurer's Intromissions for the

year ending 31 December, 1921 show that the amount raised from the sale of pupils' work (£46. 16s. 2d.) when taken with the amount from sales of inmates' work (£14. 0s. 0d.) gave a total income (£60. 16s. 2d.) in excess of the grant from the Scottish Education Department (£53. 8s. 7d.) and the financial contributions from the various contributing Education Authorities (Glasgow - £45. 19s. 1d., Edinburgh - £10. 19s. 9d., Dunbarton - £0. 18s. 4d.) (Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, Sixteenth Annual Report, Vol. XLVI, p.5).

Eleven years after the opening of Waverley Park a second residential school was to open for those Glasgow children with intellectual disabilities. Glasgow's other residential school, St. Charles', faced a similar struggle for funds. Funding for this Institution came from two main sources - Public Boards which provided most of the income - e.g., £2998. 19s. 11d. in 1921 and £3552. 4s. 5d. in 1922 and from donations which brought in a smaller sum - £261. 19s. 2d. in 1921 and £101. 17s. 0d. in 1922. There were donations too from individuals, from the S.V.P. Central Council and the C.Y.M.S. Regulars donors were the Glasgow Archdiocese, The Glasgow Charity Cup Committee, Celtic Football Club and the Glasgow Junior Football Association (Annual Report of St Charles' Certified Institution, 1920-21). One of the basic weaknesses of schools such as Waverley Park and St. Charles' was that they, officially, catered for children only for a limited number of years. When children remained after reaching leaving age this could cause the school serious problems as has been shown above in the case of Waverley Park. Partly because of such difficulties the early years of the twentieth century saw the beginnings of a push for the permanent care of those with intellectual disabilities.

Permanent Care as an Economical Measure

The movement for permanent care of those with intellectual disabilities was based largely on economic considerations. Those in favour of this felt that education and the money spent on it would be wasted if these children were simply abandoned on reaching school-leaving age. The feeling was one of futility that, "a great part of our labour will be thrown away when our children are cast upon the world" (Mental Deficiency and Racial Decay, p.169). The remedy for this was thought by some to be permanent care of such children.

One of the most enthusiastic advocates of permanent care was Mary Dendy founder of the Sandlebridge Colony, Manchester. Speaking of the situation in Scotland and of Baldovan and Larbert in particular she explained how, "The law to-day gives you every possible opportunity of caring for these children and you do not do anything in Scotland that is worth doing. It is heart-breaking. You choose your best medical men and you put them in charge of excellent institutions. You spend a great deal of time, money and care on training children. What for? To turn them out into the world at the age of eighteen while you get ready to train the next generation. You are wasting money hand over hand". The appeal for permanent care was couched very largely in economic terms, "... we are pretty nearly self-contained" Mary Dendy remarked of Sandlebridge, "I am talking now from what seems to be a very low point of view, the question of saving to the community. People often say to me - 'It is so expensive to take charge of so many children'. There are ten thousand defectives in Lancashire alone. How are we caring for them? Do you think they are caring for themselves? We are just keeping them in the most expensive way we possibly can" (Mental

Deficiency and Racial Decay, pp. 163-4). She felt then, with some justification, that the intellectually disabled could be better and more economically cared for in a colony where they could grow their own crops and use their own labour. Confined here, they would not be constantly appearing in courts and being sent to prison - all at great cost. In this and other ways they would be less of a drain on the public purse.

This theme was taken up by Dr. W.B. Drummond at that time in charge of Baldovan Institution. He suggested that, "every training school ... such as Baldovan Institution and Larbert Institution should have in connection with it an industrial farm colony to which the older children could be sent after training ... We have not this either at Baldovan or at Larbert. As things are at present we have in our schools at Baldovan many children, both boys and girls, whom we are trying to train and whom we succeed in training to habits of order and obedience and industry - children whom we wish to train and could train to lead happy useful lives in an Industrial Colony ... Yet day by day we find ourselves without any proper objective for our work, without the incentive which the existence of an Industrial Colony could give us". He went on to point out that without such care, many children on leaving institutions such as Baldovan or Larbert, "would probably find [themselves] cared for in a prison or a lunatic asylum" (Mental Deficiency and Racial Decay, pp.168-70). Confinement in either of these institutions would have been a double blow financially for not only would they have to be accommodated at the public's expense but the money spent on their previous education would have been wasted. Pressure for such a colony would continue to grow throughout the following years. In February, 1928 an appeal was made by Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert, Principal of Glasgow University. This was on behalf of the colony scheme proposed by the Directors of the Royal Scottish

National Institution for the Mentally Defective, Larbert and was broadcast from the B.B.C. in Glasgow. Sir Donald told how five hundred children from all parts of Scotland would be discharged on reaching the ages of sixteen to twenty and how Scotland lagged behind England and other countries in this respect. He felt the whole country should be concerned in this work for, as well as guaranteeing the safety and well-being of the "defectives", the safety and well-being of the next generation would be safeguarded. It was seen therefore as, "a measure for the protection of the Scottish race in the future" (The Glasgow Herald, 27.2.1928, p.12).

In an article headed "Social Insurance" later that year the Glasgow Herald based its support for the proposed colony not only on compassion but on social prudence. In its leader article it quoted John Buchan, "... the adult feeble-minded for whom no provision has been made are a deadly menace to society. They are the innocent raw material out of which criminals are made". This was an unfair statement and typical of the type of scaremongering which was going on at that time. It is unfair because, by implying that all of the "feeble-minded" were criminals, it was misleading. Criminals of course had to be kept in prisons which were financed out of the public purse. Based on that kind of thinking the Glasgow Herald believed that the appeal for £35,000 was a small price to pay in the light of what it might do for the integrity of the race. (The Glasgow Herald, 25.10.1928, p.8). Yet accommodation continued to be a problem for many years. Special school buildings in Glasgow were largely unsatisfactory and there simply were not enough places in existing institutions for those unsuited to special schools.

Accommodation Problems

Though by the mid 1950s there existed a fairly wide provision of schools in Greater Glasgow for the education of children with intellectual disabilities, finance again was a limiting factor. This could be clearly seen in the premises used for special schools which were far from satisfactory. Only three of these schools - Percy Street, Hollybrook and Summerton - had been built specifically for these children. Furthermore Hollybrook was a temporary wooden structure and could hardly be deemed suitable. The other premises used to accommodate such children had originally been intended for other purposes, such as primary schools, industrial schools and private houses. By now they were old and outmoded buildings unfit to meet their educational purposes (Corporation of Glasgow, Report by Director, 29.9.1955, p.3). To make matters worse, for many years there had been a shortage of institutions of any kind around Glasgow in which to accommodate, let alone educate, children with intellectual disabilities so severe that they were unsuited to the education offered in the special schools.

This problem should have been much reduced under the terms of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. Again economics proved to be a stumbling block. The ultimate responsibility for the delay in carrying out the provisions of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 lay with the Treasury. That department had to find a grant of 50% of the capital cost of certified institutions. However before anything tangible could be done to take advantage of the provision of the 1913 Act the War started and all operations were suspended. During the war period and the financial difficulties of subsequent years the

department would not contemplate such expenditure. At the conclusion of the War there was an embargo on new buildings and discouragement on the part of the central authority to local authorities to incur capital expenditure. This ban would not be lifted until 1921 though it was not until the late 1920s that local boards could approach the government with any hope of having schemes for certified institutions sympathetically considered. After the lifting of the ban Glasgow Parish Council set about considering what could be done to make up the leeway. Its response was to spend £25000 purchasing the Estate and Mansion House at Lennox Castle. It then spent a further £1250000 building an institution to accommodate twelve hundred patients. Govan District Board of Control attempted to make up this leeway by purchasing Caldwell House for £7500. Yet while substantial sums were forthcoming for the building and improvement of these institutions, provision for those children with the most severe intellectual disabilities was still financed largely on a charitable basis.

The Day Care Centres

The origin of these Day Care Centres which cared for Glasgow children with the most severe intellectual disabilities has been detailed earlier in this thesis. Mention has already been made of the fact that these Centres were started by parents of children with intellectual disabilities acting on a voluntary basis. Some credit is due to the various Glasgow Authorities for their assistance. The Corporation Health and Welfare Department provided transport for the children to and from the Centres while the Education Authority provided school meals which were delivered rather than cooked on the premises. The cost of these meals was subsidised by the Health

and Welfare Department. It also has to be acknowledged that when the Centre moved from Broomhill to Carlton Place, their new premises at Laurieston House were donated by the Parks Department. Some renovation work was required to turn an upstairs room into a playroom, create a nursery downstairs and build a laundry in the basement. The cost of this work was met by the Corporation's Health and Welfare Department. Without help of this kind the funds of the Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children (later renamed the Scottish Society for Mentally Handicapped Children) would have been stretched to the point where it is doubtful whether developments of the kind described above could have taken place. Having acknowledged this it should be borne in mind that Section 51(1)(A) of the National Health (Scotland) Act, 1947 placed a duty on the Local Authority to provide suitable training and occupation for "ineducable" and "untrainable" children. It has to be said however that throughout Scotland many Local Authorities were unable or unwilling to provide those facilities which it was their statutory duty to provide. Even the equipment used by the "Ladies of Laurieston House" was provided, not by the local authority, but by the ladies themselves. Initially this meant that equipment was scarce and conditions spartan. The sum total of the equipment in their first premises in Broomhill consisted of a few basins and a bottle of Dettol (personal interview with Bette Archibald, April, 1996).

In these early days limited funds meant that everything had to be done manually. Whenever children soiled themselves, and approximately 85 per cent of children there were doubly incontinent, their clothes had to be washed by hand. Toys and other pieces of educational equipment were bought from donations made by parents and friends. Above all it should be remembered that the demanding work that these

women did was undertaken voluntarily. Had they looked for payment it is unlikely that the Centre could have gone on. Also undertaken voluntarily was the restoration of Craigrownie Castle, Cove. Members of the Society completed this work in two years. The restored castle was renamed The Stewart Home in honour of the family who had donated it. It was to become the country's first short stay home for children with intellectual disabilities and their families. Such a project would never have been possible but for the generosity of the Stewart family. The Society was funded in a number of ways. There were fund raising efforts such as the Bawbee Label Scheme, sales of Christmas cards, appeals made to Local Authorities, Scottish Trades Unions, churches, and large firms and donations from trusts such as the McCallum Bequest. In 1957 this bequest donated £150.0.0. The public, generally, were generous including organisations such as Celtic Supporters Association which with a donation of £205.0.0 gave the largest donation for this category in that particular year (Scottish Association of Parents of Handicapped Children, Annual Report, 1957, pp.18-19). It was not until the early 1960s that the Day Centre at Laurieston House would be taken over by Glasgow Corporation's Health and Welfare Department. Up until then it depended greatly on the generosity of the public.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the funding of special education in Greater Glasgow from 1862 – 1962 was never satisfactory. Despite the optimism which existed for part of the nineteenth century, regarding the improvement of children with intellectual disabilities through education, the earliest institutions at Baldovan and Larbert had to rely initially on charitable funding. Indeed neither would relinquish their charitable

status until well into the twentieth century. For all the examples of well financed institutions abroad, detailed in the examples taken from the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, these institutions at home continually struggled for funds. Yet there were those, such as Dr. John Coldstream and the Reverend Smith, who argued that an investment in the education or training of these children would ultimately mean a saving to the public purse as these children would be, to some extent, self-supporting on leaving. This kind of argument seemed to make sound economic sense. However the earliest institutions for the training of children with intellectual disabilities, mentioned above, were continually dogged by financial worries.

Similarly, when the first special classes for “mentally defective” children were opened by Glasgow School Board at the close of the nineteenth century no special funding was available for them. Indeed the earliest class, at Oatlands School, was held in a toilet in the school. Repeated pleas to the government by those involved in teaching these classes were in vain and it would be several years before this extra funding was secured. As has been shown in this chapter, inadequate funding meant unsuitable accommodation and, often teachers without the necessary specialist qualification. All of this despite the improvement that many felt could be brought about in such children by a suitable education or training – an improvement which some believed could be measured in economic savings to the community. Waverley Park and St. Charles’, residential institutions used by Glasgow but not under the control of the Education Authority, also struggled continually for funds. This was a pity in view of the regular praise that the former received for the good work it was doing. When the first Day Care Centre, for the most severely intellectually disabled

children, was opened in Glasgow in 1955, the work was done by volunteers working for nothing. Had they not been prepared to do so, it is unlikely that the Centre would have opened. They also provided the equipment that was needed. Donations from friends and the families of the children kept the Centre running, as well as a number of other fund-raising ventures. Glasgow's contribution amounted to transporting children to and from the Centre, providing school meals and also the house in Carlton Place that the Centre used. Even when parliamentary efforts were made to improve the situation for the intellectually disabled these often failed because of the cost involved, as is shown in the chapter. For some, the solution to the problem lay in the setting up of colonies for the intellectually disabled where they would be kept for life, produce their own food and clothes and be very nearly self-sufficient. The idea here, put forward strongly by Mary Dendy, was that these colonies while providing accommodation and occupation for the intellectually disabled would also be economically beneficial to society as a whole. As discussed earlier in the thesis there are arguments both for and against the idea of colonies.

More could have been done and should have been done. No matter how difficult it may be to achieve, every attempt should be made to set education above the merely economic debate. Shuttleworth appreciated this when he stated that we as a Christian nation must, "gather up the fragments that nothing be lost" (Royal Commission, 1889, Appendix 37, p.371). However even if we stick to the economic argument, a glance at the periphery shows that more could have been done in the case of these children. Deaf and blind children in Greater Glasgow had earlier access to education than their intellectually disabled counterparts. They also had better resources and suitably qualified teachers. And yet there may be an underlying irony in the history

of educational provision for the children at the heart of this thesis. It could be that the very success of the philanthropists and volunteers, whose efforts on behalf of these children have been highlighted in earlier chapters, mitigated against them, for if there are groups of such people prepared to give of their time, money and effort to help improve a certain situation then it may well be that the government is quite prepared to let them do so thus avoiding its own responsibilities.

Epilogue

This inquiry has been concerned with the origins and evolution of education for children with intellectual disabilities in Greater Glasgow from 1862 to 1962. This evolutionary process has been a gradual one. Indeed it was not until May, 1975 that the final piece of the jigsaw fell into place. On that date the 1974 Education (Scotland) Act came into force bringing children previously thought to be “ineducable” and “untrainable” into the education system. This process has involved great changes in the way society sees children with intellectual disabilities, from viewing them as “sub-human” to an eventual realisation of their possible improvement through education. Such views have been accompanied by swings of mood in society between pessimism and optimism. Though the provision of this education has been slow in coming, there have been surges of idealism, from the inspired work of Dr. Johann Guggenbuhl in Switzerland and the founding of the earliest institutions in Scotland in the mid nineteenth century, to the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 which, in theory, meant that the duty of an Education Authority to provide special education for such children became part of its general duty to provide education for all children according to age, ability and aptitude. Achievements such as these saw society, generally, become more optimistic about the worth of education for children with intellectual disabilities.

There have, however, been blacker moments in this evolutionary process, when pessimistic views replaced the earlier optimism. The “failure” of the early special classes and schools in not returning greater numbers of their pupils to normal schools and a normal life led to these children being seen as a part of a wider social evil.

“Mental deficiency” became linked indiscriminately with all kinds of social problems fuelling the eugenicists’ fire. The development of IQ tests in 1908, while enabling ascertainment of children to be carried out more scientifically and accurately, led to the assumption that the IQ was a measure of fixed potential which determined each individual’s educability. This was another difficult time. Since “mentally deficient” children had low IQs this seemed to mean that they had little potential and so were hardly “educable”. Little wonder then that some writers observed how, “A general belief that the problems of the handicapped could at least be ameliorated by human effort has been slow to develop” (Owens and Birchenall, 1979, p. 57). Section One of the study shows just how slow this was by detailing what was on offer to these children in place of education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Yet this study has set out to show that there were some who took an optimistic view of the problem and who believed that the lot of these children could be ameliorated by human effort. One of the aims of this study was to show how this effort came largely from individuals who championed the cause of children with intellectual disabilities. These individuals were not always necessarily Scots. The reference to the American reformer, Dorothea Lynde Dix, and her almost single-handed initiating of the Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums (1857) is a case in point. The consequence of this Commission and therefore of Miss Dix’s work was the important Lunacy (Scotland) Act of 1862, considered by some to be the benchmark, in Scotland, for the study of educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities. Also of crucial importance to such provision for Glasgow children was the work of Dr. Guggenbuhl in the Abendberg, Switzerland. Guggenbuhl’s

remarkable results with children from the Swiss valleys intensified the optimism of those who believed that education was the key to improving the lot of the intellectually disabled child. Influenced by the Swiss doctor's success with cretins Dr. John Coldstream argued for a similar institution in Scotland. Coldstream would later be largely responsible for the setting up of such an institution in Larbert. Somewhat earlier Baldovan Asylum, near Dundee, opened for "imbecile" and "idiot" children. This was the first of its kind in Scotland and the declared aim of its Directors was to follow the methods of the Swiss physician. Section Two of the study shows how Glasgow children were among the numbers in both of these institutions. Because of the importance of these two early institutions a good deal of time was spent in this thesis detailing their origins and what they provided for the children in their care. Credit was also given to the philanthropists who did so much for these institutions: Sir John and Lady Ogilvy who founded Baldovan in their own grounds and Dr. David Brodie and his wife who ran the institution at Larbert for its first ten years. Dr. Brodie is just one example of the Scottish physicians determined to see educational provision for intellectually disabled children in Scotland. Others mentioned are Dr. Poole, Dr. John Coldstream and Dr. W.A.F. Browne.

