

Aspects of the Assimilation of Highland and Irish
Migrants in Glasgow, 1830 - 1870.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
List of Tables	5
Introduction	9
Chapter 1: Employment Opportunities in Anderston and the Central Zones, 1830-1870	23
Chapter 2: The Occupations of Highland and Irish Migrants	42
Chapter 3: The Glasgow Police Force - A Case Study of Migrant Recruitment to Urban Employment	76
Chapter 4: Religious Congregations and Migrant Experience	102
Chapter 5: The Residential Patterns of the Highland and Irish Migrants	172
Chapter 6: Marriage and Schooling in the Assimilation of the Migrant Groups	201
Conclusion	218
Appendix	225
Bibliography	226

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ABSTRACT

The study is a comparative examination of aspects of Highland and Irish assimilation in Glasgow in the period 1830-1870. The value of such a study is made clear as are the methods and sources employed in carrying out the research.

In the first chapter, attention is paid to the economic structures and employment opportunities pertaining to the districts of Glasgow selected for detailed investigation, those being Anderston, a riverside western suburb, and the two old, central parishes of St Andrew's and Outer. Having identified the broad features of the industrial structure of the selected districts, the study is concerned with the differential entry and participation of Highland and Irish migrants in the different local economies.

A breakdown of the migrant group involvement in the various sectors of the economy and industries is provided. The place of the migrant groups in the occupational hierarchy is examined with a view to explaining the type, status, pay and conditions of the employments taken up by the Irish and Highlanders. One type of employment to be found in the new urban, industrial environment, police work, is studied in greater depth to acquire further insights into migrant group penetration of urban occupations.

Irish and Highland migrant involvement in religious institutions is explored to assess the significance of the separate and distinctive corporate worship of Catholic Irish and Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian Highlanders for the formation of group or ethnic identities and the process of migrant assimilation. Some of the main features of differences in the spatial and residential segregation and disadvantage of the two migrant groups are presented with an emphasis on the acute deprivation experienced by Irish immigrants.

Two social institutions, marriage and schools, are employed as further indices of differential assimilation on the part of the two migrant groups. The extent to which interaction between the migrant groups and the host society was enhanced by intermarriage and shared schooling further accounts for the quicker absorption of Highland migrants.

LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS.

Tables

- A Irish and Highland born in population of Glasgow, 1851-1881.
- 1.1 Distribution of occupations in Anderston household sample, by sex, 1851.
- 1.2 Distribution of occupations in Central Zones, 1831 (Cleland data) and 1851 (sample of census households).
- 2.1 Distribution of Irish, Highland and all male employed in Anderston, 1851.
- 2.2 Place of birth of men granted a city porter licence in 1834 and from that year to 1853.
- 2.3 Distribution of male occupations in sample of households in Central Zones, 1851.
- 2.4 Migrant group participation in Tailoring and Shoemaking, two Glasgow localities, 1861.
- 2.5 Distribution of female occupations in Anderston, by migrant group, 1851.
- 3.1 Place of birth of the recruits to Glasgow Police Divisions, 1856-1857.
- 3.2 Place of birth of those serving in Glasgow Police Divisions, January 1856.
- 3.3 Age distribution of recruits to the Glasgow Police Force, 1856-1857, by place of birth.
- 3.4 Marital status of recruits to the Glasgow Police Force, by place of birth.
- 3.5 County and Province of birth of those serving in and recruits to the Glasgow Police Force, 1856-1857.

- 3.6 County of Birth of those serving in Glasgow Police Divisions, January 1856.
- 3.7 County of birth of the recruits to Glasgow Police Divisions, 1856-1857.
- 3.8 Former occupations of recruits to the Glasgow Police Force, 1856-1857 by place of birth.
- 3.9 Country of birth of those serving in the Glasgow Police Force, 1859-1872.
- 3.10 Lengths of service of recruits to the Glasgow Police Force, 1856-1857, by place of birth.
- 4.1 Church involvement of Roman Catholics in Glasgow, north of the Clyde, 1836.
- 4.2 Sittings and estimated attendance at Established Churches in the West Highland and Islands, 1836-1837.
- 4.3 Approximate distances of Established Church members from Parish churches in the West Highlands and Islands, 1836-1837.
- 5.1 Percentage Irish and Highland born in population of St Andrew's District in 1851, by enumeration division.
- 5.2 Percentage Irish and Highland born in population of Outer-High District in 1851, by enumeration division.
- 5.3 Percentage Irish and Highland born in population of Anderston District in 1851, by enumeration division.
- 5.4 Percentage Irish and Highland born in population of Broomielaw District in 1851, by enumeration division.
- 5.5 Percentage of Highland and Irish households resident in various sizes of house (number of rooms), Anderston, 1871.
- 5.6 Number of persons per room of Highland and Irish households, Anderston, 1871.

- 5.7 Number of persons per room in Highland and Irish households, by socio-economic groups, Anderston, 1871.
- 5.8 Incidence of fever in eight Western District streets in 1864, 1870, 1871 and 1872.

MAPS

- 1 Districts of Glasgow selected for detailed
 examination.
- 2 Industrial concerns in Anderston, 1839-1840.
- 3 Anderston Registration District, 1861.
- 4 Districts surveyed by Commission on Religious
 Instruction (Dissenters Survey).
- 5 Districts of West Highlands and Highlands.

INTRODUCTION

The Study of Migrant Groups in Nineteenth Century Urban Scotland

Studies carried out by historians and social scientists in the past few decades have provided new insight into the adaptation of migrants to urban, industrial society (1). In recent years, Scottish historiography has also produced studies of migrant groups which develop afresh many of the themes explored by earlier historians and have adopted newer approaches to the investigation of the complex social processes and experiences involved in migration to, and settlement in , urban centres (2). A common approach in these newer studies has been to examine a specific migrant group, either Irish or Highland, in a particular lowland town. These historical works have also been characterised by the employment of quantitative methods, with the census data from the period 1841 to 1891 proving a particularly valuable source of data (3). Employing these data and evidence from a a broad range of other quantitative and qualitative sources, historians have been able to consider in detail the nature of the movement to particular towns, the migrant involvement in the local economy, the social geography of migrant settlement in the selected towns and various features of the social and cultural life of the group under study. As a result of this research, and more general study of the migration process, the conditions promoting or retarding the assimilation of Highland and

Irish migrants in lowland towns in the nineteenth century have become better understood (4).

There remain, however, many aspects of the assimilation of these two migrant groups to urban, lowland society that require further investigation. There is a lack of any systematic comparative research into the position of these migrant groups in the larger urban centres of lowland Scotland. Through direct comparison of the Irish and Highland migrants in Glasgow in the period 1830-1870, it should be possible to examine the performance of the two groups in a major urban centre which was rapidly expanding and transforming its industrial base. The work of Campbell on the Lanarkshire miners and metalworkers has revealed a more complex penetration of the occupational structure by the Irish than Handley's work had suggested (5). A study of this immigrant group in Glasgow would provide for the first time the opportunity to examine this access to the occupations emerging in the expanding industrial enterprises of metalworking, engineering and shipbuilding. At the same time, there is also a need to inquire into the economic plight of migrants who took up residence in the highly congested, old central areas of Glasgow. Reliance on impressionistic evidence in previous studies has produced a less than satisfactory account of the economic situation of migrants in the old, inner city (6).

Beyond these economic indices of assimilation there has been no systematic attempt to explore the role of the Catholic church in the assimilation of Irish immigrants in Scotland

at this period (7). Examination of Highland migrant participation in Gaelic churches in Glasgow at the same period should also offer a useful comparative measure of the importance of church involvement not only of the assimilation of the two groups but also the relative strengths of ethnic identification (8). In short, to date there has been no attempt to provide a comparative examination of the assimilation of the two migrant groups. Such a study in a Glasgow context in the middle decades of the nineteenth century should, hopefully, offer new insights into the nature and extent of the assimilation process.

The Migrant Population in Glasgow, 1830-1870

The population of Glasgow grew rapidly during the mid-nineteenth century increasing from 202,000 in 1831 to 477,732 in 1871 (9). The earlier textile revolution, between 1780 and 1830, and the later metallurgical and shipbuilding developments, were the major economic growth areas behind the more general industrial and commercial expansion and diversification, structural changes and rapid urban growth, taking place in the city (10).

At mid-century, Glasgow had a population largely composed of migrants and their offspring. At the census of 1851, 56 per cent of the city's population had been born outside its boundaries and 72.4 per cent of the adults in the city had been born elsewhere (11). The greatest proportion of these migrants were drawn from other parts of lowland Scotland,

particularly from the adjacent lowland counties which accounted for almost one quarter (24.2 per cent) of the city's population in 1851. Yet, at that date also, the proportion of the city's adult population who were Irish-born (23.3 per cent) was not far short of the contribution made by Glasgow-born adults (27.6 per cent) and the adults from the adjacent lowland counties. In numerical terms, the Highland-born were a much less significant presence in the city. At the mid-century, five per cent of the adults in Glasgow were from Highland counties (12). Indeed, at that date the number of Irish-born children alone exceeded the entire Highland-born population in Glasgow. As Table A below makes clear, the ratio of Irish migrants to Highland migrants in Glasgow remained roughly similar until the end of the period. The large Irish presence in the city may have to some extent dwarfed the Highland population, but the latter migrant group were, nonetheless, a considerable minority in the social structure. Although Highland and Irish migrants were but two groups in a more general influx of migrants, there are good reasons for restricting the analysis to them. More so than for most lowland Scots, migration to lowland towns might well involve a considerable degree of social and cultural dislocation for the Irish and Highlanders. Also, the Irish and Highlanders were regarded by contemporaries as separate groups in the social order. Both groups were often described as a "race", apparently in a sense not far removed from that suggested by the term "ethnic group" today: namely, a collectivity based on the assumption of common geographic origin and particularistic modes of behaviour. Both groups, to varying degrees,

exhibited a social and cultural cohesiveness that distinguished them as discrete groups in the social structure.

Table A. Irish and Highland-born in population of Glasgow, 1851-1881.

	Irish	Irish%	Highland	Highland%
1851	60,058	18.0	16,534	5.0
1861	63,574	15.8	17,682	4.5
1871	70,410	14.4	20,848	4.4
1881	65,618	12.7	18,594	3.6

Note: Highland figures compiled from county totals and include Argyll, Inverness, Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland.

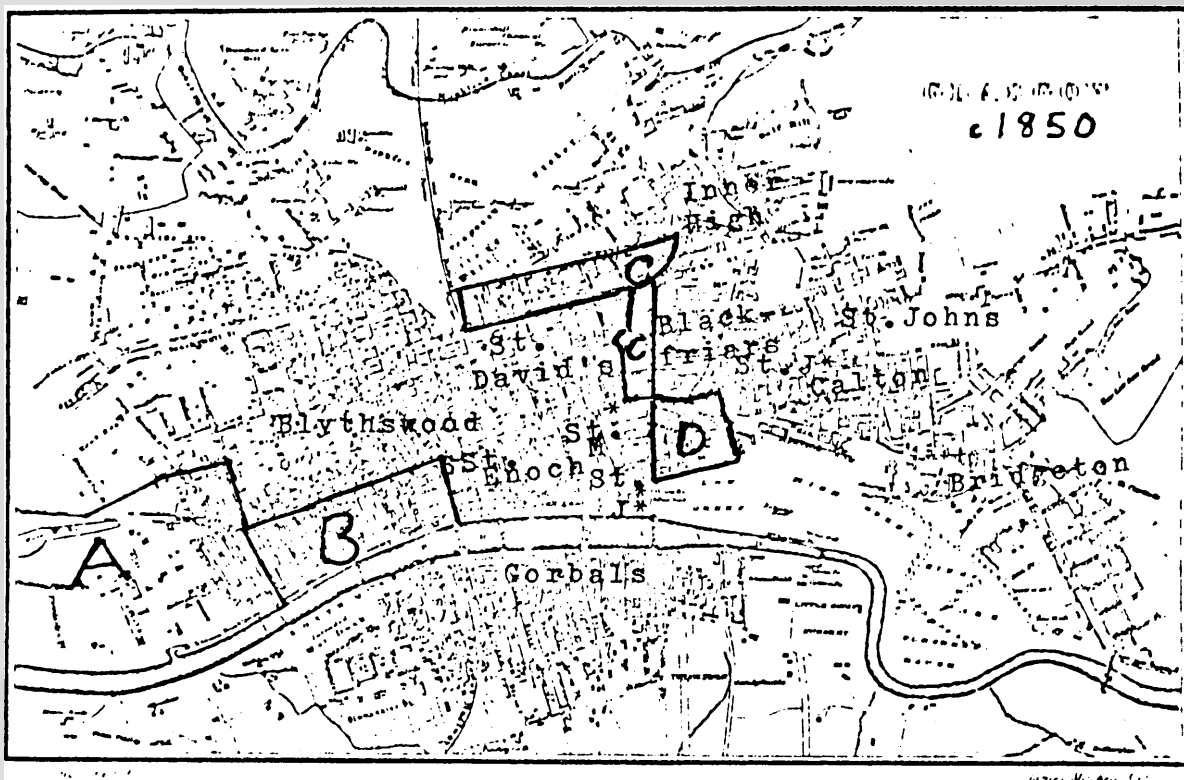
Source: Censuses of Scotland, 1851-1881.

Design of Study

It was not possible to detail the migrant group experience throughout the entire city. The methods of research (which will be discussed below), and limitations imposed by them, made it necessary to restrict the analysis to specific districts of the city. After careful consideration and much preliminary inquiry, the decision was made to concentrate on two distinct areas in the social geography of Glasgow. In selecting particular districts for study it was recognised that no exact representation of the more general experience of the migrant groups in the city could be accomplished.

Map 1

1851 Census Registration Districts sampled



Key to Map

A Anderston

B Broomielaw (part of St George District)

C Outer High

D St Andrew

*St Mary's

****St James**

However, the decision to investigate a suburban district and a part of the old, central district of Glasgow could achieve at least two objectives. Firstly, a comparison could be made of Highland and Irish migrants in two quite different, but representative social environments. Secondly, such a selection would enable a comparison to be made between the experience of a migrant group in a part of old Glasgow with that of their fellow migrants in a suburban community.

Anderston, to the west of the city centre, was chosen as the suburb which best typified the dynamic native of Glasgow's economy during the mid-century decades. The district, which had developed as a textile centre in the early decades of the century, had by the mid-century a diverse economic base which included ironworks, engineering, shipbuilding, potteries, dockwork, building and transportation (13). Moreover, in terms of other criteria, demographic profiles, housing and sanitary conditions and, not least, migrant group presence, it offered a sufficient contrast to the congested, old central areas of the city.

In choosing an area of the old, central district of Glasgow for close investigation the economic, social and demographic conditions in each district were carefully considered. Although the Bridgegate area had become the major centre of Irish settlement, the Highlander presence in the locality was low. In addition, the census data were of poor quality for this locality. Finally, after considerable preliminary research (14), two parishes were selected, St Andrew's and Outer, which stretched from north to south across the older

area of the city north of the Clyde.

The study, therefore, will be concerned with the assimilation of Highland and Irish migrants in Glasgow in the period 1830 to 1870. Two contrasting districts of the city have been selected for detailed examination. When appropriate, however, evidence of the migrant group experience outwith these districts will be employed as, for instance, when the focus on specific districts fails adequately to explain the differentiation of the migrant groups in society. The comparative approach will be adopted throughout the study and the following aspects of the assimilation process have been chosen for examination: employment, spatial and residential patterns, church, school and marital characteristics.

Methodology

The basic source of much of the data presented in this study is the census enumerators' books of the 1851 census of Scotland. Since the main concern was to extract information on the migrant groups, a stratified sampling procedure was adopted to provide an adequate number of sample cases on which to base a statistical description and analysis (14). The household was chosen as the unit of analysis, using the place of birth of the head of household as the criterion of assignation. Information on individuals within households was also collected to yield data on occupations.

After careful consideration, three census registration districts were selected for sampling. The western suburb of Anderston was chosen as were the old, central parishes of St Andrew's and Outer. These central districts were sampled as a single composite sample which made it possible to compare the migrant group experience in two distinct types of locality: an industrial suburb (Anderston) and the old centre (St Andrew's and Outer).

As the study was primarily concerned with examining the two migrant groups, the sampling method had to yield a sufficiently large number of cases of Highland and Irish migrants. But it also had to include the population as a whole (15). A one-in-eighteen sample was therefore drawn in each of the sample areas, allocating each case, or household, to Highland, Irish or "Other" categories. This was then followed by a one-in-six sample of every household, excluding the eighteenth, and collecting those cases which were Irish and Highland and separating them appropriately. Yet a further sample was taken of every second household excluding the sixth and eighteenth, extracting only Highland households. This sampling procedure provided samples of every second household which was Highland, every sixth household which was Irish, and a sample of every eighteenth household which was in the districts selected for investigation.

It was not possible using the stratified sampling procedure to offer tests of statistical significance on the data presented. Great caution is therefore needed when

interpreting the data yielded by such a method. As well as adopting a tentative approach to the results, an effort was made to ensure that the samples of the migrant groups were sufficiently large partially to compensate for the lack of statistical validation. This methodology has its weaknesses but it does make possible detailed analysis of two minority groups in a large urban population.

The sampling method described made it possible to compare Irish and Highland households and individuals. This body of data forms the basis for much of the analysis of occupational structure and employment patterns contained in chapters 2 and 3. The occupational categories adopted were, with slight modifications, those used in other studies of Irish immigrants in Britain. This is true of both the systems used to categorise industrial and social groups (19).

The same stratified sampling procedure was also adopted when extracting data contained in the census of 1871 for Anderston district only. Since the purpose of this exercise was to acquire information on the residential locations of the migrant groups, only the data relating to nativity and occupation of head, household size and numbers of rooms were gathered. This evidence forms the basis of the discussion on housing in chapter 5.

The census data were also employed to provide information on the spatial distribution of migrants and for more detailed examinations of particular occupational groups.

Quantitative data were also derived from a number of other sources, most notably police registers (chapter 4), and censuses of religious instruction and worship (chapter 6). These and other quantitative data have made possible a degree of precise measurement in the direct comparison of Highland and Irish migrants. Qualitative evidence, however, derived from a broad range of sources, has been included to assist in the examination of those aspects of assimilation which can only partially be explained through statistical analysis.

The study begins with an examination of the employment opportunities available in Anderston and the central zones surveyed during the mid-nineteenth century. This is followed by a chapter exploring the occupations of Highland and Irish migrants. Chapter 4 is a case study of migrant recruitment to a particular urban employment, police work. The spatial distribution and residential patterns are explored in chapter 5, with particular attention given to the position of Irish and Highland migrants in the Anderston housing market. In chapter 6, attention shifts to the role of church membership and attachment in the migrant urban experience. This is followed by a final chapter which concentrates on the importance of formal schooling and intermarriage in the process of assimilation.

Introduction - Notes

- (1) See, for example, S. Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970, (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire, (Cambridge, 1971); L.H. Lees, Exiles of Erin, Irish Migrants in Victorian London, (Manchester, 1979).
- (2) Among the earlier histories of migrant influx into lowland towns are J.E. Handley, The Irish in Scotland, 1798-1845, (Cork, 1945); J.E. Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, (Cork, 1947); D.F. Macdonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850, (Glasgow, 1937). The case study approach has been adopted in the following works inter alia: R. D. Lobban, "The Migration of Highlanders into Lowland Scotland, 1750-1890", PhD Thesis, Edinburgh, 1969; B.E.A. Collins, "Aspects of Irish Immigration into Two Scottish Towns", unpublished MPhil Thesis, Edinburgh, 1978; C.W.J. Withers, Highland Communities in Dundee and Perth, 1787-1891: A Study in the Social History of Migrant Highlanders, (Dundee, 1986); R.D. Lobban, "The Irish Community in Greenock in the Nineteenth Century", Irish Geography, 6, 1971, pp 270-281. B. Aspinwall and J.M. McCaffrey, "A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh", in R. Swift and S. Gilley (eds.), The Irish in the Victorian City, (London, 1985). A more general examination of the migration process can be found in T.M. Devine, "Temporary Migration and the Scottish Highlanders in the Nineteenth Century", Economic History Review, 2nd series, XXXII, 1979, pp 344-358, and T.M. Devine, "Highland Migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760-1860", Scottish Historical Review, LXII, (2), 1983, pp 137-149. There is of course much recent historiography on migration within the lowlands.
- (3) For the use of census material as a source of historical data see E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data, (Cambridge, 1972).
- (4) For the complexity of the migration process see Devine, "Temporary Migration", pp 344-358, and B. Collins, "Irish Emigration to Dundee and Paisley", in J.M. Goldstrom and L.A. Clarkson (eds.), Irish Population, Economy and Society: Essays in the Honour of the late K.H. Connell, (Oxford, 1981), pp 195-212.
- (5) A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire Miners. A Social History of their Trade Unions, 1775-1874, (Edinburgh, 1979), p 180; Handley, Irish in Modern Scotland, pp 134-135.
- (6) Handley in both his studies provided a wealth of impressionistic evidence on the position of the Irish in Glasgow and other Scottish towns but did not attempt a systematic description of the Irish presence in the occupational structure.

- (7) The only detailed examination of the role of the Catholic church in the Irish immigrant adaptation to Scottish society is offered by Walker, but this historian is concerned with the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. McCaffrey and Aspinwall deal with the question briefly in the essay on Edinburgh cited in note 2. See W.M. Walker, "Irish Immigrants in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Parochial Life", Historical Journal, volume XV, 1972, pp 649-667, and W.M. Walker, Metropolis: Dundee and its Textile Workers, 1885-1923, (Edinburgh, 1979).
- (8) Withers, Highland Communities in Dundee and Perth, pp 54-58, documents the activities of Gaelic congregations in these two lowland towns. The author argues for a crucial role on the part of Gaelic congregations in the development of a collective and separate identity.
- (9) J. Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark, 1831, (Glasgow, 1832), p 211; A. Gibb, Glasgow: Making of a City, (London, 1983), p 124.
- (10) Gibb, Glasgow, pp 115-117.
- (11) Printed Census of Scotland, 1851.
- (12) This figure excludes the county of Perth. Extensive examination of the census enumerators' books for Glasgow at the mid-century would indicate that very few of the Perthshire-born residing in Glasgow came from the Highland part of that county. See note below Table 1.1 for the counties included in this Highland total.
- (13) A much fuller account of the economic development in the districts chosen for detailed study is provided in chapter 2.
- (14) For the benefits and weaknesses of stratified sampling as a means of extracting data on a minority group in a population, see R.S. Schofield, "Sampling in Historical Research", in Wrigley, Nineteenth Century Society, pp 166-169.
- (15) The data on the total population would make it possible to present the context of migrant group performance.
- (16) See W.A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information about Occupation", in Wrigley, Nineteenth Century Society, pp 191-310, for the general classification adopted. The appendix on occupations provides details of the way these categories were altered slightly to meet the needs of this study. The methods and procedures established for the use of census material in historical research have been accepted in the present study. See W.A. Armstrong, "The Census Enumerator's Books: a Commentary", in R. Lawton (ed.), The Census and Social Structure: an Interpretative Guide to 19th Century Censuses for England and Wales, (London, 1978), pp 28-81; and, especially, M. Anderston, "Standard

Tabulation Procedures for the Census Enumerators' Books, 1851-1891", in Wrigley, Nineteenth Century Society, pp 134-135.

CHAPTER 1.

Employment Opportunities in Anderston and the Central zones, 1830-1870.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the population of the village of Anderston was overwhelmingly engaged in handloom weaving and its ancillary activities. This was the main industrial activity in 1816 when Henry Houldsworth, the English cotton master, who had established a cotton mill in Anderston a decade or so earlier, commented that "the village I live in is full of weavers; there is nothing else carried on but that and the cotton mills" (1). In 1824, the year in which Anderston became a burgh, there were reported to be 900 looms in operation, a figure which can be compared with the 1519 households that Cleland enumerated as belonging to the village in 1820 (2).

Yet the dominant position of handloom weaving was very soon eroded and, as the new burgh experienced rapid population and economic growth, in the 1820s and 1830s, the number of inhabitants engaged at the loom declined both relatively and absolutely. By 1833 only 400 looms were stated to be in use in Anderston; by about 1840 the number in operation there and the area adjacent to and east of the burgh, Brownsfield, had declined to about 300 (3). It would seem, then, that the eclipse of handloom weaving occurred in this district far earlier than in the Glasgow area as a whole, for

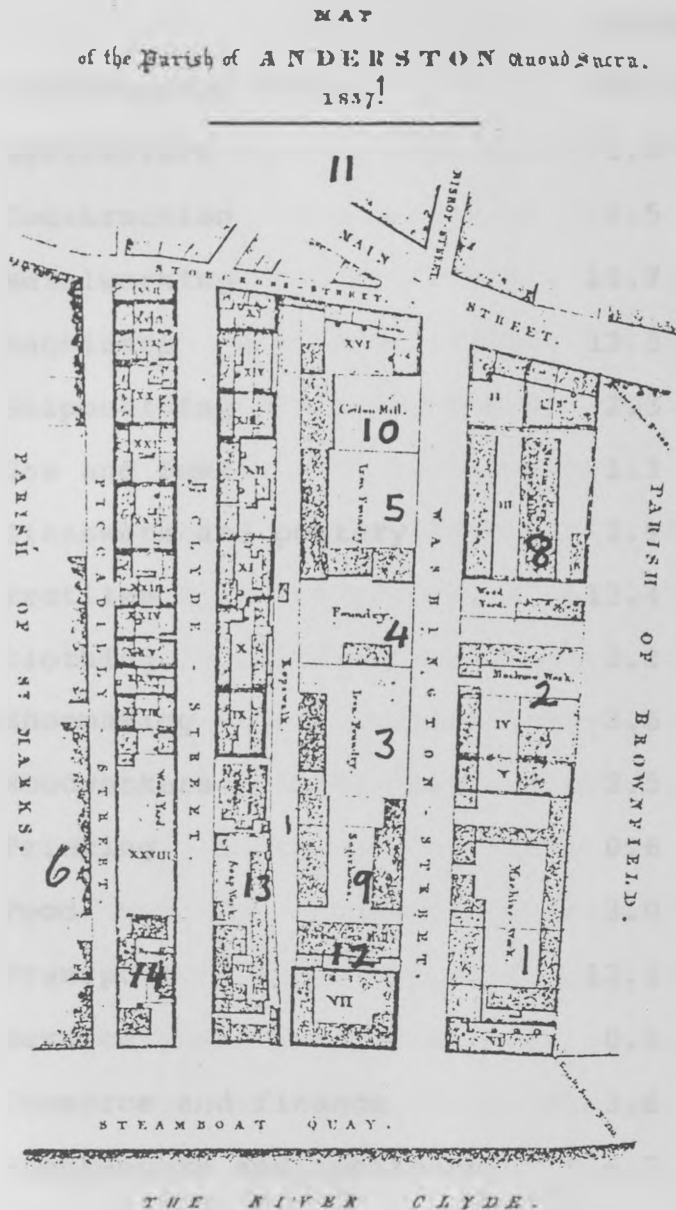
contraction was taking place in the 1820s when apparently, the number of weavers elsewhere remained fairly constant (4).

From the 1820s, therefore, handloom weaving was increasingly overshadowed by other economic activities. However, as the data derived from the 1851 sample of Anderston households tabulated overleaf indicate, textile activities still remained an important form of male employment at the mid-century (5). Of the 13.4 per cent of employed males who were returned as textile workers some were still engaged in the moribund handloom trade (6). However, it was males employed in the spinning and powerloom factories, in the local printwork and as calenders who accounted for the major proportion of those allocated to the textile grouping (7).

Yet, the expansion of male employment opportunities in Anderston from the 1820s was to a large extent a result of the growth of engineering, metalworking and iron shipbuilding. Following the move of David Napier to Lancefield in 1821, the burgh of Anderston became a principal location of engine makers and foundrywork in the following two decades (8). The map overleaf gives a good indication of how attractive the village of Anderston proved to be to industrialists. Moreover, if the area covered was to be extended westwards to take in the localities of Lancefield and Finnieston, then it would underline the point that by the late 1830s the characteristic feature of the local economy was the presence of numerous engineering and metalworking enterprises.

Map 2

Industrial concerns in Anderston, 1839-1840.



Key to Map

1. R. Napier. Vulcan Foundry & Engineer Works
2. J. & W. Napier. Engineer & Boiler Works.
3. J. Gray. Engineer & Machine Works
4. Not listed in Directory.
5. A. Liddell & Co. Globe Foundry
6. H. Houldsworth & Sons. Cotton & Machine Works (2)
7. H. Houldsworth & Sons. Iron Foundry
8. Steam Corn & Flour Mill
9. Kirkland & Borland & Co. Sugarhouse
10. J. & A. Reid. Powerloom Factory
11. P. McNaught. Cotton Mill
12. Grain Mill
13. Soap and Candle Work
14. Brewery

Source:

Notes:

1. Although this is a map of the parish as it was in 1837 the information on the industry located in the parish is derived from (a) A Map of Anderston Burgh, 1839-40, (b) Post Office Directory, 1839-40.

2. Locations 6 and 7, though included, in fact lay in St. Marks Parish. These premises stood on either side of Cheapside Street.

Table 1.1: Distribution of Occupations in Anderston Household Sample, by sex, 1851.

	Males	Females
Occupational group	(N=775)	(N=469)
Agriculture	1.8 %	0.0 %
Construction	8.5	0.0
Metalworking	15.7	0.0
Machinery	12.5	0.0
Shipbuilding	2.3	0.0
Gas and fuel	1.3	0.0
Glasswork and pottery	3.9	0.4
Textiles	13.4	52.5
Clothing	2.2	18.3
Shoemaking	3.6	1.7
Woodworkers	2.5	0.0
Printing	0.6	0.0
Food	3.0	0.2
Transport	12.1	1.5
Service	0.5	23.7
Commerce and finance	3.0	1.1
Shopkeepers and publicans	6.7	0.2
Labourer (trade unspecified)	1.0	0.0
Professions	1.0	0.0
Other and unknown	4.3	0.4

Note: For information on sample data and groupings see Appendix.

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

Further inspection of the map also reveals interstitial growth of mixed tenements and industry.

With such a pattern of land use, and the congestion that it produced, it is perhaps not surprising that by the mid-century many of the leading and more successful firms had outgrown the potential of the Anderston area as a site for shipyards and engineering works. The district, even with more extensive sites west of the built-up area, was incapable of providing the space and infrastructure needed by the companies of exceptional growth. Thus, many of the leading firms of the 1830s and 1840s, Robert Napier and Sons, Tod and Macgregor, J and G Thompson, and Mitchell and Neilson (locomotives) all established their major works elsewhere after initial growth in the Anderston area (9). The owners of these firms, however, generally retained their Anderston works as an integral part of their overall investment and production strategy. Thus, the largest establishments in the district, though dwarfed by the yards and workshops built downriver and elsewhere, still employed workforces of 500-plus. The earliest and most successful entrepreneurs to arrive in Anderston remained the major employers throughout the mid-century.