It would have been wrong, however, to give the impression that only foreigners or Scots of the medical profession were influential in this struggle. To avoid creating such an impression, mention was made of the importance of the teachers in the early special classes and schools in Greater Glasgow. Had their work not proved successful then the experiment of providing education for these children might well have ended there. Though two are written of in some detail - Catherine Aitken for her work with the special class in Oatlands School, the first in Scotland, and Mary

Russell for her pioneering work in Sandyford School, Paisley and the After-Care service - this study shows that all of the teachers in these early years were pioneers dedicated to the cause of educating intellectually disabled children. Yet it would be just as wrong to suggest that these individual champions had to be teachers. It is here that the women of the Ladies Auxiliary Movement come in. This study has tried to show that these were ordinary women giving up their time, without any financial recompense, to engage in various activities connected with the well-being, education and training of these children. Often this took the form of fund-raising or helping out at school meal times or on school outings. More importantly their optimism helped overcome the initial prejudice felt by some members of the public towards such children. Though their names may long have been forgotten, the value of their contribution to the lives of these children has not. Parents, too, were often involved in championing the cause of their children and this study has highlighted the work of one such group - the Parents of Mentally Handicapped Children in Scotland. As a group they set up their own Day Centres for children considered to be "ineducable" and "untrainable". This is perhaps the best example given of individuals seizing the initiative and creating provision where none had existed before. Assisted again by able lady volunteers, the Day Centres of the association succeeded to the point where they were taken over by Glasgow Corporation.

One thing that this section of the study did not do was to investigate the motives of these philanthropists. Tomlinson (A Sociology of Special Education, 1982) among others has made much of the vested interests of individuals involved in the development of special education, "what is taken as 'individual and charitable enterprise' is also related to values and interests in society; it is seldom the product of

pure altruism and disinterested humanitarianism” (Tomlinson, 1982, p.28). She sees wider social and economic interests being involved. In these ideas she is probably correct and an investigation of the motivation of the early champions would form a fascinating research project. For the purpose of this study, however, it is the influence of such individuals and the end product of their efforts that matters rather than their motivation. What they did, rather than why they did it, was the focus of the second section.

Tomlinson also makes the valid point that, “the treatment of those who are socially defined as defective or handicapped is certainly dependent on the values and interests of dominant groups in particular societies” (Tomlinson, 1982, p.28). In Scotland the value placed on productive work and self-sufficiency has tended to feature large in the treatment of the intellectually disabled. The education of these children was expensive and to some it seemed that the money spent on it would be wasted if, on leaving school, they were unemployable and a drain on public resources. It is this question of the financing of special education in Greater Glasgow from 1862 to 1962 that makes up the third section in the study. The study shows how the earliest institutions aimed to be self-supporting although charitable donations were sought and gratefully received. Public funding would eventually come as more and more children were placed there by parish authorities. This was especially so after the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 made this a duty of parish councils. Section Three of the study also shows how Glasgow’s earliest special classes received no extra financial grant (as was the case in England) despite constant requests. Eventually Article 20(II) of the Code would provide this.

Nevertheless until the close of the period covered by this study, special education in Greater Glasgow for children with intellectual disabilities continued to be poorly resourced. Evidence of overcrowding, poor accommodation in unsuitable buildings and many teachers without the specialist qualification to teach these children is produced in this section of the study and the suggestion made that Glasgow was perhaps not totally committed to the provision of education for such children.

Another example offered was the reluctance shown by Glasgow to employ trained teachers in its Occupational Centres even though by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 these had been defined as special schools. It is difficult to find any reason, other than cost, for such a situation. Some help was given by Glasgow Corporation, in the form of a home in Carlton Place, to those pioneers working with "ineducable" and "untrainable" children. Help was also given with transport. However the Centre was still staffed by volunteers for years after its opening and its equipment acquired through donations. Glasgow would not take over its running until 1963. To be fair to Glasgow, vast amounts of public money were poured into the purchase and extension of Lennox Castle and for this Glasgow is to be applauded. Yet, even here, this study has shown that requests for teachers in this institution were usually denied.

Because of the nature of this study much of the material used is original. Much of what is written on the Baldovan and Larbert Institutions was gleaned from Annual Reports of these institutions kept in Dundee University archives and in the Royal Scottish National Institution at Larbert. Manuscripts in the form of original letters from Catherine Aitken and her brother, Patrick to government officials were the result of searches in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Other original letters were used in the case of parents writing to the Board of Control and to the hospital

itself on the subject of their children being kept in Stoneyetts. This material was the end product of a search through the documents housed in Greater Glasgow Health Board's archives in Ruchill Hospital (from 17 November, 1997 these archives will be housed in the Glasgow Room of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow). Rare items consulted included the original handwritten copy of the minutes of the first meeting of the Directors of the Town's Hospital, Glasgow in 1742- an item stored in the strongroom in the Mitchell Library. Another such document is L.G. Geneva's An Account of the Abendberg, a slim volume describing Dr. Guggenbuhl's Swiss institution at Interlaken and kept in the rare books section of the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. Log books of schools, mostly now closed, were consulted in Strathclyde Regional Archives, mainly for the reports by HM Inspectors which were usually copied into them by the Head Teacher. Originals of these reports are kept by the Scottish Office for only a few years. Original Admission Certificates and Case Notes for the Crichton Royal, Dumfries are provided to show the apparent symptoms of "idiocy" as well as the relevant treatments at that time.

Personal interviews were also conducted with people who were involved with special education in Greater Glasgow. Bette Archibald contributed much original material regarding the Day Centre at Laurieston House while Elspeth Watson provided an insight into the workings of an early Occupational Centre in Glasgow. An interview with Dr. Sinclair gave an overview of the work at the Larbert Institution. Similarly Jack Zimmer provided invaluable "inside" knowledge of the workings of special education in Glasgow during his time there as Advisor. Original photographs of the children and staff of Baldovan in the 1930s are copied into the Appendices to add a

human dimension to the text. Other original photographs featured include a series of Glasgow special schools, American institutions from 1904 to 1908, Woodilee Children's Home and Asylum and Gartnavel Asylum. Line drawings appearing in the Appendices depict the Larbert Institution and St. Charles' Certified Institution.

As Safford and Safford conclude in A History of Childhood and Disability (1996, p.300), "To the extent that the work of future historians of exceptionality in children, informed by 'insiders' views' can recount an end to 'laws against the poor' and policies inimical to children, realisation of every child's right to unconditional nurture, and society's recognition of the paradoxical inseparability of diversity and common humanity, it will describe a new history". By focusing on past principles and practice, highlighting inequalities and detailing the gradual evolution of educational provision for children with intellectual disabilities in Greater Glasgow, it may be that this thesis could play a modest role in the creation of this "new history".

Appendix 1(a)

Comparative Development of Special Education 1799-1898

Date	Scotland	England	Elsewhere
1799			Itard begins work with Victor
1830			Ferrus opens school for idiots at the Bicetre
1839			Seguin opens school for retarded
1840	Educational experiment at the Chrichton Royal		
1841			Guggenbuhl opens institution for cretins in Switzerland
1842			Dr. Saegert opens private school for intellectually disabled in Berlin
1846		School for idiots opens at Rock Hall, Bath by the Misses White	
1847		Asylum for idiots opens at Highgate	
1852	Baldovan opens		Elwyn School for Feeble-Minded, Pennsylvania Syracuse State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children
1855	Edinburgh Idiot Asylum opens		
1863	Larbert receives its first children		
1864		Opening of Idiot Asylums at Starcross and at Lancaster	
1867			Day auxiliary school opens in Dresden
1868		Opening of Northern Counties Idiot Asylum and also Midland	

Appendix 1(a) (continued)

		Counties	
1873		Idiot children separated from adults and sent to Hampstead Asylum where educated by schoolmistress	
1878		Darenth School for Imbeciles opens as well as Darenth Asylum	
1888		20 "educable idiots" attending London Board Schools	
1892		Classroom in Milton Street School, Leicester made available for 12 "feble-minded" children	
1893		Special school opens in Nottingham	State Institution for Feeble-Minded, Polk, Pennsylvania
1894			32 auxiliary schools in Germany – Others in Denmark and Norway
1895		London opens its first special school in playground of Hugh Myddleton School	
1898	First special class in Scotland opens in toilet of Oatlands School, Glasgow		

Appendix 1(b)

School Statistics for Scotland, 1854

	Schools	Scholars	Average Attendance
Schools specially connected with the Church of Scotland			
1. Parochial	1031	94852	92
2. General Assembly	179	16322	90
3. Sessional	117	17331	149
4. Society Schools	229	14198	62
5. Private Endowed	213	20251	95
6. Subscription Schools	<u>121</u>	<u>10224</u>	84
Total	1890	173178	
Schools virtually connected with the Church of Scotland			
1. Burgh Schools	52	11576	222
2. Private Schools	1017	73944	72
Total	2959	258698	
Schools connected with Dissenting churches			
1. Free Church	673	59869	87
2. United Presbyterian Church	78	6786	87
3. Scotch Episcopal Church	50	4350	87
4. Roman Catholic and all other Dissenters	<u>74</u>	<u>6438</u>	87
Total	875	77443	
Private Schools not connected with any other denomination	<u>838</u>	<u>57215</u>	6
Making a gross total of all classes	4672	393323	8

Appendix 2

Historical documents of special significance to the Crichton Royal Asylum

1. Admission Form for the Crichton Royal, 1887
2. Case Notes for G.K.
3. Table of Amusements.

Appendix 2(a)
Admission Form Crichton Royal, 1887

Name G.K. **No.** 4976

Admitted January 19th. 188

Sex male **Age** 13 years **Marriage** single **Occupation** None

Education **Religion**

Private or Pauper Pauper **Where from ?** Melrose Asylum

History

Disposition

Habits

Previous attacks **Kind, where treated**

No. Duration

Hered. History

Insanity, Other Diseases

Predisposing

Exciting

First Symptoms

Mental

Bodily

Recent Sypmtoms

Mental

Bodily

Insane Habits and Propensities

Suicidal

Dangerous

Duration of Existing Attack From infancy-patient never exhibited any intelligence

Other Factors or Remarks

Facts of Medical Certificates That he is an idiot

Appendix 2(a) (continued)

Name G.K.

State on Admission

Exaltation

Depression

Excitement

Enfeeblement The patient is an idiot. He cannot speak and is dirty in his habits unless attended to.

Memory Cannot be estimated.

Coherence Cannot speak. **Can answer questions ?** No.

Delusions

Other Abnormalities

Appearance Small for his age. Expression idiotic.

Skin Smooth and fine. **Hair** Fair and plentiful.

Eyes Small, blue, far apart. **Pupils** Small, regular, respond to light.

Muscularity Fair. **Fatness** Considerable.

Nervous System Constant motor excitement with facial contortions and

Motor rhythmical movements of the head and arms.

Sensory Functions appear to be healthy.

Reflex Action Cannot be estimated. **Special Senses** Hearing and sight are present.

Retina

Lungs Normal

Heart Action regular **Bowels** Regular daily.

Tongue Clean and moist.

Other Organs, Abnormalities, Bruises, etc

Appetite Good but not voracious. He masticates his food.

Urine Acid, clear. No abnormal constituents.

Menstruation

Pulse 85 per. minute. **Temp.** 98 F.

Soft, regular.

Height 4ft. 2in. **Weight** 66lbs.

Disease Idiocy

Health and Condition Average.

Appendix 2(b)**Case Notes for G.K.**

Date	Progress of Case
31 Jan 1887	Patient has been placed in the Infirmary division. This patient is restless and in constant motion, pulling faces, twisting his hands and arms about, jumping, growling or making other curious noises. He is quite unable to speak but understands when he is called and comes to the person who calls him. He is as a rule obedient, but if crossed or coerced in any way he scratches, bites and kicks most vigorously. He is pretty clean in his habits and does not often soil his clothes. He eats his food in a less ravenous manner than is usual with idiots.
1 Oct 1887	There is no change in this idiot. He is like an animal in all of his ways and imitates, evidently, what he notices people and animals do.
2 Jan 1888	The same state. This boy does not change much.
30 Mar 1888	He looks in good health and is the pleasanter of the two idiots here.
16 June 1888	No change.

Appendix 2(b) (continued)**Case Notes for G.K.**

- 1 Oct 1888 This boy is still in the same condition. He is noisy at night.
- 20 Dec 1888 He remains noisy and needs a man to look after him Constantly.
- 30 Mar 1889 This boy is a case of acquired idiocy.
- 1 July 1889 This boy is still dirty in his habits and mentally is much the same.
- 18 Sept 1889 Dirty still in his habits.
- 18 Nov 1889 His bodily health is good.
- 10 Mar 1890 Still an idiot.
- 10 Aug 1890 He never takes fits and is growing in stature - not in wisdom.
- 11 Nov 1890 Same state.
- 18 May 1895 Patient was found dead in bed this morning. He suffered from Phthisis Pulmunalis for about two years.

Appendix 2(c)
Table of amusements

The table below is taken from the First Annual Report of the hospital, June, 1840.

Amusements	Number of Patients participating	Remarks
Backgammon	4	
Battledore and Shuttlecock	6	A patient and attendant kept the shuttlecock up 1800 times.
Billiards	3	
Cards	10	
Christmas New Year dinners	all	
Concert		
Theatre	2	
Dances	50	
Drafts	15	Two players could challenge the county.
Drawing	2	
Drives	31	One patient has driven 1465 miles.
Fancy Work	9	
Grace	2	
Music	4	
Picnics	21	
Races	9	
Regatta	1	
Skittles	7	
Visits	23	
Walks	30	One walked 450 miles.
Writing, School	15	
Reading	24	

Appendix 3

Historical documents of special significance to Baldovan Institution

- (a) Extract from First Annual Report, 1856
- (b) Rules for Baldovan Asylum, 1905
- (c) Tables to illustrate the various acquirements and capacities of the pupils 1910
- (d) Table showing the progress of the children in the school during 1910
- (e) First Annual Report of the General Board of Control for Scotland - report on Baldovan, 15 October, 1914
- (f) Photographs 1931-32 including:-
 - i Staff and pupils
 - ii Rehearsal for the Christmas Show, 1931
 - iii Pupils at work in the school room
 - iv A gymnastics class
 - v Girl guides
 - vi A picnic
 - vii Exterior of building
- (g) Sketches of Baldovan Asylum, 1864 and 1905
- (h) Abstract of Income and Expenditure, 1910
- (i) Subscriptions and Donations Baldovan, 1910
- (j) Legacies from the founding of Baldovan to 1910

Appendix 3(a)**Extract from First Annual Report, 1856****Baldovan Asylum
near Dundee**

The Directors in transmitting the Report of their first year's proceedings, respectfully request a careful consideration of the nature and advantages of this charity, in the full reliance that the benevolent objects for which it has been established cannot fail to enlist the sympathies of the charitable on its behalf; and that the necessary funds will be forthcoming for extending its operation and usefulness during the ensuing year.

The treatment practised at the Baldovan Asylum is in all respects similar to that introduced and followed with so much success by Dr. Guggenbuhl, at Abendberg, Interlaken, - so that the patients enjoy all the benefits of his system without the necessity of leaving this country.

The Asylum affords a home to the helpless and afflicted patients where everything is subservient and made to conduce to their comfort, as well as that limited amount of enjoyment and happiness of which they may be capable; but, while this is carefully attended to, the whole system is modelled so as to attain, if possible, to that ultimate cure or amelioration of their condition which truly forms the great object of the Institution. And if it shall be the means of rescuing any number of its inmates from their state of mental imbecility, and placing them in a position to act for themselves, or earn their own livelihood, it will have conferred an unspeakable blessing not only on the individuals themselves but on the community generally.

From the nature of this charity it is eminently unsectarian, and is one where all classes may meet on common ground, and join with hearty co-operation in its promotion. As such the Directors confidently leave it in the hands of the public. Subscriptions or donations will be recived by Mr. Miller, Bank of Scotland, Dundee, or Mr. Small, 3 Bank Street.

22 January, 1856

Appendix 3(b)

Rules for Baldovan Asylum, 1905

1. The Asylum shall be devoted to the Treatment, Education and Training of Imbecile or Idiot Children of both sexes.
2. Its affairs shall be managed by a Board of Directors appointed under the Constitution.
3. The Directors, assisted by the Medical Officer, shall make the selection of cases from the applications for admissions - preference being given to those most likely to profit by the treatment and education of the Institution.
4. When the application is from a distance, such application must be accompanied by a statement of the case from some Medical man who has seen the patient. Patients at the time of admission should be under ten years of age, except in special cases - the exceptions being allowed by the Directors.
5. Should a case be found unsuitable for the Institution, the Directors may require the removal of the patient.
6. The terms of admission have been fixed as follows:-

For First Class Patients	£77 per Annum
For Second Class Patients	£31 per Annum
For Third Class Patients	£25 per Annum including Clothing

The payments shall be made quarterly and in advance.
7. In cases where the patients are so helpless as to require extra attendance, an additional charge may be made.

Appendix 3(c)

Table to illustrate the various acquirements and capacities of the pupils, 1910
Grade I

Can understand speech, but do not speak			Can Feed Themselves	Can Dress Themselves
	Male	Female		
A.C.	1		1	1
G.R.	1			
J.D.	1		1	
A.F.	1			
W.D.	1			
J.J.W.J.	1			
J.N.	1		1	
D.M.T.1				
A.B.	1		1	1
J.Mc F.	1		1	1
J.L.	1		1	1
A.C.	1			
J.P.	1			
M.L.M.	1		1	
P.S.	1		1	1
AMcL.	1		1	1
C.McN.	1		1	1
W.N.C.	1		1	
C.F.	1		1	
J.O'D.	1		1	1
D.B.	1		1	
J.G.S.	1			
J.M.C.	1			
A.S.	1			
E.L.	1		1	
J.C.	1			
J.McO.	1		1	
J.L.	1			
R.G.C.	1			
J.G.A.	1			
A.C.	1		1	1
E.C.		1	1	
	H.H.		1	1

Appendix 3(c) (continued)

Grade I (continued)

Can understand speech, but do not speak

	Male	Female	Can Feed Themselves	Can Dress Themselves
C.W.N.D.		1	1	
E.D.W.		1		
S.J.M.		1	1	
J.B.		1		
D.B.P.		1		
D.McM.		1	1	1
A.K.		1	1	
M.McF.C.		1	1	
A.McC.		1		
M.W.Y.		1		
H.P.S.		1	1	1
Total	31	13	25	11

Appendix 3(c) (continued)

Grade II

Can speak and understand speech

	Male	Female	Can Feed	Can Dress	Attend School	Kindergarten Occupation
W.B.J.J.	1		1	1		
J.T.	1		1	1		
P.H.	1		1	1		
J.McS.	1		1			
W.F.	1		1			
J.K.	1		1	1		
R.B.R.	1		1	1		
R.R.	1		1	1		
W.L.	1		1	1	1	1
A.D.	1		1	1		
A.J.W.	1		1	1		
J.H.J.	1		1	1		
A.J.W.S.	1		1	1		
A.K.S.M.	1		1	1		
P.M.H.	1		1	1	1	1
A.C.	1		1	1		
J.K.	1		1	1		
J.L.	1		1	1		
R.C.H.	1		1	1		
R.F.	1		1	1		
G.P.	1		1			
B.P.	1		1	1	1	1
H.A.D.	1		1		1	
J.T.K.S.	1		1	1		
A.C.	1		1	1		
J.G.	1		1	1	1	1
A.G.	1		1	1	1	1
A.G.A.	1		1	1		

Appendix 3(c) (continued)

	Male	Female	Can Feed	Can Dress	Attend School	Kindergarten Occupation
R.M.W.	1			1		
W.S.W.	1		1	1		
T.C.C.	1		1	1		
A.M.McK.	1		1		1	
H.A.G.		1	1			
A. H.		1	1	1		
M.M.		1	1			
A.McC.		1	1	1	1	1
J.McK.		1	1	1		
F.A.B.		1	1			
C.McL.		1	1			
M.B.		1	1			
M.F.C.		1	1	1	1	
I.H.		1	1			
E.McP.		1	1		1	
M.D.		1	1		1	
M.W.McI.		1	1			
J.S.		1	1			
M.B.		1	1	1	1	1
H.McC.		1	1	1		
A.McK.S.		1	1	1		
H.L.		1	1			
H.M.		1	1	1	1	1
J.McL.		1	1	1		
E.M.		1	1	1	1	1
C.G.		1	1	1	1	1
Total	33	22	54	39	15	10

Appendix 3(d)

Table showing progress of children in the school during the year 1910

School roll	boys	23
	girls	<u>23</u>
		46

Speech

1.	Speak indistinctly	4
2.	Speak fairly	8
3.	Speak well	<u>34</u>
		46

Reading

1.	Know no words or letters	9
2.	Know a few letters	25
3.	Know all the letters	2
4.	Know easy words and spell them	5
5.	Read fairly	<u>5</u>
		46

Writing

1.	Do nothing but scribble	7
2.	Form strokes	3
3.	Form letters	24
4.	Write easy words	5
5.	Write fairly	<u>7</u>
		46

Number Lesson

1.	Cannot count at all	4
2.	Count to 20	26
3.	Count to 50	4
4.	Count to 100	3
5.	Count to 100 and above	5
6.	Work sums	<u>4</u>
		46

Appendix 3(d) (continued)

Table showing progress of children in the school during the year 1910

School roll	boys	23
	girls	<u>23</u>
		46

Clock Lesson

1.	Know neither hours or minutes	19
2.	Know some of the hours	17
3.	Know all the hours	3
4.	Know hours and quarters	2
5.	Know the above in five minutes	2
6.	Can tell the time to a minute	<u>3</u>
		46

Shop Lesson

1.	Know no coins	8
2.	Know a few coins	36
3.	Know all coins and a few weights	<u>2</u>
		46

Colour Lesson

1.	Recognise no colours	13
2.	Know one or two simple colours	21
3.	Know all simple colours	<u>12</u>
		46

Appendix 3(d) (continued)

Table showing progress of children in the school during the year 1910

Laundry	3	
Scullery		1
Sewing Room	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	42	27

Appendix 3(e)**First Annual Report of the General Board of Control for Scotland -
Report on Baldovan, 15 October, 1914**

Baldovan Institution
15 October 1914

The number of names on the register at this date is 221, an increase of 10 since last visit. There are 8 children maintained by School Boards, 14 from private sources and 199 by Parish Councils.

The changes since last visit consist of 24 admissions, 11 discharges and 3 deaths. The causes of death were, in 2 cases, epilepsy and, in one case, pneumonia. Only 8 patients were confined to bed.

Seventy boys and 37 girls were in regular attendance at school. Twenty-five inmates were able to do some useful work.

Two accidents were recorded, one a fracture of the radius and the other a fracture of the clavicle.

The care and discipline of the children are good. The children's attention to order and spontaneity in response to instructions while they were assembled at dinner were excellent. Much care also seems to be devoted to the personal requirements of each child.

The new buildings referred to in the last report are now complete and the re-arrangement of the old building has also been completed. The whole of the accommodation in the old building is available for helpless children. A kitchen has been provided in this building. The arrangements will no doubt prove to be well suited to the needs of the helpless children who require special care.

The new school is now in use. The arrangements seem adequate in every respect. An additional governess has been appointed. The teachers are keenly interested in the

Appendix 3(e)(continued)

work of instruction and they were manifestly able to awaken a bright and attentive interest in the children. The Institution is in excellent order.

The books and registers were examined and found to be correct.

Appendix 3(f)

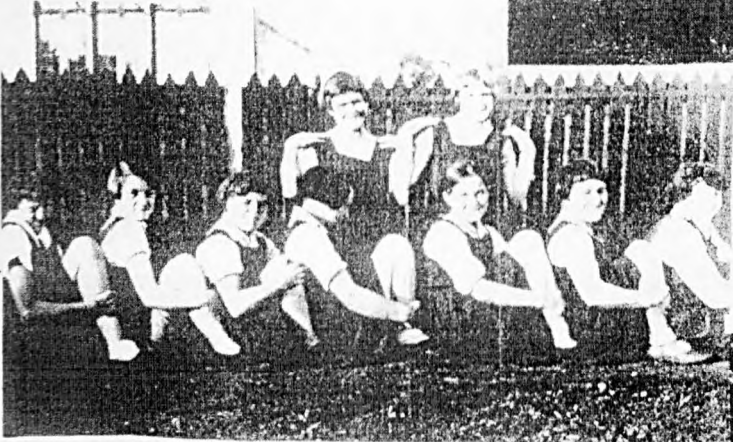
In the Classroom



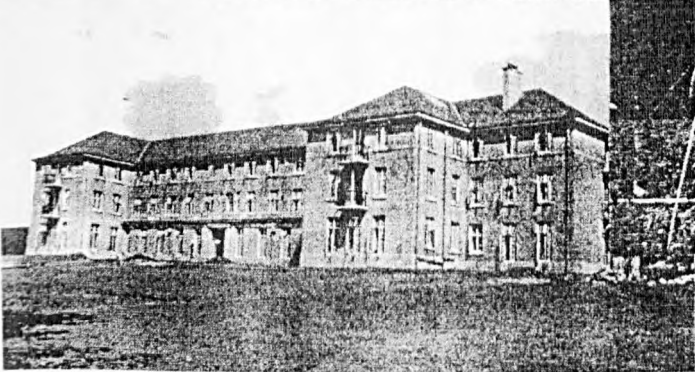
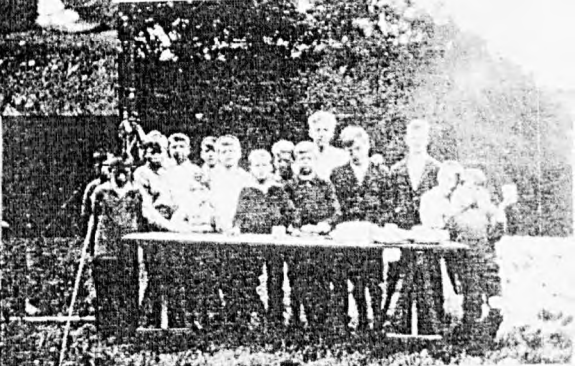
Girl Guides



The Gymnastics Class



The Picnic



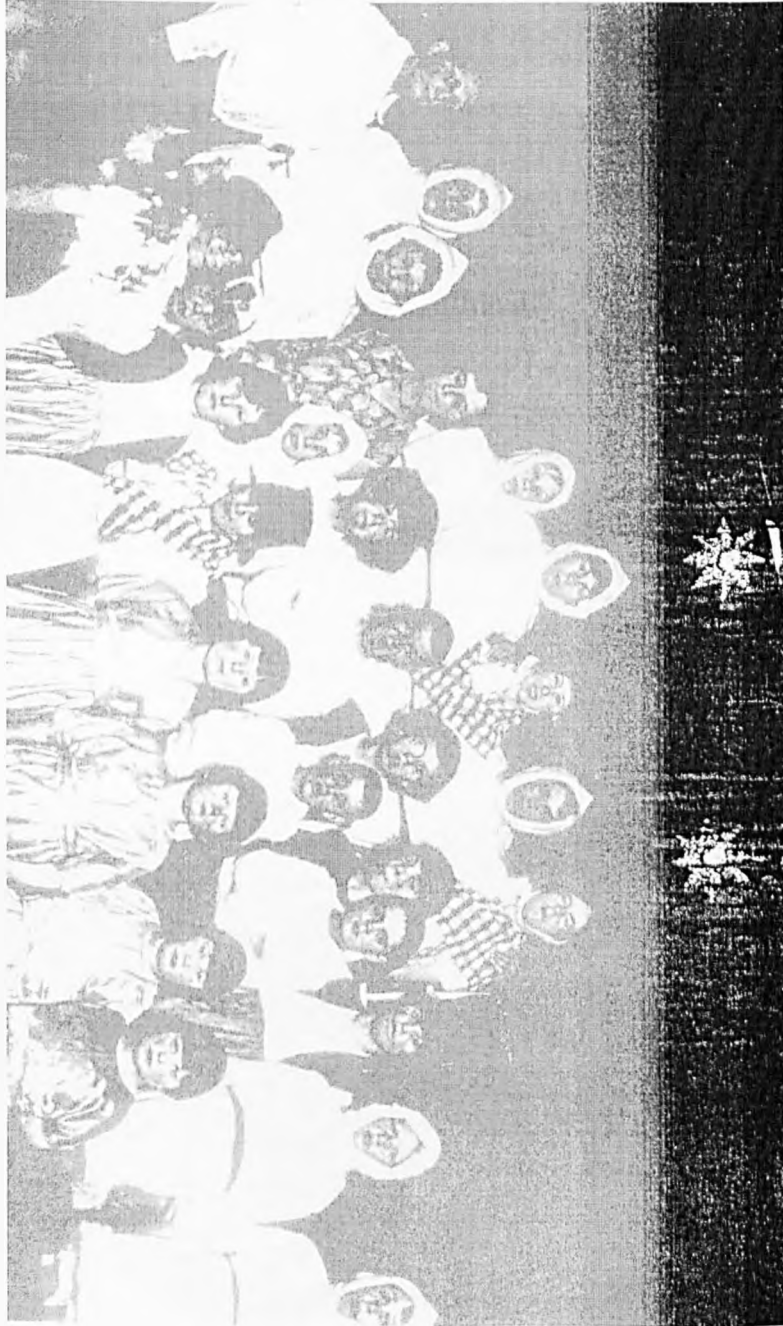
Appendix 3(f)continued

Staff and Pupils at Baldovan



Appendix 3(f)continued

Rehearsing the Christmas Show 1931

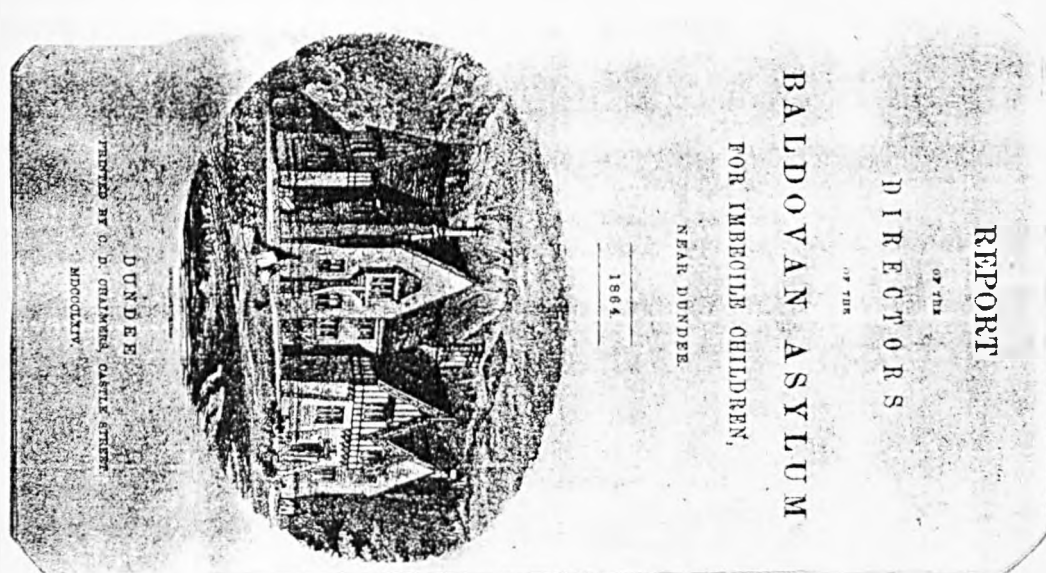


Appendix 3(g)

Sketches of Baldovan



1905



Appendix 3(h)

Abstract of income and expenditure, Baldovan Asylum 1910

INCOME

For Patients' Board and Clothing	£5,166	8	0	
Less – Applicable to year 1911, and carried to that year		<u>366</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>
				£4,799 15 6
Subscriptions as per List				19 0 6
Donations as per List				20 10 0
Annuity of £10 per annum from the Trustees of the late Mrs Mary Ann Grant or Tener, less Income Tax				9 8 4
Interest -				
Interest on Miss Graham's *£1,000	£	34	6	10
Interest on £1,000 with Dundee Town Council		17	4	6
Interest on Deposit Receipts		1	19	10
				53 11 2
*Note. – This sum has not been definitely handed over as Capital, but Interest on it at 3½ per cent. Is paid half-yearly by Miss Graham's Trustees.				
Grounds –				
Value of Potatoes, Vegetables, and Fruit Supplied to House	£	41	11	0
Less – Expended on Seeds and labour		<u>31</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
				<u>10 8 5</u>
Total Income				£4,912 13 11
Balance, being Deficiency for year carried to Capital Account				<u>344 11 2</u>
				<u>£5,257 5 1</u>

EXPENDITURE

1. PROVISIONS.

Baker	£270	0	4½	
Butcher	250	7	4	
Grocer	190	2	8	
Fish	38	4	2	
Meal and Barley	84	15	0	
Milk, Butter, and Eggs	377	5	3	
Potatoes and Vegetables	<u>45</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0½</u>	
				£1256, 12 10

11. SALARIES AND WAGES

(1) Salaries				
Resident Officials	£222	18	7	
Non-Resident Officials	<u>209</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	
	£432	2	7	
(2) Wages				
Nurses	£352	5	10	
Servants and Gardeners, &c.	<u>391</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5½</u>	
		<u>743</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3½</u>
				1,175 11 10½

III. CLOTHING, FURNISHINGS, FUEL, LIGHT, &C.

Cost of Material for Clothing	£222	6	6	
Bedding, Furniture, and Furnishings	168	15	7	
Ironmonger, Carpenter, &c.	204	8	6	
Fuel and Light	400	15	5	
Water	89	4	1	
Medicines	23	8	11	
Soap, Soda &c.	<u>92</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	
				1,206 11 5

IV. MISCELLANEOUS CHARGES

Linen Room Construction	£195	11	10	
Nurses' Uniforms	20	7	5	
Rates, Taxes, Feu-duty, and Insurance	321	9	2	
Printing and Circulating Report, Collecting Subscriptions, Stationery, Postages, &c.	49	17	9	
Incidents, Cab Hires, &c.	36	18	4½	
Legal Expenses	2	9	6	
Stamp for License	0	10	0	
Interest on Loans	146	8	11	
Depreciation --				
1. On old Buildings	£277	11	8	
2. On new Buildings	<u>567</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	
		<u>844</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>
				<u>1,618 8 11½</u>
Total Expenditure				<u>£5,257 5 1</u>

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST

Dr.