Table 1.1 provides an indication of the importance of the metal, machinery and shipbuilding establishments in the local economy. Combined, these industries employed not far short of one-third (30.5 per cent) or about 2000 people of all male wage earners in the district in 1851 (10). The continued importance of the larger engineering and

shipbuilding firms in the district proved an attraction for smaller enterprises which provided materials and markets for the larger businesses or created markets in their own right. Brassfounders, tin and coppersmiths, rivet, tool and boiler manufacturers and small-scale engineers extended the employment opportunities in the district. In the 1850s and 1860s the industrial base continued to be diversified. Just before leaving for a new Springburn site in 1860-1861, Neilson was employing about 1000 men making locomotives. Welded iron tube manufacturers, makers of cast iron architectural work and, towards the end of the period, galvanisers were all substantial local employers (11).

If, then, a considerable proportion of the new male employment opportunities were to be found in the metal, machine and shipbuilding industries it followed that much of that labour force would need to possess specific qualifications and skills (12). The great majority of the jobs created in these industries were for skilled men or their apprentices. Out of a total labour force of 408 men at Alexander Stephen's Kelvinhaugh yard in 1858, 150 of the employees were labourers (13). New types of skilled employment were being created in the 1830s and 1840s with the introduction of new technology in the engineering shops (14). New trades and job categories were also emerging in the shipbuilding yards in addition to the older trades of wright, joiner, blacksmith, painter, plumber and so on, which found a place in the new forms of ship construction (15).

With such industrial growth taking place in the district and the concomitant expansion of the population, it is not surprising that in Anderston itself and most especially in the lands to the north and west of the district, extensive building operations were carried out, especially after the mid-century. As well as residential building, industrial expansion itself directly contributed to the demand for construction workers. In addition to roadbuilding and industrial site construction, the extension of Glasgow Harbour to, then westward beyond, Anderston gave employment to building workers (16). The 1851 data indicate that at the mid-century one in twelve employed males in Anderston were construction workers (see Table 1.1).

The same body of data suggests that about one employed male in eight had a job in transport working as labourers, porters, carters and warehouse workers about or near the docks. Sailors and other marine workers constituted the other main group in this category. However, the importance of the docks in promoting employment in the district extended beyond these directly-related occupations. Many commercial and industrial activities were located in Anderston to take advantage of the proximity of the docks. Wood and saw mills and their appended timber yards commanded a substantial proportion of local acreage. With such timber available, cabinet-making concerns were set up in the district, three of which were giving employment to about 100 men in 1851 (17). At this date, a cooperage had also been established and, overall, 2.5 per cent of the male workforce of the district were engaged in woodworking

activities (18).

The existence of the docks also made Anderston a suitable location for industries processing food imports, and a sugar-house, distillery, grain and flour mills were long-standing local enterprises. Three per cent of the males returned as employed in the 1851 sample were involved in food processing. The number of males working in the retail trades was considerable, with shopworkers and those engaged in the spirit trade alone adding up to as many as 400 men or more (19). This was a greater number than was to be found in the clothing and shoemaking industries (see Table 1.1).

To the west of the district there were also long-established and, by the mid-century, successful pottery and glassmaking firms. Robert Cochrane, building on the Verreville legacy left to him by Kidston in 1846, transformed the local potteryworks into a thriving concern. Cochrane, employing 400 males and 150 females, at this and his other Glasgow factory in 1861, was the largest but not the only pottery maker in the district (20). William McAdam, a pottery and bottlemaker, was in the area for most of our period and was an employer of 80 male workers in 1861 (21).

In the discussion above, allusion has been made to the most important of the diverse industrial and commercial activities offering employment to male workers in Anderston. It may be observed, however, that four sectors of the economy, construction, textiles, transport and most

importantly the inter-related metal, machine and shipbuilding industries accounted for almost two-thirds (64.5 per cent) of the sampled males employed in Anderston at the mid-century. The great majority of migrants entering the local labour market sought employment in these areas.

The Demand for Female Labour in Anderston

In marked contrast to their male counterparts, female migrants attracted to the district were confronted with employment conditions in which textile and clothing activities, along with domestic service, accounted for the overwhelming proportion of paid employment. To clarify the nature of these job opportunities, we need to move beyond such broad occupational groupings and identify the great variety of tasks performed.

The textile sector provided just over half (52.5 per cent) of all female jobs. The spinning mills, a major source of employment since the early 1800s, remained a large employer of female labour. A few firms dominated mill and textile factory employment in the district. In 1834, there were 428 textile hands employed at Houldsworth's mill, the great majority of whom were females. There was also the large Lancefield Spinning Company (no figures of the size of their spinning workforce are available), and another spinning mill, Mcnaught's, which in 1861 was employing 200 hands (22). With these enterprises established at an early stage,

and with no new firms being set up, the opportunities for spinning-related employment remained fairly static from the early 1830s onwards. Yet the spinning mills continued as a major local employer of female workers throughout the period.

A more dynamic feature of the local economy in the 1830s was powerloom weaving. This occupation was predominantly taken up by young females following the eclipse of the male-dominated handloom weaving sector (23). As early as 1831 the Lancefield Spinning Company had 635 powerlooms in operation (24). In 1833 another powerloom factory in Anderston was employing 200 people, while in the same year a lappet weaving and figured work enterprise had a labour force of 190 operators. The same firm was at that time erecting another mill for figured work which, when completed, would accommodate another 500 to 600 employees (25). The 1851 data indicate that one-quarter of the gainfully employed females in Anderston, and almost one-half of all female textile employees in the district, were powerloom workers.

A much smaller but still significant aspect of the textile industry was printing. With most of the printworks jobs undertaken by males, only about one in sixteen female textile workers in the district were so engaged, and these were largely very young girls. Overall, therefore, the vast bulk of the female textile workers were either powerloom weavers or spinning mill operators.

The 1851 census data indicate that the next major form of

employment for women was service, which attracted 23.7 per cent of employed females. In addition to those engaged as domestic servants, there were charwomen, washerwomen and a few others providing services for the more affluent households. The development of middle-class housing in the land north of Anderston in the 1850s and 1860s ensured that there would be a considerable increase in the demand for domestic servants in that area. In fact, by 1861, there were 467 domestic servants in Anderston alone and a further 1919 in the middle-class housing zone to the north of the district. These figures, moreover, exclude those returned in the census as charwomen, washerwomen etc. It might be argued that the increased demand for servants provided additional employment opportunities for both Highland and Irish females. Some contemporaries contended that, in the 1850s, the demand for servants in Glasgow was outstripping the supply of suitable females. Speaking of that decade, John Strang, the city's statistician, asserted that "of all the classes belonging to our community, who depend upon wages, this class (domestic servants) has been perhaps the one who has obtained the far greatest rise in the remuneration for service during the last ten years" (26). If Strang's opinion is correct, then with such a growth in demand for domestic servants, employers may have had to seek servants amongst previously excluded groups.

At mid-century, 18.3 per cent of employed females in Anderston were working either as dressmakers, milliners, sewers, seamstresses or some other activity making or repairing clothes. Taken as a whole, therefore, the

clothing industry followed closely behind service as a source of female employment (Table 1.1).

Of the females returned as employed, 1.7 per cent gave shoemaking as their employment. The census data, however, possibly under-represents the true proportion of Anderston females working in this trade. It was an activity that was largely based on the home, and it was common for the wives of shoemakers to assist their husbands. It was stated in 1853, for instance, that "A shoemaker's wife ... was obliged to work as hard as her husband ... under the present low-scale of remuneration, necessity compelled the shoemaker to employ his wife in order to earn for them subsistence" (27).

The only other significant paid work available for women in Anderston was in the potteries and glassworks, in warehouses and in shops. Yet, even the glassworks and potteries only accounted for 0.4 per cent of the females with a stated occupation in the census returns. It was essentially the clothing and service industries, and most especially the textile industries, that held out the prospect of gainful employment for female migrants arriving in Anderston.

Employment Opportunities in the Central Zones

The changing economic characteristics of the old, central districts of Glasgow in this period have received much more

attention from historians (28). The diverse economic activity of the early decades of the century remained a characteristic of employment opportunities during the mid-century. However, a recent study has mapped the decreasing economic significance of the central zone, demonstrating that industrial expansion and diversification largely occurred in the suburbs such as Anderston (29). Informative as such findings are, we still require a clearer delineation of the economic base of the localities and how, if at all, it changed in the mid-century. In an attempt to arrive at such an understanding, data from Cleland's census of 1831, and a sample of selected districts in 1851, have been extracted and are presented in Table 1.2 .

The data base necessarily restricts the discussion to a broad outline of the economic structure. But it is apparent from the table that economic activity, as evinced in occupational distribution, did not substantially alter in the 1830s and 1840s. The textile sector remained the most important source of employment in the central zone despite the changes occurring in these industries (see section on Anderston above). The other major sectors in 1831, clothing, service, transport, commerce and finance, continued as the major sources of employment and retained their relative positions and strengths. In the case of the generally low-paid clothing, service and transport sectors, this is hardly surprising. The rapid increase in population densities in the old, central districts, the deteriorating housing, sanitary and moral conditions, and the departure of the middle-class have been well documented.

Table 1.2: Distribution of Occupations in Central Zones,
1831 (Cleland data) and 1851 (sample of census
households).

Occupational group	1831	1851
Construction	3.8	7.9
Metal and machinery	4.5	5.6
Glass and pottery	0.3	0.7
Textiles	18.8	18.2
Clothing	10.5	12.1
Leather	3.1	6.1
Wood	2.9	1.9
Printing	2.2	2.4
Food	6.2	5.0
Transport	6.2	6.9
Service	12.2	12.4
Labourers and miners	4.2	1.2
Commerce and finance	6.4	7.9
Professions	5.4	1.0
<u>Others and unknown</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>10.7</u>
Per cent	100	100
Numbers	8229	694

Note: For discussion of data and groupings see Appendix

Sources: J. Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the
City of Glasgow and the County of Lanark, 1831,
(Glasgow, 1832), pp 109, 111; Census of Scotland,
1851.

Indeed, with such a change in the socio-economic characteristics of these areas, one might even have expected the proportion of the employed population in such sectors to have risen. However, the clearest indication of the changes in the social character of these districts is the decline in the "Professions" category from 5.4 per cent in 1831 to 1.0 per cent in 1851. The middle strata in Glasgow society were not prepared to tolerate the environment of these increasingly deprived areas.

Despite this migration of the middle strata, service remained a major source of employment, presumably largely female employment, in this area of the city. There are notable increases in the proportion employed in the construction industry, an increase to 7.9 per cent from 3.8 per cent, and those employed in the leather sector. Boot and shoemaking, again lowly-paid activities, almost entirely account for the expansion of the leather sector from 3.1 per cent of the employed population in 1831 to 6.1 per cent in 1851.

It can be seen, then, that within the general context of stability and continuity in the economic activity of the population of the old, central districts there were some adjustments. Even in those sectors which apparently, according to the tabulated data, evince no significant change, there was reorganisation of industry. For instance, the biggest single sector, textiles, was experiencing a process of change as a range of enterprises, including embroiderers, starchers, cotton waste dealers and wadding

manufacturers, were set up. There was also in this period the growth of the sweating system in clothing manufacture. Moreover, increasing numbers of tailors and shoemakers gravitated to the inner city and operated within the sweating system . To some extent, therefore, the data although suggesting continuity in the distribution of occupations, nevertheless disguise the many changes in employment, pay, status and conditions. Here it needs to be stressed, however, that the massive influx of migrants into the old, inner city districts was not a result of developments in the new, dynamic sectors of Glasgow's economy (30). The higher wages that were to be found in those sectors were far less in evidence in the more traditional trades followed in the old, central districts of the city.

This broad survey of the economic base of two different localities in Glasgow, the western suburb of Anderston and the old, inner city districts, has indicated the major contrasts in the employment opportunities available in the respective districts. It is now possible to proceed with an investigation of Irish and Highland migrant penetration of these quite different local labour markets.

Chapter 1 - Notes

- (1) P.P. 1816, 111, p 233; for the development of Anderston in the early nineteenth century see J.N. Cooper, Simply Anderston, (Glasgow, 1871); J. Tweed, Glasgow Ancient and Modern, (Glasgow, 1872), pp 1124-1125; J.A. Fleming, Scottish Pottery, (Glasgow, 1923), pp 99-100.
- (2) J. Cleland, Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow with Other Matters Therewith Connected (Glasgow, 1823), p 187.
- (3) P.P., 1833, V1, Q 5348.
- (4) N. Murray, The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, (Edinburgh, 1978), pp 21-22, 62-71.
- (5) The data contained in this table is derived from a sample of every tenth household in Anderston and is therefore not a sample of individuals in the population.
- (6) By the mid-century, the handloom trade had gone into terminal decline in the Glasgow area. See Murray, Hand Loom Weavers, pp 62-71.
- (7) These industries will be discussed in more detail when we come to identify the important female employments in the district.
- (8) For the early development of engineering, metalworking and shipbuilding in the district, see M. Moss and J. Hume, Workshop of the British Empire, (London, 1977), pp 36-45, 52-53; A. Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland, 1750-1960, (London, 1975), pp 128-129.
- (9) J. Thomas, The Springburn Story, (Newton Abbot, 1964), pp 88-90; J. Hume, Industrial Archaeology of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1974), p 79; Moss and Hume, Workshop of the Empire, p 45; Glasgow University Archives, UGD 10/5/11, p 2.
- (10) This figure has been arrived at by taking the same proportion of the male population of Anderston in 1851 as the proportion of the sample population who were engaged in such activities.
- (11) Census of Scotland, 1861, 644 8 64. For information on Houldsworth's Anderston Foundry, see P.P. 1860, XXX11, p 445. The development of the numerous metal and machine undertakings in Anderston is attested to by the entries in the P.O. Directory 1840-1870, the census returns of 1851, 1861, and 1871 and see also Hume, Industrial Archaeology, pp 63-85.
- (12) Hume, Industrial Archaeology, p 65; Industries of Glasgow - articles in Glasgow Weekly Mail, (1864), deposited in Mitchell Library, GLasgow.

- (13) J.L.Carvel, Stephen of Linthouse. A Record of Two Hundred Years of Shipbuilding, 1750-1950, (Glasgow, 1950), p 41. When the son, Alexander, took over the business at Kelvinhaugh in 1858, the firm employed 503 workers in the following capacities:

84 Carpenters	43 boys
65 Iron shipbuilders	30 boys
24 Joiners	10 boys
6 Sailmakers	
7 Painters	
30 Blacksmiths	12 boys
7 Sawyers	
26 Hammermen	
150 Labourers	
9 Clerks and storekeepers	

Total: 408

95

Although these industries have been separated in Table 1.1, they will be treated as a general sector of the economy, in much of the analysis that follows. In many ways, such a distinction would be artificial in an area where the large firms integrated all activities.

- (14) K. Burgess, "Workshop of the World: Client Capitalism at its Zenith, 1830-1870", in T. Dickson (ed.), Scottish Capitalism Class, State and Nation from Before the Union to the Present, (London, 1980), pp 200-201.
- (15) S. Price, "Rivettters' Earnings in Clyde Shipbuilding, 1889-1913", Scottish Economic and Social History, volume No 1, 1981,, pp 43-44.
- (16) See A. Gibbs, Glasgow: The Making of a City, (London, 1983). pp 83-85, for a concise account of the growth of Glasgow's harbour and trade.
- (17) Census of 1851, sample. These three employers were included in one-in-ten sample.
- (18) Coopers have been included in the woodworking occupational grouping.
- (19) Again, this estimate is based on an extrapolation from the sample data.
- (20) Fleming, Scottish Pottery, pp 101-105; Census of 1861, 644 6 52.
- (21) Census of 1861, 644,8.3.
- (22) Census of 1861, 644,8.
- (23) The lappet weaving and figured work enterprise located in Anderston had a labour force of 190, of which 80 per cent was female and half was under 18 years of age. P.P 1833, XX, App.1, pp 100-101.

- (24) The New Statistical Account of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1845), Volume VI, p 154.
- (25) P.P. 1833, XX, App. I, pp 100-101.
- (26) J. Strang, Economic and Social Statistics of Glasgow and the West of Scotland for Various Years from 1851 to 1861, (Glasgow, 1862), p 19.
- (27) Glasgow Saturday Post, 23 April, 1853. Report of speech given at meeting of the city's boot and shoemakers.
- (28) Gibb, Glasgow, pp 93-99; J.R. Kellet, "Property Speculators and the building of Glasgow, 1780-1830", Scottish Journal of Political Economy, Volume VIII, 1961, pp 211-232; W. Forsyth, "Urban Economic Morphology in Nineteenth Century Glasgow", in A. Slaven and D.H. Aldcroft, Business, Banking and Urban History. Essays in Honour of S.G. Checkland, (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 166-193; E. Gauldie, "The Middle Class and Working Class Housing in the Nineteenth Century", in A.A. Maclaren, Social Class in Scotland, Past and Present, (Edinburgh, 1976), pp 12-35.
- (29) Gibb, Glasgow, p 92; Forsyth, Urban Economic Morphology, pp 175-181.
- (30) Forsyth, Urban Economic Morphology, pp 175-181.

CHAPTER 2.

The Occupations of Highland and Irish Migrants

Before we proceed to an investigation of the migrant presence in the local economies, it needs to be emphasised that the much greater Irish presence in the two districts examined must be taken into account when comparing the proportions of the migrant groups employed in particular occupations. Thus, 10 per cent of the employed Irish migrants inevitably represents a much greater number than 10 per cent of the employed Highland migrants.

It is possible to discern both broad similarities and differences in migrant group positions within the male sector of the Anderston labour market. The data presented in tabulated form below set out the occupational distribution of the Irish and Highland males (1). These data provide a basis for discussion of migrant group presence in varying sectors of the local economy.

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Table 2.1 Distribution of Irish, Highland and all male
employed in Anderston, 1851.

Occupational Group	Irish%	Highland%	Total popn%
Agriculture	2.5	0.0	1.8
Construction	11.5	15.6	8.5
Metal/machine/shipbuilding	29.3	29.2	30.5
Pottery and glassmaking	6.4	0.4	3.9
Textiles	13.1	3.5	13.4
Clothing	6.4	2.3	5.8
Transport	12.7	22.2	12.1
Commerce and finance	2.5	7.0	9.7
Police	0.4	6.2	0.5
Labourer (unspecified)	1.9	0.8	1.0
Others and unknown	13.7	12.8	12.2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>99.9</u>

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

The Metal, Machinery and Shipbuilding Industries

Compared to all males employed in Anderston, the Irish and Highlanders were only slightly under-represented in the metal, machinery and shipbuilding industries with 29.3 per cent of the former and 29.2 per cent of the latter engaged in these industries. When the broad distinction between skilled and unskilled workers in these industries is made, major differences become apparent. We will consider the Irish migrants first. Whereas about two-thirds of all males

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Police	0.3	6.2	0.5
Labourer (unspecified)	1.7	0.9	1.1
Others and unknown	13.7	12.8	12.1
	%	99.9	100.3
	N	292	211
			371

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

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employed in these industries were in the skilled category, only one-third of the Irish working in these industries were recorded as tradesmen in this sector (2).

On first examination, however, the Irish performance in these industries would appear to have been better than one might expect on the basis of contemporary assessment or more recent quantitative findings on Irish penetration of skilled metalworking occupations in Lanarkshire (3). Yet, closer examination of the non-labouring positions taken up by the Irish immigrants in these industries reveals them to be over-represented in tasks such as hammermen which offered low pay and status, and which relied on strength as much as skill.

Admittedly, the sample data are far from reliable at this level of analysis - figures might lend a spurious accuracy to the evidence - but the 1851 census data would suggest that a great number of these Irishmen were employed as hammermen and a significant proportion were caulkers and rivetters. Confirmation of this apparent over-representation in these particular lower-paid jobs was sought in the Catholic marriage registers of St Patrick's RC Church, Anderston. Information on the occupations of the men married in this chapel between 1855 and 1870 was gathered. Working on the reasonable assumption that the great majority of these men were Irish migrants and almost all were first or second generation Irish, this source also provided evidence specifically on the Catholic Irish migrants (4).

Of the 146 men engaged in metal, machine and shipbuilding, excluding labourers, 28.1 per cent were hammermen and 10.4 per cent were rivetters. The better-paid trades in these industries were also, however, well represented. Men describing themselves as boilermakers accounted for 16.0 per cent of the total and 8.7 per cent were entered as moulders. The four occupations mentioned so far made up almost two-thirds (63.2 per cent) of the skilled workers in these industries. In all, 28 different occupations of this sector were registered which would suggest that small numbers of the Catholic Irish migrants were gaining access to a wide range of trades in this expanding sector. To sum up, some of the Catholic Irish (rather than simply the Protestant Irish) were able to find skilled positions in Anderston's metal and engineering workers even if the majority were engaged in the lower-paid trades.

In contrast, about two-thirds of the Highland males returned as employed in these industries in 1851 were skilled workers and these migrants were overwhelmingly engaged as ship carpenters and joiners, as blacksmiths and boilermakers and as engineers and shipwrights. They were rarely engaged as hammermen or rivetters. These occupations, which only a tiny minority of the Irish engaged in this sector could obtain, could be taken up by a large proportion of the Highlander resident in Anderston.

The Transport Sector

Another important source of employment for Highland migrants in Glasgow was the transport sector. Indeed, 22.2 per cent of the Highland-born males were transport workers. Additional information gathered on the Highlanders residing in the Broomielaw, the harbour district to the west of Anderston (see Map 1), confirms the importance of transport employment for Highland migrants. In this district, adjacent to the harbour and docks, 19.2 per cent of the sampled Highland males worked in the transport sector. The movement of goods and people was an important source of employment for Highlanders.

The ability of the menfolk among the Highlanders in Anderston and the Broomielaw area to find employment as sailors, firemen and stewards in the river, coastal and ocean-going vessels plying their trade to and from Glasgow harbour largely accounts for the unusually large proportion of Highlanders who were transport workers. Just over half of the employed Highland male in these two riverside districts who were transport workers were employed on the river or at sea. At this period, the custom of finding a place in the merchant marine and the coasting trade remained strong among the young males of many seafaring communities in the islands and coastal mainland of the Highlands. The 1851 data suggest that many single and married men of Highland origin established a residence near Glasgow harbour to take advantage of the demand for seamen in the fast expanding port (5).

A much smaller proportion of the Irish males were employed in transport, 11.8 per cent against the 22.2 per cent evinced for the Highlanders. A further difference was that very few Irishmen gained employment as sailors though a small number managed to find places as firemen on boats. In the 1830s, it was stated that there were "not many Irish employed as seamen in the coasting trade of the west of Scotland" and the 1851 census data indicate that this generalisation could be extended to other forms of marine employment at mid-century (6). Again, if we consider both Anderston and Broomielaw, only about one in ten of Irish male transport workers were returned as sailors. Certainly, census figures in all probability may understate the true importance of such employment, given that an engagement as seaman usually meant absence from one's residence. But even when allowance is made for this anomaly in the census data, it is doubtful whether it could significantly alter the conclusion that work at sea was not a significant alternative for Irish immigrants to Glasgow. Moreover, it is most likely that an even greater proportion of Highland families settled near the harbour were dependent on seamen's wages than the sample data on occupations would suggest.

Both migrant groups had apparently a tradition of finding employment at Glasgow's quaysides as dock labour. In the early 1830s, the city's Harbour Master declared that the great majority of the 1000 or so men labouring at the harbour were either Irishmen or Highlanders (7). Men from the lowlands, stated the Harbour Master, held a near

monopoly of the movement of grain in the harbour; "a sort of body by themselves" who were employed as weighers (8). Nevertheless, most of the men taken on by masters of vessels or by merchants were immigrants, for it was estimated that at least two-thirds of the quay labourers employed in this way were Irish. Most of the other workers, it was claimed, were Highlanders.

In Anderston at the mid-century, dockside labouring was the single most important transport activity engaged in by the adult male Irish. About half of all the adult male Irish transport workers in the sample were dock labourers. Information contained in the 1861 census enumerators' books for Anderston suggests that the Irish dock labourers were concentrated in tenements in the streets running off Anderston quay (see Map 1), and were predominantly migrants from the north-west of Ulster, particularly Donegal, with the eastern counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh and Monaghan barely represented. Admittedly, the evidence is fragmentary, but given that in Anderston in general, migrants from the north-eastern counties of Ulster appear to have been much more strongly represented, it does indicate perhaps a quite distinct migration stream in operation with migrants being pulled in from the far north-west of Ireland for dockside employment.

This evidence of the large Irish presence in the docks can be compared with similar data on the Highlanders, where by the mid-century dock labour was an unusual type of employment for Highland migrants. Of the Highlanders in the

1851 sample who were engaged in the transport sector, only one in ten was a dock labourer.

Yet such migrants were willing and able to gain a livelihood at other harbour-related employments, most notably as porters and carters. Gaelic-speaking Highlanders had been finding employment as porters in Glasgow from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century and what evidence there is would indicate that this was not one occupation they had abandoned to the Irish. However, the size of the Highlander contribution to the ranks of porters did not necessarily remain constant and it is possible to test for changes over time on the entry of migrants into this area of employment. From March 1834, the city porters were obliged to apply to the magistrates of Glasgow for a licence and in so doing were registered by city officials (9). Information contained in this register enables us to identify those who acquired a licence in 1834 and in the following two decades. And additional registration of harbour porters, though less comprehensive (the date of registration was only occasionally registered), provides further information on the composition of the porters at the Broomielaw harbour.

What emerges from the city porter register is that in 1834 a third of the 282 porters granted a licence were Highland-born while Irishmen obtained 18.1 per cent of the awards. However, as table 2.2 shows, new licences issued over the subsequent decades increasingly went to Irishmen and Lowlanders rather than to Highlanders. Certainly, in the remaining years of the 1830s, the Highlanders acquired

just over one-third of the new badges, yet from 1840 till 1853 they accounted for only one in ten of registrations. Lowlanders secured just over half of the badges in the period 1840-1844 but the Irish who were already making significant inroads in the late 1830s and early 1840s, captured close on half (45.5 per cent) of the licences granted after 1845. By the mid-century, the Highlanders were probably still over-represented in the ranks of the city's porters but many more Irishmen had become established.

Table 2.2 Place of birth of men granted a city porter licence in 1834, and from that year to 1853 (Harbour porters in brackets).

	1834	%	1835-9	1840-4	1845-9	1850-3	
Highlands	95	33.7	15	5	8	4	(36)
Ireland	51	18.1	6	19	29	21	(38)
Lowlands	60	21.3	17	29	17	10	(34)
Glasgow	50	17.7	2	1	9	6	(28)
Elsewhere	26	9.2	2	2	1	3	(8)
Total:	282	100	42	56	64	44	(144)*

* Absent from this total are two men licensed, whose place of birth was not registered.

Source: Strathclyde Regional Archives, Register of Porters, 1834 to 1853.

In the case of the harbour porter data, it is not possible

to provide any indication of variations in registrations over time (10). Nonetheless, these data, bracketed in Table 2.2 demonstrate that of the 146 individuals who received badges entitling them to work as harbour porters between the mid-18130s and 1868, one-quarter were Highlanders, while just over one-quarter were Irish immigrants. If the two migrant groups were about equally represented amongst those entering such employment, we should not lose sight of the fact that the numbers represented a more significant proportion of the Highlander presence in the transport sector.

In all but one case, the city porters of Irish birth were Ulster men. As with the dock labourers in Anderston, most came from the north-west counties but in this case about four in ten of the city porters were from the north-east counties of the province. Also from the north-east of Ulster were 18 of the 32 harbour porters whose county of birth could be ascertained. Thus, the apparent strength of the Donegal men to be found at the docks was not repeated in the case of the Irish porters who were to a far greater extent drawn from the more industrialised areas of Ulster.

It would seem that the ability of the Irish immigrants to find work as dock labourers and porters was not repeated to the same extent in the case of employment as carters. Some of the Irish immigrants appear to have overcome the problem of finding the necessary funds or connections to enter the carter business by introducing an alternative transport facility in the "ass cart". This would appear to have

caused a great deal of resentment amongst the city's carters. The people involved in the ass cart business, observed the President of the Committee of Carters, were largely retailing coals and fruit by "drawing and managing small carts or hurleys, generally drawn by asses, although, in some instances, by small, worn-out ponies, or broken-down useless horses" (11).

By the mid-century, however, it would appear that the Irish had not graduated to the status of "carter" in large numbers. In the 1851 samples of Anderston and Broomielaw the carter presence among the Irish was negligible. An additional survey of the 1861 census enumerators' books of those areas of the city, traditionally the residential strongholds of carters, tends to confirm the evidence of the 1851 sample data. In the locality surveyed, around the Broomielaw and Stockwell Street, only 4.5 per cent of 200 carters were Irish-born (12).

Highland migrants appear to have been more successful in finding employment in this occupation in Anderston and the Broomielaw. Highland migrants were to be found in roughly equal numbers as porters and carters, and in the 1861 survey mentioned above there were three times as many Highland carters as there were Irish ones. The carter business proper, therefore, appears to have been unusual among transport occupations in that the Irish presence remained small throughout the mid-century.

The Textile Industries

Information from other sectors of the economy confirms that the Irish were not entirely incapable of penetrating the more skilled occupations. In Anderston, as elsewhere in the west of Scotland, the Irish had by the second decade of the century established themselves and their offspring in the spinning trade (13). Houldsworth, faced with a dearth of native workers at the time when the mule became widespread, turned to the Irish who were willing to learn the spinning operations and allow their children to do the unskilled operations. Houldsworth, claimed in 1833 that "our mills are almost full of Irish". Even if this was an exaggeration, the Irish proportion of his labour force was a large one. At his Anderston mill in March 1834, there were 192 native Irish, 99 born in Scotland of Irish parents and 137 "Scotch" (14). Unlike the situation in the Lancashire cotton mills, in Anderston and the west of Scotland mills, the skilled spinners were to a large extent Irish or of Irish extraction (15).

Technological and organisational changes from 1837 onwards made a large section of the male cotton spinners extremely vulnerable to structural unemployment (16). Nevertheless, it is evident from the 1851 census data that many of the skilled Irish male textile workers were still spinners. The majority, however, had acquired skilled positions as calico printers, warpers and tenters and as poorly rewarded hand-loom weavers. Young Irish males were prepared to seek employment as power-loom weavers, not an occupation that was

likely to lead to a better paid "adult" occupation. On the evidence of the 1851 survey, young Highland males did not find it necessary to seek employment in this dead-end activity. In fact, Highland males in general were rarely to be found in any textile works. Only 3.5 per cent of employed Highland males, compared to the 13.1 per cent of employed Irishmen, were engaged in textiles. Moreover, it was predominantly skilled positions in the finishing sector that attracted Highland migrants.