Property.

Old Buildings -

Book Value of Buildings as at 31st December

1909

£ 900 6 4

Deduct - Depreciation @ 5% on Cost

277 11 8

£ 622 14 8

New Buildings and Furniture.

Main Block -

Expended per previous

Balance Sheet

£11,044 0 3

Deduct - Depreciation

2½% On Cost

306 15 7

£10,737 4 8

*New Pavilions -**1st, 2nd, and 3rd Pavilions and Hall -*

Expended per previous

Balance Sheet

£ 9,179 9 11

Deduct - Depreciation @

2½% on Cost

254 19 8

8,924 10 3

Bacteria Beds -

Expended per previous

Balance Sheet

£ 196 7 9

Deduct - Depreciation @

2½% on Cost

5 9 1190 18 8

19,852 13 7

DUNDEE TOWN COUNCIL POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Cash on Deposit

1,000 0 0

STOCK ON HAND AT 31ST DECEMBER 191073 13 0£21,549 2 0

DECEMBER 1910, BEING THE FIFTY-SIXTH YEAR.
Capital.

General Contributions-

Amount per previous Balance Sheet £6,936 15 10

Less – Deficiency this year, viz. :-

On Ordinary Income £344 11 2
Per late Treasurer 234 6 10

578 18 0
£6,357 17 10

Special Donations-

Per previous Balance Sheet £7,540 13 11

From Mr Charles
Anderson's Trustees
(1910) 1,000 0 0

8,540 13 11

Legacies

Per previous Balance Sheet

2,264 6 0

17,162 17 9

BOARD AND CLOTHING, paid in Advance.

Amount applicable to financial year 1911

£ 366 12 6

Less- Charges outstanding

6 13 3

359 19 3

LIABILITIES.

Fixed Loans on Security of Asylum Buildings

4,000 0 0

BALANCES AS AT 14TH FEBRUARY 1911-

Due to Royal Bank of Scotland on Current Account

£ 34 18 2

Less- Due by Matron

8 13 2

26 5 0

£21,549 2 0

Appendix 3(i)

Subscriptions and Donations, Baldovan 1910

I. Subscriptions

Armitstead, Lord, Dundee	£3	3	0
Ballingall, Hugh, Esq., Dundee	0	10	6
Bell, Messrs, Belmont, Dundee	1	1	0
Camperdown, the Right Hon. the Earl of	2	0	0
Cheape, Lady Griselda, Strathtyrum	1	0	0
Cox Brothers, Messrs, Dundee	2	0	0
Don Brothers, Buist & Co., Messrs, Dundee	1	1	0
Greig, Mrs, Lindean, Dundee	1	1	0
Low, William, Esq., Monifieth	1	1	0
Luis, Mrs, Cidhmore, Dundee	0	10	6
Sharp, John, Esq., of Balmuir	1	0	0
Smith, George K., Esq., Ardmere, Dundee	1	0	0
Moody, Stuart & Robertson, Messrs, C.A.	1	1	0
White, J. Martin, Esq., of Balruddery	1	1	0
Muir, Thos., Son & Patton, Ltd.	0	10	6
Wybrants, Miss, Blackness Terrace, Dundee	1	0	0
	£19	0	6

II. Donations

Mrs. T. Maitland, Reres Cottage, Broughty Ferry	0	10	0
Miss Violet Ogilvy	10	0	0
Sir Gilchrist N. Ogilvy	5	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. W. Smith, Myrtle Villa, Downfield	5	0	0
	£20	10	0

III. Donations (per the Matron)

Mrs, Sharp, Balmuir, Dundee	Clothing, Pictures and Eggs
Mrs. Grant, Craigmills, Dundee	Milk and Underclothing
Mrs. Macaulay, Windsor Street, Dundee	Clothing
Mrs. T. Smith, Aystree, Broughty Ferry	Toys
A. Keiller, Esq., of Morven	Clothing
Mrs. Ritchie, The Manse, Mains	Toys

Appendix 3(i) (continued)

Subscriptions and Donations, Baldovan 1910

Mrs. Greig, Lindean, Dundee	Clothing and Periodicals			
Mrs. Greig, Tay Street, Dundee	Clothing			
Mr. Paton, Whitehall Crescent, Dundee	Plants			
Mrs. Parker, 2 Rockfield Terrace, Dundee	Books and Clothes			
Miss Butter, Bellfield Avenue, Dundee	Pair of Stockings			
Miss Miller, Rustic Cottage, Downfield	Clothing			
Mr. Thyne, Union Street, Dundee	Plants			
Miss Baxter, 43 Erskine Street, Dundee	Clothing			
Mrs. Greig, Lindean, Dundee	Tickets for Concerts			
Fairmuir Parish Church	Toys and Fruit			
Mr. Pate, Balmydown Farm	Milk and Cream			
Mrs. Hunter, Scotia Terrace, Downfield	Tea Set			
Donations for Christmas Tree				
Mrs. Wemyss, Westbourne Home, Broughty Ferry	Toys and Sweets			
Mrs. Durward, 39 Cranbrook Park, Wood Green, London	Toys			
Miss Miller, Rustic Cottage, Downfield	Dolls			
Mr. Nixon, Overgate, Dundee	Toys			
Bailie J.H. Martin, West Port, Dundee	Toys			
Mrs. Hogarth, Clinder	Toys			
Mrs. Macdougall, 67 High Street, Monifieth	Toys			
Mr. Ramsay, Perth Road, Dundee	Sweets			
Mrs. Mollinson, Union Street, Dundee	Cakes and Shortbread			
Mrs. Ogilvy, Baldovan House	Tree			
Mrs. Sharp, Balmuir, Dundee		£1	0	0
Miss Sharp, Fernhall, W. Ferry		1	0	0
Mr. McLaren, Broughty Ferry		1	0	0
Mrs. Greig, Lindean, Dundee		0	10	0
Mrs. Greig, 25 Tay Street, Dundee		0	10	0
Mrs. Elder, Bowholm, Canonbie		0	15	0

Appendix 3(j)

Legacies from the founding of Baldovan to 1910

1857	James Crowe, Dundee	£20	0	0
	“The Fergusson’s Fund”	100	0	0
1862	Miss Isabella Mudie, Broughty Ferry	159	9	3
1866	Mrs. Margaret Forbes or Johnston, of Annesly	362	11	4
	John McCombie	180	0	0
1871	Sir David Baxter (special donation for building)	50	0	0
1872	Miss Jessie Graham’s (of Kinealdrum) Trustees (special donation for building)	250	0	0
1874	Miss Jessie Graham’s (of Kinealdrum and Affleck) Trustees	1000	0	0
1875	Mrs. William Kerr, East Newport, in memory of her late brother, Henry Blyth, Merchant, Dundee	100	0	0
1877	Trustees of the late William, Ann, and Elizabeth Howe, Dundee	500	0	0
	“A Friend”	100	0	0
1878	John McCombie’s Bequest (Asylum being a residuary legatee)	968	11	8
1885	James Hughes, Dundee	45	0	0
1886	Mrs. Mary Ann Grant or Tener	34	4	11
1888	James Cunnungham, Broughty Ferry (donation)	25	0	0
1889	Trustees of the late Dr. Baxter	200	0	0
1892	In memory of the late George Gilroy, Castleroy, Broughty Ferry	50	0	0
1892	William Mathewson, Beach Cottage, West Ferry	564	10	0
	Miss Margaret Mathewson, Beach Cottage, West Ferry	727	6	0
1894	Trustees of the late William Nicoll	10	0	0
1896	Trustees of the late David Cobb, West Ferry	250	0	0
1899	Mrs. Blyth Martin, Newport	30	0	0
1902	David Milne, Ettrick Cottage, Broughty Ferry	25	0	0
1904	Miss Jessie Graham’s Trustees	7007	12	6
1907	Trustees of the late Mrs. Isabella Blyth Martin	360	0	0
1910	Trustees of the late Charles Anderson, Of Fettykil	1000	0	0

Appendix 4

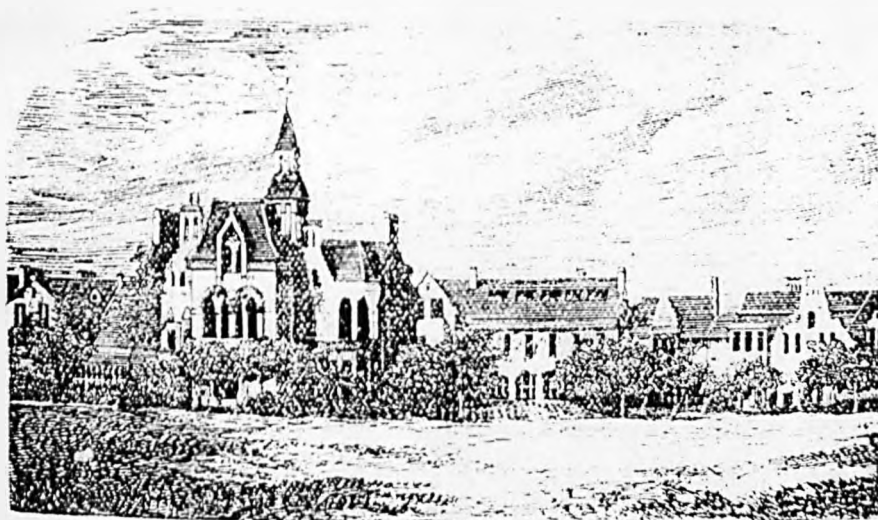
Historical documents of special significance to Larbert Institution

- (a) Front Cover of 49th Annual Report showing a sketch of Larbert Institution building
- (b) Details of pupils at Larbert for the year ending 31 January, 1910
- (c) Acquirements and capacities of the pupils, 1910
- (d) Work done in the sewing room, 1910
- (e) Sewing and knitting class, 1910
- (f) Extracts from letters from parents and guardians
- (g) Extracts from the House Visitors' Book
- (h) Appendix to the First Report of the General Board of Control For Scotland, 1914
- (i) Sample from list of donations, subscriptions and corresponding number of votes, Larbert 1910
- (j) Sample of collections made by Ladies' Auxiliary Associations Section 2, 1910
- (k) General Abstract Account 1910

Appendix 4(a)

Front Cover of 49th Annual Report

FORTY-NINTH REPORT
OF THE
SCOTTISH NATIONAL INSTITUTION
FOR THE
EDUCATION OF IMBECILE CHILDREN
LARBERT, STIRLINGSHIRE



"We then that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak." - Rom. xv. 1.

"Comfort the feeble minded, support the weak." - 2 Thes. v. 14.

Appendix 4(b)

Details of Pupils at Larbert for Year Ending 31 January, 1910

	Payment		Elected		Pauper		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Pupils under training	36	25	47	34	114	35	311
Admitted during the year to January, 1910	4	6	8	6	29	13	66
Total number under training has been	40	31	55	40	143	68	377
Of this number there have been removed	3	3	3	2	14	10	35
There have died	0	1	2	3	3	3	12
There were resident on January 31, 1910	36	26	50	34	127	57	330

Details of Employment

	Boys	Girls
In household work	48	44
In garden work	20	—
As storekeeper	1	—
As messengers	6	—
As tailors	7	—
As sewing maids	—	6
In kitchen and laundry	—	4
In needlework	12	3
In knitting	2	20

Appendix 4(c)

Acquirements and Capacities of the Pupils, 1910

	Males	Females
Grade 1 Can speak normally	140	64
Grade 2 Can speak a few words	20	14
Grade 3 Understand speech, but do not speak	35	27
Grade 4 Can neither speak nor understand speech	18	12
	Males	Females
Can read intelligently	42	17
Can read a little	12	9
Know the alphabet	11	8
Fairly proficient in arithmetic	17	6
Can do simple sums	6	4
Write home letters	14	8
Can write a little	50	37
Geography and history	16	7
Can sing	50	29
Can hum tunes	27	10
At musical drill	45	35
Can dance	45	35
Can partly dress themselves	218	125
Can neither feed nor dress themselves	20	14

Appendix 4(d)

Work Done in the Sewing Room, 1910

200	Table Napkins hemmed	17	Tea Bags made
377	Sheets hemmed	29	Semmits made
49	Table cloths hemmed	43	Aprons made
98	Bed Spreads hemmed	12	Pairs Knickers made
32	Nursery Squares hemmed	7	Muslin Bags made
20	Stair Runners hemmed	46	Blouses made
4	Ironing Sheets hemmed	5	Morning Dresses made
13	Pudding Cloths hemmed	4	Dressing Jackets made
89	Bath Rollers made	2	Jelly Bags made
52	Top Petticoats made	2	Pair of Sleeves made
73	Flannel Petticoats made	2	Cushion Covers made
15	Print Wrappers made	2	Chair Covers made
91	Dresses made	2	Pairs Curtains
86	Chemises made	17	Bodices made
162	Pairs Drawers made	9	Slip Bodices
2	Flannel Bags made	28	Sashes made
2	Sideboard Cloths made	7	Skirts made
10	Blinds made	280	Sweetie Bags made
145	Pillow Cases made	13	Sideboard Covers made
105	Pinafores made	6	Bands made
8	Nightshirts made	6	Sleeping Suits

All repairs done (amount, £104.19s. 9d.)

B. Shepherd, Matron

Appendix 4(e)

Sewing and Knitting Class (Pupils), 1910

134	Semmits knitted	1	Scone Cloth sewed
10	Scarfs knitted	1	Doll's Dress sewed
5	Tea Cosies knitted	4	Pen Wipers sewed
6	Pairs Sleeves knitted	2	Piano tops sewed
7	Pairs Bedroom Slippers knitted	16	Tray Cloths sewed
1	Shawl knitted	1	Handkerchief and Glove Bag sewed
8	Pairs Boys Drawers knitted	4	Night Dress Bags sewed
3	Pairs Sleeping socks knitted	2	Sponge Bags sewed
1	Pair Cuffs knitted	5	Sideboard Cloths sewed
3	Bonnets knitted	2	Brush and Comb Bags sewed
39	Collarettes crotched	5	Table Centres sewed
1	Shawl crotched	8	Cushion Slips sewed
6	D'Oyleys crotched	25	Felt Mats sewed
10	Ribbon Mats made	4	Toilet Sets sewed
18	Door Mats made	1	Soiled Linen Bag sewed
4	Hearth Rugs made	7	Needle Cases sewed
1	Bed Mat sewed	5	Kettle Holders sewed
1	Sofa Blanket sewed		

B. Shepherd, Matron

Work Done in Tailoring Department

Since 1 February, 1909

41 Pairs trousers made

3 Vests made

2 Jackets made

All the Boy's Clothing repaired (amount, £120. 2s. 4d.)

A.A. Skene, Superintendent

Appendix 4(f)

Extracts from Letters from Parents and Guardians

“Murray has had a nice holiday. He is delighted to come to Larbert; everyone seems to be so kind to him there. Not a day passes without him speaking about you all. He is very much improved and we feel deeply grateful for the care and kindness bestowed on him”. - Mrs. W.

“We feel deeply grateful to the managers of the Institution for the progress Jeanie has made and for the unfailing kind attention and care she has received during all the eight years she has been there”. - Mrs. J.L.

“I received your note and sorry that I have been so long in writing you. James will be back on Saturday first. He would have been back sooner but I was getting him a suit of clothes and boots and other things. There is a great improvement on him, so, if all well, will be through with him. Sorry at keeping him so long, but will know better next time”. - Mrs. W.

“I have, in the name of the boy G.D.’s friends, to congratulate you, the nurses and teachers of the Larbert Institution, for the marked improvement in his whole manner and conduct which your training and discipline have effected, and to thank you for the kindness which he has received from you all”. - Rev. J.McI.

“I see a great difference in him this year. He is very much improved in every way and his brothers and sisters are delighted with his progress during the past year. He is much quieter and more easily managed and we all think we would like him in the

Appendix 4(f) (continued)**Extracts from Letters from Parents and Guardians**

family circle a little longer this time. I will advise you when I am sending him back”. - Mrs. I.F.

“Annie returned on Saturday. We are very pleased and thankful for all the care that has been taken of her - very thankful indeed. She has certainly improved in many little things and I do not feel so depressed as I did last year about her. She seems to take great pleasure in singing and does so very correctly”. - A.D.

Appendix 4(g)

Extracts from the House Visitors' Book

“22 February, 1909 - Visited Institution in which I have long been interested, as well as my late father, Mr. Jas. Morison, Accountant, Perth. I would desire to say that I have been greatly interested and pleased with all that I have seen in this most valuable Institution.

(Signed) Robt. Morison,
of J. & R. Morison & Co., C.A., Perth”

“13 April, 1909 - We visited this Institution this day and were greatly delighted and highly interested with everything we saw. The ventilation, cleanliness and systematic manner in which everything is conducted surpasses anything we expected to see.

(Signed) H.D. Ferguson, Banton
John Morton, Kilsyth
William Donaldson, Kilsyth
Alexander Gracie, Kilsyth”.

“25 June, 1909 - We, the undersigned, have visited the Institution and found everything in splendid order and every care and attention paid to the patients from Old Monklands Parish Council. Children all appear happy.

(Signed) D.L. McMillan
Henry T. Lowndes Members of the Council”.

Appendix 4(g) (continued)

“15 July, 1909 - Visited the Larbert Institution today and was shown round by Dr. Clarkson; was much impressed with the excellent arrangements made for the care and comfort of the patients and the marvellously well kept house.

(Signed) Sydney W. Smith, M.B. Ed.

“Baldovan Institution”

“August, 1909 - We, the visiting members of the Glasgow Parish Council, have to-day visited this Institution in which there are 78 children boarded by our Council and we have been very much pleased with the condition of the children. We have also gone over a good part of the Institution and consider everything in first-class order.

(Signed) Alex Knox

Hugh Smith

John Cairns, Assistant Inspector”.

“9 August, 1909 - We have to-day visited the Institution on behalf of the Govan Parish Council and are exceedingly pleased with all the arrangements that have been made for the comfort of the patients.

(Signed) George Craig

Neil McCafferty

A. Brisbane, Children’s Inspector”.

Appendix 4(g) (continued)

“11 September, 1909 - We, the visiting committee of Grangemouth Parish Council, have this day visited this Institution and have seen the two boys boarded by our Council here and have to report our entire satisfaction with their condition. We have also been shown over a good part of the Institution and found everything in first-class order and the arrangements most satisfactory.

(Signed) John Gentles, Inspector

James Gloag

J. Williamson

John King

Adam Laird”.

Appendix 4(h)**Appendix to the First Report of the General Board of Control for Scotland**

Larbert Institution,

1 June, 1914

Under the provisions of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913 the Institution became a certified institution for defectives on the 15th ultimo. The children in the institution prior to the 15 May last, however, continue to be detained there under the conditions in force prior to the coming into force of the Act.

There were at this date 376 pupils in the Institution, of whom 228 were boys and 148 were girls. Of the total number 58 are private pupils, and 79 are supported by the funds of the Institution. All the children were resident and were seen in the course of the visit.

Since the previous visit on the 20 November 1913, 17 have been admitted, 25 have been discharged and 8 have died. The deaths were due to tuberculosis in 6 instances and to epilepsy and bronchial catarrh each in 1 instance.

There is 1 entry in the Register of Accidents referring to the fracture of the thigh-bone in a girl, caused by a fall while coming down a stair. The patient made a good recovery, and no blame attaches to any person for the occurrence. As the Institution contains 26 inmates over the licensed number it is learned with satisfaction that the Directors are considering the question of extension of the accommodation and that to this end the proposal which is at present favoured is the erection of a Nurses' Home. It is estimated that, if such a home were provided with 80 beds, accommodation for over 100 children would be set free in the Institution.

Appendix 4(h) (continued)

The new arrangements provided for safety against fire have now been completed. A tank, containing 30,000 gallons of water, has been constructed and a stationary fire engine in the boiler-house, capable of pumping 400 gallons of water per minute at a pressure of 80lbs., is connected with this tank and with a new pipe for the hydrants which surrounds the whole building. The pressure of water is now ample for any emergency.

The children were seen in the school and workroom and at dinner and a very favourable account can be given of their care, treatment, and training. The industrial training of the children receives great attention and is conducted on a system of what is known as "working-classes" under the supervision of tradesmen, nurses, or skilled workers. Thus for the boys there are classes for basketmaking, rugmaking, carpentry, tailoring, gardening, and sewing. For girls, in addition to sewing and knitting of various kinds, there are special classes for each form of household work, including scrubbing, sweeping of floors, the making of beds, washing dishes and brushing boots. It is understood that training in these industrial operations has had more effect in stimulating and improving the intelligence of the children than the ordinary literary education had.

The Institution was found in admirable order. The children were contented and happy-looking. Their general health appeared to be satisfactory, only 10 of them - 4 boys and 6 girls - being confined to bed at the time of the visit.

The official registers were examined and found to be correct.

Appendix 4(i)

Sample from list of donations, subscriptions and corresponding number of votes, Larbert, 1910

An annual subscription of 10 shillings had 1 vote for each child to be elected and an additional vote for every additional 10 shillings. A donation of £5 entitled that person to 1 vote for life for each child to be elected and an additional vote for life for every additional £5.

Votes		Donations			Annual Subscriptions		
2	Aberdeen, The Right Hon. Earl, of Haddo House	£10	0	0			
1	Aberdeen, The Right Honourable the Countess of,	5	0	0			
48	Aberdeen Town Council (per A.M. Munro, Esq.),				£24	0	0
6	Adamson, Miss, Airlie Lodge, Leven (Bazaar),	30	0	0			
1	A Friend (Ayr),	5	0	0			
1	A Friend (per A.J.Fitch),	5	0	0			
2	A Friend (Perth),	10	0	0			
100	A Friend, Mrs. M.,	500	0	0			
2	Aitken, Lilburn & Co., Messrs, 80 Buchanan Street, Glasgow,				1	1	0
1	Aitken, Messrs. James & Co., Falkirk,	5	5	0			
1	Aiton, Wm., Esq., 190 West George Street, Glasgow,				0	10	0
2	Allan, Bryce, Esq., 25 Bothwell Street, Glasgow,	10	0	0			
2	Bain, Wm. N., Esq., 40 St. Enoch Square, Glasgow,				1	0	0

Appendix 4(i) (continued)

1	Bain, Miss, 3 Park Terrace, Glasgow,				0	10	0
1	Caird, James K., Esq., LL.D., Dundee,	5	0	0			
1	Caldwell, Mrs., 6 Newton Place, Glasgow,	5	0	0			
200	Coats, Sir Thomas Glen, Bart., Ferguslie Park, Paisley	900	0	0	10	0	0

Appendix 4(j)

Sample of collections made by Ladies' Auxiliary Associations - Section 2, 1910

This section covered Glasgow, Dennistoun, Glasgow (South Side), Cathcart, Newlands, Govan, Pollokshields, Airdrie, Carluke, Gourrock, Greenock, Lesmahagow, Paisley and Port Glasgow. Each collector was entitled to 1 vote for each child admitted.

1 Marlborough Gardens, Marlborough, Montague and Hughenden Terraces, and Devonshire Gardens.

Collected by Miss Clark, 16 Montgomerie Crescent

Mrs. Gourlay, 5 Marlborough Terrace	£1	0	0
Mrs Robertson, 7 Marlborough Terrace	1	0	0
Lady Thomson	0	5	0
Mrs. Gardner	0	5	0
Mrs Jackson	0	5	0
Mr. Ross	0	2	6
Mrs Forrest	0	2	6
Mrs Brown	0	2	6
	£3	2	6

2 Partickhill, Annfield Terrace, Hamilton Crescent and Terrace
Collected by Miss Dorothy Putt, 23 Elgin Terrace

Mrs. Gemmill	£0	2	6
Mrs. Pettigrew	0	2	6
Mrs. Carruthers	0	2	0
	£0	7	0

3 Princes Terrace, Dowanhill and Lorraine Gardens and Kensington Gate
Collected by Miss Sutherland, 15 Kensington Gate

Mrs. Gow, Cairndowan	£1	0	0
Miss Donaldson, 5 Princes Terrace	1	0	0

Appendix 4(j) (continued)

Mrs. Inglis, 4 Princes Terrace	0	10	0
Miss J.C. McLennan, Newhall	0	10	0
Mrs. Rose, Richmond House	0	10	0
Mrs. Alan McLean, 2 Lorraine Gardens	0	10	0
Mrs. Rottenburg, Holmhurst	0	10	0
Miss Howden	0	5	0
Mrs. Stephen	0	5	0
Mr. R. Clark	0	5	0
Misses Blackie	0	5	0
Mrs. McEwan	0	5	0
Mrs. J.A. Blackie	0	2	6
Mrs. G. Mason	0	2	6
Mrs. Teacher	0	2	6
Mrs. McNair	0	2	6
Mrs. Ross	0	2	6
Mrs. J.R. Blackie	0	2	6
Mrs. T.Y. Patterson	0	2	6
Mrs. Gray	0	2	6
Mrs. Sturrock	0	2	6
	6	17	6

Appendix 4(k)

Scottish National Institution For Education Of Imbecile Children
Year ending 31st January, 1910
General Abstract Account

RECEIPTS

1908-8		1909-10
£1970. 3. 9	Balance at 31st. January, 1909	3715.7.8
	I. Income from Charitable Sources -	
£1814.18.4	(1) Annual Subscriptions	£1732. 2. 1
	(2) Contributions from Relatives, Friends of Elected Pupils for Maintenance	343. 9. 6
352. 4. 6		
862.10. 0	(3) Legacies applicable to Endowments	559. 0. 0
	Legacies applicable to Special Purposes Fund	570. 0. 0
862.10. 0		
719.14. 6	(4) Donations, Special Purposes Fund	<u>37.15. 6</u>
		3715. 7.8
	II. Receipts for Board -	
3687. 3. 6	(I) Private Pupils Board ...	£2873.16. 9
162.15.10	Private Pupils Clothing ...	<u>591.11. 6</u>
		3715. 7. 8
4673. 5. 1	(2) Parish Councils' Pupil Board ...	£1538. 5.11
539. 8. 6	Parish Councils' Pupil Clothing ...	<u>591.11. 6</u>

Appendix 4(k) (continued)

				3715.7.8
744.16.11	III. Dividends and Interest	...	£702. 5. 5	
39. 3.11	Income Tax returned	..	42. 8. 6	
15. 7.10	Bank Interest Deposit a/c	...	27. 5. 8	
	Bank Interest Deposit a/c			
3. 1. 6	No.2	...	<u>23. 8. 1</u>	3715.7.8
29. 0. 0	IV. Rent of Cottages	...	£29. 0. 0	
1. 5. 0	Taxes repaid	...	<u>1. 6. 0</u>	3715.7.8
	V. Live Stock -			
58.12. 6	Sale of Pigs	...	£25.16. 6	
	Sale of Carriage Horse			
	less expenses	...	<u>15. 0. 1</u>	3715.7.8
	VI. Endowments -			
	Loan repaid by Glasgow			
	Lunacy Board	...	<u>98.11.11</u>	
				£15749. 9.11

Appendix 4(k) (continued)

Scottish National Institution For Education Of Imbecile Children
 Year ending 31st January, 1910
 General Abstract Account

PAYMENTS

1908-9

1909-10

I. Endowments -

£1570 Victoria 31/2 per cent. Inscribed

Stock at 98 £1538.12. 0

Contract Stamp 0. 1. 0

Brokerage 3.18. 6

£1512.11. 6

72. 2. 5

II. Ordinary Outlay on Buildings

956. 1.

III. Housekeeping and other Expenses of Institution -

1534. 3.10

Food £3508.19. 0

794.15. 6

Clothing. 926. 8. 2

154. 6. 1

Bedding. 68. 0.11

535.19. 1

Furniture and Fittings. 553.15. 0

130. 1. 6

Water 149. 2. 5

213.18. 4

Gas 252. 2. 2

100. 7. 6

Electric Light 148.10. 0

500.16. 5

Coal and Firewood. 544.19.11

79.13. 5

Drugs and Medical Appliances80. 2. 5

214.19.11

Taxes, Rates and Feu-duty244. 4. 0

50.13. 5

Insurances, Fire, Boiler 53. 8. 5

7. 1. 3

Domestic Servants,&c 12. 6. 0

12.19.11

Travelling Expenses 17. 7.11

Appendix 4(k) (continued)

67.19. 0	Stationery, School Materials, &c. . . .	92. 9. 9
15.16. 4	Telephone	13. 0. 0
13. 0.10	Postages.	14. 6. 3
	Sundries, including Pew Rents, Hires,	
58. 7. 3	Picnics, Entertainments	73. 0. 7
0.12. 0	Advertisements	<u>3. 3. 2</u>
		£6755.
2412.17.10	IV. Salaries and Wages	2479. 0. 6
	(Superintendent £500; Medical Officer £150; Chaplain £15)	
103.12. 9	V. Expenses of Garden and Stables -	
103.12. 9	Corn, Hay and Straw	142.11. 5
31.10. 9	Garden Seeds and Shrubs	24. 4. 5
10. 7. 3	Veterinary Surgeon's Fees	3. 5. 0

Appendix 5

Historical documents of special significance to special schools in Glasgow

- (a) Children in reformatory and industrial schools, Group G - males, 1908
- (b) Children in reformatory and industrial schools, Group G - females, 1908
- (c) Children in East Park, 1908
- (d) Children in Smyllum Orphanage, 1908
- (e) Children in Royal Glasgow Asylum for the Blind, 1908
- (f) Number of "mentally defective" children at school ages in several classes, A - attending school, 1908
- (g) Number of "mentally defective" children at school ages in several classes, B - at home, 1908
- (h) Persons found "mentally defective" in Poor Law institutions, 1908
- (i) "Defective" children at home
- (j) Special schools in Glasgow, 1920
- (k) Children examined with a view to admission to special schools or Institutions for "mentally defective" children, 1930
- (l) After-Care and home visitation of "mentally defective" children, 1930
- (m) Classification of Glasgow children after being specially examined by the School Medical officer regarding "mental defects", 1939
- (n) Qualifications of teachers of "mentally defective" Glasgow children, 1955
- (o) Glasgow special schools, 1955
- (p) "Trainable" children in occupation centres, 1955
- (q) Photographs of special schools:
 - i Kelvin School
 - ii Finnieston School
 - iii Hayfield School
 - iv Rottenrow
 - v Camlachie
- (r) Estimated incidence of "mental handicap"

Appendix 5(a)

**Reformatory and Industrial Schools Receiving Children from the Area under
Investigation**

Group G - Males

Name	Idiot	Imbecile	Other Feeble-Minded	Defective Children
St. Mary's Industrial School				3
Slatefield Industrial School				4
Green St. Day Industrial School				2
Rottenrow Industrial School		1		
Mossbank Reformatory				8
		1		17

Appendix 5(b)

**Reformatory and Industrial Schools Receiving Children from the Area under
Investigation**

Name	Group G - Females			Defective Children
	Idiot	Imbecile	Other Feeble-Minded	
St. Mary's Industrial School				1
Green St. Day Industrial School				1
Rose Street Industrial School		1		
Maryhill Industrial School				4
Rottenrow Industrial School				1
East Chapelton Industrial School			1	
		1	1	7

Appendix 5(c)

East Park for Infirm Children, Maryhill

This institution received children of the poorest class suffering from chronic ailments and deformities. As well as medical care they received such instruction as their age and health permitted. At the time of the Commissioners' report there were 130 inmates, 6 of whom were found to be "mentally defective".

	Imbecile	Defective Children
Male	2	3
Female		1
Total	2	4

Appendix 5(d)

Smyllum Orphanage

This was an institution of the Roman Catholic Church situated near Lanark. Of the 509 inmates at the time of the Royal Commission (1905-8), 29 were "mentally defective". The 11 adults among the "mentally defective" were considered incapable of earning a living outside and were employed about the estate.

	Feeble Minded	Defective	Total
Children, male		7	7
Children, female		11	11
Adults, male	1		1
Adults, female	10		10
	11	18	29

Appendix 5(e)

Royal Glasgow Asylum for the Blind

Ninety blind persons were educated, maintained and employed here. Of these 22 were adults and 68 were children. The table below shows details of the five "mentally abnormal" children here at the time of the Royal Commission (1905-8).