The 1851 census data tend to indicate, therefore, that the Irish had been able to penetrate a series of skilled occupations of the textile sector including that of spinner. As with the metal, machinery and shipbuilding group of occupations, the Irish immigrants had been able to obtain a range of skilled jobs. Highland migrants, however, did not enter the spinning mills and power-loom factories in significant numbers but maintained the Highlander tradition in finishing.

Pottery and Glassmaking

There was a disproportionate number of Irish males working in the local pottery and glassmaking industries, 6.6 per cent, and these migrants were able to secure skilled as well as unskilled work. Cochrane, the major pottery employer in the Anderston district, heavily recruited Irish workers on taking over the firm in the mid-1840s and the Irish remained an important source of labour throughout the mid-century. A survey of pottery workers residing in an extensive area of

Anderston in 1861 revealed that 53.4 per cent of the unskilled males were Irish-born while 38.5 per cent of the skilled workers were Irishmen (17). In marked contrast, men from the Highlands rarely sought employment at the local pottery and glassworks. Both the 1851 and 1861 data would indicate that Highlander males were seldom to be found at work in such establishments.

Migrant Group Employment in the Central Zones

At this point, it may be appropriate to widen the discussion of the migrant presence in industry and commerce by introducing the data on the migrants residing in the old, inner city districts. Many of the employments taken up by migrants in Anderston were of far more significance to the migrants to be found in the central districts. Therefore, the data from the suburb and central zones will be used to complement the conclusions from the area already examined.

The data on Highland and Irish male employment in the central zones has been set out in table 2.3. It can be seen that for both the Irish and Highland migrants the construction industry was an important source of employment. John Strang, the City Statistician, asserted in the mid-1850s, that the building labourers in Glasgow were "almost exclusively Irish" (18). The census data indicate that Irish immigrants were indeed over-represented in the building industry, with the great majority engaged as labourers. This holds true for Anderston as well as the central districts. Yet, a minority of these building

workers, less than one-quarter in Anderston and nearer one-in-five in the central districts, were tradesmen. Again, we need to take care when assessing the validity of this information. However, it would appear that the Irish were largely concentrated in those trades, painters and slaters, that yielded less pay, security and status. Nevertheless, many Irish immigrants were finding employment as masons, joiners and carpenters. The assertion made in the mid-1830s, that there were "scarcely any Irish masons in Glasgow" (19) must, on the basis of the census data, be challenged as a description of the position at the mid-century. The proportion of Irish construction workers who were tradesmen may have been small, but Irish workers were able to find employment in all the various building trades.

Table 2.3 Distribution of Male Occupations in Sample of Households in Central Zones, 1851.

Occupational group	Irish	Highlander	Total popn.
Agriculture	2.8%	2.2%	0.7%
Construction	16.8	12.2	13.2
Metal and machinery	5.6	12.7	8.7
Textiles	4.4	6.6	8.0
Clothing	10.0	10.5	8.3
Shoemaking	14.4	3.3	7.3
Wood	1.2	3.9	3.1
Printing	0.8	1.1	3.4
Food	0.8	5.5	7.3
Transport	7.6	7.2	10.8
Shops and pubs	1.2	4.4	4.5
Dealers, hawkers etc	9.2	0.6	4.7
Office workers	1.2	1.1	3.1
Police	1.2	10.0	1.4
Professions	0.0	3 .3	0.7
Labourer (unspecified)	10.8	4 .4	1.7
Others and unknown	12.0	11.0	13.2
	<u>%</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>288</u>

Note: 1. For breakdown of occupational groupings, see appendix.

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

In the Anderston district only about one in twenty Highland building workers were labourers. The data for the central districts, moreover, tell much the same story. The Highland-born building workers were largely in the better-paid and more exclusive trades of mason, carpenter and joiner. Moreover, construction was an unusually important field of employment for the Highland migrant. In Anderston, where 8.5 per cent of the employed male population worked in construction, 15.6 per cent of Highland male workers were so employed.

Clothing and Shoemaking

The trades of tailor and shoemaker were carried on to a far greater extent in the central districts than in Anderston. Almost one-quarter (24.1 per cent) of employed Irish males in the central districts were returned as either a shoemaker or a clothing worker (see Table 2.4). Over half of these workers sought their livelihood in the production of shoes and boots. As for the Highland males, 10.4 per cent were engaged in clothing manufacture while only 3.5 per cent were returned as shoe or boot makers. As Table 2.4 makes clear, these patterns of employment were generally repeated in the district of Anderston. In the suburb the Irish were over-represented and the Highlanders under-represented in these industries. Again, the Irish were much more inclined to pursue the shoemaking trade than find employment as tailors.

Given the variations in work experience and rates of remuneration in these largely unprotected sectors of the labour market, it is difficult to ascertain the socio-economic position attained by migrants who worked in the shoemaking and tailoring trades. The vast majority of male clothing workers in the older sample were tailors. Many in these industries suffered from relatively low pay, poor working conditions and insecurity of employment (20). The census data fail to offer any indication of the position of the workers within the broad range of work experiences in these industries. However, a spatial configuration of the migrant participation in these trades may offer a crude indication of the respective positions held by the Irish and Highland-born in the tailoring and shoemaking industries. In both industries, the best-paid class of work was centred on the shops towards the west end of the city in and around Buchanan Street. It was in parts of the city that the "sweating system" operated by small manufacturers had become prevalent. In 1850, it was estimated that two-thirds of the working tailors of the city received their work from sweaters (21). Also, much of the shoemaking undertaken in the old, central areas of Glasgow was done in apartments by sweated labour (22). Evidently, there was a spatial dimension to the type of employment and remuneration gained in these trades.

For comparative purposes, therefore, a survey was made of two district areas of the city, the east end of the High Street at its southern end nearest the Cross, an area of slum conditions and sweated workshops; and secondly, an area

centred on Buchanan Street towards the west-end of the city where, it was presumed, tailors and shoemakers were far more likely to be working in the "Honourable" sector of these trades. The results of these surveys are set out in the following table:

Table 2.4 Migrant group participation in tailoring and shoemaking. Two Glasgow localities, 1861.

Group	High St (east)		Buchanan St area	
	Tailors%	Shoemakers%	Tailors%	Shoemakers%
Irish-born	41.5	53.3	8.8	18.8
Highland-born	5.3	1.7	9.5	5.4
Others	36.2	18.5	57.4	57.0
	100	100	100	100
Number	94	302	148	93

Source: Census of Scotland, 1861.

It is apparent from these data that although Irish tailors and shoemakers were to be found throughout the city (23), they appear to have been far more concentrated in localities where these trades were conducted within the sweated system. Whereas 41.5 per cent of the tailors and 53.3 per cent of the shoemakers in the High Street area were Irish, only 8.8 per cent of tailors and 18.8 per cent of shoemakers in the Buchanan Street area were immigrants. In comparison, the much smaller number of Highlanders who were working in these

trades were more likely to be found in that area of the city reputedly serving the more prosperous west-end trade.

We still need to know what rewards and status entry into these areas of employment brought if we are to fully understand the relative performance of the migrant groups in obtaining employment which area considered "skilled". In 1845, at a meeting of the journeymen tailors of Glasgow, the platform speakers alluded to the conditions in the trade. The out-working operative tailors, it was pointed out, were in an extremely wretched and degraded state. Those employed in the sweating system were working long hours, frequently on Sundays, in crowded and unhealthy apartments for the lowest possible wages. The sweaters were obtaining the cheapest habitations in the poorest neighbourhoods into which they crowded their workers with a single, ill-ventilated apartment often serving as workshop, bedroom kitchen and side room (24).

The condition of most shoemakers was no less bleak. In the old central areas of the city, where the sweating system operated, six to ten men were often crowded into "dens" and paid wholly or almost entirely in kind. Those shoemakers who lived in their own accommodation or took lodgings were little better off and even the more successful shoemakers who worked and lived in the western parts of the city would only average 11 shilling per week over the year. This wage was broadly equivalent to that earned by an unskilled labourer (25). Therefore, when describing migrant tailors and shoemakers as "skilled" workers, we should not lose

sight of the fact that for many, most especially the Irish, this "skilled" work offered low wages, insecurity and poor working conditions.

Other Forms of Migrant Employment

One sector of the economy in which the Irish were clearly under-represented was in the production of food (see Table 1.3). Whereas Highland-born males found employment as bakers, fleshers and confectioners, to name the most important in numerical terms, Irishmen almost entirely failed to penetrate such occupations. The Irish immigrants in the central zone, however, were able to specialise in a range of activities which provided goods and services in demand in the city and elsewhere. About one-in-ten of the Irishmen in the sampled households earned their living as dealers, hawkers, brokers or in other forms of peddling. At this period Irish immigrants almost monopolised the used clothes trade of the city. They were reported to be the dominant element in the old clothes market, "Paddy's Market", and nearly all the dealers in old clothes in the city were said to be of Irish origin (26). The rewards such trading brought were variable. It was remarked that there were "positively capitalists in the trade to whom the minor fry, who collect the toggery in all parts of the city during the day, repair in the evening, and dispose of their armful of old coats, gowns, and breeches" (27). Probably most involved in the trade barely earned a living out of their trading, with some having to combine it with other sources

of income. An essential element of the trade was the efforts of Irish women sewing together worn, soiled and discarded articles to make a meagre contribution to the family income. For a controlling minority, however, it was a lucrative, well organised and wide-ranging trade in used garments. And in these instances, the Irish connection proved critical, for in many cases their activities extended to Ireland and England with bundles of clothes dispatched to the large population centres in Ireland (28).

This growth of an old clothes trade illustrates the expansion of commercial operations within the city which, far from being a response of the indigenous commercial elements to trading opportunities, were largely the enterprise of Irish immigrants with very limited resources. The Irish, in fact, as the data in Table 1.3 indicate, took advantage of a diversity of trading opportunities among the large working class populations of the poorer parts of the city. Thus, large numbers of Irish immigrants were to be found hawking a variety of goods such as salt, fruit, coal, dishes, almanacs and other assorted wares some of which was the produce of family labour (29). Most of these activities appear to have been concentrated in the older central areas of the city. Certainly, from an early date, local officials in Anderston were intent on preventing, not just containing, street or door to door trading, although they never fully achieved their aim (30). These forms of trading were sometimes a temporary expedient for many immigrants who could not find other employment and as a way of earning a living it was "surrounded with continual hardship,

difficulties, and privations". It was also one of the few alternatives open to those who through age, failing health or physical incapacity were unable to procure wage employment (31). For some able and fit, however, such trading did have its attractions when compared to the alternative forms of wage labour available.

Shopkeepers and Professionals

Some of the more enterprising among the Irish immigrants were able to start up and consolidate more substantial businesses. As early as the 1830s, the Rev. John Murdoch, Catholic bishop in Glasgow, stated that he had 200 to 300 persons amongst his congregation who were chiefly small shopkeepers or publicans, but certainly not of the working classes. The vast bulk of these Catholic Irish businessmen had their premises in the slum districts of the old inner city which had the highest concentration of Irish immigrants. Throughout the mid-century, they provided services required by their poorer Catholic neighbours, as doctors, undertakers, shopkeepers, publicans, pawnbrokers, food, clothes and furniture dealers, lodging-house keepers, booksellers and teachers. As late as the 1860s, many of these businessmen chose to reside in or near the districts where their largely Catholic clientele lived (32).

Rarely did a Highland migrant living in the central districts of Glasgow find it necessary to eke out an existence as a dealer or hawker, although their involvement

in shopkeeping and spirit trades indicates that they possessed their fair share of the commercially minded (see Table 2.3). Highland migrants were also to be found, unlike the Irish, engaged in significant numbers as clerical workers. The 3.0 per cent of employed Highland males who were professionals of one kind and another demonstrate the Highlander capacity to integrate at the more exclusive levels of the labour market. None of the Irish migrants sampled in the central zones fell into the "professional" category.

The migrant group presence in the Glasgow police force will be treated as a detailed case study of group penetration of a sector of the labour market in the next chapter. Here, however, it is enough to say that in the city as a whole, 32 per cent of those serving in the force in January 1856 were Highland-born while 21.9 per cent were Irishmen. The city authorities, therefore, relied heavily on both Highlanders and Irishmen to police the city.

The Employment of Highland and Irish Females

The figures presented in Table 2.5 below make it clear that Highland-born and Irish-born females were taking up fundamentally different positions in the local economy of Anderston.

Table 2.5 Distribution of female occupations in Anderston,
by migrant group, 1851.

Occupational group	Irish-born	Highland-born	Total popn
Pottery and glasswork	7.3	0.0	0.4
Textiles	58.7	8.9	52.6
Clothing	15.3	10.1	20.1
Service	16.0	74.7	23.5
Others and unknown	2.7	1.3	3.4
%	100	100	100
N	150	79	234

Note: For information on data and groupings, see appendix.

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

In the local pottery and glassworks, Highland girls were almost entirely absent while these works were for Irish girls, as they were for Irish men, an important source of employment. In the 1861 survey of pottery workers, 62.5 per cent of the females employed in this industry were Irish-born.

It was the textile industries, however, which provided most of the female employment in Anderston and over half the employed Irish females worked in textiles. In contrast, only 9.1 per cent of the employed Highland-born females were working in the local printworks or as steam-loom weavers. There was no evidence of Highland girls entering the spinning mills. In contrast, the spinning mills of

Anderston proved an attraction for Irish migrants. Power-loom weaving was another major textile occupation for Irish females. Irish workers had also penetrated the labour force of the local printworks. Jobs in the printworks had been in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the preserve of Highland females but by the mid-century substantial numbers of women employed in these works were Irish-born.

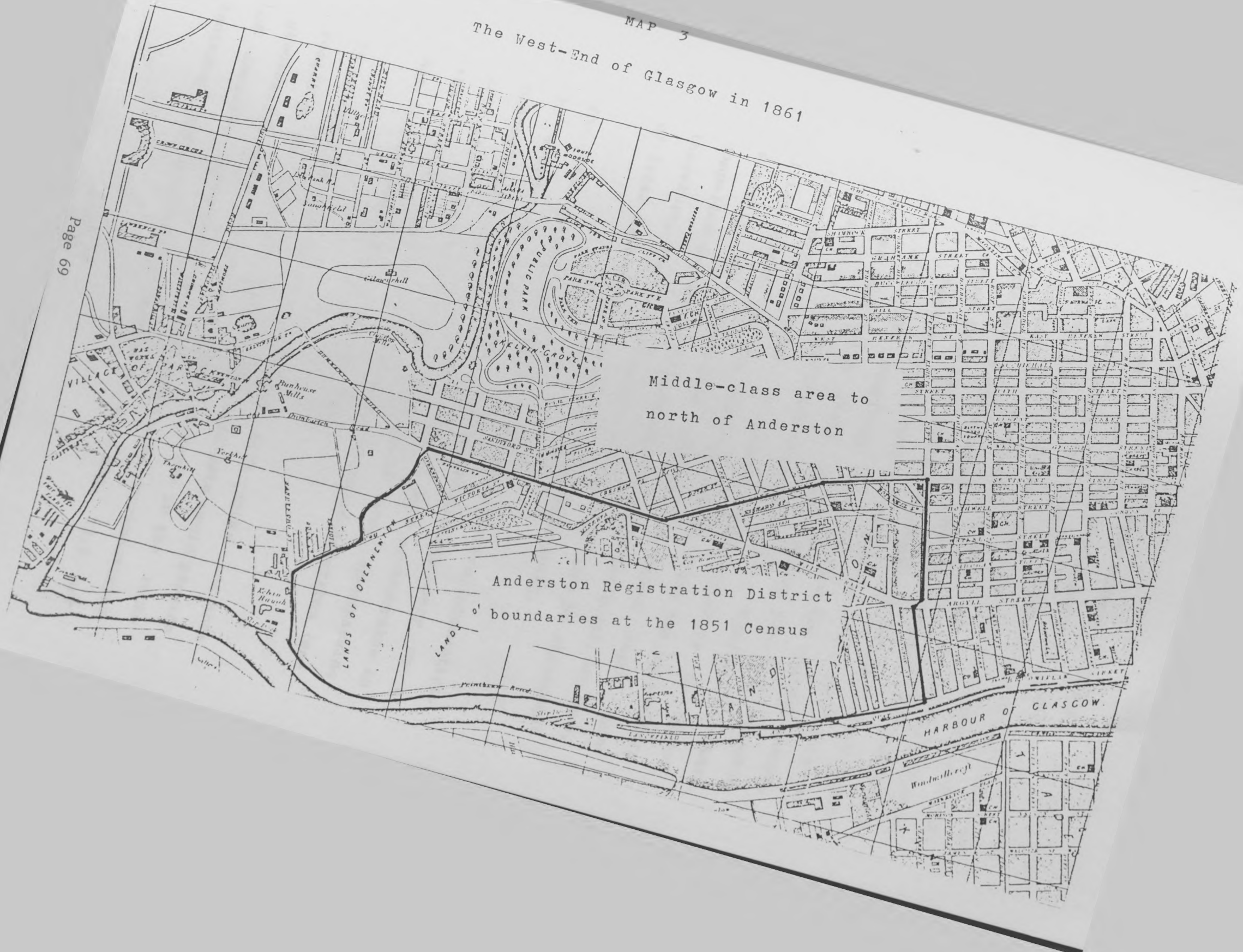
Before attempting a more detailed account of the Highland and Irish presence in the spinning mills and domestic service, the survey of the migrant presence in the more important occupations in the district will be completed. Both the employed Irish and Highland females were under-represented in the clothing sector, although a greater proportion of Irish females, 15.1 per cent as against 10.7 per cent of Highland females, were in this grouping which included dressmaking, sewing and millinery. Shoemaking, also included in this grouping, was an activity in which a small element of the Irish females were involved. In the 1851 sample, Highland females were not represented in this trade.

Domestic Service

We have seen that from the 1830s, Irish girls were increasingly able to procure employment as printfield operatives, taking jobs that had formerly been almost exclusively the preserve of Highland girls. It is not

inconceivable, therefore, that there may have been a parallel infiltration of domestic service by Irish girls. However, the findings for other lowland towns would suggest otherwise. Also, contemporary comment lends support to the view that Glasgow did not display a different pattern from other lowland towns in the recruitment of domestic servants. In the mid-1830s, it was confidently stated that there were "a great many Highland but few Irish domestic servants in Glasgow" (34). The views of Norman Macleod, the Gaelic minister, in the early 1840s, confirm this testimony (35).

MAP 3
The West-End of Glasgow in 1861



Yet it is possible that such comment is misleading. For one thing, Lees in her study of the Irish in London has shown how Irish girls had little difficulty in gaining such employment in the capital (36). It was also recognised that the hiring of domestic servants on a monthly basis in Glasgow by the mid-century made recruitment in the city different from the practices adopted in other lowland towns (37). Moreover, the data in Table 2.5, when allowance is made for the numerical size of the two migrant groups, suggest that Irish girls were finding jobs in domestic service in significant numbers (38). Finally, although there may have been a general disinclination to employ Irish girls in the 1830s and 1840s, after the mid-century scarcity of alternative sources of labour might have compelled employers of domestics to hire the Irish. We need, therefore, some reliable data on which to base an assessment of Irish penetration of this form of employment.

The 1861 census has provided such quantitative information. To avoid the distortion that concentrating only on a predominantly working class district such as Anderston in 1861 inevitably brings, a much extended area encompassing the middle class localities to the north of Anderston (see Map 3) was chosen as the survey area.

If at first we concern ourselves only with those servants residing in Anderston proper, the 1861 data would provide grounds for asserting a greater Irish presence in the ranks of domestic servants than the comments of contemporaries indicate. For in Anderston, area A on the map, 13.5 per

cent of the domestic servants were Irish -born compared to the 16.5 per cent who were Highland-born. There were no major differences in the occupational groups or social strata the different migrant groups served or in the streets where they worked. However, the Highland servants were predominantly young women, 76 per cent were under 27 years of age, while only a minority of the Irish servants were between the ages of 18 and 27. One-quarter of the Irish servants were over 42 years old and almost a quarter were widowed or married. Whereas Highland servants were overwhelmingly young, single females, Irish servants were, by age and marital status, a more mixed group.

It is, however, when we turn our attention to the middle class area to the north of Anderston (see Map 3) that we gain a clearer impression of just how important domestic service was as a means of employment for the two migrant groups. In these largely middle class dwellings, Irish servants were rare, with only 52 or 2.7 per cent of the total servants of Irish birth. Ten of these servants were employed by a fellow native of Ireland. Of the nine Irish servants whose birthplace within Ireland is known, three were natives of Dublin and one was from Belfast. The evidence is slight but it might just hint at a quite specific pattern of migration for those Irish entering domestic service in middle class homes. Surname taken on its own is admittedly a crude indicator of a person's religion, but comparing the names of Irish servants in this area and those in Anderston to the south, it would seem that a greater proportion were Protestants than was the case in

the working class zone.

If the Irish proportion of the servant population dropped dramatically, in the more affluent quarters of the city, the Highland proportion, on the evidence of this survey, rose substantially. In the middle class district 469 or about one-quarter of the 1919 servants were Highland-born. Only 7.7 per cent of these Highlander servants were in Highlander households so this presence cannot be attributed to migrants from the region employing their own kind. Moreover, Highland servants were hired by the broad range of social strata residing in the district. For instance, in the wealthy and prestigious Park Circus area, Highland servants accounted for 23.1 per cent of the 978 servants. Highland-born servants were equally acceptable to all strata of Glasgow society.

Thus, despite the changing demand for, and practices in hiring servants, the middle strata of society do not appear to have been willing to employ Irish girls in their homes. There were sufficient numbers of female migrants in the Highlands and other parts of Scotland to make it possible largely to exclude Irish migrants from this type of employment.

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Chapter 2 - Notes

- (1) The tabulated data presented in Table 2.1 are derived from the census enumerators' returns for the Anderston district. For the allocation of occupations to the different occupational groups, see Appendix 1. As a result of rounding-off the percentages, not all the totals at the foot of the columns add up to 100.
- (2) The unskilled category in this group is almost entirely composed of those returned as "labourers" in metal, machinery and shipbuilding. However, a number of teenage employments, mainly "foundry boys", have also been allocated to this category.
- (3) Handley in his study of the Irish in Scotland comments that "Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of Irish immigrants and the first, second and third generations of those who had settled in the country in the early decades of the century, took their places in the ranks of the industrial army that laboured at unskilled and semi-skilled jobs: in the mine and iron and steel works, in the shipyards ... in machine-shops and factories, in the numerous little foundries and workshops that existed ...", see Handley, Irish in Modern Scotland, pp 134-135; Campbell's study of the Lanarkshire miners gives a more optimistic picture of Irish penetration of skilled employment. If, in the Larkhall district, none of the 50 skilled metalworkers' jobs were taken by Irishmen, in the Coatbridge area 23.8 per cent of the 706 skilled metalwork positions were taken by natives of Ireland. Apparently, the Anderston data indicate an even greater incursion into the skilled positions. A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire Miners, A Social History of their Trade Unions, 1775-1874, (Edinburgh, 1979), p 180.
- (4) Information on the occupations of the men married in the chapel between 1855 and 1870 was gathered. Only for 1855 was it possible to identify the place of birth, which was given by nearly all the newly-weds. Since 82.2 per cent were Irish-born, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that the great majority in subsequent years were natives of Ireland.
- (5) New Statistical Account, volume VI, p 405 for comments on the seamen of one Highland parish.
- (6) P.P. 1836, XXXIV, App. G, p 117.
- (7) Ibid.
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) The applicants were expected to supply satisfactory character references. See Table 2.2 for source.

- (10) The name of the new licence holder was registered beneath the former holder. The absence of dates makes it impossible to establish any sequence in the granting of licences.
- (11) Report of the Glasgow Carters' Committee, 1835 (Mitchell Library Pamphlets, Glasgow).
- (12) Ibid. It was the informed opinion of the President of the Carters' Committee that carters settled in large numbers in Alston Street and Stockwell Street. A search of the 1861 census enumerators' books for Alston Street indicated that there had probably been some drift away from this locality close to the Broomielaw. However, in Stockwell Street a far greater number of carters were found.
- (13) A. Redford, Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850, (Manchester, 1964), pp 151-152; Handley, Irish in Scotland, pp 56, 58.
- (14) P.P. 1836, XXIV, p 107.
- (15) Redford, Labour Migration, pp 151-152.
- (16) W. H. Fraser, "The Glasgow Cotton Spinners, 1837", in J. Butt and J.T. Ward (eds.), Scottish Themes: Essays in Honour of Professor S.G.E. Lythe, (Edinburgh, 1976), p 97.
- (17) This survey covered the working class areas sweeping out from the potteries.
- (18) J. Strang, Comparative View of the Money-Rate of Wages in Glasgow ..., (Glasgow, 1862), p 7.
- (19) P.P. 1836, XXXIV, App. G, p 116.
- (20) Glasgow Saturday Post, 23 April 1853, for information on shoemakers; also, see Sentinel, 23 June 1866, for description of shoemaking activity. The conditions experienced by tailors are reported in the Scottish Guardian, 18 July 1845.
- (21) T. Johnston, History of the Working Classes in Scotland, (Glasgow, 1920), p 379.
- (22) Glasgow Saturday Post, 23 April 1853.
- (23) Cleland's census of the city in 1831 indicates the widespread distribution of these occupations in the city although there were the clusterings already stated. Cleland, Census of Glasgow, 1831, p 33.
- (24) Scottish Guardian, 18 July 1845.
- (25) Strang, Money-Rate of Wages, pp 3-7.
- (26) Strathclyde Regional Archives (SRA), E1/13/1. Magistrates' Committee Minute Book, 23 October 1848.

- (27) Senex, Glasgow Past and Present, (Glasgow, 1884), volume II, pp 106-107.
- (28) Ibid; SR E1/13/1; North British Daily Mail, 2 July 1853.
- (29) The poor relief applications received by the city are replete with evidence of the range of articles and wares sold by hawkers. These documents deposited in the Strathclyde Regional Archives.
- (30) SRA H- And 1.4.
- (31) J.H. Treble, Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914, (London, 1979), p 49.
- (32) Glasgow Free Press, 5 May 1860.
- (33) For Greenock, see Lobban, Irish Community in Greenock, p 272; for Paisley and Dundee, see Collins, Aspects of Irish Immigration, chapter 7.
- (34) P.P. 1836, XXXIV, App. G., p 117.
- (35) P.P. 1841, VI, Q 1212.
- (36) Lees, Irish in London, p 95.
- (37) Unlike other lowland towns, Glasgow by the early 1850s had a servant population which was hired on a monthly basis.
- (38) 15.8 per cent of the Irish-born females with a stated employment was a considerable number of servants.

CHAPTER 3.

The Glasgow Police Force: A Case Study of Migrant Recruitment to Urban Employment

Introduction

It may be useful at this point in the study to examine the involvement of the migrant groups in the Glasgow police force during the mid-century. For one thing, there is a need to explain why such a significant proportion, 10 per cent, of Highlanders residing in the sampled central zones were police officers. In addition, however, the large body of quantitative data and qualitative information that is available on the members of the police force may tell us something of the various attitudes and practices affecting Highland and Irish migrant access to a specific part in the labour market. One further reason for investigating migrant participation in the policing of Glasgow is that it is likely to assist in the later examination of migrant social and cultural interaction with the host society. The uniformed police were the most overt expression of the external powers that controlled the lives of even the most tightly knit sub-culture. They often represented the alien and aggressive forces to be found in the new urban environment. Depending on the composition and behaviour of

the force, they might also be seen as a source of protection and represent to migrants an important intermediary between the ethnic group and the wider community.

This investigation is largely based on the information contained in the Registers of Constabulary, 1856-1857 (1). Registration of the Glasgow police force was commenced in 1856 and in January of that year particulars of all serving on the force were entered in a book. This information on age, marital status, place of origin (parish, region or county), former occupation, dates of entry and (subsequently) departure, reason for leaving the police and present address offers a "snapshot" of the force at that date. However, the same information on all those who joined the force between February 1856 and November 1857 was also available in a second volume. Both bodies of information form the basis for the tabulated data in this chapter. Other quantitative information about the force was derived from the printed Criminal Returns of the city and various other sources.

This chapter is divided into five parts. This introduction is followed by a section on the entry and participation of Highland and Irish migrants in the city as a whole. Section II is concerned with the pattern of recruitment of the migrant groups across the city divisions of the force. The third section examines the turnover of recruits and the final part attempts to draw conclusions from the evidence presented in the preceding sections.

I : The Entry and Participation of Highland and Irish Migrants

We have seen in the previous chapter that either through preference and/or exclusion, Irish and Highland migrants generally failed to penetrate certain sections of the labour market. The Glasgow police force, however, was one form of employment to which they might have access. Evidence from the mid-1840s would suggest that only a small minority of the men on the force - there were 517 members in 1846 - were natives of the city. For instance, of the 173 men who joined in the months January to June 1847, 79 were Scots, 86 were Irish and eight were English. We also know that for decades the Highland component of the force had been large (2). More detailed information from the mid-1850s provides conclusive evidence that natives of Glasgow were a small element in the force. In January 1856, only 9.7 per cent of the officers had been born in the city and only 6.0 per cent of the new recruits in the months February 1856 to November 1857 were native of Glasgow (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

Table 3.1 Place of birth of the recruits to Glasgow police divisions, 1856-1857.

Birthplace	Div.A	Div.B	Div.C	Div.D	Div.E	Div.Cl	Tot.	Tot.%
Highlands	54	19	2	14	12	13	114	23.5
Ireland	44	24	18	19	25	-	130	26.7
Lowlands	66	17	15	15	20	6	139	28.6
Glasgow	13	1	4	6	5	-	29	6.0
Elsewhere	45	69	42	59	71	23	486	100

Notes: See below, note 23.

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

As Table 3.2 shows, in January 1856 Highlanders accounted for almost one-third of the force while 21.9 per cent were Irish-born. Most of the other men were natives of the central lowlands. The proportions of the total recruits in 1856-1857 coming from the different regions did not reflect the comparative strengths in the force as it stood in January 1856. In these months, 23.5 per cent of those entering the service were Highland-born while a slightly greater proportion, 26.7 per cent, were Irish. The remaining recruits, as with the force in January 1856, largely came from central lowland parishes. True, mid-century Glasgow was overwhelmingly policed by migrants, over half of whom were natives of Ireland or the Highlands. Rather than excluding these migrant groups, the city authorities were largely dependent on such men to staff the force.

Table 3.2 Place of birth of those serving in Glasgow police divisions, January 1856.

Birthplace	Div.A	Div.B	Div.C	Div.D	Div.E	Div.Cl	Tot.	Tot.%
Highlands	71	36	17	27	22	29	20	32.0
Ireland	43	28	29	21	17	-	138	21.9
Lowlands	58	11	27	24	17	9	146	23.1
Glasgow	24	4	18	4	10	1	61	9.7
Elsewhere	35	4	8	5	7	4	63	10.0
Not known	20	-	-	1	-	-	21	3.4
Total:	251	83	99	82	73	43	631	100

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 142.

Before proceeding to consider why there was such a reliance on Highlanders and Irishmen, it may be useful for later discussion to identify some of the characteristics of these men. Firstly, age differences are apparent among the recruits (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Distribution of recruits to the Glasgow police force, 1856-1857, by place of birth.

Age	Highland	Ireland	Lowland	Glasgow	Elsewhere	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under 21	14.9	7.7	2.2	6.9	5.4	36
21 to 25	56.6	40.0	31.7	27.6	31.1	179
26 to 30	24.6	35.4	30.9	27.6	36.5	152
31 to 35	7.9	13.8	23.7	20.7	23.0	83
36 and above	7.0	3.1	11.5	17.2	4.1	486
	114	130	139	29	74	486
%	100	100	100	100	100.1	

Note: See Table 3.1

Those born in the Highlands were, in general, younger than the new recruits taken on as a whole. Indeed, 84 per cent of the Highlander recruits were under 30 years of age and 60 per cent were under 26. As Table 3.4 makes clear, over two-thirds were unmarried. The Irish recruits were slightly older: just under half were younger than 26, but with 35 per cent falling within the 26 to 30 age grouping, they were overwhelmingly young men. Yet, despite these similarities, considerably more Irish than Highlanders were married when they entered the force; 51.5 per cent against 29.8 per cent. Age difference alone surely cannot explain this disparity. In this respect, it was the Highlanders who were out of line with the recruits as a whole: the great majority of the Highland-born were young single men.

Table 3.4 Marital status of recruits to the Glasgow police force, 1856-1857, by place of birth.

	Highland	Ireland	Lowland	Glasgow	Elsewhere	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Single	70.2	48.5	56.8	48.3	56.8	57.2
Married, no child	7.9	14.6	11.5	13.8	20.3	13.0
Married, with child	21.9	36.9	31.6	37.9	23.0	29.8
	114	130	139	29	74	486
%	100	100	99.9	100	100.1	

Note: See Table 3.1 for details on place of birth categories.

Source: SRA E4/4 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

Examination of Table 3.5 reveals that, not surprisingly, the great majority of the Irish-born recruits were from the province of Ulster. The county of birth was registered for 132 of the 138 Irishmen serving on the force in January 1856, and of these 83.3 per cent were Ulstermen. Nearly half of these men were natives of the three counties of Antrim, Down and Londonderry. A similar pattern of recruitment can be discerned for the new Irish recruits, although Londonderry men were less prominent.

Table 3.5 County and province of birth of those serving in
and recruits to the Glasgow police force,
1856-1857.

	Div.A		Div.B		Div.C		Div.D		Div.E		Div Cl		Total	
Ulster:	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R*
Antrim	5	9	3	2	5	6	2	1	2	2	-	-	17	20
Down	1	6	3	3	10	3	-	1	1	5	-	-	15	18
Armagh	-	-	2	1	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	5
L'derry	6	4	6	2	4	-	3	5	2	-	-	-	21	11
Tyrone	4	5	4	3	1	-	1	4	3	3	-	-	13	13
Donegal	7	2	1	-	1	-	2	5	3	1	-	-	14	8
Monaghan	6	2	2	4	2	2	1	-	2	3	-	-	13	11
Fermanagh	2	5	1	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	-	-	7	7
Cavan	2	-	1	2	1	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	7	4
Total:	33	33	23	17	24	16	14	16	16	17	-	-	110	100
Leinster	1	4	4	-	4	1	1	-	1	4	-	-	11	9
Connaught	2	5	1	4	1	1	2	2	-	2	-	-	6	14
Munster	4	2	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	5	7
Not known	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Total:	43	44	28	24	29	18	21	17	25	-	-	-	138	130

* S = Those serving in January 1856.

R = Those recruited between February 1856 and
November 1857.

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

The Highlanders joining the force tended to come more from the north-west and northern Scotland than Highlanders in Glasgow generally. Although about half of the serving men were from Argyll, most of those whose parish of birth was registered were from the islands and northern parishes of the county. In the case of the new recruits, only 41.3 per cent were from Argyll and judging from the information available on the parish of birth, perhaps as few as one in ten of the Highlanders entering the force in the mid-1850s were from south Argyll.

Table 3.6 County of birth of those serving in Glasgow police divisions, January 1856.

County	Div.A	Div.B	Div.C	Div.D	Div.E	Div.Cl	Tot	Tot%
Argyll	36	17	11	15	14	9	102	50.5
Inverness	14	10	2	8	3	10	47	23.3
Ross	9	3	-	1	2	4	19	9.4
Perth	5	1	1	1	-	-	8	4.0
Sutherland	3	2	1	1	2	1	10	5.0
Caithness	4	1	1	1	1	5	13	6.4
Ork.and Shet.	-	2	1	-	-	-	3	1.5
Total:	71	36	17	27	22	29	202	100.1

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

It is perhaps not surprising that the suitability of men with such a background for police work in a large industrial city was sometimes brought into question. Thus, one city official remarked in 1871 that:

"Young men from the country districts and the Highlands of Scotland, who have never been in a large city before, ignorant of the localities in Glasgow, and without knowledge of the duties of a constable, or the manner in which these duties should be performed ... are the principal sources from which the force is recruited." (3)

It is noticeable in the intermittent criticisms against the rawness and inexperience of members of the force that seldom did anyone take exception to the presence of Irishmen on the force. There were loud protestations voiced over the arrival of large numbers of Irishmen into the force in 1847 after the appointment of an Irish superintendent. Upon the resumption of more moderate Irish recruitment, however, little more was heard (4). It was the unsophisticated young Highlanders recruited to the force who were often commented upon in a critical manner.

Table 3.7 County of birth of the recruits to Glasgow police divisions, 1856-1857.

County	Div.A	Div.B	Div.C	Div.D	Div.E	Div.Cl	Tot	Tot%
Argyll	20	10	-	9	4	4	47	41.2
Inverness	18	5	1	3	6	4	37	32.5
Ross	5	3	-	-	1	4	13	11.4
Perth	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	1.8
Sutherland	4	-	-	1	1	-	6	5.3
Caithness	3	-	1	1	-	-	5	4.4
Ork.and Shet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0
Banff	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.5
Total:	54	19	2	14	12	13	114	100.1

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

The previous employments recorded for the constables give us some idea of the social origins of most of the young recruits. Sixty-three per cent of the Highland-born and 56 per cent of the Irish were so registered. It can be seen from Table 3.8 that only 8.8 per cent of the Highlanders indicated an agricultural background while only one Irishman stated that he formerly held a specific agricultural job. Although 11.4 per cent of the Highlanders declared that they were formerly policemen, only a few mentioned other forces.

Table 3.8 Former occupations of recruits to the Glasgow police force, 1856-1857, by place of birth.

Occupation	High'	Ireland	Low'	Glasgow	Elsewhere	Tot	Tot%
Labourer	72	73	41	3	25	214	44.0
Agricultural	10	1	5	-	4	20	4.1
Police	13	7	3	2	7	32	6.6
Army	6	21	35	13	18	93	19.1
Prison service	-	-	1	-	2	3	0.6
Textile	-	6	26	5	5	42	8.6
Metal trade	2	4	5	1	3	15	3.1
Shoemaking and							
Clothes	2	4	5	1	3	15	3.1
Miscellaneous	9	14	20	4	8	55	11.3
Total:	114	130	139	29	74	486	99.9

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

A smaller proportion of the Irish recruits provided this occupation but most of these had served in the Irish constabulary. Almost one in six of the Irish recruits cited the army as their former occupation and it would seem that police work was one activity to which soldiers returning from the Crimea could turn. Yet, despite the involvement of the Highland regiments in the Crimean War, few of the Highlanders joining the force, 5.3 per cent. gave the army as their previous employment (5). In general, it would appear that the great majority of Highlanders and Irishmen,

especially the former, did not possess skills which would be in demand in an urban context.

If we now turn to the men on the force in January 1856, it would seem that the majority of Highlanders had previously pursued agricultural activities. Although just under one-third were entered under the imprecise nomenclature "labourer", another 37.1 per cent stated agricultural employments. Farm service alone was provided in 28.7 per cent of the cases. Although these migrants were arriving from communities in which industry and agriculture were commonly integrated, most recorded a farming background. Only two of the serving men returned themselves as having been fishermen. In contrast, the industrial or commercial background of the Irish policemen was a good deal more obvious. Only 6.5 per cent of these men were recorded as formerly working in agriculture; 37.7 per cent gave labourer, while 55.8 per cent of these Irishmen indicated industrial or commercial experience.

II : The Pattern of Recruitment Across the City Divisions

A study of the distribution of the Highlander and Irish policemen across the six divisions into which the force was organised at this period may shed light on the process of recruitment. A further examination at Table 3.2 will reveal that the size of the Highland and Irish elements serving in the different divisions did not reflect their overall

strengths on the force as a whole. Moreover, the new additions in 1856-1857 in some instances reinforced these differentials. The most striking continuity in recruitment is the total absence of Irish-born in Clyde division, the harbour police force, both in January 1856 and amongst the new recruits over the following two years. As Table 3.2 makes clear, the Highlanders dominated in this division and, with many of them in promoted posts, Highlanders continued to take up most of the openings, as is evident from Table 3.1. The harbour, in many respects the busiest locality in the city, had a distinctively Highlander flavour to its policing. Indeed, if Division B, the west-end station located in Anderston is brought into the analysis, then over half the constabulary operating in the western end of the city in 1856 were Highlanders. This may be one reason why many middle class commentators perceived the city's police force as composed of raw, inexperienced Highland lads.

Highlanders were far less prominent elsewhere in the city. In Division C, the eastern quarter of the city - an area with a very low Highlander presence - 17 per cent of the men serving were Highlanders while only two of the 42 enlisted in 1856-1857 were from the north. Even in this division, however, the Highlander presence on the police force was still much greater than the Highland-born presence in the population at large. Indeed, Highland policemen would in fact constitute a significant proportion of the Highlanders in Calton, where the station was situated. This also largely explains the prominence of policemen in the 1851 sample of the central districts. Over one-quarter of the

men serving in Division A, the central zone of Glasgow, were Highlanders. Most of the men were accommodated in police apartments or "barracks", just off the High Street (6).

Irishmen, already well represented in Division C in January 1856, took up 18 of the 42 posts that became available in 1856-1857. The majority of these new men from Ireland came from Down, Antrim or Armagh, the counties in fact from which the majority of those serving in January 1856 had come. Taken alone, these findings are not so remarkable. But they are given added significance when it becomes apparent that only two of the 31 Irishmen in Division D, the south-side division in the Gorbals were from these north-eastern counties and only two of the 18 Irish recruits to this station were from this area of Ulster. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that there was a strong Orange presence in the Calton police station (7). The editor of the Catholic newspaper, the Free Press, alleged in a more general vein that both Irish and Highland Catholics were being denied a position on the force on account of their religion: "complaints have oftentimes reached us to the effect that both Highlanders and Irishmen have been known to apply for vacancies in the Glasgow police force, and have been sent to the right-about immediately on it being known that they were Catholics (8). The editor further alleged that in the case of those who found a position on the force, "their services, if not altogether slighted, were unrecognised and past over" (9). Taken on its own, the use of surnames to establish the religious persuasion of Irish immigrants might be considered suspect. However, if set

alongside the data on geographic origin (Table 3.5) and the evidence cited above, the apparent predominance of "Protestant" surnames among the Irish in Calton station and the preponderance of "Catholic" surnames in the Gorbals station perhaps provides an indication of the importance of religious persuasion for recruitment to particular stations.

In the Glasgow police force, then, there was a degree of clustering among national, regional and religious lines with, presumably, many in promoted posts taking the opportunity to recommend favoured applicants, making preferential appointments or excluding potential recruits on the basis of nationality and religion. Care must be taken, however, not to overestimate the extent of discrimination. The types of applicants themselves may have varied significantly from division to division. It should also be recognised that both migrant groups were well represented in most of the city's stations. Furthermore, compared to the situation in Belfast, where the Town Police were customarily distinguished from the Royal Irish Constabulary by being referred to as the "Protestant" police, and where only five Catholics were employed in a force of 160 men, the Glasgow constabulary was far more accessible for the Catholic Irish even if some did encounter discrimination when attempting to join particular stations. Interestingly, as Table 3.9 indicates, the Irish presence on the force in Glasgow was at its lowest points in those years, 1861 and 1869-1870, following periods of tension between the Catholic Irish and Protestants in Glasgow (10).

III : The Turnover of Recruits

At times of peak demand for labour, the city authorities may in fact have been hard-pressed to find suitable recruits let alone condone or ignore discriminatory practices. A perennial problem confronting city officials was the high rate of turnover amongst recruits to the force. The force consisted of a core of long-serving career men who had working alongside them, and usually under them, a much larger group of short-serving recruits continuously moving off in search of more attractive employment. In the first half of 1847, for instance, more than one-third of the men on the force left (12). Of those recruited in 1856-1857, one-third had left within six months, 54 per cent had departed in under one year and two-thirds were no longer serving after two years. For the great majority who entered the force, the job was seen as, or quickly became, a stop-gap, not a potential career. In the mid-century decades, thousands of Highland and Irish migrants joined the force ad interim, as the gradual expansion of the force increased the opportunities of temporary employment. Given the high numbers of migrants who were joining the force and the shortness of the stay of many - 34.2 per cent of the Highlander recruits had left within six months - it is not inconceivable that policing the street of Glasgow was, as with the dye and chemical works, a job taken up by circular migrants. This is not to suggest that there was any significant seasonality to the recruitment, the number of entrants being at least as equally great in the winter

months.

The Irishmen joining the force remained longer than the recruits as a whole (see Table 3.10). For the more patient and successful of the Irish recruits, the service held out the possibility of limited entry to the more respectable strata of society. Both Irish and Highland migrants were able to exploit the promotion prospects. However, the vast majority of Irish and Highlander recruits had unsuccessful careers in the police force.

For those capable of seeking a livelihood outwith the unskilled labour market, the service had few attractions. In February 1871 the point was made that "the best recruits leave the force in disgust, and look out for other employment, dissatisfied with the delay and ordeal through which they have to pass, and the meagre remuneration given to them, before they can possibly better their position on the force" (12). In June 1857, the 74 men in the top class of the five grades of constables could earn 18s a week, the 225 men in class 3 had 16s a week, while those taken on as class 5 constables, of which there were 70 at the time, had only 14s a week (13). A mason's labourer about this time could expect to earn 15s 9d for a 58-hour week (14). Alterations made to the grading system still left even those who attained a class 3 position barely better paid than a mason's labourer (15).

Table 3.9 Country of birth of those serving in the Glasgow police force, 1859-1872.

Year	Scotland	Ireland	Ireland%	Elsewhere	Total
1859	503	171	24.3	30	704
1860	555	146	20.1	24	725
1861	592	135	17.7	25	750
1862	549	135	19.1	21	705
1863	575	144	19.4	25	744
1864	574	153	20.4	22	749
1865	587	169	21.6	25	781
1866	599	162	20.7	23	784
1867	658	155	18.6	21	834
1868	680	144	17.1	18	842
1869	714	137	16.2	15	846
1870	728	128	14.7	17	873
1871	717	162	18.1	18	897
1872	714	182	20.0	14	910

Note: SRA, D-TC 7/19/1/1.

Source: Criminal returns for Glasgow, 1859-1872.

Table 3.10 Length of service of recruits to the Glasgow police force, 1856-1857, by place of birth.

	High' Ireland		Low' Glasgow		Elsewhere	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to 6 months	34.2	23.8	42.4	51.7	41.9	36.0
6 to 12 months	21.1	18.5	18.7	13.8	27.0	20.2
1 to 2 years	14.0	13.1	11.5	10.3	6.8	11.7
2 to 5 years	11.4	16.2	9.4	10.3	16.2	12.8
5 years & over	17.5	28.5	18.0	13.8	8.1	18.9
Not known	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
	114	130	139	29	74	486
%	100	100.1	100	99.9	100	100

Source: SRA E4/3 Registers of Constabulary, Vol. 1 and 2.

It was not only low pay that acted as a fundamental impediment to the retention of officers, particularly the best men. Registration as a recruit did not necessarily ensure formal training or, indeed, immediate or regular employment and pay. Those fortunate enough to be given duty on arrival on the force were placed on the street without drill, training or instruction. It frequently happened that the services of the recruit were not required for several days at a time. Needless to say, they were not paid if absent from the beat. The tradition of retaining a large number of unpaid substitutes persisted throughout the mid-century. These men were called to duty when the police

committee deemed that the permanent force would not be able to cope with the exigencies of the day or to replace absent regular constables (16). The number of men enlisted but unpaid formed a fair proportion of the total force; in 1853 there were 548 men in the permanent force and 73 police substitutes (17).

By the standards of other police establishments, the hours were long and unsociable (18). In 1858 a night constable desiring a night off from his seven-shift week had to find a substitute to fill his place. Illness, injury or death incurred while on duty brought little and usually no compensation at a time when the occupational hazards were considerable. Contact with disease and participation in violent confrontation were not uncommon. It was claimed that bribery, corruption and petty bullying were commonplace (19). Even if a low-grade night constable complied with such illegal conventions, the financial gain must have been a pittance (20).

The poor working conditions, low morale of the force in general, the low status ascribed to those serving in it, the degree of social isolation and exclusion that the job entailed, all further compounded the dissatisfaction engendered by the more material considerations. The reasons given for the departure of 154 men from the force in the first half of 1847 are testimony to the conditions of service and the difficulty of finding steady men. Of the 154, 71 were dismissed for being drunk on duty, 11 for being absent without leave, 20 for being "worn out and unfit for

service", and four for assaulting prisoners. The other 48 resigned.

These figures make clear, moreover, that most of the recruits left the force because they were unsuitable. The high incidence of drunkenness and the evidence of violent assault on the part of the city's police constables, are the more extreme manifestations of an absence of the qualities of discipline and self-control required for good police relations. Under such circumstances, the police authorities had recourse to the steady stream of young migrants to fill the positions created by the removal or resignation of constables.

IV : Migrant Recruitment to the Glasgow Police Force

This detailed account of the recruitment of Highland and Irish migrants to the Glasgow police force offers some insight into the more general features affecting migrant group demand for, and access to, jobs. The city authorities experienced great difficulty in attracting and retaining suitable recruits to an occupation that, in terms of pay, conditions and status, was little other than unskilled labour. As a result, the authorities were compelled to enlist the services of Irish and Highland migrants who together constituted the bulk of the force.

Given our knowledge of migrant group entry and participation

in the occupational structure gained in the previous chapter, the type of Highland and Irish migrant prepared to undertake this kind of work is instructive. The Highlanders attracted to such employment were largely young single men from the more northern districts of the Highlands who probably appeared to most inhabitants of Glasgow as "raw, ill-instructed and uncultured lads" (22). In comparison, Irish recruits were older with just over half of them married. Most of the Highlanders stressed their agricultural background while most Irish recruits indicated industrial or commercial experience. Although the majority of Highland and Irish migrants may have lacked the skills which would be in demand in the city, a much greater proportion of Irishmen could apparently claim a trade.

Far from being equally distributed throughout the city's different stations, the Highland and Irish migrants varied in the success of gaining entry to the various divisions. Highlanders monopolised jobs in the harbour police and were a very strong presence in the west-end of the city.

The religious persuasion of applicants would appear to have influenced recruitment patterns and this may indicate a more general form of discrimination which the census material used to examine occupational structure elsewhere fails to reveal.

Although the great majority of the migrants who joined the force used it as a stop-gap until more agreeable work could be found, the Irishmen who entered the service normally

remained longer in it than the Highlanders. This perhaps indicates that Irish migrants found greater difficulty in obtaining better employment in the city or elsewhere. This case study, therefore, illustrates the strong degree of ethnicity in the patterns of recruitment of the new urban labour force. Finally, this chapter has shown that Irish and Highland policemen were more conspicuous in some areas of the city than others.

Chapter 3 - Notes

- (1) SRA, E4/3, Registers of Constabulary, 1856-1857, Vol. 1 and 2.
- (2) SRA, E 1/9/2, Watching and Fire-engines Committee Minutes, 26 November 1846.
- (3) SRA, D -TC 14/12/1, Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting as to Police Matters, 10 February 1871.
- (4) Scottish Reformers Gazette, 6 November 1847.
- (5) We cannot be certain that the occupation recorded was the most immediate prior to recruitment.
- (6) Subsidised accommodation was provided in tenements taken over by the police authorities, for example, in College Street just off the High Street. At the Municipal Police Committee meeting in 1853, the Lord Provost alluded to the fact that there were many young men in the force who, coming from the Highlands, were unable to find "respectable" lodgings. North British Daily Mail, 22 March 1853; see also D. Grant, The Thin Blue Line, (London, 1973), p 29.
- (7) Sentinel, 17 May 1851.
- (8) Free Press, 26 August 1865.
- (9) Ibid
- (10) A.C. Hepburn, The Conflict of Nationality in Modern Ireland, (Edward Arnold, 1980), pp 35-36, for information about policing in Belfast.
- (11) Grant, Thin Blue Line, p 29.
- (12) SRA, D - TC 14/2/1, 10 February 1871.
- (13) SRA, E1/14/1, Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting, 19 June 1857.
- (14) J. Strang, "Money Rate of Wages in Glasgow, 1841-1856" and "Comparative View of the Money-Rate of Wages in Glasgow" in Economic and Social Statistics of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1862).
- (15) The rates of remuneration for constables in Edinburgh compared just as badly with other workers: "The constable's pay is less than the ordinary wage of tradesmen or even some classes of labourers". North British Daily Mail, 15 October 1851, Report by Mr Linton, Superintendent of Police.
- (16) SRA D - TC 14/2/1, Watching and Lighting, 10 February 1871; SRA 1/9/2 Watching and Fire-engine, 11 February 1847, 18 February 1847, 11 March 1847, 1 July 1847, 1 April 1848.

- (17) North British Daily Mail, 22 March 1853.
- (18) SRA E 1/14/1, Watching and Lighting, 19 June 1857.
- (19) S. Rodger, The Secret Memoirs of Samuel Rodger (1846-1901), The Glasgow Teetotal Bobby, (People's palace Museum, Glasgow, N.D.), pp 6, 13; Shadow, Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs, Being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds, and Dens of the City of Glasgow, 1858, (Glasgow, 1976), pp 94-95, 106-108; North British Daily Mail, 22 March 1853.
- (20) Rodger, Secret Memoirs, pp 7-13.
- (21) Grant, Thin Blue Line, p 29.
- (22) Comment of President of the Carters Committee in Report of the Glasgow Carters Committee, 1835, (Mitchell Library Pamphlets), pp 26-27.
- (23) The same distinction between Highland and lowland as was employed with the census data is used here. The "Elsewhere" category includes parishes outwith the central lowlands which is taken to include all parishes in Perthshire not included in the "Highlands" grouping.

Religious Congregations and Migrant Experience

Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to compare the way in which migrant group membership of religious institutions and organisations promoted the growth of ethnic subcultures and contributed to the process of assimilation. A number of studies of the Catholic Irish in nineteenth century Britain have stressed the importance of the Catholic church to the immigrants in their adjustment to the new urban environment and in preserving a separate and distinct identity within the industrial working class. Informative as these studies are, they have largely focused on the established parochial Catholicism of the later half of the nineteenth century, as for example in the work of Lees and Gilley on the Catholic immigrants in London, Lowe's study of the Lancashire Irish and, in a Scottish context, Walker's examination of Catholicism in Dundee (1). In this chapter, much greater attention will be given to immigrant religious practice in the crucial formative phase of Catholic worship in Glasgow, that is in the two decades following the Catholic Emancipation Act. Research undertaken by Irish historians has produced quantitative data on pre-famine sacramental observance in Ireland (2). It has been possible to gather contemporaneous quantitative data on Catholic worship in

Glasgow which, when compared with the Irish findings, will provide some measure of the impact of immigration on the religious practice of the Catholics who migrated to Glasgow.

The principal concern of this chapter, however, is the comparison of the Irish and Highland migrant experience. To complement the findings on Catholic Irish worship, Highlander involvement in church life will be explored, both in the new urban context and as a feature of Highland life prior to migration. The significance of communal worship in Highland migrant life has received some attention from historians. Lobban has offered a brief discussion of Gaelic congregations in Greenock over a prolonged period from the eighteenth century (3). More recently, Withers has argued that the Gaelic congregation in Lowland towns was a crucial focus of a Highlander 'subculture' with Highland 'communities' evident in nineteenth century Dundee and Perth (4). The comparative method adopted in the present study offers the opportunity of determining the degree to which the social interaction of migrants constituted a 'subculture' or promoted a sense of community. This chapter also allows for an assessment of the religious institutions and organisations serving the migrant groups.

The analysis does not aim to be a comprehensive account of Irish and Highland migrant involvement in church congregations. Protestant Irish and Catholic Highlander participation in congregational life have been largely excluded from this examination, mainly due to lack of evidence. The data employed on the Catholic community fails

to distinguish nativity, although we know that it was overwhelmingly Irish in origin. Essentially, therefore, this study concentrates on a comparison of Catholic worshippers and members of Gaelic congregations belonging to the Protestant churches. It might also be stressed at this point that although a direct comparison between Catholic and Protestant forms of corporate devotion will be made, differences in the religious meaning and significance attached to the various services, and their importance vis a vis other forms of religious expression, will be taken as understood.

In the first section of this chapter, attention will be devoted to the extent of religious observance among the Catholic population in Glasgow, the degree to which this differed from that evinced for Ireland at the same period, and the variables affecting Catholic religious practice. The importance of the practice of the faith for the promotion of a distinctive Catholic culture in the working class neighbourhood will then be examined. As in earlier chapters, the position of the migrants in the old, inner city areas, will be contrasted with that of the suburb of Anderston to identify possible variations in the experience of the immigrant group. Attention shifts to Gaelic congregational activity in the third section of the chapter. As with Catholic religious practice, an effort will be made to quantify migrant involvement in Gaelic congregations, present the pre-migrant experience in the Highlands and account for the extent of commitment to church life in Glasgow. It will then be possible to evaluate the

importance of that commitment for the definition and deepening of group identity. The final section of the chapter compares and contrasts the effect of migrant group involvement in church life for the development of a sub-culture or sense of community.

Before starting this analysis, it is perhaps appropriate to offer a definition of what is meant by the concepts sub-culture and community. In the case of the latter, community is taken to refer to distinctive types of institutions which allow for the development of sets of social relationships, shared activities and common bonds among people in a particular locality. By sub-culture what is meant is the interests and identification which set apart some members of society from others. Of course, it is by the extent to which members share values, artefacts and identification that the strength of a particular sub-culture can be gauged.

The Catholic Population in Glasgow in the 1830s

Before we can establish how far the supply of Catholic churches and clergy met the needs or wants of the migrants, and the aspirations of their religious leaders, we need to arrive at a sufficiently accurate measure of the size of the Catholic population in Glasgow in this period. Various attempts were made to provide a precise calculation of the size of this population, but none entirely succeeded. Cleland, in his 1831 census of the city's inhabitants,

included a question on religious adherence but found in gathering in the census results that 'a number of Catholics returned themselves as Episcopalians or Dissenters' (5). Thus, the total of 19,333 Catholics enumerated in the city and suburbs was considered a gross underestimation of the real number 'adhering' to the Catholic church (6). Cleland was forced to rely on an extrapolation from the Catholic baptismal records of 1830 as an alternative means of ascertaining the total Catholic population. Therefore, although Cleland claimed that the 'exact number of Catholics' was 26,965 the statistician's method of calculation was hardly likely to produce an accurate total for the Catholic population (7).

Bishop Murdoch (8) adopted the same flawed procedure for a similar exercise in 1836 although, unlike Cleland, some allowance was made for the children baptised belonging to parents who lived outside the city (9). Having subtracted this amount, he calculated that there remained 43,000 to 44,000 Catholics living in the city and suburbs. Crude as this method of estimating the Catholic population was, we have little alternative but to accept it as the nearest approximation available of the actual total.

Since our major concern is to prevent an underestimate of the levels of church attendance, and sacramental observance, it is necessary to establish a minimum size of the Catholic population. Taking Cleland's undercount of 1831 and allowing for population growth over the five years to 1836 (as indicated by increases in the annual baptisms

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registered) we can arrive at a minimalist figure of about 36,000 Catholics in Glasgow in 1836 (10). Thus, in that year it was unlikely that the city's Catholic population was less than 36,000 and was probably much closer to 44,000. If a more precise and methodical approximation might appear desirable, it will become clear as the discussion proceeds that these crude measurements are sufficient to allow a satisfactory exploration of the patterns of religious observance of Catholics in Glasgow in the mid-1830s.

Mass Attendance: Glasgow and Ireland Compared

On the basis of these estimates it is apparent that the provision of churches and clergy left the Catholics residing in Glasgow in the mid-1830s as inadequately served as their co-religionists residing in the most neglected districts of Ulster, the province from where the great majority of the Irish in Glasgow had migrated. In 1836 there was only one Catholic clergyman in Glasgow for every 9,000 to 11,000 Catholics. Moreover, the same clergymen were also attempting to serve the many Catholic communities in the counties surrounding the city (12). The Catholics residing in and around the city at this time supported only two churches. In 1816 St Andrew's pro-cathedral had been opened on the riverside thoroughfare of Great Clyde Street and could accommodate 2,500 people (12). A much smaller chapel with accommodation for 500 worshippers was opened in the south side of the city in 1824 (13). With four masses each Sunday at St Andrew's and two at the smaller chapel, the four Catholic clergymen in Glasgow in 1836 could not hope to

provide sufficient opportunities for religious observance for even a majority of the city's Catholic population. In fact, the average attendance at the two Catholic chapels during the winter period November to January 1834-1835 when only three masses were celebrated at St Andrew's was reported to be about 8,000. As the weather improved in the early spring of 1835 the average attendance rose to about 9,000 (14).

These figures for average Sunday attendances may have been considerably lower than those for the total number of Catholics who were in the 'habit' of going to mass. It was Bishop Murdoch's informed opinion, that the average weekly attendances were only about two-thirds of the total number of Catholics in the 'habit' of attending mass. The bishop, therefore, estimated the number of habitual mass-goers at about 12,500 (15). If we accept his estimate, then not more than 35 per cent and probably nearer 28 per cent of the total Catholic population of the city were in the habit of attending mass on a regular basis (16). On any given Sunday in the winter months, about 18 per cent and no more than 22 per cent of the Catholics resident in Glasgow went to chapel.