	Feeble Minded	Defective	Total
Male		1	1
Female	2	2	4
	2	3	5

Appendix 5(f)

Number of Mentally Defective Children at School Ages in Several Classes

A - Attending School

	Insane			Epileptic					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
	Senile Dements	Others of Unsound mind	Idiot	Imbecile	Other Feeble-minded	Defective Children	Sane	Others	Total
Male				10		354	48		412
Female				4		191	27		222
Total				14		545	75		634

Appendix 5(g)

Number of Mentally Defective Children at School Ages in Several Classes

	Insane					B - At Home			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Senile Dements	Others of Unsound mind	Idiot	Imbecile	Other Feeble-minded	Defective Children	Sane	Others	Total
Male			5	25		20	2		52
Female			11	14		13			38
Total			16	39		33	2		90
A + B			16	53		578	77		724

Appendix 5(h)

Persons Found to be Mentally Defective or Epileptic in Poor Law Institutions

Insane

	Senile Dements	Others of Unsound mind	Idiots	Imbeciles	Other Feeble-minded	Defective (sane)	Epileptic	Total
Males:								
Stobhill Hospital	15	13			9	3	19	59
Barnhill Hospital	32	6		2	19		12	71
Oakbank Hospital	3						2	5
Duke Street Hospital	1	6			2		2	11
Merryflats Hospital	14	17	1	4	7	1	10	54
Institution for Imbecile Children			17	31				48
Total	65	42	18	37	37	4	45	248

Appendix 5(i)

Defective Children at Home

	Total	Idiots	Imbecile	Defective	Epileptic(sane)
Males	52	5	25	20	2
Females	<u>38</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>
	90	16	39	33	2

Appendix 5(j)

Special Schools in Glasgow, 1920

School	Roll		Over 12 Years		Awaiting Admission	
	M.D.	P.D.	M.D.	P.D.	M.D.	P.D.
Division I						
			34	47	7	19
Percy Street	86	220				25
Middlefield	45	174	22	29		5
Yorkhill	33	120	12	31	31	31
Cranstonhill	59	120	36	15		
Washington Street	49		19			
Grove Street	64		16			
Rockvilla	59		25			32
Colston		120		24		
	395	754	158	146	38	112
Division II						
			61	60		45
Kennyhill	120	178	15	13		
Rosemount	56	77	14			
Dennistoun	38			31		11
Bluevale		104	10			
Parkhead	18		20			
Camlachie	51		17	13		9
Dovehill	36	90	37			
Alexander's	45		24			
Dobbie's Loan	36					
Shettleston and Tollcross District						52
	400	449	198	117		117

Appendix 5(j) (continued)

Special Schools in Glasgow, 1920

School	Roll		Over 12 Years		Awaiting Admission	
	M.D.	P.D.	M.D.	P.D.	M.D.	P.D.
Division III						
Burnside		390		116		31
Barrowfield	23		10			
Queen Mary Street	78		30			
Dalmarnock	60			17		
London Road	30		11			
Strathclyde		40		1		41
	191	430	68	118		72
Division IV						
Hollybrook Street		206	1	100		70
Centre Street	57		16			
Adelphi Terrace	39		9			
Govan Street	84		35			
Hayfield	77		60			
Batson Street	33	127				22
Craig Road	28	20	12	11		
Pollok Academy	30		14			
	328	443	147	111		92
Division V						
Summerton Road	80	255	56	63		74
Shields Road	46		27			
	126	255	83	63		74

Appendix 5(k)

**Children examined with a view to admission to special school or institution for
"mentally defective" children, 1908**

	Previous Year		Discharged	Previous Year	
Feeble-minded	410	316	To ordinary schools	16	12
Imbecile	61	60	Certified imbecile	28	25
Idiot	3	6	Exempted or over-age	228	234
Dull or backward	123	81	To institutions	24	26
Normal	12	6	Left district, &c	46	30
For institution	21	26	Died	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
For further examination	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>			
Total examined	<u>636</u>	<u>502</u>	Total discharged	<u>352</u>	<u>335</u>

		Previous Year
Admitted to Special Classes	394	293
Roll at end of session	1794	1752

Appendix 5(I)

After-Care and home visitation of "mentally defective" children, 1908

Summary of work done by Women Officers:-

	Boys	Girls	Totals	Previous Year
Cases brought forward from previous session	656	461	1117	1028
Added to visiting list	164	96	260	215
Taken off visiting list -				
Home conditions satisfactory	26	10	36	67
Admitted to institutions	18	14	32	12
Others	<u>29</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>47</u>
 Total taken off list	 <u>73</u>	 <u>59</u>	 <u>132</u>	 <u>126</u>
 At present on visiting list	 747	 498	 1245	 1117

Appendix 5(m)

**Classification of children after being specially examined by the School Medical Officer
regarding "mental defects", 1939**

	1939	1938
	84	95
Not feeble-minded	164	217
Dull or backward	464	414
Feeble-minded		
first certification - special classes	1034	893
re-examination - special classes	9	17
for institution	105	91
Imbecile	32	55
Decision delayed (excluded from school)	202	144
Leavers (approaching 16 years of age)	12	5
For passing out of special classes	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
Decision postponed for further medical or educational investigation		
	<u>2115</u>	<u>1937</u>
Totals		

The number of children admitted for the first time to special classes was 413, compared with 435 during 1937-38.

Appendix 5(n)

Qualifications of teachers of "mentally defective" Glasgow children, 1955

A. Schools for Protestant "mentally defective" children

Total number of classes	88
Number of specially qualified Protestant teachers on permanent staff	56
The other 32 classes staffed as follows:	
(a) Protestant (permanent) without special qualification	4
(b) Protestant (temporary) without special qualification	11
(c) Protestant (over-age) with special qualification	3
(d) Roman Catholic (permanent) with special qualification	5
(e) Roman Catholic (over-age) with special qualification	3
(f) Roman Catholic (temporary) without special qualification	8

B. Schools for Roman Catholic "mentally defective" children

Total number of classes	49
Number of specially qualified Roman Catholic teachers on permanent staff	48

The other class has a permanent teacher without special qualification

Appendix 5(o)

Glasgow Special Schools, 1955

Protestant Schools	Children	Roman Catholic Schools	Children
Balgray	108	Henderson Street	37
Eastmuir	113	St. Aidan's	270
Greystone	227	St. Donnan's	76
Henderson Street	140	St. Gabriel's	137
Hollybrook	186	St. Kenneth's	168
Kennyhill	245	St. Kevin's	111
Kingston	83	St. Martin's	99
Middlefield	259	St. Oswald's	191
Richmond	66		
Rottenrow	189		
Summerton	277		
Total	1893	Total	1089

Appendix 5(p)**"Trainable" children in occupational centres, 1955**

There were, in Glasgow, at this time 10 centres accommodated in the following primary schools:

Abbotsford
Annfield
Dobbie's Loan
Elmvale
Kelvinhaugh
Shettleston
Shields Road
Temple
Tureen Street
Wolseley Street

These centres were administered in the same way as special schools but were separate units from the schools in which they were housed. Each made provision for 45 children whose low intelligence made them unsuitable for education in a special school but who could profit from personal and social training. The total roll in these units was 434.

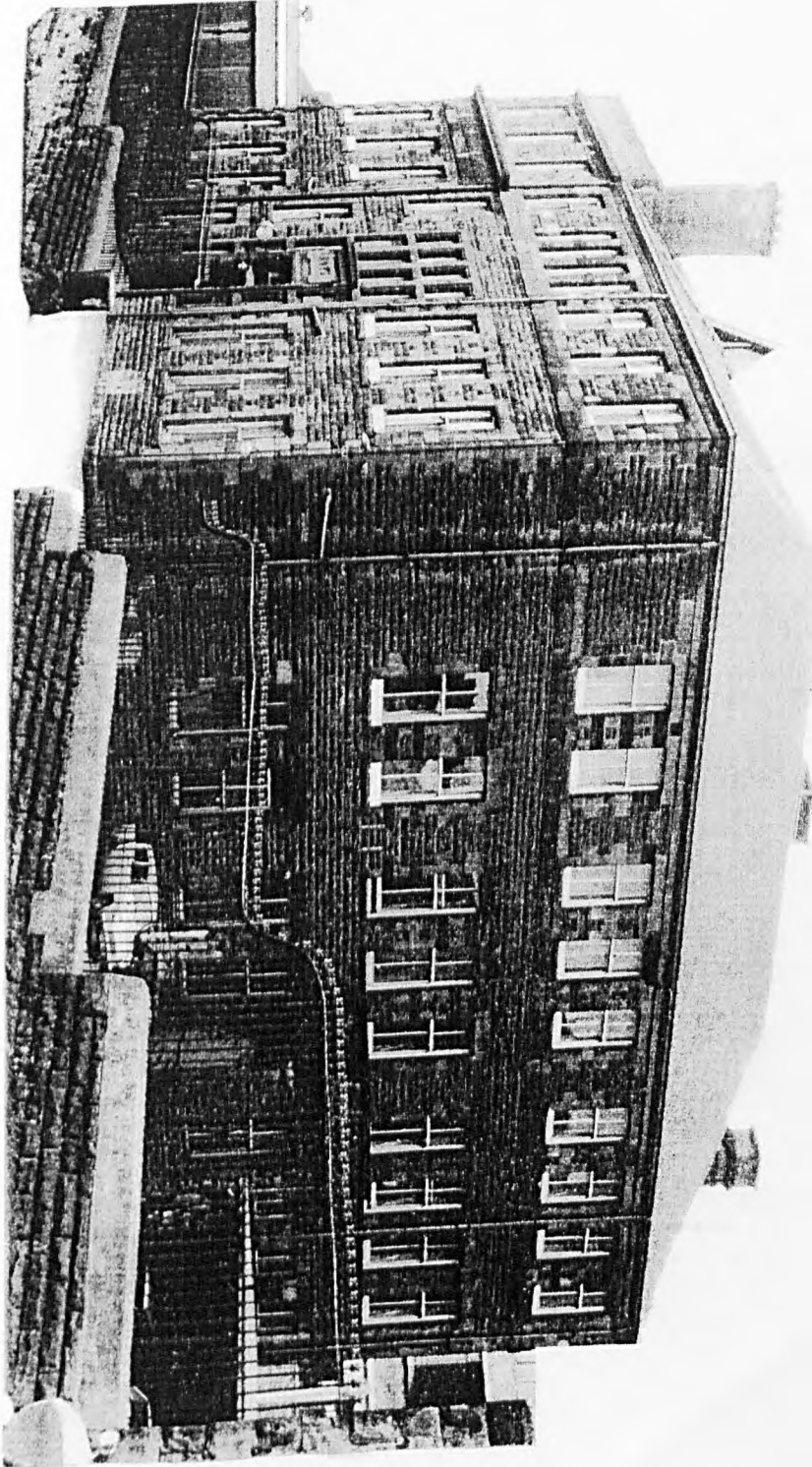
Appendix 5(q)