This figure for the average rate of winter attendances is close to the lowest rates of attendance recorded in Northern Ireland in 1834 and certainly well below the rates estimated for Ulster towns at the same date (17). In the 10 English-speaking parishes of north-west Co. Tyrone, and east Co. Donegal, the attendance rate in 1834 has been calculated

at from 32.4 to 35.4 per cent. The rate for Belfast is considerably higher at 43.1 per cent yet well below that revealed for Derry, 77.8 per cent, and the almost total attendance returned for the Catholics of Drogheda (18). Taken as a whole, then, it would seem that the Catholics of Glasgow were less attentive to the religious duty of mass attendance than the Catholic communities in northern Ireland which they had left.

Other Forms of Catholic Observance

We possess other data regarding the religious observance of Catholics residing in Glasgow in the mid-1830s. Let us first consider the other major recurrent religious obligation, that is to make confession and receive the sacrament of communion at least once a year, preferably at Easter (19). In 1835 the number of Catholics who received the Eucharist was upwards of 5000 or about 11 to 14 per cent of the total Catholic population of the city (20). The immediate cause of this low rate of observance was that the four Catholic clergymen had neither the time nor energy to prepare a greater number for the Communion Roll. One St Andrew's priest, alluding to the efforts of Bishop Scott, Murdoch's predecessor, in swelling the number of the Communion Roll, noted that: 'They only know the extent of preparation necessary to be gone through, before approaching Communion in the Catholic Church, can form any adequate idea of the fatigue and labour which such results entailed on him'. (21)

Commenting on the number prepared in 1835, Bishop Murdoch himself remarked that there had been 'little increase or decrease, as the number of clergymen is scarcely able to prepare for communion more than the above number of 5000' (23).

If some allowance is made for children old enough to attend mass but not yet of the age to take the necessary instruction to receive the sacrament of communion, then perhaps close on half of the mass goes obliged by the strict rule of the church to observe the Easter duty did not do so. The ecclesiastical authorities were quite simply unable to extend participation in this sacrament to a large proportion of the Catholic population who were in the habit of attending mass. Many of the more devout adherents, of course, did not merely comply with the canonical minimum. Of those who had entered the Communion Roll, it was stated that a 'great many of them communicate frequently during the year' (23). In a city where only a small minority of adherents observed the sacrament of communion, there were, it would seem, thousands of the faithful who did more than merely observe the canonical duties.

Those who wished to partake of the other sacraments marking rites of passage at birth, marriage and death, were, it would seem, seldom disappointed by the Catholic clergy. On the payment of baptism and marriage fees, those eligible to receive such sacraments could normally gain access to a priest. And if the Catholic priests had little or no contact with the majority of the Catholics in the city apart

from these occasions, the clergy, nonetheless, considered it a fundamental obligation on their part to attend to those seeking their ministrations: 'The great numbers, scattered situations, and distance of the Roman Catholic population under their pastoral superintendence, prevent the ministers from rendering the necessary attendance, but the rites of religion are always administered to persons ill at whatever distance they live' (24). During the cholera visitation of 1832, the Catholic clergy gave such rites 'without interruption, by day or by night' for a number of weeks and, it might be added, at the cost of some clerical lives (25). The dedication of the Catholic clergy, even to the most wayward of their flock, gained them the praise and respect of Catholic and Protestant alike (26).

In conclusion, then, it can be stated that the sacramental observance of Catholics living in Glasgow was severely impeded by a shortfall in the number of clergy, although the overburdened priests did well to ensure that those desiring the essential sacraments were not disappointed. Similarly, it is tempting to explain the rates of Catholic attendance at mass as simply a consequence of a severe shortage of clerical provision in relation to the size of the Catholic population. Yet, even if an inadequate infrastructure was indeed a fundamental impediment to more widespread worship, as an explanation of the dynamics of Catholic observance it is less than satisfactory. For one thing, not all the space at masses was taken up. Twelve o'clock mass, the 'principal' service at both Catholic churches, normally had capacity attendances. Yet at the free admission nine

o'clock mass at St Andrew's only two-thirds of the available places were taken up. At ten o'clock mass at the same church a large number of the seats available for rental were not filled. Moreover, one year after the introduction of the new afternoon service, 835 of the rented sittings on offer remained unoccupied (27). Clearly the low levels of attendance cannot solely be explained by the limited number of opportunities for religious observance. In the section that follows, other explanations will be explored.

Church Attendance and Socio-Economic Status

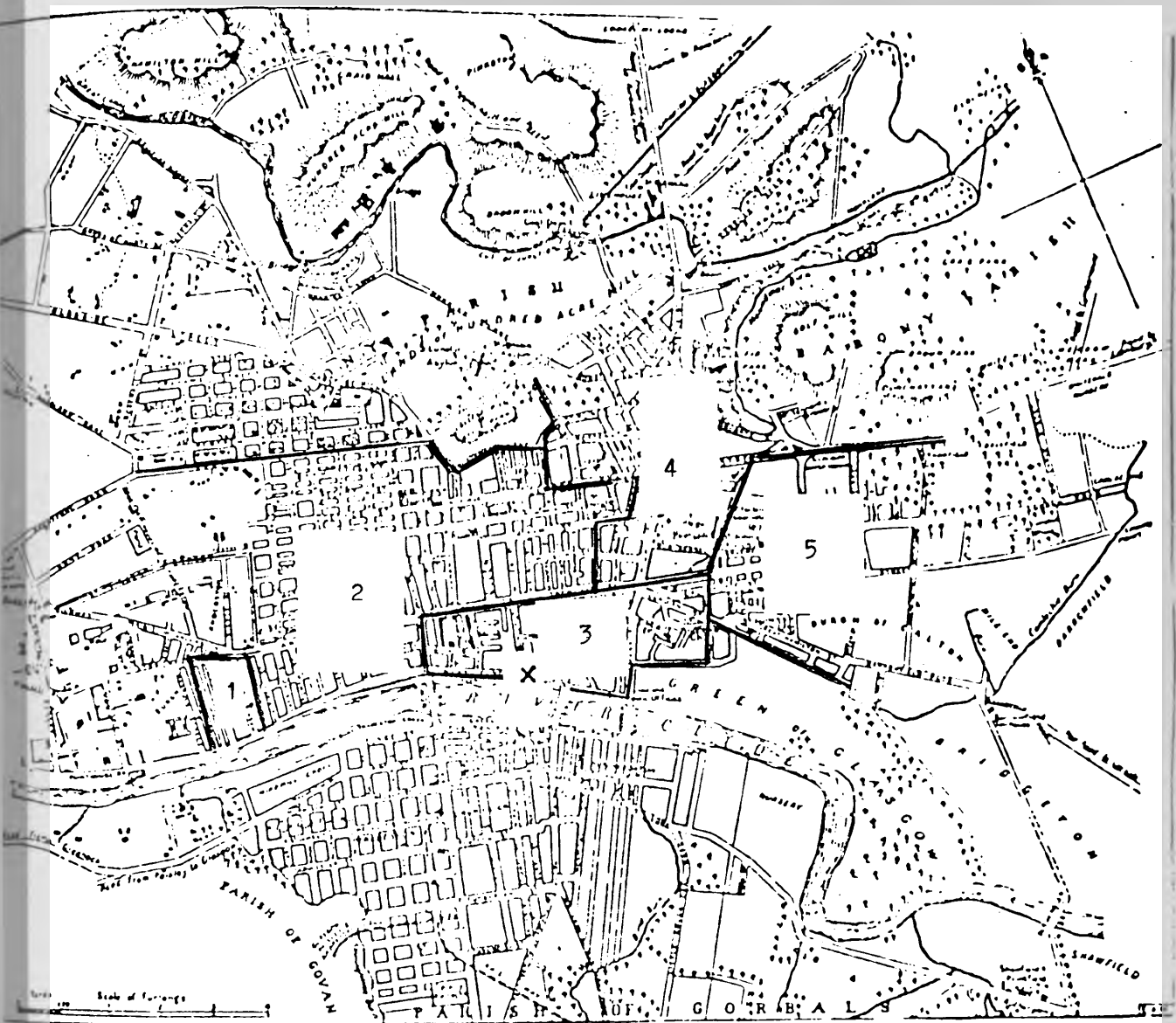
The practice of renting church sitting and the collection of 'doorpence' may have been powerful restraints on the free flow of devout but poor Catholics into the places of worship. There was a 'free' mass held at 9 o'clock but as was pointed out, 'in the great chapel, at the hour of what is called the free service, one penny each Sunday for admission to a certain part of the house is demanded from those who are supposed to be able to pay'. Although no payment was asked for children, even at this 'free' service the non-payers had only access to a limited section of the church and were thus kept apart, probably in the standing room where 600 to 700 persons could be accommodated. Apart from the possible social stigma attached to attending the 'free' service, there was the further indignity experienced by those unable to pay of being placed in the inferior, free area of the church. In the end, only two-thirds of the available places at this 'free' mass were taken up. At the other masses in both churches those who took advantage of

the standing room were expected to pay a penny on entry (28).

Entry to the other masses held in the city was solely by payment of seat rents or doorpence. Seats were rented out for a particular hour of service and this enabled the clergy to offer a number of sittings far in excess of the total seat capacity of the two churches. The seats at both churches were let half yearly with members of the congregation having no formal right to any particular pew, even if in practice the more affluent families may have secured their preferred sittings (29). Someone paying the entrance charge for standing room who attended mass regularly would incur about the same cost as a person who rented one of the cheaper seats. Of the seats available for rental at the two chapels for the principal mass, when sittings were dearest, 32.3 per cent were priced at between three and five shillings, while 72.8 per cent were offered at seven shillings or less. Twelve shillings secured the 59 most expensive seats (30).

Even if it was more economical for the weekly attender to rent one of the cheaper seats rather than stand at the rear of the church, finding the half-yearly lump sum may have been beyond the very modest means of the poorest Catholics. Indeed, given the meagre material resources of a large proportion of the Catholic population, any entrance charge at all (and, as we have seen, it was only a small minority who entered free of charge) must have placed regular mass attendance beyond the means of the poorest Catholics. Yet

Map 4 Districts Surveyed by Commission on Religious
Instruction (Dissenters' Survey) 1835-1836



Key to Map 4

1. Anderston District
 2. Western District
 3. Central District
 4. High Street Area
 5. Eastern District
- X = St Andrew's RC Church

Source: PP1837-8, XXXIII, Appendix III, 1-550.

if we are to establish that socio-economic position was indeed an important factor determining participation in corporate devotion, we must try to identify variations in the rates of attendance among different social groups.

In the 1830s and 1840s only 200 to 300 Catholic families in Glasgow were not considered to be of the working class (31). These Catholics of the middle strata of society, mostly shopkeepers, publicans and professionals, were unusually attentive to their religious duties. At this period, the great majority of these more affluent Catholics resided in the old, inner area of the city close to St Andrew's (32). If we consider the middle strata Catholics residing in the Central district (see map 4) 68.4 per cent were returned in the 1836 survey as attending church. A remarkable, even if unlikely, 93.8 per cent of these mass goers were reported as communion takers. The Catholics of the middle strata may have only accounted for a tiny fraction of the total Catholic population, but they would have been a prominent feature of communal worship and as a group they expressed their religious beliefs in a disciplined adherence to the canonical laws of the church.

We must now attempt to identify those working class Catholics who made up the rest of the congregations. Bishop Murdoch formed his own opinion as to the members of the working class who were inclined to attend mass. In the bishop's view, the 'better off' of the working class were more likely to observe their religious duties. Data collected in 1836 in a government inquiry enables us to

evaluate the comments of Bishop Murdoch (33).

For the Bridgegate district only, it is possible to distinguish variations within the Catholic working class, as the surveyors of that district divided the population into two groups, the working class proper and the district's poorest families who, they maintained, did not belong to the 'working class'. The surveyors insisted in placing this latter group in what might be termed a 'poorest' category. In a district credited with having some of the worst slum areas of the city and a population largely engaged in the less remunerative and irregular occupations for the traditional sectors of the economy, those Catholics who were allocated to the 'poorest' category formed a substratum beneath what was largely a lower working class population (34). This slum district, only a minute's walk from St Andrew's had the greatest concentration of Catholics in the entire city and of the 1,376 Catholics returned, 531 were placed in the 'poorest' group.

If the social division made by the surveyors is not quite as satisfactory as one might wish, the information collected does nevertheless reveal some difference within the Catholic working class in religious observance. Less than half, 48.2 per cent, of the 'poorest' Catholics in Bridgegate claimed that they went to church, while exactly two-thirds of the population of the other working class adherents were returned as mass goers. The proximity to St Andrew's perhaps largely accounts for the high rates of both groups. If the comparison is extended to the other major recurrent

Table 4.1 Church involvement of Roman Catholics in Glasgow, north of the Clyde, 1836 (1)

District	R C pop.	RC pop. as % of total pop.	% of RC pop. attending church	% of RC receiving communion (2)	% of RC families with one or more communicants	Seat holders as % of total attenders
1. Anderston	1090	17.7	57.2	52.2	77.5	36.3
2. Western	866	4.1	37.2	38.4	65.6	58.4
3. Central	5899	25.3	52.9	37.3	56.1	31.4
4. High St area	1977	6.8	44.3	39.6	63.2	41.6
5. Eastern	1439	7.2	36.7	41.6	68.4	62.9

Notes: (1) The information contained in this table is derived from eighteen tables drawn up and supplied to the Commission on Religious Instruction by the body of Dissenters.

(2) The percentages given in this column are the number of communicants in a district as a percentage of the number of Catholics in that district seven years of age or over.

Source: PP. 1837-1838, XXXIII, Appendix III, pp 1-550.

religious obligation, that of receiving communion in a state of grace, then the difference between the two groups is even greater. Only 10.9 per cent of the 'poorer' chapel visitors observed this sacrament compared to the 71.4 per cent of the other working class Catholics. Another piece of evidence is perhaps worth quoting. Although there was only one rented seat for every 10 of the 'poorest' Catholics, there was one for every four of the other Catholics (35).

If such a relationship between material destitution and low seat procurement might be expected, it is nonetheless important to stress just how significant the correlation between seat holding and attendance to religious duties was. In a complementary survey conducted in the area of the city south of the river Clyde, it was revealed that 77.9 per cent of the Catholic communicants were members of households who held sittings. Indeed, there were only 133 communicants among the 2,429 members of Catholic households without a rented seat (36). However, as column 6 of Table 4.1 makes clear, there was no simple correlation between seat holding and mass attendance. Evidently, there was a large number of regular attenders who did not want, or could not afford, to rent a seat and did not participate in communion. After all, as we have seen, in the mid-1830s the Catholic clergy were only able to prepare about 5000 Catholics for communion.

An examination of the religious practice of the Catholics residing in the western suburb of Anderston (see Map 4) may shed further light on the relationship between material

condition and involvement in the life of the church. Anderston lacked a Catholic middle class presence at this period - not a single Catholic inhabitant included in the survey of the district was considered 'not of the working classes' - but it can be claimed that it possessed a Catholic population which was economically better off than the Catholic inhabitants of the old, inner city. Anderston, of course, did have some Catholics living in the most destitute slum conditions who had little or no attachment to the distant St Andrew's church. But the greater opportunities for regular employment for children and adults in the textile works of the district perhaps ensured that far fewer of the Anderston Catholics remained alienated from church life by material poverty, and by an unsettled and irregular pattern of work, leisure and domesticity.

Considering the one and a half miles or so the Catholics of Anderston had to travel to mass, they would appear to have been unusually committed to their faith. The statistics gathered on church attendance (Table 4.1) reveal that the majority, in fact 57.2 per cent, of all Catholics in Anderston returned themselves as attending mass (37). Contributing to these relatively high levels of attendance at Sunday mass were the attempts to ensure that a body of the Catholic children in the district walked to St Andrew's church each Sunday, irrespective of the season. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the children who attended the local Catholic Sunday School assembled in the schoolroom for prayers before setting off in procession to St Andrew's for nine o'clock mass (38). We do not know how many of the

shoolchildren participated in this weekly ritual but it is known that there were 180 children attending the Sunday School in the year of the survey (39). This practice was not unique to Anderston as it was adopted in all four of the districts where Catholic Sunday Schools were in operation. Moreover, since 226 church seats were rented at later masses by the 623 Anderston chapel goers, there are grounds for assuming that the largest element of the Anderston contingent of St Andrew's worshippers paid to attend the later services. Important as this organisation of the children was for the formation and preservation of regular observance, it hardly accounts in itself for the vitality of Catholicism in Anderston.

Another indication of just how committed the Catholics of this district were to the practice of their faith is the fact that three-quarters or 471 of the Anderston mass attenders went to communion. If we exclude the one in six of the Catholic population of Anderston who were under seven years of age (40), on the reasonable assumption that none of them would be prepared for the sacrament, then we arrive at a figure of over half, 52.2 per cent of the remaining Catholics in the district surveyed as communicants. Only about one 'family' in five had no communicants within their household. With over one church seat rented for every three mass attenders and considering the fact that many of the Anderston church goers were organised and escorted Sunday School pupils, it is perhaps fair to conclude that a large part of the Anderston contingent were regular attenders. Indeed, the surveyors in Anderston appear to have been more

than usually careful to include only those Catholics who could provide proof of or were known to be habitual mass goers (41). The comments of the surveyors themselves suggest that they approached their task in a careful and rigorous manner and weaknesses in the collection of the survey data would not appear to explain the unusually high levels of observance in Anderston. One surveyor, a doctor brought up and practising in the district, required that the parties he questioned, 'should be in the practice of attending as frequently as circumstances would permit, and took care to explain that, when it appeared necessary'. Those Catholics returned as mass goers were indeed, it would seem, frequent visitors to church.

We might suggest, then, that despite their relative distance from the two existing Catholic places of worship, and even though they were occasionally exposed to verbal abuse, the Catholics residing in Anderston demonstrated a much greater commitment to the practice of their faith than the Glasgow Catholic population in general (42). For these levels of participation adduced for the Anderston Catholics are inconsistent with the general pattern of church involvement displayed across the city. It was a commonplace observation that distance from place of worship was an important variable affecting church attendance. The data contained in Table 4.1 lends some support to such a view. The different material base of the Anderston Catholic community, however, might account for the unusually vigorous Catholicism evident in that district (43).

yet it needs to be stressed that even in Anderston active Catholicism was firmly rooted in the working class localities. Catholic religious observance was overwhelmingly a lower working class phenomenon, even if the poorest elements of the immigrant population were less inclined to participate in the communal celebration of the church.

If, as has been suggested, the vigorous Catholicism demonstrated for the Anderston district in the mid-1830s was related to the less impoverished condition of the Catholics in that district, then it might be expected that parochial development when instigated in this western suburb would be less hampered by financial constraint than elsewhere. It might be appropriate, therefore, at this point to examine the efforts to establish a parish in Anderston.

The Foundation of St Patrick's, Anderston, 1850-1870

In the 1840s the daunting task facing the ecclesiastical authorities in Glasgow was the need to increase the number of priests and provide the more isolated Catholics with a local neighbourhood church. From 1839 measures were taken to begin a programme of church building (44). By 1859 seven new Catholic chapels had been opened and at the mid-century 17 Catholic clergy were operating in the city.

According to Bishop Murdoch, all these fledgling congregations were experiencing great difficulty in servicing their debts. In a call for financial support from

the established congregations in 1851, the bishop stated that the new congregations were 'struggling in vain, to support their incumbents, and at the same time to pay the debt necessarily contracted in the building of their chapels' (45). Whatever help other parishes could offer, and it would not be much, the success or otherwise of these missions was largely dependent on the commitment of the parishioners themselves to the temporal needs of their church.

In 1850 Bishop Murdoch recruited an Irish priest to establish a parish in Anderston (46). The priest, Patrick Hanley, had as his first priority, the erection of a church. To this purpose he feued ground from one of the major employers and landowners in Anderston, the Houldsworth family (47). As with all other Catholic churches constructed in this period, the priest borrowed the income required to erect and furnish the building. As much as possible such loans were sought within the Catholic community. For example, Patrick Rogan, an Anderston shopkeeper who was to become one of the leading lay figures in St Patrick's parish, had by 1867 given £1,800 as loans to the vicariate (48).

Although it can be stated that the Anderston mission was burdened with a substantial debt from the erection of a local church, it has not been possible to ascertain the exact expense incurred making St Patrick's ready for services in December 1850. What can be stated is that the cost of the sites and structures of the seven Catholic

churches built in the city between 1839 and 1859 was put at £31,364 giving an average of £4,481 for each place of worship. However, the sum required to construct St Patrick's was probably below the average. For one thing, St Patrick's was comparatively small, having room for 800 sitting worshippers, whereas the average seating capacity of the new churches was 914 (49). Moreover, Father Hanley from the outset adopted a policy of keeping costs to a minimum by restricting expenditure to basic church structure and barest essentials (50).

Initially the prospects of the St Patrick's mission appeared bleak. The parish priest was, in his own words, 'inexperienced in matters of business' when he arrived in Anderston. In addition, the priest was not party to the financial acumen of the businessmen in his congregation, having decided from the outset to keep the management of the parish solely in his own hands. An even greater threat to the successful funding of the church debt, however, was a 16 month period of illness suffered by the priest on taking up his post. This ailment apparently debilitated the cleric's mental faculties, impairing to a considerable degree his memory, understanding and will (51).

Despite these early potential difficulties, the Anderston mission was in a sound financial position in less than five years. By the summer of 1854 the priest could inform his parishioners that the chapel debt had been 'largely diminished' (52). Some of the credit for this achievement undoubtedly rests with the business acumen of the parish

priest despite his initial debility. He had denied himself and the congregation of St Patrick's the 'luxury' of an organ, a bell, any decoration of the church or anything involving considerable expense beyond that required to perform the rites and services of the church (53). The appeal of elaborate visual display was not lost on the Irish priest, but he called for, and gained, a general acceptance of his parsimonious church management. In this way the priest was in the position by the summer of 1854 to proceed with the erection of school buildings and the embellishment of St Patrick's chapel, fully confident that the additional encumbrance would not burden the congregation with intractable debts.

The judicious management of Father Hanley can only partially explain the financial success of the parish. Whatever the means adopted to raise revenue, and no matter the object of the collection, it is clear that Father Hanley was well satisfied with the response he received from the Catholics residing in Anderston (54). To assist him the priest had 'no difficulty in maintaining an efficient staff of collectors' (55). Indeed, at this period the Anderston Catholic community seems to have acquired a reputation for its generosity of response which extended beyond the boundaries of the parish. Bishop Murdoch was said to have described St Patrick's as the 'model parish', and there must have been some truth in the remark of Father Michael O'Keefe of Coatbridge mission that 'by a good mission or parish is meant a money making or rich parish' (56).

Throughout the 1850s, the St Patrick' congregation serviced their parish debt. Even after the departure of Father Hanley in 1859, the parishioners appear to have been exceptionally capable of meeting the monetary demand made upon them. Addressing the Anderston congregation in 1864, a priest from another of the Glasgow parishes, stated that he had no wish to flatter the assembled audience, 'but he must tell them that they had always borne a good name. Every priest that had been amongst them, and connected with them, spoke well of them ... reference only required to be made of their good works' (57). The Rev. Small was in his comments as much concerned with the temporal aspects of parish life as he was with the spiritual well being of his audience (58). Hanley's replacement in 1859 was a Scottish-born priest who failed to strike up the same warm relationship with his parishioners as his predecessor. Yet even he acknowledged in 1865 that his parishioners were 'ever ready to assist him in his undertakings' (59).

This evidence, therefore, would indicate that the Catholic residents of Anderston had the necessary financial resources and enduring commitment to ensure the effective establishment of a parish church and school.

In this sense the Catholic community in Anderston was not representative of the pattern elsewhere, as the earlier remarks of Bishop Murdoch indicated a general difficulty for parishes to remain solvent (60). This temporal well being was reflected in the spiritual life of the new parish. Three years after the opening of St Patrick's the parish priest

could inform his congregation that there had been a threefold increase in the number of those attending divine worship and in the number of communicants (61).

Having looked at this evidence on variations within the Catholic working class in the attention paid to religious duties and parochial development, it is possible to assert with some confidence that the poorer elements of that body were less inclined to regularly attend mass or contribute to the upkeep of the church. This may be one reason why the Catholic population of Anderston appears more devout than Catholic adherents in the old, inner city, slum districts. Anderston, of course, did have some Catholics living in the most destitute slum conditions who had little or no attachment to the church. But it would seem that the greater opportunities for regular employment for children and adults in the district ensured that far fewer of the Anderston Catholics remained alienated by material poverty and by an unsettled and irregular pattern of work, leisure and domesticity. It should be emphasised, however, that even in Anderston, as the earlier chapter on employment makes clear, the majority of Irish immigrants were engaged in employments and received incomes that placed them in the lower working class. Even in Anderston, successful parish building depended largely on the commitment of the poorer elements of the working class who were Catholic.

Catholic Culture in the Working Class Neighbourhood

The preceding discussion has offered a description of

Catholic attention to religious duties. However, we still do not know the extent to which non-practising Catholics were wholly detached from the church. It is to this question we now turn.

The Catholic clergy, overwhelmed by the numbers under their charge, recognised how difficult it was to influence the morals of the majority of the immigrants. As Bishop Scott commented:

"Those whose morals are corrupted before they come to Scotland, generally become worse in this country, because they seem to throw off all restraint and soon learn that their pastors here cannot exercise the same control over them in correcting their faults as the Roman Catholic clergy do in Ireland. Among the other class of ignorant but moral people when they leave Ireland, I have ever observed that the more these ignorant but moral people mix and associate with the lower orders of the Scotch in large towns, the more their morals become deteriorated." (62)

Yet despite this assumed moral laxity of the Catholic majority, the Catholic clergy did not abandon them but rather attempted to meet the most fundamental of their religious needs. The Catholic clergy considered it an obligation on their part to visit the sick and provide the last rites to any Catholic who called on their services. In 1840, for example, they made over 3000 sick calls, many of which were a considerable distance from the city (63). The Catholic priests were frequently to be found in the disease-ridden tenements of the slum districts of the city. In this way many 'lapsed' Catholics were kept in residual contact with the church (64).

Although, as was stated earlier, the Catholic church in this period had difficulty servicing a heavy financial debt and poverty kept some Catholics from attending mass, it would be

wrong to assume that the Catholic population entirely ignored the clergy's calls for financial support. On the contrary, in servicing the debt of their churches the Catholic clergy relied to a considerable extent on the funds derived from nominal Catholics. In the three and a half years it took to build St Andrew's, a considerable proportion of the payments to the fund would have come from non-practising Catholics (65). When, in the 1830s, Bishop Murdoch set about removing the church debt which stood at over £9,000, he appointed collectors to gather weekly contributions from the Catholic population, not at church but in their own homes. By collecting a penny for each man, a halfpenny for each woman, the bishop was soon able to clear off the debt and provide aid to congregations building other churches in the Western Vicariate (66). A substantial part of this weekly collection was derived from Catholics who seldom if ever saw the inside of a chapel. Such contributions from nominal Catholics continued throughout the mid-century as each new parish organised its own system of weekly collections. The Rev. Gault, the Free Church anti-Popish missionary in Glasgow, reported in 1856 that 'there is a large mass of Roman Catholics, who like our own masses, though nominally in connection with a church, have in reality no religion at all. But the priests have this advantage over us, that they manage to collect from them, every Sabbath morning, pence to carry on the schemes of their Church.' (67) This token Catholicism also concerned practising Catholics. 'The poor people,' commented one lay Catholic, 'seem to have got it into their heads that if they pay their dues, and have their names in the collector's book

they do all that religion requires of them. And hence you will often find many of them who are punctual in their payments, but who seldom receive the sacraments or hear mass.' (68) Many nominal Catholics, then, appear to have indicated a desire to retain some connection with the church.

However vestigial their commitment to the practice of their Catholic faith, many such Catholics retained their sense of Catholic identity and heritage, which was reinforced by the active Catholicism around them. This was manifested in a variety of forms other than in sacramental observance. Processions, meetings and gatherings of Catholics, often for religious purposes, but also for political and social concerns, further emphasised the significance of religion in social organisation. Probably, the clearest indication of the Catholic dimension in social organisation was to be found in the temperance movement. The Catholics of Glasgow supported their own distinctive association which held their own marches, meetings and processions (69). Even in the more private sphere, the religion of the Irish immigrants marked them out from the Protestant working class. The private celebration of faith in the home, for instance, was given material expression even in the most destitute closes and wynds, in the possession of, and the care and attention bestowed upon, religious pictures and ornaments (70). As one lay Catholic stated: 'I am sure a Catholic interior is almost invariably to be recognised at a glance.' (71) Another Catholic expressed concern about the nature of the distinct religious identity gained by fellow members of his

faith when he commented that the 'external signs of Catholicism in their dwellings - such as crucifixes, prints, and images - have long since earned for them no better name than 'a poor, benighted superstitious people' (72). Moreover, personal expressions of piety were not confined to the domicile. One Irish Catholic remarked that his co-religionists 'openly flaunt their beads in their hands, say their prayers in a half audible voice, and when they come in sight of the cross upon the chapel, drop down in the public streets and thoroughfares upon their knees and offer a prayer in silent worship, careless indeed as to whether Protestant or Catholic eyes were upon them' (73).

These public displays of individual faith attested to the distinctiveness of the Irish immigrants and perhaps encouraged even nominal Catholics to retain their religious identities. Some might also share the sanctification of living space by the more devout of the Catholic population. The blessing of accommodation, even of the most humble abodes, was a request to which the Catholic clergy were often asked to respond. Indeed the desire for sanctified space and spiritual security ensured that the process extended beyond the home, as eventually whole tenement blocks were consecrated by the priest (74). The Catholic dwellers in such tenements forcibly challenged the right of Protestant missionaries and proselytisers to enter such 'Catholic' buildings (75). In fact, Protestant proselytisers often experienced great difficulty in gaining access to such dwellings (76).

It is difficult of course, to distinguish when the need for sanctified space and spiritual contentment was replaced by the ghetto instinct of protecting scarce space. For it is hard to discern at what point Catholic affiliation in the social sense, as a sense of belonging, became devoid of religious belief and sentiment. It is not without significance, perhaps, that the major mass expression of sectarian antipathy and aggression in mid-century Glasgow had its immediate cause in the outdoor preaching of a Free Church evangelical in the Bridgegate district in 1859-1860 (77). Both the Sheriff of Lanarkshire and the Lord Provost of Glasgow were quick to recognise this area of the city as a Catholic domain (78). A clash between thousands of Catholics and Protestants was narrowly avoided, but the territorial integrity of Catholic culture had been upheld. Certainly, Catholicism was exceptionally strong in the Bridgegate, which by the mid-century had become a Catholic Irish ghetto. However, in other parts of the old, inner city and also in the suburbs, whole tenements, and eventually streets, became Catholic territory, localities where the Catholic culture was dominant. Many Catholic immigrants with only a nominal contact with their church settled into communities whose sense of Catholicism was sustained by the activities of the practising minority. The financial support given by the non-practising majority also attests to their continued identification with the Catholic faith. The Irish Catholic response to the experience of prejudice and discrimination was to identify with the Catholic church (79).

The Highland Migrants and Gaelic Congregations

Gaelic Church Accommodation, 1830-1870

Recent historical research has provided evidence that Gaelic services were available in eighteenth century Glasgow and that Highland migrants joined Gaelic congregations on arriving in the city (80). In the mid-1830s, however, Gaelic ministers serving in the city were expressing the opinion that the opportunities for observance in Gaelic were inadequate. In the late eighteenth century the Established Church had sanctioned the erection of two Gaelic chapels-of-ease in Glasgow: St Columba's in the west end of the town and Duke Street Gaelic in the north-east. Between them, they provided a seating capacity of 2,331 (81). The erection of another chapel-of-ease, Hope St Gaelic, in 1824 added another 1,425 seats to the total Gaelic church accommodation (82). In 1830 an Independent Church was opened in the Broomielaw area ('exclusively for the benefit of poor Highlanders'. With 500 sittings at this place of worship, the accommodation at Gaelic churches in Glasgow remained at about 4250 until the Disruption in 1843. The overall provision of Gaelic church accommodation in Glasgow was little affected by the Disruption, although the demand for the services of Gaelic-speaking ministers in the Highlands left some of the Glasgow congregations without Gaelic services for extended periods in the 1840s (82). By 1851 there were four Gaelic churches in the city. The two

Church of Scotland and two Free Church buildings had a combined seating capacity of about 4,500.

Having established the extent of provision for Gaelic worship, we must now attempt to estimate the number of Highland migrants of the Protestant persuasion who wished to participate in Gaelic congregational life.

The Gaelic-Speaking Highlander Population

In 1836 the Gaelic ministers of Glasgow attempted a systematic and comprehensive census of the city's 'Highlander' population. For the Gaelic ministers, the term 'Highlander' would appear to have included all those born in the Highlands and others - invariably the offspring of migrants - who could speak Gaelic (84). The children of Gaelic-speaking Highland migrants who were unable to speak Gaelic were to be excluded from the enumeration (85). In all '22,509 persons able to speak the Gaelic language' were returned as residing within three or four miles of the city (86). The Gaelic ministers, who had supervised the survey, were of the opinion that some Gaelic speakers, as many as 1,500 to 2,000, had not been recorded by the surveyors. If we take this number who were allegedly excluded to account for the Catholic element in the Highlander population, and they were unlikely to add up to a greater number, then we are left with a figure of 22,500 as a rough approximation of the size of the Protestant Gaelic-speaking population in and around Glasgow in 1836 (87). Since 5,336 of the Gaelic speakers returned by the surveyors were under 10 years of

age it is perhaps more useful for the present analysis to be concerned with the other 17,000 or so Gaelic speakers enumerated and consider them the number of potential Gaelic church attenders (88).

Linguistic Ability and Preference

We cannot assume that all the Gaelic speakers who wished to attend services desired to hear a Gaelic preacher. Most of the 'Highlander' population surveyed were bilingual. Although many of them only spoke English imperfectly and 'some of them not at all', nonetheless most could apparently communicate in English. It is necessary, then, to examine more closely the linguistic abilities and preferences of the bilingual Highland migrants. This emphasis on language would seem justified, for to a far greater extent than in Catholic public worship, the content of the Protestant service made understanding and interpretation of language the basis of corporate devotion. The Irish Catholics attending St Andrew's may have found their Scottish clergy barely intelligible, but it was the Latin liturgy that formed the main substance of Catholic sacramental devotion (89). For the Protestant Highlander, however, much of the appeal of corporate worship was the intelligibility and eloquence of the preacher (90).

Many of the Gaelic ministers who served in Glasgow acknowledged that their congregations had, for the most part, acquired sufficient competence in English 'to conduct the ordinary affairs of life', and most especially their

employments and businesses (81). It was usually in the workplace that Gaelic speakers first acquired and utilised a rudimentary understanding and usage of English. But the language of the workplace was, it would seem, of limited benefit to those migrants who needed to communicate in English and other areas of social discourse. One Gaelic minister remarked that 'I believe there is a commercial language very different from the language necessary to understand a sermon. A great many can do business as porters and labourers, who might as well go to hear the dead languages as go to hear English preaching in general.' (92)

In the more intimate or informal conversations between family and close acquaintances, and especially in the home and other familiar environments, the bilingualists generally opted for their more comfortable and expressive mother tongue: 'The English they talk is generally about their business affairs, and some of them are not very good at it, but always when at home they speak Gaelic.' (93)

If, then, those who were capable of communicating in both languages used them interchangeably depending on social context, the fundamental importance of language use in Protestant worship might lead one to suspect that Protestant Highlanders would wish to hear sermons preached in the language with which they were most familiar and comfortable, namely Gaelic. As in the home, only in Gaelic could the migrants retain the richness of meaning, expression, evocation and emotion that was desired from public worship. As one of the city's Gaelic ministers observed: 'To all of

them the Gaelic language is very interesting and attractive. It is the language of their childhood and youth - of their firesides; the language that speaks to their heart. They seek it, then, for they love its sounds; and when they hear it their attention is arrested and maintained.' (94) Such understanding and depth of feeling could seldom be restored by acquiring a proficiency in English. Worship in Gaelic enabled the migrants to join in an expansive common understanding, to share the subtler meaning of their linguistic heritage. The Gaelic speakers, remarked one Gaelic minister, would 'never acquire such knowledge of the English language as will enable them to hear with understanding and profit preaching in it alone.' (95)

If the bilingual Highland migrants, therefore, were unwilling to relinquish Gaelic usage, especially in the home, but also in religious expression, then as long as the influx of Highland migrants continued there would remain a demand for Gaelic services from the mass of Highlanders who sought corporate devotion. An examination of involvement in church congregations in the Highlands will provide some indication of the potential interest in church attendance amongst Highland migrants.

Religion in the Highlands in the Early 19th Century

Perhaps the most striking feature of religion in the Highlands in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and one often commented upon by historians, was the phenomenon of religious revivalism (96). In the present

discussion, it is important that the geographic boundaries of this religious expression be made clear. For while historians have repeatedly emphasised the development of religious fervour and devotion as a 'Highland' phenomenon, the discussion of, and evidence for, this religious expression has been almost entirely restricted to the northern counties of Sutherland, Inverness, and Ross and Cromarty (97). There is a danger, therefore, of assuming that the observations made on 'Highland evangelism' would necessarily be an appropriate guide to the state of religious emotion and expression in the south-west Highlands at this period. From the limited evidence available, it would seem that such an inference would be misguided. Admittedly, there were pockets of evangelism in the south-west Highlands, particularly in the more northern parishes, but the religious fervour of the north-west Highlands was not a feature of the south-west at this period (98). Popular religiosity in the south-west Highlands, from where the bulk of Glasgow migrants came, was, until 1843, largely promoted and found expression in the institutional arrangements of the Established Church.

To date, historians have made little attempt to quantify the levels of church attendance in the Highlands in this period. Yet some account of public worship in the Highlands would seem necessary if we are to provide an indication of the extent to which the move to Glasgow affected religious expression and association. The setting up of a government inquiry into the provision of the means of public worship in Scottish parishes in 1836-1837 brought an overwhelming

response from ministers in the west Highlands and Islands. Only eight ministers in the region failed to return information. It is possible, using these responses together with supplementary evidence derived from complementary sources, to arrive at a fairly accurate and certainly comprehensive account of church provision and use in the west Highlands and Islands in the mid-1830s (99).

Data derived from this body of information has been set out in Table 4.2. For present purposes two observations seem appropriate. Firstly, an examination of column two reveals, in general terms, a deterioration in the provision of church accommodation the farther north and west one travels. This is evident both in the provision of seats for adherents and, as Table 4.3. suggests, in the accessibility of the parish church. The adherents of the south-west Highlands on the basis of this evidence had better provision of church accommodation than those in the north-west of the region.

That said, however, and despite the efforts to improve facilities and increase the number of ministers in the Synod of Argyll, there remained in that Synod a considerable shortfall in church sittings. This was one fundamental reason why less than one-third of those who were reported as adhering to the church were to be at service on any given Sunday, even in the better attended summer months. Confusion in the ministers' returns on what constituted "habitual" attendance makes it impossible to offer a reliable estimate of what proportion of adherents attended church most Sundays.

Table 4.2 Sittings and Estimated Attendance at Established Churches
in the West Highlands and Islands, 1831-1837.

	Church Adherents	Sittings as % of Adherents	Average Winter Attendance	Average Summer Attendance	Average Winter use of Accommodation	Average Summer use of Accommodation
Presbytery of Argyll						
Dunoon	6,726	40.8	22.6	33.9	55.6	83.2
Kintyre	23,562	41.1	27.8	33.7	67.7	81.9
Inverary	14,412	41.2	28.2	31.6	66.7	74.7
Lorn	13,625	34.9	20.9	30.0	59.9	85.8
Mull	19,234	24.9	16.1	22.4	64.7	90.2
Islay	13,735	22.2	10.3	19.3	46.2	86.9
Argyll total	91,294	34.1	21.3	28.6	62.6	82.9
N.W. Highlands and Islands						
Skye	22,641	18.4	10.2	13.0	55.2	70.8
Outer Hebrides	23,364	16.3	14.9	17.4	91.6	107.0
N.W. Mainland	33,253	25.4	16.9	18.9	66.1	76.6
N.W. Total	79,258	20.7	14.3	16.8	69.3	81.2

Sources: P.P. 1837-1838, XXXIII; 1838-1839, XXVI; 1839, XXXIII.

Table 4.3 Approximate Distances of Established Church Members from Parish Churches
in the West Highlands and Islands, 1836-1837.

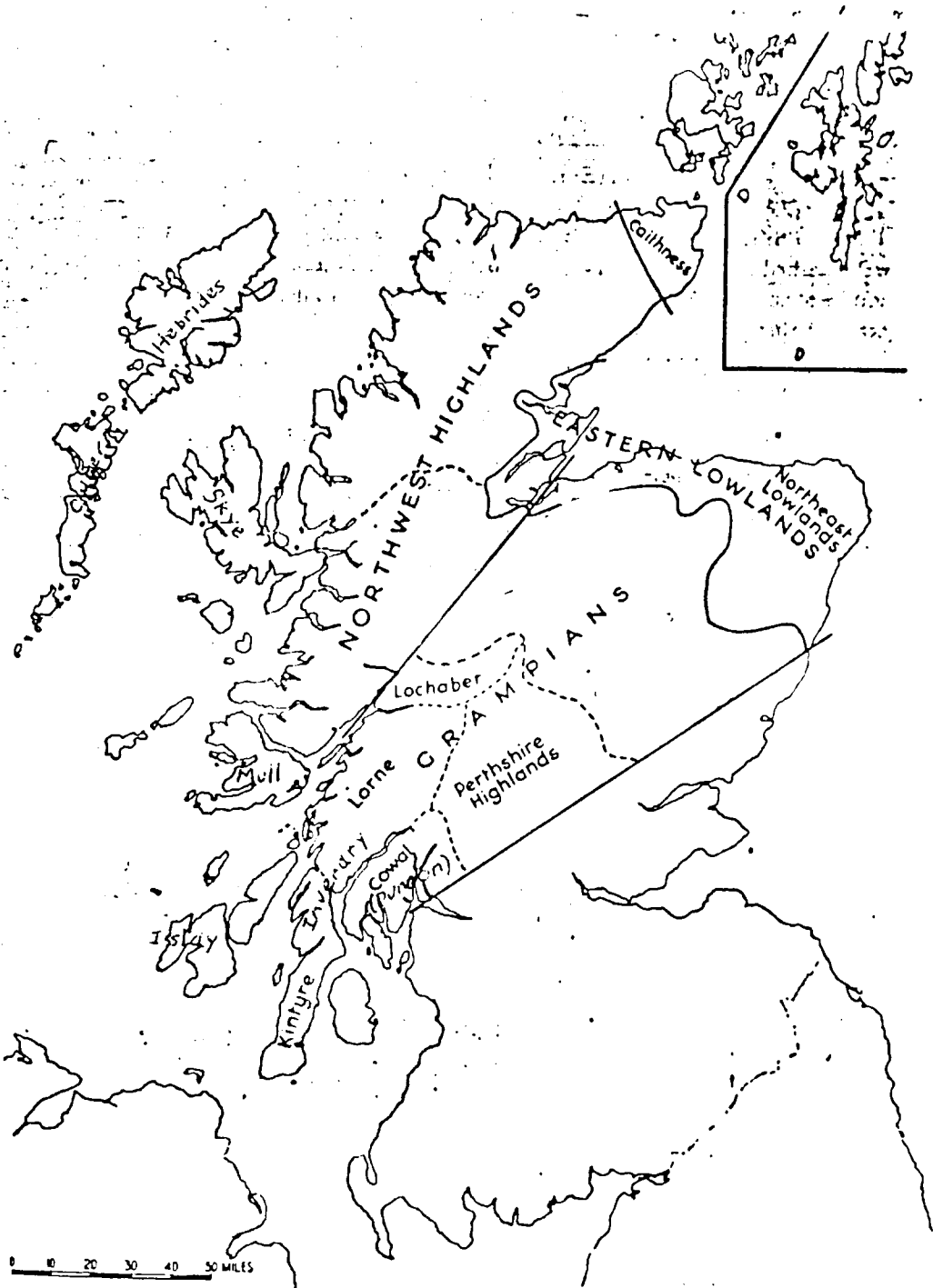
	Farther than 2 Miles	Farther than 4 Miles	Farther than 6 Miles
Synod of Argyll			
Cowal (Dunoon)	60.1	35.2	25.3
Kintyre	60.5	30.6	13.6
Inverary	59.5	38.4	18.5
Lorn	52.7	29.5	8.5
Mull	62.6	42.5	23.8
Islay	64.4	38.4	15.9
Synod total	60.3	35.8	17.2
N.W. Highlands and Islands			
Skye	68.7	43.5	24.2
Lochaber district	95.7	75.5	37.0
Outer Hebrides	60.2	45.6	33.3
N.W. Coast	69.0	55.8	40.2

Note: Thirteen parishes were omitted from the calculation as no information was provided
for these parishes.

Source: P.P. 1837-1838, XXXIII; 1838-1839, XXVI; 1839, XXXIII.

Map 5

Districts of West Highlands and Islands referred to
in Tables 4.2 and 4.3



However, it is unlikely that more than one-third of the inhabitants of south-west Argyll made regular or even fortnightly trips to church in the 1830s. Columns 6 and 7 of Table 4.2 for example, indicate the underutilisation of available seats, especially in the winter months. In addition, there were numerous congregations who only had the services of a minister once a fortnight, although missionaries partially compensated for this inadequacy. When we take into consideration the problems of terrain and transport, weather conditions and as Table 4.3 makes apparent, distance from church, then it is perhaps not too surprising that the large majority of the inhabitants of south-west Argyll did not make regular weekly (or even fortnightly) trips to church in the 1830s. Whatever their commitment to private family worship, and there are indications that, for the great majority, it was strong, weekly attendance at public worship was a minority activity.

When we come to consider the church attendance of Highland migrants in Glasgow, two points about the migrant source areas need to inform that discussion. Firstly, the Highland districts from where the great majority of the migrants had come experienced little of the religious revivalism that characterised large areas of the north-west Highlands in the early nineteenth century. Secondly, only a minority of the inhabitants of south-west Argyll regularly attended Sunday services, although the majority, in many parishes the vast majority, of adherents made infrequent but occasional visits to the parish church.

Gaelic Worship In Glasgow, 1830-1843

The census of the city's Highlander population carried out by the Established Church in 1836, from which the earlier Highlander population estimates are derived, gathered information both on seating capacity of the Gaelic churches and also the church attenders. On the basis of the Gaelic ministers' returns themselves, it can be argued that just under 30 per cent of the potential Gaelic church-goers did regularly attend church services. Only about one-quarter of the surveyed Highlander population were reported to be regular church attenders, and many of these attended mainstream English-speaking churches. Church attendance was very much a minority activity amongst Highland migrants.

We also need to establish which of the Highland migrants were predisposed to take part in corporate worship at church. Recent research by Hillis on the Presbyterian congregations in Glasgow at this period has provided evidence which suggests that, where congregations were predominantly composed of the working class, it was the skilled element which was far more likely to attach to a church congregation. What evidence there is would indicate that the social composition of the Gaelic congregations was broadly similar to that of the mainstream churches. The 1836 survey revealed, it was claimed, "11,000 of the lowest class of Highlanders who were not looked after by any minister appointed for that purpose" (100). Later investigations carried out by Free Church ministers in 1843

and again in 1856 offered further evidence that it was the mass of lower working class Highland migrants who had failed to join a congregation.

Gaelic worship in Glasgow, 1843-1870

If the impact of the Disruption on Gaelic worship in Glasgow was dramatic, in the sense that it altered the complexion of church denomination and congregational adherence, it would appear to have had little immediate effect on the provision of church sittings or services for Gaelic-speakers in the city. Moreover, if the schism necessitated the formation of new congregations, there is little evidence to support the view that it significantly altered the size or, indeed, composition of the Gaelic church-going communities in the city. Following the Disruption, the two fledgling Gaelic churches, Hope Street and Kirkfield, passed into the hands of the Free Church. The more substantial and longer standing St Columba and Duke Street congregations remained within the Church of Scotland, even if some of their members left. In 1851, however, the Duke Street church was taken over by the Free Church, after a number of years during which the congregation had languished without a minister. In 1849, for instance, ministers entering the Duke Street pulpit to provide a one-off Sabbath service could find themselves preaching to as few as 30 individuals (101). After 1851, therefore, but effectively from the late 1840s, Norman Macleod at St Columba's was the only Church of Scotland minister providing regular services in Gaelic for Glasgow's Highlander population.

The Free Church and the Evangelising Mission

In the 1850s and 1860s, attempts were made to extend the range of religious services available to Gaelic-speakers and involve a greater number of the city's Highland-born population in congregational activities. In step with the more general evangelical work of the Free Church, a Gaelic Home Mission was set up in Glasgow in 1856, the object of which was "to evangelise the masses of Highlanders of the public means of grace" (102). The Free Church divided the city into three mission areas, the Cowcaddens to the north, the Broomielaw-Anderston district in the west, and the south-side. The Mission had a team of four missionaries, one probationer and three students. Although the Mission was in design territorial it was not proposed, initially at least, that any new congregations should be organised (103).

Through the exertions of the missionaries, the extent of the task was soon apparent. Of the 3,770 Highlander families visited in the first 18 months of the Mission's existence, 3,200 or 85 per cent were "not in any way connected with any church" (104). If the Mission could be acclaimed a partial success, in that the "means of grace" was brought to the firesides of those who could not or would not "wait on them in public", it was also soon recognised that it would take some years, "even under the most painstaking agency", before significant increases in church attendance could be effected (105). After five years of the Mission operation and despite the fact that its agents had continued to "labour

assiduously among the thousands of destitute Highlanders", the attempt to recruit church members or stimulate church-going ways amongst the unconnected Highlanders would seem to have been a dismal failure. In 1860, Dr Macgregor, the minister of the Hope Street Gaelic Church, was under no illusion as to the efficacy of the five-year-old Mission: "It has benefited isolated individuals ... But it has made no impression on the mass with which we have to deal" (106). By this date, another of the city's Free Church Gaelic ministers was rather sceptical about the missionary effort. Acknowledging that the great spiritual destitution of the Highlanders in Glasgow was not exaggerated, and accepting that attempts should be made to induce non-attenders to connect themselves with congregations, the Rev. Macdougall argued that the Gaelic minister had more than enough to do if they were called upon to adequately serve those already on their books (107).

Dr Macgregor, undeterred by the existing workload or past failures, attempted in 1860 to provide a fresh impetus to evangelical operations among the Highland migrants. The minister set in motion a scheme for establishing a mission congregation in the northern quarter of the city. Other areas of Glasgow were also in great need of fresh missionary operations. Malcolm McGregor of Ferintosh was of the opinion that there were more than sufficient non-church-going Highlanders in the Broomielaw/Anderston district to fill a Gaelic mission church. He added that the unconnected Highlanders in Govan and Partick could fill another church, while the unattached Highlanders in the

Bridgeton and south-east areas of the city especially, but in the city in general, gave good reason for contemplating the erection of yet more Gaelic Free Churches (108).

Dr Macgregor chose the northern quarter of the city as the location of the missionary effort, after an intensive investigation which revealed that, here, large numbers of unconnected Highlanders were spread throughout a number of adjacent districts. Though dispersed, these Highland migrants were still sufficiently concentrated and, more importantly, numerous enough to offer the greatest potential for yielding a new congregation (109).

A preaching station was opened at a control point between the three districts of Cowcaddens, Port Dundas and Townhead. Macgregor was optimistic about the possibility of establishing a permanent congregation: "A churchful of the class we wish to gather is soon got there." (110). In fact, the early response was indeed encouraging. In less than six months, between 300 and 400 people were attending two Sunday services held in a public hall in the Cowcaddens (111). By that time, a Sabbath school had been introduced, while 45 young men and women were proving themselves "a most energetic band of home missionaries" (112). Eight months later, in October 1861, there were stated to be between 400 and 500 people attending the morning service and 500 to 600 an afternoon service, both of which were still being conducted in a public hall. Moreover, 120 families, representing at least twice as many individuals, had given their names as desiring sittings in a new church, the

foundation stone of which had been laid two weeks previously. Those attending the services were, it was claimed, chiefly but not entirely of the "lapsed classes" (113).

The evangelical operations of the early 1860s were not entirely restricted to these efforts in the northern quarter of the city. By the autumn of 1861, both the Argyle Street and Duke Street congregations had commenced missionary activities, the former concentrating in the Broomielaw district while the latter undertook a mission on the south-side of the river (114). It would appear, however, that the scale of effort and success of the Gaelic missionary effort in the northern quarter of the city was not paralleled in other districts of Glasgow.

In conclusion, it is difficult to estimate just how extensive or durable the impact of these evangelical operations of the early 1860s were, but they failed to have a lasting effect on the religious behaviour of the mass of Highlander families. For one thing, although the Highland-born population in Glasgow increased by 18 per cent between 1861 and 1871, no new Gaelic churches opened in this period. That the Duke Street congregation had no minister for about two years at the end of that decade is yet a further indication that the Gaelic churches were not extending their congregations in this decade (115). If anything, therefore, it might be argued that a smaller proportion of Highland families residing in the city in 1871 attended a Gaelic-speaking church than had been the case a

decade earlier. Despite the efforts of Church of Scotland and later Free Church ministers and missionaries, to attract the mass of unattached Highland migrants to a church congregation, the great majority of Highlanders in Glasgow at the end of our period, as at the beginning, had very little if any contact with congregational life. This general reluctance on the part of the Highland population to attend church in the city conforms to the pattern of church attendance evinced for Presbyterians in Glasgow as a whole (116).

Reasons for Non-Church-Going among Highlanders

Many of the factors historians have identified to account for low levels of church attendance among Scottish urban populations in the 1830s and 1840s are likely to have been the main influences affecting Highlander congregational involvement. A lack of accessible church accommodation, a general inability or unwillingness to pay seat rents and other financial obligations incurred in membership of a congregation, a reluctance to live within the strict moral guidelines of the churches, lack of suitable clothing for church attendance, and the absence of free sittings which did not carry a social stigma, and inadequate pastoral visitations. These are all explanations for the generally low levels of church attendance that could equally apply to the specific case of the Protestant Highlanders (117). We need, however, to distinguish more specifically why the majority of Protestant Highland migrants were averse to participating in communal worship.

We have seen that there was an unsatisfactory provision of church accommodation. Yet, if more churches had been available for the Gaelic-speaking Presbyterians, it is questionable that rates of attendance would have significantly increased. The church managers in the Gaelic Free Church in particular experienced considerable difficulties renting out the seats which already existed (118). When attempts were made to induce more Highlanders to join congregations, as during the evangelistic awakening of 1859-1861, little success was achieved.

The Highland population, unfamiliar with and hostile to the renting of church seating in the Highlands and Islands, retained an antipathy to paying for church accommodation when they settled in Glasgow (119). Those investigating the religious practice of the Highland migrants were struck by the numbers of unattached Highlanders who strongly objected to the payment of seat rents, and it was cited as a major reason for reluctance to attend church. In the Gaelic churches, the great bulk of the seating was paid for. The limited free seating which was made available was very unpopular, even amongst the poorest who desired access to services. The social stigma attached to entering such pews, even among a migrant group accustomed to free seating, proved a serious impediment to their full utilisation (120).

The Highlanders, moreover, like their lowland counterparts, were apparently acutely sensitive to the social meanings invested in dress and appearance in church-going. The Rev. Norman Macleod of St Columba's acknowledged that the "want

of proper clothing" deterred Highlanders from attending public worship (121). Free Church ministers concurred with this view. Dr Macgregor was convinced that unless Gaelic services were provided for Highlanders in their working clothes, they would never come to hear a minister (122). The "most frequent excuse" given to Free Church Gaelic missionaries when they visited 1,000 non-church-going families in 1861, mostly Gaelic-speakers, was that the want of suitable clothing prevented them from attending church (123). No doubt for some Highlanders, lack of appropriate clothing was a convenient excuse to offer an inquisitive missionary, but there does appear to have been powerful conventions of dress and appearance which the poorer Highlanders were not prepared to transgress. Significantly, it was only when in missionary operations it was made clear that working clothes were acceptable that notable results were achieved (124). Devoid of the means of obtaining presentable clothing, thousands of Highlanders stayed away from church.

The lack of pastoral visitations and care also explains the failure to attract greater numbers of Highland migrants to regular public worship. The Gaelic ministers in both the Church of Scotland and after 1843 in the Free Church, had little contact with or knowledge of the mass of unattached Highland migrants in Glasgow. It was to gain some knowledge of the numbers and spiritual condition of such Highlanders that surveys were conducted in 1836, 1843 and 1856 (125). Yet, it was not until the evangelical awakening of the late 1850s that the Gaelic congregations of the Free Church took

strenuous measures to expand public religious instruction and worship. The impact of these initiatives, as we have seen, was neither extensive nor prolonged.

In some respects, the problem of increasing church attendance among Highland migrants was different from the more general effort to improve levels of attendance in presbyterian churches. A problem for Free Church Gaelic congregations was a shortage of Gaelic-speaking ministers. Two of the Free Church congregations serving Gaelic speakers were deprived of the services of a minister for a period in the 1850s (126). There was also the difficulty of finding committed and competent leaders and workers, in congregations experiencing a continuous haemorrhage of their members to other English-speaking congregations (127). The diffusion of Gaelic congregations over extensive areas of the city was considered yet another impediment to the effective organisation of congregational activities. One minister stated that the "migratory habits of the Highlanders" exacerbated the problem (128). The movement within and out of the city of the Highland migrants was seen to be an obstacle to the consolidation of existing congregations and the nurturing of church-going ways in those contacted by missionaries (129).

If, then, in addition to the more general impediments to greater church involvement, there were these difficulties peculiar to the Gaelic churches, it is hardly surprising that the great majority of Protestant Highland migrants stayed away from church. Gaelic ministers in the city

repeatedly stressed that only by catering for the linguistic and cultural needs of the Highland migrants in the provision of Gaelic churches could the retention of church-going ways amongst the migrants be maintained (130). Yet, in the view of the Gaelic ministers, there was a general reluctance on the part of Presbyterian Glasgow to support Gaelic worship (131). The Free Church minister of the Argyle Street church could identify a problem, in that the Highland Committee considered the Glasgow Gaelic mission did not require its support because it was in a rich locality, while the Home Mission Committee claimed they had no responsibility to support specifically Highlander institutions in the city (132). As a result, the pecuniary aid that was forthcoming was grossly inadequate to the purpose.

Moreover, it was not only the Free Church congregations who experienced severe financial problems. As Norman Macleod pointed out in 1852, apart from St Columba, the Established Church had been singularly unsuccessful in putting its Gaelic churches in the city on a secure financial footing. In this minister's view, the Ingram Street, Hope Street and Duke Street churches had all failed for want of an endowment. The Hope Street church, for instance, which like Duke Street was eventually sold off to the Free Church, had by the year 1836 run up a debt of little short of £3,000 (133). Macleod himself was only able to achieve the restricted goals of an endowment and parochial status for St Columba's because he was ably supported by prosperous and influential congregational members and friends (134).

It is, of course, questionable whether greater church resources would have really solved the problem of low levels of attendance. After all, the Catholic Irish had even less support from external sources for church-building and maintenance. Rather, perhaps, the many reasons given for non-attendance by the Highland migrants, already described in this section, indicate that church-going was a social activity which the mass of Highland migrants had no inclination to take part in or felt any compunction to financially support. Dr Macgregor, a Gaelic minister, was reported as commenting that "many of them spend the Sabbath sitting in their houses, or visiting their friends, or wandering the streets, without the least idea that they are sinning against the Lord of the Sabbath" (135). It was often stated that Gaelic missionaries were cordially welcomed in tenement blocks housing Highlander families, but seldom retrieved a "lapsed" Highlander for congregational membership (136). Ministers of both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church claimed that the migrants who were going to join a Gaelic congregation did so soon after arrival (137). Conversely, those who settled for a length without joining a congregation were unlikely to become members of a church (138).

Unfortunately, we do not possess detailed information regarding the social composition of the Gaelic congregations. Dr Hillis's research on the Presbyterian congregations in Glasgow in the mid-century has indicated, as earlier suggested, that if the Presbyterian congregations were predominantly composed of the working class, it was the

skilled element of that class which was far more likely to attach to a church congregation (139). The limited evidence there is on the social composition of the various Gaelic congregations does little to suggest that they were significantly different in their socio-economic make-up from mainstream English-speaking congregations in both presbyterian churches. The 1836 survey of the city's Gaelic population revealed "11,000 of the lowest class of Highlanders who were not looked after by any minister appointed for that purpose" (140). Eight years later, the St Columba Church minister, who had been largely responsible for the 1836 survey observed that "it is much the same now" (141). It was, in this minister's experience, "the more respectable part of the Gaelic population that attend church at all. We have flourishing congregations in Glasgow - they are composed of the most respectable portions of the Highland population" (142). The comments of the Free Church Gaelic ministers were generally in accord with Macleod's statements. But it is also possible to discern notable differences in the composition of the Gaelic congregations. It would appear, for example, that St Columba's attracted a far greater proportion of the Highlanders in the middle and upper strata of society than did Duke Street, both when it was Established and as a Free Church building (143). However, the surveys carried out by Free Church ministers in 1843 and again in 1856 offered further evidence that it was the lower working class Highland migrants who, generally speaking, were least inclined to join a church congregation (144).