Kelvin



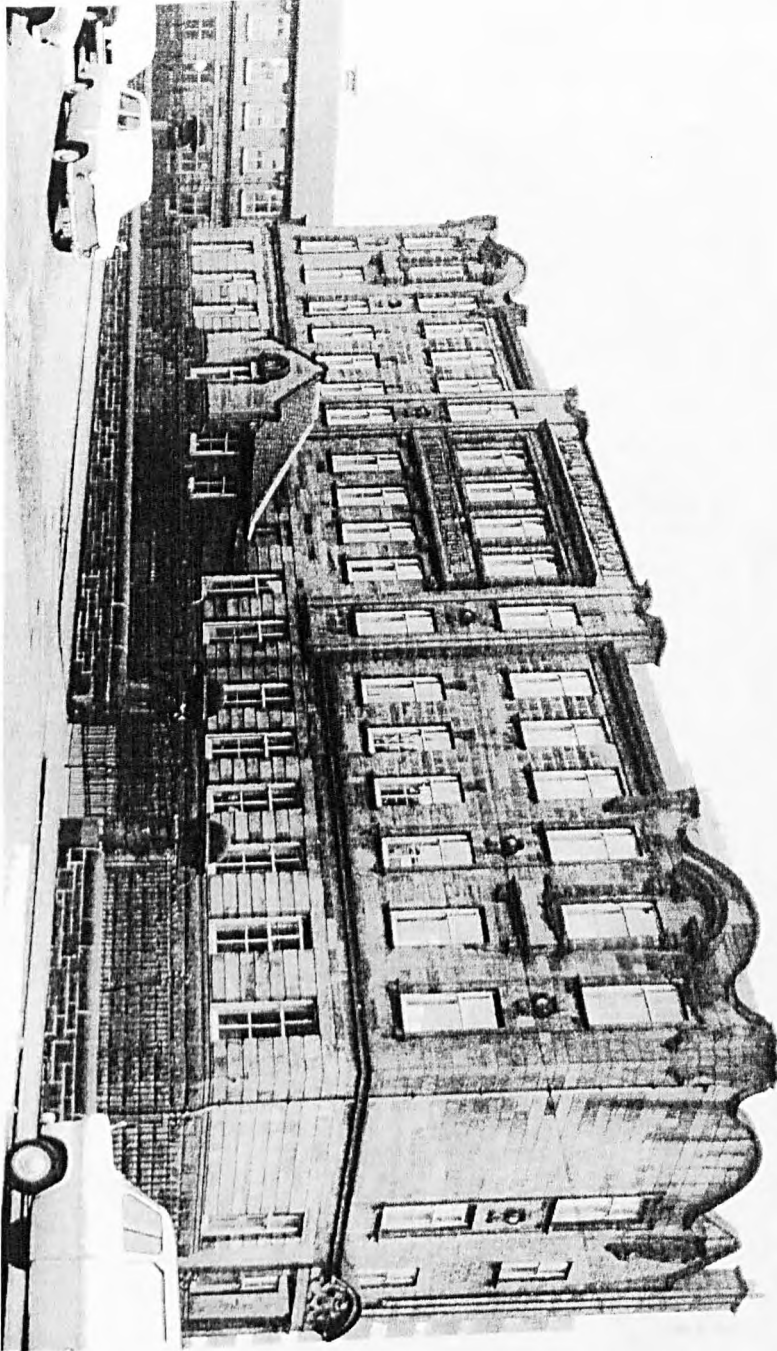
Appendix 5(q)continued

Finnieston



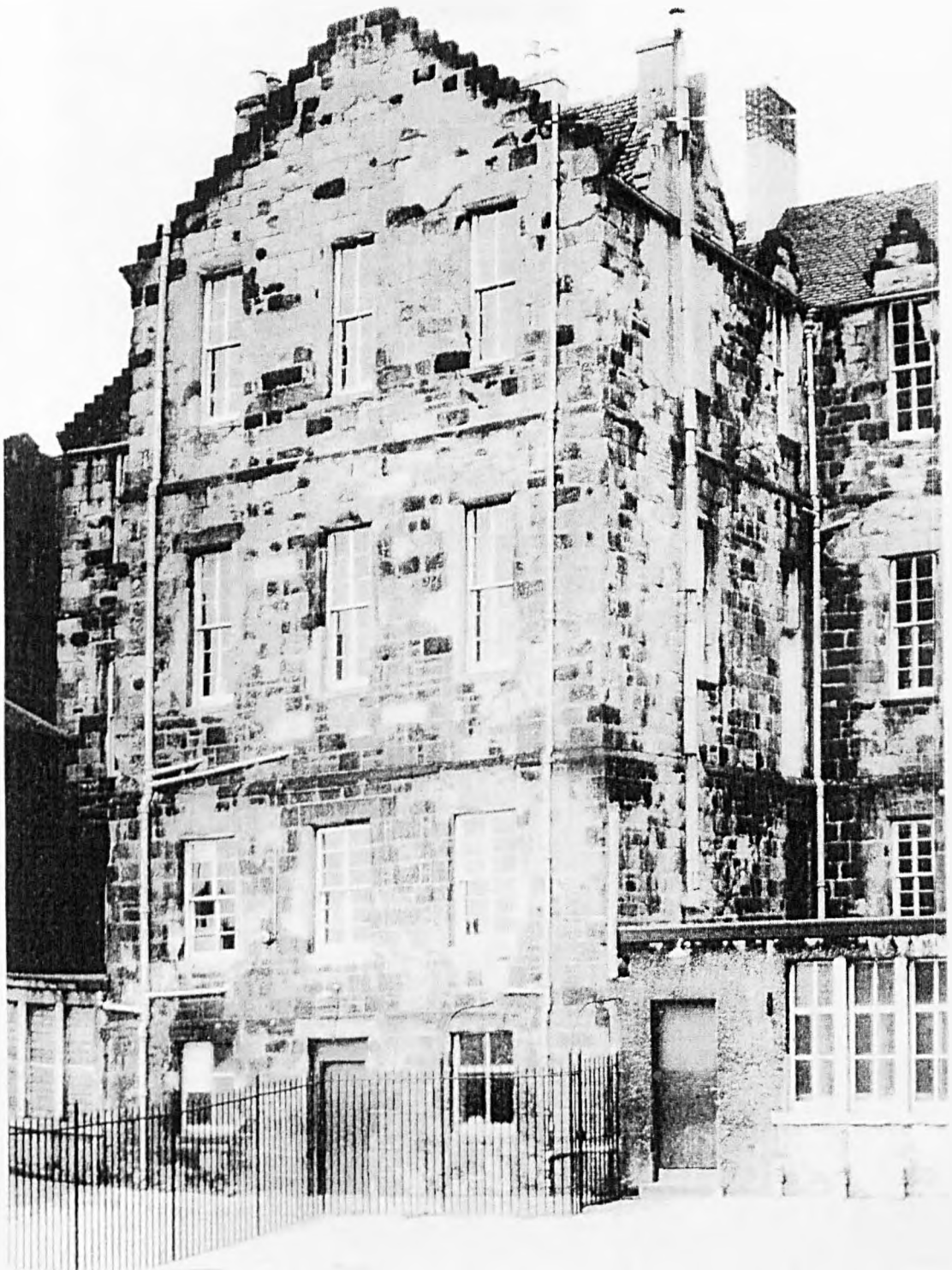
Appendix 5(q)continued

Hayfield



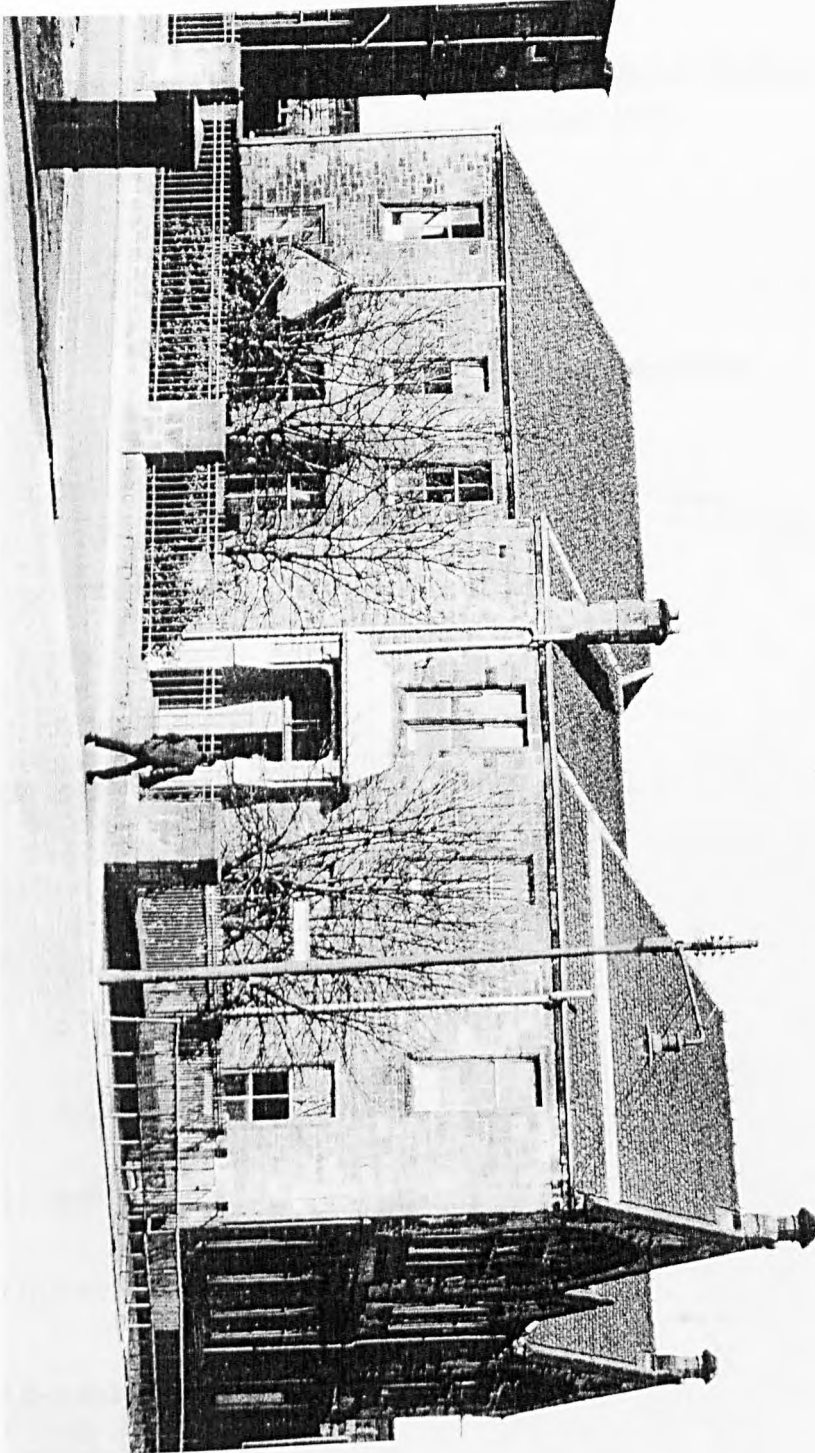
Appendix 5(q)continued

Rottenrow



Appendix 5(q)continued

Camlachie



Appendix 5(r)

Estimated incidence of "mental handicap" per 1000 of school population in Scotland, 1949 compared to Glasgow.

The figures below from the Report on Handicapped Children in Scotland were presented to the Association of Directors of Education in September, 1949

	per 1000 of school population	approximate no.
Scotland		
Treatment in ordinary schools	80.0	62193
Treatment in special schools	12.0	9336
Treatment in residential schools	2.0	1554
Provision in occupational centres	2.0	1554
Glasgow		
Treatment in ordinary schools	80.0	14165
Treatment in special schools	12.0	2124
Treatment in residential schools	2.0	354
Provision in occupational centres	2.0	354

Appendix 6**Historical documents of special significance to Govan Parish School Board, 1910 - 1917**

- (a) General classification of children of "abnormal mental development" as used by the school medical officer, 1910
- (b) Suggested scheme for the training of selected "defective" children in trade classes in school, 1917

Appendix 6(a)

General classification of children of "abnormal mental development" as used by the School Medical Officer, 1910

The mental abnormality may vary from the slightest degree to the greatest as seen in the imbeciles and idiots. Children of abnormal mental development may be divided into three main groups with certain sub-groups.

Group I includes:

- (a) Dull and Backward Children
- (b) Cases of Delayed Mental Development
- (c) Cases of "Spurious" Mental Deficiency

Causes of mental condition in the above NOT DUE to actual and permanent arrest of normal development as well as bodily functions.

Group II includes:

- (a) Truly Mentally Defective Children of all degrees.

The cause of mental deficiency in these children is, in the great majority of the cases, hereditary. True congenital mental deficiency is an actual and permanent arrest of normal development or an inherited incapacity for perfect development of their mental functions. Such children show signs of physical degeneration, in many instances, in addition to their mental defect.

Group III includes:

- (a) Imbeciles
- (b) Idiots

Considered from the scholastic point of view with reference to the ultimate attainments of the children in these different classes, much interesting and valuable information has been accumulated in this country and abroad.

In Group I

- (a) The Merely Dull and Backward school children are mentally dull and backward, as a rule, only in school work. By ordinary instruction they acquire a general knowledge of life and of their relationship to their fellows, and are capable of adopting a correct course in the circumstances of everyday life. They are quite capable of taking care of their affairs, and have a certain amount of initiation, memory, power of comparison and common-sense.

Appendix 6(a) (continued)

General classification of children of "abnormal mental development" as used by the School Medical Officer, 1910

(b) Cases of Delayed Mental Development are few in number and present a backwardness for a variable time after which mental development may take place rapidly, so that the child soon equals the average attainments of children of similar age after the lost ground has been recovered.

(c) "Spurious Mental Deficiency" is apparently due to some cause or causes which are remediable, such as insufficient or inappropriate food, want of fresh air, and so on. The removal of these causes is generally followed by disappearance of the signs of apparent mental deficiency. Educational Progress then follows its normal course.

In Group II

Mentally Defective children are defined as children "who not being imbecile, and not being merely dull and backward, are defective - that is to say, children who by reason of mental defect are incapable of receiving proper benefit or instruction in the ordinary public elementary schools, but are not incapable by reason of such defect of receiving benefit from instruction in such special classes as are mentioned in this Article". (Article 20, Scotch Education Code)

The essential causation of the defective mental condition of these children, in the majority of the cases, is that it is an hereditary defect in the power of the organism to grow or develop beyond a certain stage.

One eminent authority describes the educational possibilities of these children by dividing them into three grades thus:

The First Grade - slight degrees of mental deficiency. The children make fair progress in elementary knowledge. They can do simple writing, learn to read books, and can work the simplest arithmetical exercises. They have some small degree of common-sense but lack initiative.

The Second Grade - They are considerably behind the first grade in their mental work but not so much in their handicraft. They are rarely capable of the simplest mental or written arithmetic. Reading and writing of words of one syllable may be attained by some, but many are unable to reach even this low standard.

Appendix 6(a) (continued)**General classification of children of "abnormal mental development" as used by
the School Medical Officer, 1910**

The Third Grade - approaches more and more closely to the imbeciles, and in many cases it may be impossible to distinguish some children in this class from the true imbecile. Improvement in this class is limited to the development of some capacity for manual work under direct and constant supervision. Some advance may be gained by the formation of habits of tidiness in their personal appearance, cleanliness of their person and habits, obedience to others and regularity in their attendance. The attainment of these qualities completes their possibility of improvement. They are always children and are entirely dependent on others.

Appendix 6(b)

Suggested scheme for the training of selected “defective” children in trade classes in school, 1917

School Training

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Elementary Stages | - | The ordinary school curriculum. |
| 2. | From, say, 10 to 12 years | - | Elements of trade or vocational training and continuation of scholastic education. |
| 3. | From, say, 12 to 14 years | - | For selected children most of the time to be spent in definite trade apprenticeship. What scholastic training might be carried on during this period I leave to the educational experts, but it should, in my opinion, bear directly on the trade selected. |

The children whom the medical officer had in mind here were “educable mentally defective” children as well as children who were physically “defective”, deaf-mute children and children who were partially blind. The scheme was suggested in the Tenth Annual Report of Govan Parish School Board, 1917.

Appendix 7

Historical documents of special significance to American institutions.

- (a) Educational Classification of the Feeble-Minded at Elwyn School for Feeble-Minded Children, Pennsylvania (1905-8), as outlined by Dr. Barr, the superintendent.
- (b) Actual classification in the school, 1904.
- (c) Table showing how children were financially supported.
- (d) Photographs of:

Main Building, Elwyn

North Home and Martin Croft, Elwyn

The School House, Elwyn

Rome State Custodial Asylum

Rome State Custodial Asylum, "idiots" at work

Bust of Dorothea Lynde Dix

Appendix 7(a)

Educational Classification of the Feeble-Minded at Elwyn School for Feeble-Minded Children, Pennsylvania (1905-8), as outlined by Dr. Barr, the superintendent.

Requiring Asylum Care

Idiot

Profound	{apathetic, excitable}	Unimprovable.
Superficial	{apathetic, excitable}	Improvable in self-help.

Idio-imbecile

Improvable in self-help and helpfulness.
Trainable in very limited degree to assist others.

Custodial Life and Perpetual Guardianship

Moral Imbecile

Low Grade	Trainable in industrial occupations. Temperament bestial.
Middle Grade	Trainable in industrial and manual occupations. A plotter of mischief.
High Grade	Trainable in manual and intellectual arts with genius for evil.

Appendix 7(b)

Actual Classification of Pupils in Elwyn School (1904)

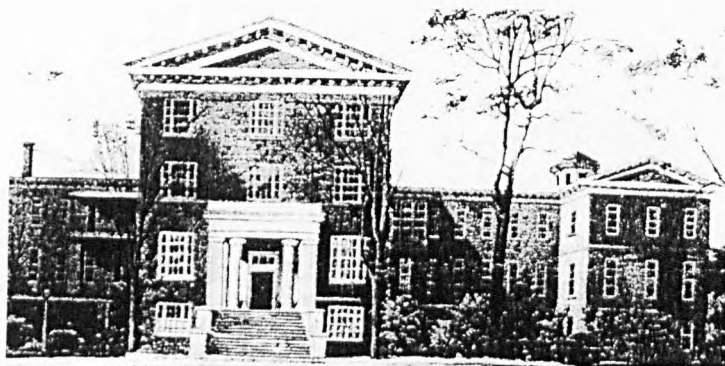
		Males	Females	Total
School	In School	138	91	229
Department	In Improvement Classes			
Manual	In Carpentering	46	28	74
Department	In Painting	5		5
	In Hammock Making	6		6
	In Shoemaking	8		8
	In Matress Making	23		23
	In Tailoring	6		6
	In Sewing Room and Dress Making	1	20	21
Industrial	In Household Service	113	102	215
Department	In Laundry	12	54	66
	In Kitchen	17	5	22
	In Bakery	6		6
	In Engine Room, Store Room and Stable	9		9
	In Farm and Garden	23		23
Custodial	In Asylum	127	71	198
Department	In Nursery	<u>31</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>79</u>
Totals		589	419	1008

Appendix 7(c)

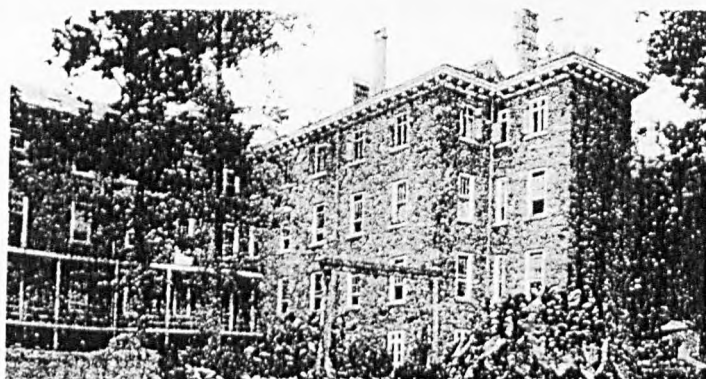
How the children were financially supported

	Males	Females	Total
State of Pennsylvania, wholly	144	99	243
State of Pennsylvania, partially	8	6	14
State of Pennsylvania, supplemental	206	161	367
City of Philadelphia	88	61	149
State of New Jersey	3		3
State of Delaware	7	7	14
Parents and Guardians	76	49	125
United States	27	14	41
Institution	7	3	10
Free Fund	<u>23</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>42</u>
On roll September 30, 1904	589	419	1008

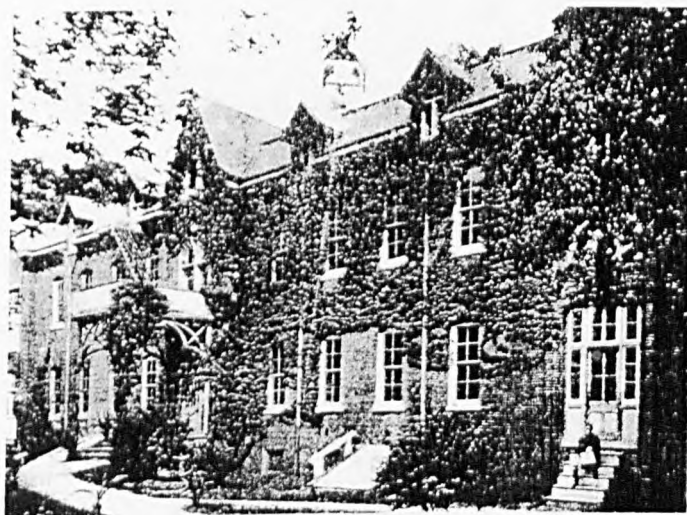
Appendix 7(d)



Department of the Training School - Main Building

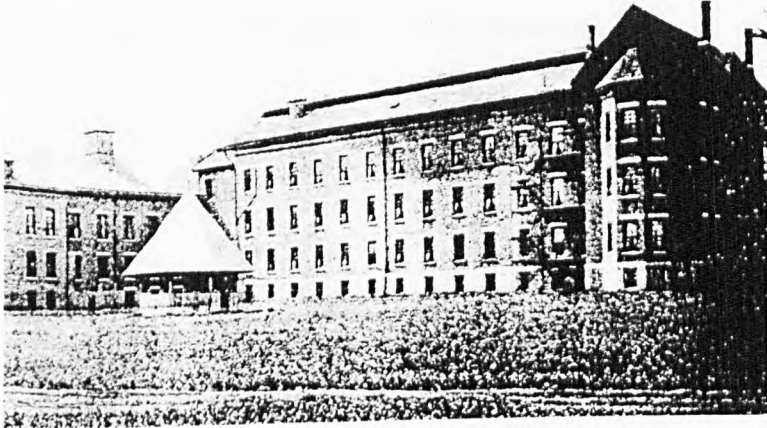


North Home and Martin Croft.

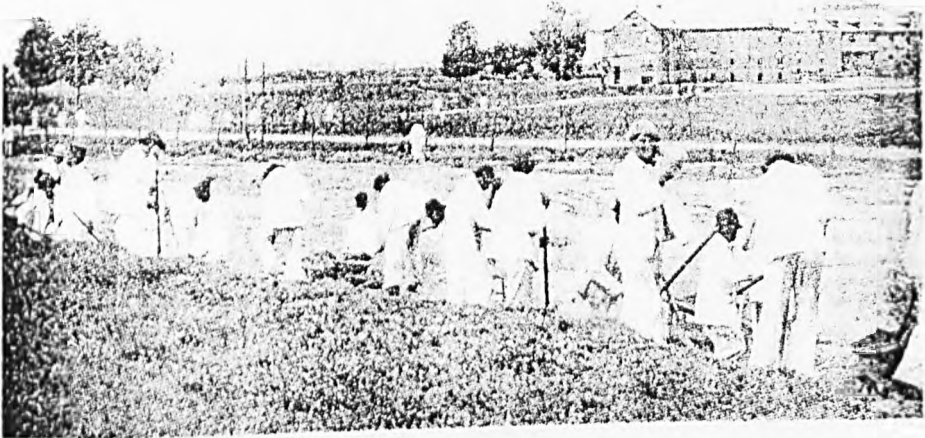


School House, Elwyn

Appendix 7(d) continued



Rome State - Custodial Asylum



Idiots at Work



Dorothea Lynde Dix

Appendix 8

Historical documents of special significance to Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children

- (a) Abstract of Treasurer's Intromissions, 1910
- (b) Sample of Donations, 1910

Appendix 8(a)

**Abstract of Treasurer's Intromissions, Glasgow Association for the Care of
Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, 1910**

(1) Maintenance - Receipts

Subscriptions as per list	£221	6	2
Received on account of Board from the following			
Glasgow Parish Council	231	0	0
Govan Parish Council	167	1	0
Glasgow School Board	33	11	8
Govan School Board	19	10	0
Renfrew School Board	19	7	6
Parents and Guardians	49	3	0
Rent of Fields, etc.	18	7	0
Inmates' Work	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	£766	7	7

Note - Since the closing of this Account a payment of £3.19s.10d. has been received from the Home Office in respect of the maintenance of two committed cases during the last quarter of 1910.