The occupations taken up by the Highland migrants clearly played a part in determining behaviour on the Sabbath. The great numbers of female Highland servants were often encouraged or expected to attend church on Sunday (145). Other forms of employment, work in distilleries, at the harbour, in transport services and in the police force, often compelled men to work on the Sabbath (146). Probably for the most part, however, the failure to regularly attend Sunday services had little to do with the demands of work. Whether it was conducted in Gaelic or in English, the Sabbath service did not entice the mass of Highlanders to involve themselves in congregational life.

Religious Congregations and the Process of Assimilation of Migrant Groups

It has been seen that lack of material resources and manpower imposed severe limitations on the expansion of Catholic religious observance in Glasgow in the period considered. The low levels of mass attendance outlined in this study compare unfavourably with the data presented for Catholics in Northern Ireland at the same period. Yet the low rates recorded in Glasgow cannot solely be explained by the shortage of facilities. A significant proportion of the places available in church were not taken up. In attempting to account for this shortfall in demand, it has been argued that there existed a relationship between material condition and religious observance, in addition to the more obvious influence of distance from church. The practice of the

Catholic faith was overwhelmingly a lower working class phenomenon - if only because the Catholic population was predominantly of that social strata. But the most materially impoverished were far less likely to regularly practise their faith. Conversely, the generally more prosperous Catholic working class in the suburbs of Anderston appear to have been unusually committed to congregational life.

The efforts of the clergy, and the religious expression of the active minority, ensured that the Catholic church remained a focus of identity for nominal Catholics. The impact of church-controlled and influenced institutions on the second and third generation migrants will be considered in the chapter that follows, but it is important to stress at this point that the various manifestations of religious belief and expression sustained the more general cultural phenomenon of Catholicity. A great many non-practising Catholics demonstrated their allegiance and identification with Catholicism by their financial contributions to the church. This was one of the more obvious manifestations of the distinctiveness of the Catholic community in the working class neighbourhood. In the following chapter, we will explore others.

In turning to the Presbyterian Highlanders, we discovered that they, like the Catholic Irish, were largely non-church-going. With perhaps over two-thirds of the potential Gaelic church attenders rarely at a church service, these migrants and their offspring conformed to the rates of

attendance displayed by the population of the city as a whole. Moreover, it was established that such rates of attendance were not substantially different from those to be found in the Highland districts from where the bulk of the migrants had come. There was, however, an important difference between the Highland and Glasgow congregations. Whereas in the former the majority, in many parishes the vast majority, of the parishioners made occasional visits to church, in Glasgow most Highland migrants had no contact whatsoever with the churches save perhaps the securing of the rites of passage. The renting of seating capacity in Glasgow, largely unknown in the Highlands, ensured that almost all the available church accommodation in the city was taken up by regular church attenders.

Thus in Glasgow, there was a far greater polarisation of the Highlander population between those who regularly attended church and the mass of Highlanders who, if they gave expression to their religious beliefs, did it only in individual or family worship and not at church services. A number of other reasons have been offered to account for the low levels of church attendance among Highland migrants. Although the explanations for levels of Highlander attendance at public worship generally conform to those given for the Presbyterian population of Glasgow as a whole, there appear to have been a number of additional elements curtailing the growth of Gaelic congregations and Highland migrant attendance at public worship. Not the least of these was the difficulties inherent in catering for the migrant group whose members, although often bilingual, were

experiencing the social and cultural disorientation associated with language shift. Financial constraints and problems of organisation in some part arose from the drift away of members of Gaelic congregations to mainstream congregations.

The patterns of church involvement which have been described, had major implications for the formation of ethnic identity and the process of migrant assimilation. The Catholic Irish immigrants who arrived in Glasgow in the decades before the famine entered a society already hostile to and fearful of Catholicism (147). Although the social and economic attitude of the Irish immigrants largely dictated their entry and participation in the new urban, industrial order, the historical and cultural divisions based on religious adherence and loyalty made their own important contribution to the immigrants' interaction with the Protestant Scots. For Presbyterian Glasgow, the religious practice of the minority of the Catholic immigrant population signified and reaffirmed the distinctiveness and threat of the Catholic population as a whole. Moreover, the non-practising majority of Catholics, in their financial support of the Catholic church, in their respect for and deference towards the Catholic clergy, in their unwillingness to forego the Catholic rites of passage, and in their disdain of Protestant proselytism, demonstrated an allegiance and loyalty to Catholicism which could only be interpreted by the Protestant majority as an expression of religious identity and virility.

The Catholic immigrants themselves, overwhelmingly located in the lowest social strata, disadvantaged, much maligned and rejected, looked to the Catholic church as a source of self-esteem and group solidarity. According to one leading lay Catholic, the hostility and ridicule experienced by the Catholic immigrants had "operated as a bond of union which drew them the more closely together and cemented them the more firmly, as brothers in affliction and children of the same kindred and same faith ..." (148). Thus the church offered a shared positive identity and a sense of belonging to a body that transcended the adverse conditions of life in Glasgow. The piety of the minority preserved and sustained the institutional and ideological framework in which the non-active majority could share in a distinctive common tradition and identity. Nominal Catholics, confronted with bigotry and prejudice, rather than discard their religious heritage, turned towards it as a key source of institutional and cultural continuity. In so doing, they did not slow down the shift to an urban life-style but they did prevent the full assimilation of Catholic immigrants into the new, urban working class. Catholicism was crucial to the preservation of a distinct ethnic identity. The dearth of comment about the Protestant Irish who settled in Glasgow would suggest that they were much more quickly assimilated in Glasgow society.

The structural and ideological distinctiveness which the preservation of a Catholic culture engendered was not provided by Gaelic congregational life. Attendance at Gaelic churches did have an impact on the social relations

of Highland migrants. However, congregational membership based on linguistic facility was not likely to produce the structural pluralism that religious faith and dogma created. In the first place, language differences only delayed the absorption of the Highland migrants into mainstream Presbyterian congregations. The city's Gaelic members accepted it as inevitable, indeed desirable, that many of the church-going migrants themselves, but certainly their offspring, would eventually move to regular church congregations. Thus, crucially, the differentiating characteristic, which was the raison d'etre of separate worship, was lost within a generation. The need or preference for Gaelic congregational life was not perpetuated over generations, in the same way that adherence to the Catholic faith involved the Irish Catholics and their offspring in the social and cultural world of the parish.

A second important point to be emphasised when considering the significance of Gaelic religious institutions in the process of assimilation, is that the bulk of Highland migrants had no involvement or interest in the congregational life of the Gaelic churches. In contrast to circumstances in the Highlands, the great majority of Highland migrants in Glasgow remained totally excluded from the shared sentiments and communal ties fostered by even infrequent journeys to church. Certainly, the minority who were active members of Gaelic congregations gained a sense of identity and degree of cultural continuity from participating in such forms of communal devotion. It might even be argued that by reinforcing the cultural conservatism

of the home and preserving the Highlander identity and traditions, the Gaelic churches delayed the assimilation of the members of Gaelic congregations. It must be stressed, however, that most Highland migrants did not come into contact with these influences making for cultural continuity. The mass of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders were absorbed into the working class neighbourhoods of the city. Lacking the supportive mechanisms of congregational life, they more readily abandoned their distinct cultural identity and within a generation became absorbed into the host society.

Chapter 4 - Notes

- (1) Lees, Irish In London, 164-212; S. Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Mission to the Irish in London", Recusant History, Vol. 10, 3, 123-145; W.M. Walker, "Irish Immigrants in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Parochial Life", Historical Journal, Vol. XV, 1972, 649-667.
- (2) Quantitative data has been collected by D.W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine", Journal of Social History, Vo. IX, 1, 1975, 83-88; see also E. Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-1875", The American Historical Review, Vol. 77, 3, 1972, 625-652; S.J. Connolly, Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845, (New York, 1982), 32-35.
- (3) Lobban, "Migration of Highlanders", section 11, chapter 8.
- (4) Withers, Highland Communities, 5-58.
- (5) J. Cleland, Enumeration of Glasgow, 1831, 211.
- (6) Despite the obvious weaknesses of the 1831 data, it nonetheless provides us with a figure which can almost certainly be taken as the minimum number of Catholics in Glasgow at that date.
- (7) The method of calculation adopted by Cleland involved multiplying the number of children of Catholic parents baptised by the Catholic clergy, by the ratio of births to persons in the total population. Cleland evidently assumed that he had produced a very accurate measurement of the city's Catholic population, but he took no account of the children baptised by the Catholic clergy whose parents lived beyond the city boundary. In fact, many Catholics travelled considerable distances into Glasgow to have their children baptised. (See the evidence of Bishop Murdoch in P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92.) Another problem with Cleland's estimate is that, composed largely of migrants, the age structure of the Catholic population meant that a large proportion of families would be in the period of fertility.
- (8) Bishop Murdoch, a native of Banff-shire, was coadjutor of the Western District of Scotland from 1833. He took control of the district on the death of Bishop Scott in 1846, and he held this position until his own death in 1865. See J.F.S. Gordon, Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon, Vol. 1 (Glasgow, 1867), 397; and P.F. Anson, Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878, (Montrose, 1970), 258.

- (9) Bishop Murdoch estimated that 6000 to 7000 Catholics were living more than two miles from St Andrew's R.C. Church in the heart of the city, and were contributing to the total baptisms. Murdoch himself acknowledged this was a crude estimate as he explained in P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92, 278.
- (10) This figure has been arrived at by increasing the 1831 census total for the Catholic population by the percentage increase which occurred in the number of baptisms taking place in the city between 1830 and 1836.
- (11) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92-95; App. 111, 275-278.
- (12) Ibid, App. 111, 275-277; Handley, Irish in Scotland, 264. Handley states that St Andrew's was built to seat upwards of 2000 people, but the figures presented by Bishop Murdoch in 1836 would indicate that only about 1800 seats were available in the church, with "standing room for 600 to 700 persons".
- (13) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 275.
- (14) Ibid, App. 11, 92-95; App. 111, 272-276.
- (15) Ibid.
- (16) That is, these attendance figures as a proportion of
(a) the minimum Catholic population of Glasgow, or
(b) Bishop Murdoch's estimate of the population.
- (17) Miller, Catholicism and the Great Famine, 83-88.
- (18) Ibid.
- (19) Connolly, Pre-Famine Ireland, 87-99 for religious obligation and practice of the Irish at this period.
- (20) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92.
- (21) Gordon, Scotichronicon, 466.
- (22) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 272.
- (23) Ibid, App. 11, 92; App. 111, 275.
- (24) Ibid, App. 11, 92.
- (25) Gordon, Scotichronicon, 495.
- (26) Catholic Archives, St Columba House, Oban letters, 18 January 1842.
- (27) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92.
- (28) Ibid, App. 11, 92; App. 111, 275-277.

- (29) Ibid.
- (30) Ibid.
- (31) Ibid. This assessment of the Catholic non-working class was given by Bishop Murdoch. See chapter 3 for a detailed account of the Irish migrant employments at the mid-century.
- (32) The great majority of the Catholics returned in the 1836 survey who were "not of the working classes" were residing in the old, inner districts of the city.
- (33) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92; App. 111, 275.
- (34) The commissioners of the Dissenters' Survey defined the "of the working classes" category "as comprehending all agricultural labourers, operatives, handcraftsmen, and others of the like condition", having not more than 30s per week if unmarried, and not more than 40s if married. The surveyors may have included a small number of middle class residents in the "not of the working classes" category, but this seems unlikely given their mistaken interpretation of the categories. For impressions of the economic, social, political and spiritual condition of the inhabitants of the Bridgegate district, see P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 370-373.
- (35) All these statistics are derived from the survey findings for the Bridgegate district.
- (36) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII.
- (37) The surveyors chosen to collect data in the Anderston district were carefully selected to ensure that they possessed a knowledge of the district's population and an ability to competently conduct the survey. See P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, 492-496.
- (38) Gordon, Scotichronicon, 492.
- (39) P.P. 1841, XIX, 522.
- (40) In his 1831 survey of Glasgow, Cleland provides a breakdown of the Anderston population by age groups. It is from this data that this estimation is made. Cleland, Enumeration of Glasgow 1831, 211.
- (41) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 492-496.
- (42) For the threats against Catholic mass-goers, see Gordon, Scotichronicon, 492-493; Handley, Irish in Scotland, 283; History of St Patrick's, Anderston, 1850-1950, (Glasgow, 1950), 21.
- (43) See chapter 3.

- (44) J. Strang, Report on the Census of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs for 1851, (Glasgow, 1852), 41-42; J. Strang, "Church Building in Glasgow", Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol. XXII, 1859, 513.
- (45) Catholic Archives, Catholic Directory, 1851; Condon Diary.
- (46) B.J. Canning, Irish-born Secular Priests in Scotland, 1829-1979, (Inverness, 1979), 133-134.
- (47) Senex, Past and Present, Vol. I, 15 April, 203-204.
- (48) Glasgow Catholic Archives, Apostolic Visitation, 1867. Letter Rogan to Manning, 31 October 1867.
- (49) Strang, Church Building in Glasgow, 513.
- (50) Glasgow Free Press, 22 July 1854.
- (51) Ibid.
- (52) Ibid.
- (53) Ibid.
- (54) Ibid.
- (55) Glasgow Catholic Archives, Apostolic Visitation, 1867. Letter O'Keefe to Manning, 1 November 1867; Glasgow Free Press, 1 March 1856.
- (56) Glasgow Free Press, 9 January 1864.
- (57) Ibid.
- (58) Ibid.
- (59) Ibid, 19 January 1867.
- (60) Catholic Archives, Catholic Directory, 1851; Condon Diary.
- (61) Glasgow Free Press, 22 July 1854.
- (62) Quoted in Handley, Irish in Scotland, p 149.
- (63) Catholic Archives, St Columba House, Oban letters, 18 January 1842.
- (64) Glasgow Free Press, 11 January 1868.
- (65) The Protestant, Vol. 14.
- (66) Gordon, Scotichronicon, 496-497; P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 90-92.
- (67) Scottish Guardian, 5 September 1863.

- (68) Glasgow Free Press, 5 December 1863.
- (69) This aspect of Catholic community development will be explored more fully in chapter 7.
- (70) Shadow, Sketches of Life in Glasgow, 28.
- (71) Glasgow Free Press, 1861.
- (72) Ibid
- (73) Ibid.
- (74) Scottish Guardian, 5 September 1856.
- (75) Ibid, 3 January 1861.
- (76) Ibid, 5 September 1856.
- (77) Ibid, 6 June 1861.
- (78) Ibid.
- (79) Catholic Archives, St Columba House, Oban letters, 8 February 1839. Letter Bishop Murdoch to Bishop Scott. A "begging" letter handed to one priest stated that the Catholic population "has to struggle against strong, longstanding and deeply rooted prejudices".
- (80) C.W.J. Withers, "Highland Clubs and Gaelic Chapels: Glasgow's Gaelic Community in the Eighteenth Century", Scottish Geographical Magazine, 100 (4), 1984, 176-190.
- (81) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 60-61.
- (82) Ibid.
- (83) Ibid.
- (84) Ibid. A description of the census in question is provided in this source. See also evidence of Macleod in P.P. 1841, IV, Q 950.
- (85) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 60-61.
- (86) Ibid.
- (87) Ibid.
- (88) The exclusion of Gaelic speakers under 10 years of age from the potential Gaelic church attenders is based on contemporary evidence that it was largely the "well-conditioned families" who regularly brought their children to church at the early age of seven or eight. Most parents waited until the children were older. See W. Collins, Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow, Barony and Gorbals ..., (Glasgow, 1836), 7.

- (89) For the problem Irish immigrants encountered in attempting to understand the dialects of the Scottish clergy, see Handley, Irish in Modern Scotland, 53-54.
- (90) So much so that the differences in the northern and western Highland dialects of the ministers influenced the patterns of church attendance, with many Gaelic speakers travelling across the city to listen to the preferred idiom.
- (91) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 192.
- (92) Ibid; Scottish Guardian, 19 September 1861.
- (93) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 192-194.
- (94) Scottish Guardian, 22 July 1852.
- (95) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 194.
- (96) J. Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, (Edinburgh, 1976), 94-106.
- (97) Ibid; A. MacRae, Revivals in the Highlands and Islands in the Nineteenth Century, (Stirling, 1970), passim; J. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688 - 1800, (Aberdeen, 1951).
- (98) Hunter, Crofting Community, 94-106.
- (99) P.P. 1838, XXXIII; P.P. 1838-1839, XXXIII; P.P. 1839, XXIV. Additional information was derived from the appropriate chapters of the New Statistical Account. See map 5.2 at end of notes.
- (100) P.L.M. Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class in mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow: a Study of Nine Churches", Ph D Thesis, Glasgow 1978 ((unpublished), 90-94; P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92-94.
- (101) Scottish Guardian, 9 February 1849.
- (102) Ibid, 12 June 1857. Statement drawn up by the Rev. J. Smyth on behalf of the Glasgow Highland Home Mission.
- (103) Ibid, 7 June 1860; 2 August 1860.
- (104) Ibid, 12 June 1857. These families were almost exclusively Highlanders.
- (105) Ibid, 7 June 1860; 2 August 1860; 19 September 1861; 3 October 1861.
- (106) Ibid. All these sources provide evidence which supports Dr MacGregor's contention.
- (107) Ibid; also same newspaper 23 May 1860.

- (108) Ibid, 3 October 1861.
- (109) Ibid, 7 June 1860; 19 September 1860.
- (110) The Wynd Journal, 16 June 1860.
- (111) Scottish Guardian, 7 February 1861.
- (129) Ibid, 7 June 1860. As Dr MacGregor remarked: "Our young men will continue in increasing numbers to be dragged off at the very time when they would prove most helpful in carrying on the different departments of congregational work. A Gaelic congregation here cannot be so well organised as an English one."
- (128) Ibid.
- (129) Ibid. The Rev. Macdougall (Argyle Street Church) was in a favourable position to appreciate the migratory tendencies of members of Gaelic congregations, having served at Argyle Street for two decades.
- (130) Ibid, 22 July 1852; 19 September 1861.
- (131) Ibid, 19 September 1861; 3 October 1861.
- (132) Ibid, 7 June 1860.
- (133) Ibid, 13 January 1852.
- (134) Ibid; J.C. Macgregor, The History of St Columba's Parish Church, Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1935), 24.
- (135) Scottish Guardian, 7 June 1860.
- (136) Ibid, 3 October 1861.
- (137) Ibid, 2 August 1860; P.P. 1841, VI, Q 1261.
- (138) Scottish Guardian, 7 June 1860.
- (139) Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class", 90-94.
- (140) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11,603.
- (141) Ibid.
- (142) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11,596.
- (143) Ibid, 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 33, 60; Scottish Guardian, 24 May 1853; 13 January 1852.
- (144) Scottish Guardian, 12 June 1857.
- (145) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 111, 69.
- (146) Scottish Guardian, 7 June 1860.

- (147) Catholic Archives, St Columba House, Oban letters, 8 February 1839, letter Bishop Murdoch to Bishop Scott.
- (148) Catholicity in Glasgow Thirty Years Ago, (1853).

The Residential Patterns of the Highland and Irish MigrantsIntroduction

Historians of housing in Victorian Glasgow have considered at length the increasing spatial segregation of urban society and the zonal development of housing according to the income and status of the inhabitants (1). Such studies have largely emphasised the development of distinct middle-class and working-class zones of the city, although more recent work has attempted to present a more complex social geography for the Gorbals district on the south-side of the city (2). Little attention has been given to describing variations between migrant groups in their access to and use of housing stock. There have been accounts of the housing and environmental conditions experienced by migrants. Contemporary descriptions of the conditions prevailing in the slum districts of the city have furnished historians with the material necessary to detail the extremes of overcrowding, bad housing and unsanitary conditions to be found in the areas of heaviest immigrant settlement. The extensive quotes cited by Handley in particular make it clear why the conditions experienced by the Irish in Glasgow were rarely equalled in other British urban industrial centres (3).

What is still lacking, however, is any attempt to differentiate between the conditions prevailing in the old, central districts and those of the working-class suburb. If the evidence for the conditions prevailing in the former districts is extensive and convincing, there has been little attempt to describe the housing and environmental conditions endured by migrants taking up residence in the more outlying districts of the city (4). The evidence presented in the previous chapters on the employments taken up by migrants would lead one to suspect that not only would the residential patterns of the Irish and Highland migrants be different but that the somewhat more favoured circumstances of the Irish living in Anderston might enable them to avoid the worst conditions experienced by fellow migrants in the slums of Old Glasgow.

In the present chapter, therefore, the main concern will be to examine the housing and environmental conditions experienced by the two migrant groups in Anderston. However, the degree of spatial and residential segregation which they displayed in both Anderston and the central districts will be explored. The tabulated data on residential density presented in Section III is derived from the 1871 census of Scotland. Such information was not available for 1851 and the availability of complementary evidence from other sources for the later date increased the value of the 1871 data as evidence of the housing experience of the migrant groups.

Residential Pattern of the Migrant Groups in the Central Districts

Evidence derived from the census of 1851 indicates that the central districts chosen for detailed examination were not attractive localities for Highland migrants. While the Highland-born population in Glasgow can be estimated at 5 per cent for 1851 it was only 2.9 per cent of the population of the sampled central districts (see Table 5.1) (5). The Highland migrants who did choose to live in these districts were scattered throughout the streets of the sampled districts although there were a few localities where Highlanders clustered (6). The most pronounced instances of this latter phenomenon were the close proximity of residence of Highlander policemen and their families and a more significant clustering of Highlanders in the George Street area. In fact, the Highland-born presence in the George Street area as a whole was proportionally greater and accounted for 5.8 per cent of the area's population. One-third of the Highland-born in the sampled central districts lived in the newer, less crowded, much cleaner neighbourhood (7). However, only 8.2 per cent of the Irish-born residing in the sampled central districts were in this better locality (see Map 6).

The heaviest concentrations of Irish-born were in the main thoroughfares running off Glasgow Cross and especially in the tenements located in the back lands of the High Street, Trongate, Saltmarket and Gallowgate (8). Even in St Andrew's district, where they accounted for 28.7 per cent of

Table 5.1 Percentage Irish and Highland-born in Population of St Andrew's District in 1851, by Enumeration Division.

Enum. Division	Number of Highland-born	% of Highland	Number of Irish-born	% of Irish	Total Popn.
1	12	2.9	51	12.4	411
2	17	4.3	25	6.3	400
3	21	5.3	45	11.4	395
4	16	3.7	145	33.2	437
5	20	3.3	164	27.0	607
6	14	2.1	247	37.3	663
7	19	4.7	53	13.2	401
8	16	5.1	11	3.5	316
9	6	0.9	315	46.0	685
10	11	2.2	62	12.6	493
11	39	6.4	53	8.6	614
12	30	5.8	48	9.3	514
13	16	3.9	78	19.0	411
14	--	0.0	381	60.5	630
15	26	4.2	268	43.8	612
16	14	1.7	419	52.2	803
17	18	2.7	204	30.7	665
18	9	2.0	155	34.5	449
Total:	304	3.2	2724	28.7	9506

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851

the population, the Irish presence dropped below 10 per cent of the population in those enumeration districts with somewhat better housing and sanitary conditions (9).

The geography of migrant group residence, then, would indicate that the great mass of Irish immigrants who took up residence in these sampled districts did inhabit those tenements notorious for overcrowding, filth, misery and disease (9). Although the Highland migrants who had taken up residence in these central districts shared the general sordid conditions prevailing in Old Glasgow, many were living in the more favoured localities of those areas.

Table 5.2 Percentage Irish and Highland-born in Population of Outer-High District in 1851, by Enumeration Division.

Enum. Division	Number of Highland-born	% of Highland	Number of Irish-born	% of Irish	Total Popn.
1	25	6.6	79	30.0	377
2	17	3.0	193	34.2	564
3	20	4.3	81	17.3	467
4	12	2.0	182	31.1	586
5	9	1.7	235	43.7	538
6	12	2.2	231	42.5	543
7	9	1.6	269	46.7	576
8	45	6.1	112	15.3	733
9	5	1.5	76	23.4	325
10	9	2.3	155	47.4	327
11	23	6.6	40	11.6	346
12	29	8.0	29	8.0	361
13	35	6.3	103	18.5	558
14	57	9.3	125	20.4	614
15	11	2.7	96	23.6	406
16	18	3.8	38	8.1	470
17	22	5.6	94	24.0	392
18	17	5.1	50	15.0	334

(Lower end of High Street)

Enum. Division	Number of Highland-born	% of Highland	Number of Irish-born	% of Irish	Total Popn.
19	36	5.9	16	2.6	614
20	19	4.9	9	2.3	386
21	20	3.9	85	16.4	517
22	9	2.0	80	17.6	454
23	15	2.9	172	33.2	518
24	27	5.9	22	4.8	457
25	33	6.0	3	0.5	550
26	48	9.4	13	2.6	509
27	25	6.8	3	0.8	367
28	32	8.9	10	2.8	360
29	38	9.1	18	4.3	417
30	25	7.6	6	1.8	328
31	20	4.3	4	0.9	461

(George Street area)

Total:	722	5.0	2629	18.1	14,529
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Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

Within the slum districts of Glasgow many of the migrants were residing as lodgers either with a family or in one of the hundreds of licensed and unlicensed lodging houses (10). In the sampled districts the Irish-born accounted for less than one-quarter (23.4 per cent) of the population yet one-third of lodgers in the 1851 sample were natives of Ireland. The great majority of these Irish lodgers, four in every five, had found accommodation with an Irish head of household. Even in the densely crowded lodging houses the Irish and Scots tended to huddle in separate groups. The small number of Highland migrants who found lodgings in these central districts were just as likely to be residing in a household or lodgings which was non-Highlander than in one that was headed by a fellow migrant.

Housing in and around Anderston

Before assessing the positions of the two migrant groups in the housing market some general comments on the housing stock available during the mid-century will be made. The growth of industry, commerce and trade in the western quarter of Glasgow, north of the Clyde and especially in the lands near the river put pressure on the available housing stock. There were successive waves of house construction in western Glasgow during the mid-century. The demand most eagerly satisfied was that from an expanding middle-class intent on distancing itself from the new urban working-class, the deteriorating environments of the older, more central parts of the city, and from the increasingly commercial oriented Blythswood district. As the local demand for labour increased there also occurred the construction of tenement apartments specifically intended for the more prosperous and secure of the tradesmen and artisans (11). The poorer elements of the working-class attracted into Anderston by employment opportunities lacked the level or regularity of income to pay the rentals of the newer and superior dwellings. A review of the extensive house-building taking part in Anderston and in Sandyford on its northern boundary stated:

We would gladly see some of our enterprising builders speculating in the erection on a large scale of comfortable dwellings which would suit the scanty purses of our poorer classes, a vast proportion of the whole, and who amidst this improvement are being turned out of their old dwellings, and compelled to burrow together in parts of the city already overcrowded by a sinking and deprived population. The rental of the houses of the better-conditioned working people is greatly beyond the means of this class; and can only be paid by two or three families living together, which is not permitted in well-regulated properties (12).

Low income families did however require a residence close to

their place of work and as a result crowded into the older housing stock which had earlier comprised the villages of Anderston and Finnieston.

An extensive construction took place to cater for the middle-class and more prosperous tradesmen in the west-end of Glasgow where there was a concomitant build-up of overcrowding, deterioration of property and environment, and a growing pressure on extremely scarce and often primitive amenities in many of the tenements and streets in the older parts of Anderston. Poor housing standards and overcrowding were already very apparent at the beginning of our period. Those paying a rental of less than £5 per annum in the 1830s would rarely have had tenancy of anything more than a single room. According to Henry Houldsworth a rental of less than £5 p.a. would "seldom afford more accommodation than a single room which serves a whole family for kitchen, eating room, and bedroom; a circumstance exceedingly injurious to domestic comfort, and also to habits of order, cleanliness and decency" (13). Yet almost certainly well over half of the population of the district would have been so housed. Information collected for the Commissioners of Religious Instruction revealed that even amongst the most respectable church-going section of the population, 40 per cent were living in accommodation with a rental of less than £5 per annum (14). If we take into account the non-church-going Protestants and the Roman Catholics who had settled in Anderston then there is perhaps some justification in assuming that the majority of the population lived in the kind of housing conditions described by Houldsworth.

overcrowding was already a major concern for Burgh officials in the 1830s. In 1838 an entry was made in the Minute Book of Anderston Board of Health that

In regard to dwelling houses it is a sad fact that the population has been rapidly increasing without any proportional increase in house accommodation; in other words 8 persons are now inhabiting the same house which was formerly supposed small enough for 5 - This is and has been a most frightful source of disease and immorality" (15).

By the early 1840s many of the older tenements, houses and streets of Anderston and Finnieston had gained a notoriety equal to the more extensive slum areas of Old Glasgow (16). The worst conditions were reported to be found in the area in and around Cheapside and Piccadilly Street near the quayside, farther north in the congested Bishop Street locality and in parts of Finnieston, most notably Dixon's Land (17).

Henry Houldsworth, uniquely amongst Glasgow mill-owners, had erected large-scale accommodation to rent out to his predominantly Irish workforce which contained dwellings hardly conducive to those habits of living extolled by the employer himself (18). In the back land behind his first spinning mill in Cheapside Street, Houldsworth had put up a large tenement block, four storeys in height which contained 62 separate flats, each 15 feet by 12 feet. Into this building which became known as the "Barracks" the employer crowded in the poorest of his Irish workers (19). Overcrowding in the building would appear to have become more acute over the years until its eventual demolition in 1853. By that year it was reported that 100 families comprising 600 individuals were inhabiting the 62 one-room compartments in the tenement (20). The Barracks was described, at that

time, as a "filthy, ill ventilated, and ill lighted building (a perfect hotbed of disease)" (21). Although this particular building was removed to make way for a new workshop other poor quality tenements continued to be built (22).

Much of the worst overcrowding took place in damp underground cellars which were a common feature of the tenements of the district. Of 200 cellar dwellings inspected in Anderston in 1868, 169 were in contravention of the Police and Public Health Acts. The great majority of these dwellings were either on or below the level of the street and in five separate houses there was a complete absence of windows. Medical inspectors declared these cellar dwellings as "very bad, dark, ill ventilated, and unwholesome" (23). There was also excessive overcrowding of the old weaver and other dilapidated property in and around Bishop Street to the north of Anderston (24).

Although the localities mentioned in the text remained the nuclei of slum conditions in Anderston, the areas of squalid housing and environment gradually expanded during the mid-century to encompass other, sometimes recently built, tenements and streets (25). It can be seen, then, that although there was considerable house building taking place in and around the Anderston district in this period, the demand for accommodation ensured huge disparities in the housing situation of different socio-economic groups. Whether residential patterns of the migrant groups conform to their socio-economic position or to ethnicity will be

analysed in the section that follows.