(2) Education - Receipts

Received for School Year, ending 31 May, 1909	£43	14	3
Received for School Year, ending 31 May, 1910	82	1	6
Received for School Year, ending 31 May, 1911	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	£145	15	9

Note - There is yet to be received for School Year to 31 May, 1910 the sum of £29. 9s. There is also the sum of £61.13s.10d. due by the Board in respect of the period from 1 June to 31 December, 1910.

(3) New Buildings and Furnishings - Receipts

Received from 1909	£158	10	0
Bank Interest	2	8	5
Balance due to Hon. Treasurer	<u>266</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
	£427	6	0

Appendix 8(a) (continued)

**Abstract of Treasurer's Intromissions, Glasgow Association for the Care of
Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, 1910**

(1) Maintenance - Payments

Rates, Taxes and Insurance	£44	3	12
Repairs and Replacement of Furniture	45	18	2
Salaries of Matron, Assistants and Gardener	168	14	11
Honorarium to Medical Officer	10	10	0
Household Expenses, including Coal, Clothing and Garden	369	17	5
Printing, Stationery and Office Expenses	12	18	5
Balance in hands of Matron and Hon. Treasurer	<u>113</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>
	<u>£766</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>

(2) Education - Payments

Salary of Teacher, Work Materials, etc.,	£134	10	10
Balance in hands of Treasurer	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
	<u>£145</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>

(3) New Buildings and Furnishings - Payments

Expended on New Buildings	£285	16	3
Expended on New Furniture	91	9	9
Donation by W.A. Coats, Esq., 1909, transferred to Fund for proposed Cottage Home	<u>50</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>£427</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>

Appendix 8(b)

Sample of Donations, Glasgow Association for the Care of Defective and Feeble-Minded Children, 1910

Miss E.J. Aikman, 41 St. Vincent Crescent	£0	5	0
Alexander's Stores, Ltd., 83 Cowgate St., Kirkintilloch	0	10	0
Miss Allan, Greystone, Prestwick	2	0	0
J. Carfrae Alston, Esq., 9 Lorraine Gardens	1	0	0
Mrs. Balmain, Moorburn, Largs	0	5	0
H. Taylor Brown, Esq., 111 French Street	3	3	0
Misses Brown, 4 Prince Albert Road, Dowanhill	1	0	0
Mrs. Brownlie, Merrylee House, Newlands	0	10	0
Miss Cameron, Fassifern, Glencairn Drive, Pollokshields	0	2	6
Mrs. W. Cunningham, 20 Bute Gardens,	1	0	0
Mrs. Dick, 16 Dalziel Drive, Pollokshields	2	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, 4 Great Western Terrace	1	0	0
A Friend	2	0	0
James L. Galbraith, Esq., 26 Ashton Gardens	1	0	0
Miss Inglis, 12 Princes Gardens	0	5	0
Mrs T. Johnstone, 3 Kinnoul Place, Dowanhill	5	0	0
William Kerr, Esq., 1 Windsor Terrace, W.	5	0	0
The Kennyhill Bequest Fund, per Messrs. Mitchells,			
Johnston & Co., 160 West George Street	20	0	0
Mrs. Eton Lander, Cathcart House, Cathcart	2	0	0
Mrs. M.P. McKerrow, 17 Montgomerie Drive	1	0	0
J.D. McLaren, Esq., M.D., Dunreggan, Elie	1	1	0
A.A. Mitchell, Esq., 7 Huntly Gardens	1	0	0
Miss L.O. Mitchell, North Battleford, Saskatchewan, Canada	1	0	0
Prof. W.L. Reid, 7 Royal Crescent	1	1	0
Mrs. Alex Rose, Richmond House, Dowanhill	1	0	0
Mrs. H.A. Roxburgh, 10 Crown Gardens	0	10	0
Joseph Russell, Esq., The Knowe, Port Glasgow	1	0	0
Mrs. B. Scott, 54 Glencairn Drive, Pollokshields	0	3	0
J.F. Snodgrass, Esq., Ashbourne, Winton Drive	3	3	0

Appendix 8(b) (continued)

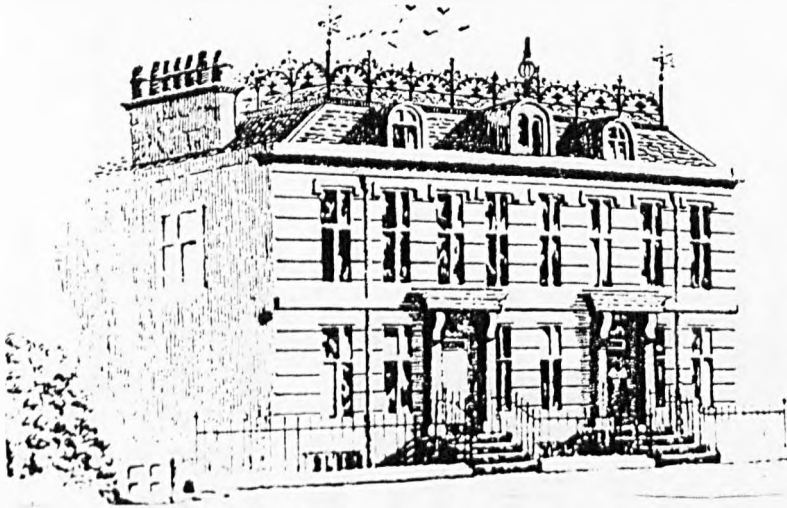
Miss L. Stewart, Summerton Special School, Ibrox	1	0	0
J.S. Templeton, Esq., 2 Park Circus	1	0	0
Mrs. Todd, 13 Park Circus	2	2	0
Mrs. Ure, Cairndhu, Helensburgh	2	0	0
David Yellowlees, Esq., M.D., LL. D., 6 Albert Gate, Dowanhill	5	5	0

Appendix 9**Historical documents of special significance to St. Charles' Institution**

- (a) Line Drawing.
- (b) Balance sheet, 1921.

Appendix 9(a)

Line Drawing of St. Charles'



Appendix 9 (b)
Balance Sheet, St Charles' Certified Institution, 1921

Balance Sheet at 15th May, 1921

LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
British Linen Bank- Overdraft on Current Account	£ 553 3 6	Structural Alterations on Buildings held on Lease -	
Less on Deposit Receipt on Providing Account	<u>185 12 2</u>	Cost to date	£1855 5 2
	£ 367 11 4	Furniture and Furnishings - Cost to date	798 17 8
Balance Due to Treasurer	<u>51 18 5</u>		
	£ 419 9 9	Deficiency on Maintenance and Education Account	
Loans-		As at 15 th May, 1920	£886 10 9
As at 15 th May, 1920	<u>3000 0 0</u>	Less Surplus for year to date	121 3 10
			765 6 11
	£3419 9 9		£3419 9 9
		Maintenance and Education Amt for Year to 15 th May, 1921	
RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
<u>From Public Boards</u>	£2998 19 11	Food and Clothing	£1814 16 5
Donations	261 19 2	Salaries and Wages	480 0 0
		Fuel, Light and Water	291 10 2
		Rent, Taxes, Insurance and Telephone	166 0 11
		Books, Stationery and Stamps	15 17 4
		Bank Interest	47 7 6
		Interest on Loans	130 0 0
		Upkeep of Furnishings	159 6 3
		Upkeep of Buildings	<u>34 16 8</u>
			3139 15 3
		Balance- being Surplus carried to Balance Sheet	<u>121 3 10</u>
	£3260 19 1		£3260 19 1

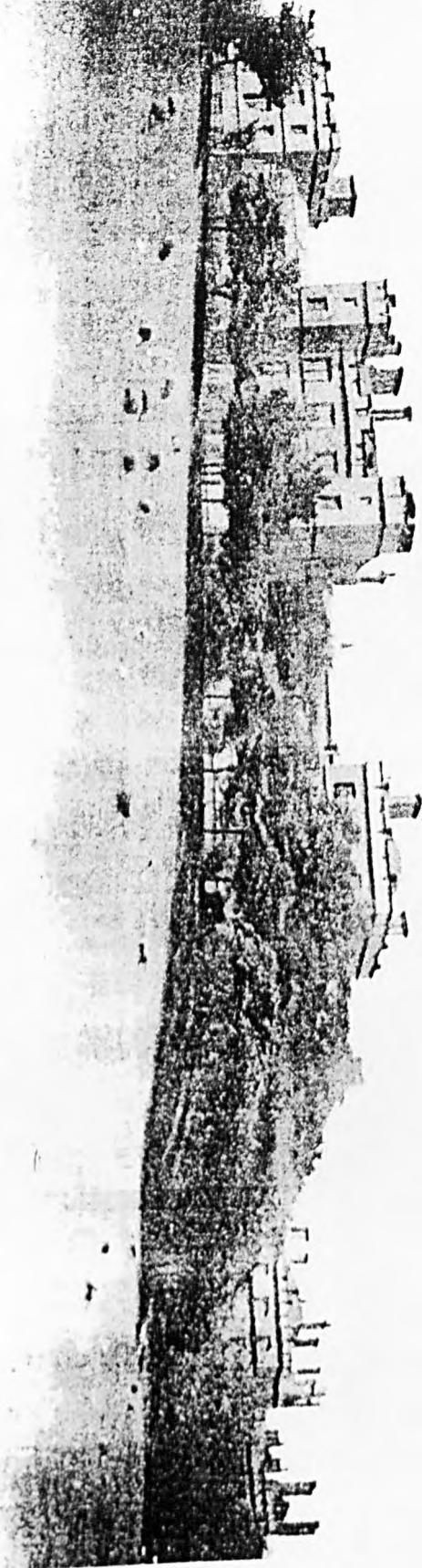
Appendix 10

Various Photographs of Asylums

- (a) Glasgow Royal Asylum, Gartnavel.
- (b) The Asylum Centre, Woodilee.
- (c) The Children's Home, Woodilee.

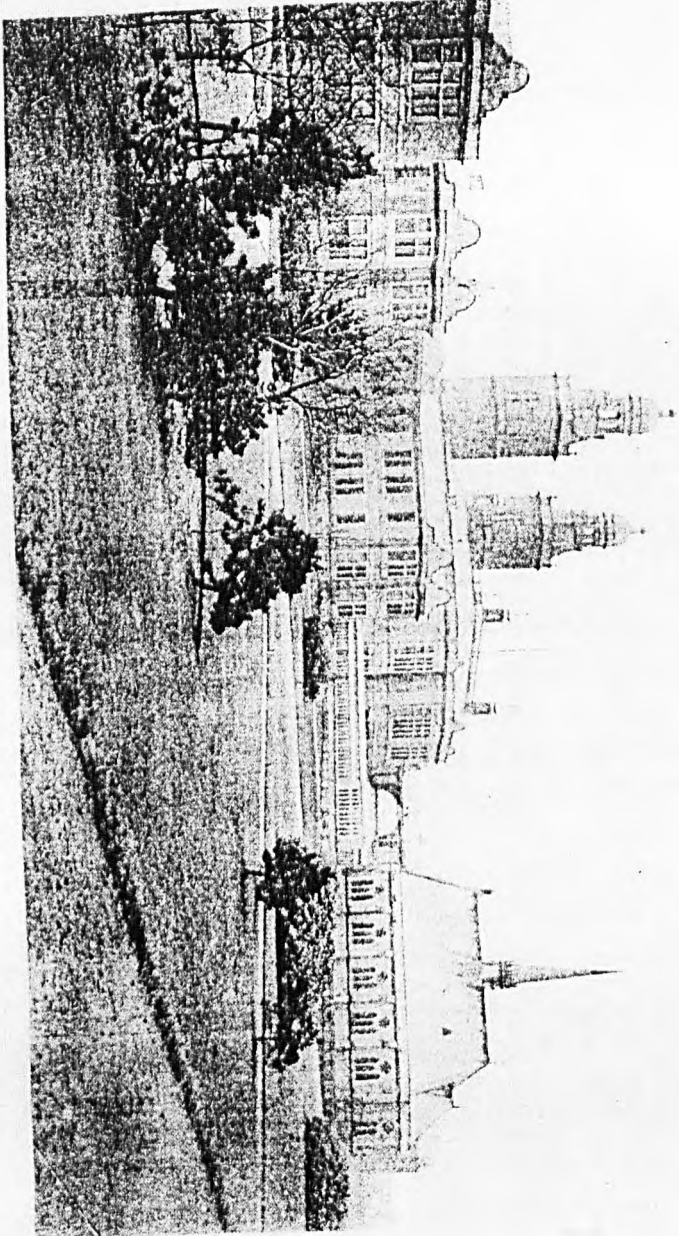
Appendix 10(a)

Gartnavel



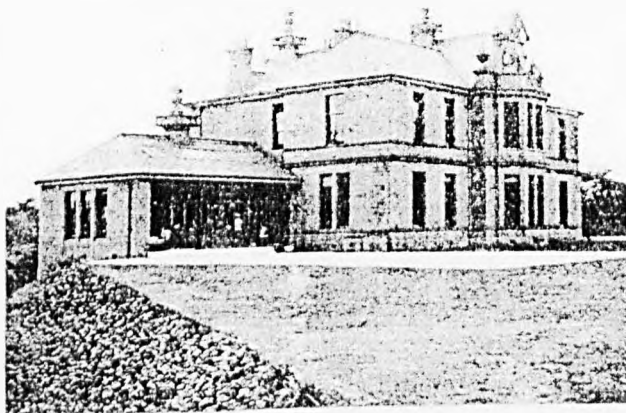
Appendix 10(b)

Woodilee



Appendix 10(c)

Woodilee Children's Home



Appendix 11

Two poems relevant to the topic of study

- (a) Poem on the Crichton Royal, Dumfries.
- (b) Poem on the necessity of educating the “idiot”.

Appendix 11(a)

Poem on the Crichton Royal, Dumfries

This poem appeared originally in New Moon on 3 May, 1850 and is quoted in the Scottish Review of 1855, p.256. As far as can be gathered the work is anonymous.

“It seemed like an enchanted place,
 in fancy’s fairy land,
 Where ilka ane, wi’ smiling face,
 Held out a friendly hand;
 Where by some secret, magic trick,
 Baith meat and drink they draw
 Frae out a bunker, queer and quick,
 In the bonnie Crichton Ha’
 My courage daily gathered strength:
 My sorrows died away:
 My hope grew brighter, till, at length,
 It shone like the noon-day:
 The guardian angel smiled on me,
 Dispelled my troubles a’
 And gart me sing, wi’ muckle glee,
 In the bonnie Crichton ha’ ”.

Appendix 11(b)

Poem on necessity of educating the “idiot”

Poem quoted by Mr. Millard, superintendent of a large institution for “mental defectives” in England. The poem was used during two public meetings calling for such an institution to serve the needs of Glasgow and Edinburgh. The first meeting took place in Edinburgh on 3 February, 1862 and the second in Glasgow two days later. In a very moving address Mr. Millard used the following lines which had appeared in “Eliza Cook’s Journal” :

“ ...We must not scorn
The teaching of the idiot-born
Use him fairly, he will prove
How the simple breast can love;

He will spring with infant glee
To the form he likes to see:
Gentle speech or kindness done
Truly blinds the witless one.

Spurn him not, the blemished part
Had better be the head than heart
Thou wilt be the fool to scorn
The teaching of the idiot-born”.

Appendix 12**Chronology of Educational Provision for Children with Intellectual Disabilities in Greater Glasgow 1862 - 1962**

- 1840 Educational experiment in the Crichton Royal Asylum.
- 1855 Baldovan Asylum opens.
- 1855 Edinburgh Idiot Asylum opens.
- 1857 Royal Commission on the State of Lunatic Asylums of Scotland.
- 1862 Lunacy (Scotland) Act.
- 1863 Larbert Institution opens.
- 1872 Education (Scotland) Act.
- 1889 Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb.
- 1898 Experimental class for "mental defectives" started in Oatlands School.
- 1906 Education (Scotland) Act.
- 1908 Education (Scotland) Act.
- 1908 Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded.
- 1913 Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act.
- 1945 Education (Scotland) Act
- 1947 National Health Service (Scotland) Act.
- 1954 Education (Scotland) Act
- 1962 Mental Health Act.
- 1974 Education (Scotland) (Mentally Handicapped Children) Act.

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(c) Interviews

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