The Residence of the Migrant Groups in Anderston

In 1851 the Irish population residing in Anderston was far from evenly distributed across the streets of the district. Whereas 19.3 per cent of the population of Anderston was Irish-born, one-third of the people returned in the census as dwelling in Clyde Street, Piccadilly Street, and Cheapside Street were natives of Ireland. Moreover, the Irish were conspicuously absent from the houses in the more affluent areas of Cranstonhill and St Vincent Street. In general, however, there was a sustained Irish presence in most of the streets of the district at the mid-century (see Table 5.3). Moreover, where small enclaves of Irish settlement had developed in Anderston, the degree of clustering was less concentrated than in places like Bridgegate in the old, central areas of the city (26). There were "Irish " streets near the docks but they were far less exclusive than the ghetto of the central areas of the city.

There were also marked differences in the spatial distribution of the Highland-born as indicated by Table 5.3. For one thing, the Highlanders were not under-represented in the more affluent areas from which the Irish-born were largely excluded. Furthermore, the Highland migrants were much more evenly spread throughout the district. Clustering of Highlanders had developed, particularly around the

quayside area, but a small Highlander presence was to be found in all the census enumeration divisions. Even in those localities where there was an unusually significant Highlander presence, the Irish population tended to be just as great or even larger. In fact, the data in Table 5.4 suggest that the greatest concentration of Highland migrants had developed in the adjacent quayside district of Broomielaw (27).

Table 5.3 Percentage Irish and Highland-born in Population of Anderston District in 1851, by Enumeration Division.

Enum. Division	Number of Hlnd-born	% of Hlnd	Number of Irish-born	% of Irish	Total Popn.
1	14	3.9	9	2.5	355
2	69	14.2	40	8.2	486
3	32	5.5	153	26.2	585
4	29	5.9	164	33.5	489
5	92	16.5	84	15.0	559
6	29	5.1	214	37.3	574
7	12	2.4	146	28.8	507
8	37	5.6	264	39.9	662
9	50	11.1	124	27.6	449
10	56	10.1	95	17.1	554
11	17	2.8	213	35.0	608
12	30	6.7	73	16.4	446
13	14	3.6	57	14.6	390
14	26	5.8	53	11.8	450
15	33	5.5	158	26.5	597

Enum.	Number of	% of	Number of	% of	Total
Division	Hlnd-born	Hlnd	Irish-born	Irish	Popn.
16	35	5.8	216	35.7	605
17	5	0.9	207	39.0	531
18	29	5.1	105	18.3	574
19	25	2.8	155	17.3	897
20	22	3.7	107	17.8	601
21	50	10.9	46	10.1	457
22	18	2.7	166	25.0	665
23	14	2.3	127	21.3	596
24	35	6.8	20	3.9	511
25	24	4.5	26	4.9	528
26	22	3.7	187	31.5	591
27	37	8.9	67	16.1	416
28	51	8.3	77	12.5	616
29	38	7.2	51	9.7	525
30	24	5.6	98	23.0	426
31	28	5.7	59	11.9	494
32	41	8.8	10	2.2	465
33	32	6.4	36	7.2	501
34	38	10.5	19	5.2	363
35	47	8.1	32	5.5	582
36	42	8.7	86	17.7	485
37	19	2.9	118	18.2	650
38	29	5.9	52	10.5	494
39	41	10.8	57	15.0	381
40	49	8.5	105	18.2	578
41	21	4.0	125	23.5	531
Total	1351	6.2	4198	19.3	21791

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

Table 5.4 Percentage Irish and Highland-born in Population of Broomielaw District in 1851, by Enumeration Division.

Enum. Division	Number of Hlnd-born	% of Hlnd	Number of Irish-born	% of Irish	Total Popn.
31	30	8.6	11	3.2	348
32	136	30.6	33	7.3	451
33	48	7.7	200	32.3	620
34	54	11.8	41	9.0	458
35	71	10.9	30	4.6	650
36	131	23.9	33	6.0	548
37	135	18.5	13	1.8	730
38	103	15.0	29	4.2	686
39	89	15.5	39	6.8	573
40	67	16.4	18	4.4	409
41	67	10.7	12	1.9	624
42	84	19.1	38	8.2	474
43	51	10.5	31	6.4	487
44	84	19.1	38	8.7	439
45	66	15.4	9	2.1	429
46	61	12.6	35	7.2	486
47	89	14.2	39	6.2	625
48	85	15.2	76	13.6	558
49	58	12.7	67	14.7	455
50	36	8.0	106	23.6	449
51	59	12.4	65	13.7	475
Total	1604	14.6	964	8.8	10974

Source: Census of Scotland, 1851.

Having established that the Irish and Highland migrants had by the mid-century developed quite different patterns of settlement in Anderston, we can now consider the housing experience of the two migrant groups. As was explained in the introduction to this chapter, data derived from the 1871 census have been used to inquire into access, choice and use of the district's housing stock.

The Irish migrants would appear to have experienced far greater overcrowding than the Highlanders. In 1871, 30.4 per cent of Glasgow's population occupied one-rooms. In Anderston, 42.2 per cent of the Irish households inhabited such a dwelling, while 22.0 per cent of the Highlander households sampled were living in this minimum accommodation (28). Whereas two-thirds of the Highlander households lived in one or two-room accommodation, almost nine out of ten (87.7 per cent) of the Irish households dwelt in such tenancies (see Table 5.5).

Another reasonable indicator of the extent of overcrowding, that is the number of persons per room in each household, would tend to confirm that Irish families were living in more congested living space. 61.7 per cent of the Irish households were living three or more people to a room compared to one-third of the Highlander households (see Table 5.6). The difference in the housing situation of the two migrant groups is again made apparent if those living in less cramped conditions are considered. Almost one-third, 32.8 per cent, of the Highlander households were living less than two people to a room while only 13 per cent of the

Irish households were in such a position.

Table 5.5 Percentage of Highland and Irish Households
Resident in Various sizes of House (No. of Rooms),
Anderston, 1871.

Number of Rooms	Highland	Irish
1 room	22.0	42.2
2 rooms	44.2	45.5
3 rooms	19.9	9.3
4 rooms	7.8	1.9
5 rooms & more	6.1	1.1
%	100	100
N	527	538

Source: Census of Scotland, 1871.

The above indicators of the housing conditions experienced by the two migrant groups in 1871 could perhaps be interpreted as largely a result of the economic position of the groups in Anderston at this period. Yet even when the economic position of the sampled households is taken into consideration, there is still a significant discrepancy in the housing pattern of the two migrant groups.

Table 5.6 Number of Persons per Room of Highland and Irish Households, Anderston, 1871.

persons per Room	Highland	Irish
0.1 to 0.9	7.2	1.3
1.0 to 1.9	25.6	11.7
2.0 to 2.9	33.4	25.3
3.0 to 3.9	19.4	30.1
4.0 to 4.9	9.1	15.8
5.0 to 5.9	3.2	8.6
6.0 and over	2.1	7.2
%	100	100
N	527	538

Source: Census of Scotland, 1871.

If, for example, those households of each group headed by a skilled male are considered, differences still remain (29). Whereas 60.3 per cent of the Highland households so headed lived less than three persons per room, only 40.2 per cent of the equivalent Irish households were so domiciled. And while substantial proportions of both the Irish and Highland skilled households suffered severe pressure of numbers on available space, severe overcrowding was more common amongst the skilled Irish: 29.3 per cent of these households living four or more to a room as compared with 17.9 per cent of the skilled Highlanders. The position of the skilled Irish even

compares unfavourably with that of the semi- and unskilled Highlanders. As we have seen, 40.2 per cent of the skilled Irish dwelt less than three people to a room. In the case of the semi-and unskilled Highlanders, 54.3 per cent were to be found residing at these levels. Only 29.5 per cent of the semi-and unskilled Irish were living less than three persons to a room (see Table 5.7 below).

It is evident, then, that the poorer residential position of the Irish cannot entirely be attributed to their disadvantaged economic condition. Nor was it necessarily caused by the propensity of the different migrant groups to take in lodgers. The proportions of Highland and Irish households having one or more lodgers residing with them was very similar with 31.6 per cent of the Irish and 30 per cent of the Highland households having such co-residents (30). Moreover, since they occupied less restrictive living quarters, the Highlanders could realise an income from taking in lodgers without necessarily incurring the excessive overcrowding experienced by large numbers of the Irish immigrant families. While one-third of the Highland households with one or more lodgers present were living three or more persons to a room, just over two-thirds (68.2 per cent) of the lodger-keeping Irish families were so placed (31).

It would seem, therefore, that economic differences alone cannot explain the disparity between Irish and Highland migrant residential density.

Table 5.7 Number of Persons per Room in Highland and Irish Households, by Socio-economic Groups, Anderston, 1871.

persons per room	1 & 2		3		4 & 5		Total	
	H	I	H	I	H	I	H	I
0.1 to 0.9	30.4	--	1.2	0.6	1.4	1.2	4.9	1.0
1.0 to 1.9	30.4	25.0	22.6	12.2	18.6	6.6	22.8	9.2
2.0 to 2.9	19.6	37.5	36.5	27.4	34.3	21.6	34.0	24.2
3.0 to 3.9	15.2	37.5	21.8	30.5	21.4	33.6	20.9	32.4
4.0 to 4.9	4.3	--	12.3	11.6	10.0	17.8	10.9	15.0
5.0 to 5.9	--	--	2.8	7.9	12.9	10.0	4.3	9.0
6.0 & over	--	--	2.8	9.8	1.4	9.1	2.2	9.2
%	99.9	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	46	8	252	164	70	241	368	413

Source: Census of Scotland, 1871.

It might be suspected, therefore, that migrant access to and use of housing in Anderston was a function of the cultural and social exclusiveness experienced by the migrant groups. On the basis of existing evidence the causes of such differences remain uncertain.

The consequences of overcrowding and sanitary inadequacies for the health of the inhabitants and for the local environment were just as evident in 1870 as they had been

over three decades earlier. A description from 1870 of 75 Clyde Street, would probably serve for a great many of the tenements and their surrounds which housed the Irish immigrants throughout the period. Known locally as "Paddy's Castle", and almost entirely inhabited by Irish families in 1870, an investigator who ventured into its midst

found on every side the usual indications of a low neighbourhood - groups of dirty children disporting themselves amongst filth of every description, ill kept filthy staircases and approaches, foul jawboxes, water everywhere running to waste, and the roofs of outhouses as well as the bottoms of enclosed open spaces covered with all manner of refuse thrown from the windows above; whilst the rents of dwellings are higher than those of houses in better localities. Want of privy accommodation, and indecent arrangements where it exists, are, as usual in such localities, prominent features (32).

Throughout the period epidemic diseases consistently returned to such localities. During the cholera visitation of 1832 the disease was said to have been "raging" in Cheapside Street and by the 1830s the riverside area was already a major trouble spot for fever (33). During an epidemic of relapsing fever in the early 1840s, Dr McEwan, the district surgeon, reported that "800 cases of the prevailing epidemic have come under my notice in the short period of six months; and these for the most part in the dirtiest districts of the burgh - in ill ventilated underground cellars and in old houses" (34). We have seen Houldsworth's Barracks described as a "hot bed of disease" (35). In the late 1860s and early 1870s fever persistently broke out in Cheapside Street and its surrounds, Bishop Street and in the area of heavy Highlander settlement, Brownsfield Street (36). It was then asserted in 1870 that the dockland community of Cheapside made a disproportionate contribution to the persistence of epidemic disease in the

city:

Parents and children, badly fed, ill clad, and crowded together in small ill ventilated apartments, many of them underground, become reduced to a physical condition quite incapable of withstanding the inclemency of the weather or the outbreaks of disease; and this class form a very important portion of the 'typhus producing' population (37).

In 1866 Glasgow's MOH remarked upon the "remarkable relation" that existed between the prevalence of fever and overcrowding in such districts (38).

Although there is no direct evidence to enable us to quantify the incidence of fever among Irish and Highland migrants in Anderston, the information contained in Table 5.8 would tend to confirm the observation of the MOH. By far the greater part of the fever cases reported in the western district in the 1860s and early 1870s occurred in the overcrowded dwellings of the Irish settlement areas of Cheapside and Bishop Street. At the time of the 1871 census 44.2 per cent of the residents in the five tenements with fever outbreaks in 1871 were Irish-born (39). If the overwhelming majority of households were Irish in the tenements where fever was most persistent and prevalent Highlanders, at least those living in Anderston, appear to have avoided residence in nearly all the fever ridden tenements. In 19 of the tenements with the greatest incidence of fever in Anderston in 1871 only 63 people or 4.1 per cent of the 1539 inhabitants were Highland-born. In these same tenement blocks 34.2 per cent of the residents were Irish-born (40).

The above evidence is indirect and therefore to some extent suspect.

Table 5.8 Incidence of Fever in Eight Western District streets in 1864, 1870, 1871 and 1872.

street	1864	1870	1871	1872
Carrick St	22	25	28	--
Brown Street	11	14	5	8
McAlpine St	34	34	42	9
Clyde St	46	55	70	27
Piccadilly St	47	54	24	5
Stobcross St	--	66	14	21
Bishop St	29	23	7	20
Richard St	--	39	7	8
Total	189	310	197	98
Total as % of all fever cases in W. D.	81.5	--	70.1	66.6
Total fever cases in W.D.	232	337	281	147

Notes: 1 This table includes all cases of fever occurring in these streets recorded for these years.

2 The 1864 figures are not those for the Western District as designated for Police matters but encompasses all streets within a quarter mile of Nassau Court, Anderston. The range of streets covered in this record would vary little from the Western District coverage.

3 A percentage has not been calculated in the case of the 1870 column as the total fever cases given for that year only includes the total for streets with ten or more cases.

Sources: SRA D-TC 14/2/2 Special Report to the Magistrates Committee on the Proposed Temporary Fever Hospital in Nassau Court, Anderston (February, 1865); SA D-TC 14/2/2; 14/2/37, MOH Reports 1870-1872.

It would seem, however, that the small minority of people residing in Anderston who caught fever were largely from Irish families. The Highlanders living in Anderston, almost entirely absent from the most fever ridden slums, were much more unlikely to succumb to this type of epidemic disease (41).

The Residential Patterns of the Migrant Groups

In this chapter some of the main features of the spatial and residential segregation of the migrant groups have been identified. In the old, central districts, it was found that the great mass of the Irish immigrants were living in the worst slums. Although the Irish were to be found in all census divisions, they were notably rare inhabitants of the more prosperous housing areas and certain tenements in the worst localities contained few Irish families. The evidence on selection of lodgings would further indicate that the Irish may have lived close to the Scots in the slums but in terms of living quarters they tended to remain apart. The Highlanders were much more likely to be lodging with a non-Highlander and this migrant group was well represented in the better localities of these districts.

In Anderston, although there were "Irish" streets and certainly "Irish" tenements, these immigrants never dominated a locality in the district in the same way as they did in parts of the old, central area of the city. The Irish were conspicuously absent from the more affluent areas of Cranstonhill and St Vincent Street. The same cannot be said of the Highland migrants living in this western suburb. These migrants were much more evenly distributed throughout Anderston with the exception of the clustering towards the eastern boundary of the district.

In Anderston both migrant groups suffered from severe overcrowding and poor environmental conditions. The worst

slum tenements and localities in the district exhibited extremes of residential density and pressure on sanitary arrangements comparable with those more generally in evidence in the older, central districts. As might be expected, the Irish migrants experienced far greater overcrowding than the Highland migrants. And it is clear that socio-economic position alone cannot account for the inferior housing situation of the Irish. Nor was it the result of a greater propensity to take in lodgers. Whatever the reason for the relatively poorer situation of the Irish in general, it is clear that even this migrant group's housing experience in Anderston was varied. If some Irish families suffered from conditions as bad as those commonly found in Old Glasgow others had escaped the poorest housing situations. Unlike the Highland migrants, however, they were seldom to be found in the more spacious artisans' dwellings and almost entirely absent from the middle-class housing area north of St Vincent Street. In the highly differentiated housing market of this western suburb, the Highland migrants largely escaped the worst extremes of residential density and poor sanitation and were well represented in some of the most valuable properties in the city.

Chapter 5 - Notes

- (1) See, for example, M.A. Simpson, "The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914", in M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd (eds.), Middle Class Housing in Britain, (London, 1977), pp 44-85; E. Gauldie, "The Middle-Class and Working-Class Housing in the Nineteenth Century", in A. Allan MacLaren (ed.), Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present, (Edinburgh, 1976), pp 12-35.
- (2) J.G. Robb, "Suburb and Slum in Gorbals: Social and Residential Change, 1800-1900", in G. Gordon and B. Dicks, Scottish Urban History, (Aberdeen, 1983), pp 130-167.
- (3) Handley, Irish in Scotland, pp 28-36, 122-163; see also T. Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, (London, 1947), pp 54-63.
- (4) Although Handley and other historians do present evidence of slum conditions in the suburbs of Glasgow, there is no systematic attempt to differentiate between the suburbs and the old, central areas of the city.
- (5) Perthshire-born migrants have been omitted from this Highland-born total which is derived from the county totals in the census of 1851.
- (6) See Tables 5.1 and 5.2.
- (7) S.G. Checkland, "The British Industrial City as History: the Glasgow Case", Urban Studies, I, (1964), No. 1, pp 43-45.
- (8) Frequently the census enumerators of a division would describe an address as a "back land".
- (9) For a full and vivid description of the closes at the southern end of Outer District, a locality with a strong Irish presence, see Scottish Guardian, 9 October 1860.
- (10) Ibid.
- (11) Checkland, "British Industrial City", pp 42-47; Simpson, "West End of Glasgow", pp 48-85; Scottish Guardian, 7 April 1854.
- (12) North British Daily Mail, 2 April 1853.
- (13) P.P. 1824, V, 385.
- (14) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 172-3. The information presented to the Commissioners included the rental paid by 610 families in Anderston parish. Since 262 were "Establishment", 296 "Dissenters" and 52 "not known" the survey must have had excluded all Roman Catholic families and a great many non-church-going Protestants. For the "respect-

Chapter 5 - Notes

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- (3) Handley, Irish in Scotland, pp 28-36, 122-163; see also T. Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, (London, 1947), pp 54-63.
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ability" or social standing of the church-going families see 172-3.

- (15) SRA, D - TC 11/18.
- (16) C.R. Baird, Sanitary Conditions of Glasgow, 1842, (Glasgow, 1842), App. A, pp 181-182, 198.
- (17) Ibid. pp 181-182.
- (18) P.P. 1824, V, 385.
- (19) P.P. 1834, XIX, 129-153.
- (20) North British Daily Mail, 25 january 1853.
- (21) Ibid.
- (22) See, for example, Scottish Guardian, 30 June 1857.
- (23) North British Daily Mail, 25 January 1870.
- (24) Ibid. 28 January 1870.
- (25) Ibid. 13, 25 and 28 January, 1870. Part of a series of articles describing the housing and sanitary conditions in districts of Glasgow. Buildings of inferior design and quality were being constructed in the district, see Scottish Guardian, 30 June 1857.
- (26) At the census of 1851, St Mary's District, which included the Bridgegate, had a population of which 45.1 per cent were Irish-born.
- (27) It is obvious from this table that the streets leading down to the Broomielaw were main centres of Highland migrant settlement in the city.
- (28) The data presented in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 are derived from a stratified sample of Anderston households at the census of 1871. The same sampling procedure as the one adopted for the sampling of the 1851 census has been employed (see Introduction).
- (29) See the appendix for the classification of occupations as socio-economic groups.
- (30) Included in the lodger category is "boarder" but not "visitor".
- (31) These statistics as well as those presented in Table 5.7 need to be treated with caution since, being derived from a stratified sample, no test of significance can be applied to these data.
- (32) P.P. 1834, XIX, 134-135; M.W. Flinn (ed.), E. Chadwick, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, (Edinburgh, 1965), pp 175-176.

- (34) Quoted in A.K. Chalmers (ed.), Public Health Administration in Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1905), p 12.
- (35) See note 27.
- (36) SRA, D - TC, 14/2/3. General Report on the Health of the City of Glasgow, 1868.
- (37) North British Daily Mail, 25 January 1870.
- (38) SRA, D - TC, 14/11/24, MOH Report, 1866.
- (39) General Register Office, Census Enumerators' Books, 1871, 644 8 50-53.
- (40) A cross check was made of the list of tenements provided in the appendix to the 1871 MOD Report with information contained in the 1871 census books.
- (41) It needs to be stated, however, that a quite different picture might emerge if a detailed examination of the Broomielaw district were conducted.
- (42) See Chapter 3 for the types of "skilled" employment the Irish were securing in Anderston.

CHAPTER 6

Marriage and Schooling in the Assimilation of the Migrant Groups

Introduction

The previous chapter offered a detailed examination of the way in which church membership and affiliation influenced the migrant experience. Marriage and schools were two other social institutions that were likely to be influenced by the church and in their turn affect the nature and extent of the assimilation of the two migrant groups. The persistence of a distinct ethnic culture into the second and third generation Irish and Highlanders was to a large extent dependent on the degree of interaction between the migrant groups and the rest of society. Inter-marriage and shared schooling would undoubtedly promote a shared social and cultural experience in the new urban setting and reduce the potential for stereotyping, prejudice and bigotry. In this chapter, therefore, the extent of marital assimilation will be assessed as will the educational experience of the migrant groups.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first section attention will be given to the development of catholic educational institutions in Glasgow between 1830 and 1870. This is followed by an inquiry into the operation of schools catering for Highland migrants and their offspring. In both these sections the concern is to establish how far these schools promoted or retarded assimilation. For a fuller treatment of th organisation, financing, resources and teaching of theses schools the reader is directed elsewhere (1). The third portion of this chapter focuses on the rates of intermarriage between the migrant groups and the host society. Particular attention is given to the Catholic church's attitude towards inter-faith marriages. In the final section some conclusions will be drawn about the role of marital choice and school provision in the assimilation process.

Catholic Education in Glasgow, 1830-1870

The provision of Catholic education in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow can be divided into two distinct phases. Before 1850 separate educational provision for Catholic children was initiated by the Catholic Schools Society. Society schools, largely promoted and sponsored by prominent Protestant citizens, were by 1825 to be found in five localities throughout the city (2). In these schools teachers taught from a Protestant version of the Bible and were instructed to refrain from teaching the Catholic creed. Initially denied their own local Catholic school, the

Catholics residing in Anderston made financial sacrifices to establish Catholic education in the district. In 1824 it was stated that the Catholic population in Anderston "finding the distance of the nearest school inconvenient for their children, have by means of subscriptions and weekly pennies, collected among themselves, been able to support a teacher in that village" (3).

In Anderston, as in the other four localities where Society schools were established, only a small proportion of Catholic children were gaining any formal education. In 1836 only 9,012 children were enrolled as day and night school pupils at all five schools; 55.55 per cent were boys (4). The children who did attend these schools usually left after a short period. It was reported in 1827 that 70 per cent of the children enrolled in the schools no longer attended after 18 months (5). The great majority of Catholic children in the city before 1850 received no formal education and those that did remained at school for only a short period.

The social effect of these schools on the city's Catholic population, however, should not be underestimated. About 5,500 Catholic children had attended Catholic schools in the first decade of the Society's operations (6). Some Catholic children may have been attending non-Catholic schools but from 1817 onwards religious segregation in education was nurtured and it is likely that the great majority of Catholic children receiving a formal education went to a Catholic school. It is important, therefore, not to

underestimate the impact in Anderston of an institution which so clearly demarcated the boundaries of group belonging and identity. The Sunday procession of Catholic school children through Anderston towards mass at the chapel in Clyde Street was likely powerfully to reinforce the collective sentiments of the immigrant community and those of their Protestant neighbours (7).

The second phase of Catholic educational provision is the post-1850 period of parochial development which involved the foundation and maintenance of church-organised local Catholic schools. By 1866 there were six parishes in Glasgow operating day schools for male and female pupils. In addition, there were three upper schools run by religious and four private adventure schools offering a Catholic schooling. In total, there were 3,833 on the rolls of these Catholic institutions in 1866 although the recorded attendance was 81 per cent of the total. A further 576 were enrolled as evening attenders in 1866 (8). The extent of this provision and the numbers taking advantage of the opportunities available had changed little for a decade or more (9). From the findings of the Argyle Commission in 1866 Treble has concluded that virtually two out of three Catholic children of school age had no contact with any form of educational establishment (10).

Inadequate provision cannot alone explain the low levels of schooling among Catholics since not all the available places were taken up in the city's Catholic schools (11). The chronic poverty of the Catholic population and a general

indifference on the part of the migrants and their offspring to the possible benefits of formal education have been adduced as the main reasons for empty school benches (12). Even in St Patrick's, Anderston, however, which we have seen was probably the least materially and spiritually destitute of all the city's parishes, formal education was not seen as a priority for most Catholic families. Only 360 pupils were enrolled at the school in 1866; 58.6 per cent of those were females and only 70 per cent were "in attendance" (13). Many of the families that did take advantage of the education on offer ensured that the attendance of their offspring was "pretty regular" (14). Others, however, encouraged their children to attend for "six weeks to qualify themselves for th print-works, and consequently learned almost nothing" (15). If anything, the more favourable conditions for child employment in the local economy may have militated against prolonged schooling for the offspring of migrants who were still, in general, firmly placed at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy. Attendance at school was not prevented by an inability to pay fees, as children were often admitted without them (16). Only a small minority of the Catholic parents in Anderston, it would seem, were sufficiently convinced of the advantages of completing primary schooling or had the means to enable them to forego the earning potential of their children.

The long-term structural assimilation of the Catholic Irish required that their offspring gain entry to higher socio-economic levels by penetrating more fully the skilled sector of the labour market. Yet the setting up of a

Catholic system of elementary schooling, considered by some as a prerequisite for occupational mobility, can also be seen as an impediment to the full assimilation of the Catholic Irish. The principal concern of the Catholic church leaders in Glasgow at this period was that Catholic children be kept apart in their own schools to receive a sound religious and moral education. The acquisition of practical knowledge and skills was always deemed of secondary importance. In a pastoral letter read out from the city's pulpits in 1857 the bishops acknowledged that education had become a necessity which when "well directed and conducted, is a valuable and a powerful handmaiden of religion" (17). In a Lenten Pastoral of 1867 it was stated that parents could "have no excuse, before God, should they neglecting such opportunities, allow their children to frequent schools where there can be no proper security either for faith or morals" (18). The emphasis on sound moral and religious education was particularly pronounced in the curriculum offered to Catholic females. It was reported in 1860 that Catholic female pupils in Glasgow were "very imperfectly instructed in secular matters, but well grounded in salutary religious knowledge" (19). But for all pupils, according to one prominent lay Catholic,

sound morals were of far greater importance than the arts and sciences; that the education of infidelity was infinitely a greater evil (than) the uneducated ignorance of those who were, nevertheless, strong in faith and pure in morals (20).

The Catholic clergy went to considerable lengths to ensure that Catholic children were not only offered a Catholic schooling but were kept out of "Protestant" schools. In addition to utterances from the pulpit the Catholic priests used their home visits to prevent their flock being "stained with the taint of infidelity and irreligion" (21).

It was reported in 1853 that those "who had influence over the children of the Roman Catholic connection" were taking measures to remove such children from the Industrial or Ragged Schools. In his autobiography, Patrick Mulrine, a reformed criminal brought up in the Bridgegate in the 1850s, stated that his parents, "nominally Roman Catholics", placed him in a "Protestant" school and, when the priest got to know of this act of heresy, I was at once removed and sent to a Catholic school then in Greendyke Street" (22). James Walsh, a leading lay Catholic in Glasgow in the 1850s commented that the clergy also used the confessional box to foster commitment to Catholic schooling (23).

Such efforts to restrict the schooling of Catholic children to Catholic teachers and establishments were largely successful. In 1866 the number of Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools in Glasgow was estimated at 200 or about one in twenty of all Catholic pupils (24). Only a tiny minority of Catholic children, therefore, were enrolled in non-Catholic schools. The religious divide in education further distanced the Catholic Irish and their offspring in the local community.

Highland Schools in Glasgow, 1830-1870

In the mid-1830s the Highland Society School, founded as early as 1727, was providing schooling for 500 boys and 200 girls (25). The number of pupils at the school rose to around 800 in the 1850s and 1860s at which time a more equal ratio of the sexes developed (26). In 1825 a second school, the Maclachlan Free School, was commenced and it was educating between 300 and 400 pupils in the early 1840s (27). This school continued to operate throughout the period and thus there were available over 1,000 places at Highland Schools in Glasgow in these decades (28).

The number of pupils at these schools fell well short of the number of Highland migrants and children of migrant eligible for a place in them. Gaelic ministers, who were largely instrumental in the selection of applicants to these schools, had reported that in 1836, 5,336 Gaelic speakers under 10 years of age were living in Glasgow (29). The children who were successful in their applications appear to have been drawn from particular social strata. Norman Macleod acknowledged that the Highland Society School had to reject "a good number" of applications on the ground that "the parents can educate the children themselves" (30). Macleod claimed that it was invariably the poorer classes who found places in the school and he was unaware of any poor children who had been refused (31). This may have been true of the early 1840s. It does not appear to have been the case in 1857 when it was reported that in the school

"few of the children belong to the very poorest class, and, indeed, from the necessity of making a selection from the applicants, the waifs and outcasts of Celtic origin in the city have not the best chance of admission" (32). Evidence presented in the report of the Argyle Commission in 1866 suggests that if the father of the pupil was alive he was rarely employed in an unskilled occupation (33). The report described the parents of the pupils as "respectable" and it would appear that they mainly came from upper-working-class, church-going families (34).

Although much attention was paid to the "religious education and moral training" of the pupils there was a strong practical and vocational emphasis in the curriculum. In an industrial department many of the girls - about 80 in 1843 - were taught how to wash, knit and sew in order to "educate them for servants" (35). In the senior department 80 to 100 scholars learned well-advanced English and commercial instruction (36). In the early 1840s about 50 boys every year were indentured and superintended in a trade (37). The payment of apprentice fee had been abandoned by the 1860s but the school was still providing its pupils with "a good solid education ... keeping pace with the requirements of the present day" (38).

Impressionistic evidence suggests that the education pupils received equipped some of them with the necessary qualifications and references to move into the more respectable occupations in the city. Macleod claimed in 1843 that "we have respectable tradesmen who have been

educated at our schools ... Some educated as orphan children in these schools are men of fortune in the city of Glasgow just now" (39). Wm. Campbell of Tullichewan, chairman of the Gaelic School Society in the Highlands and Islands informed his audience at a Society meeting that "merchants present would bear him out in saying that in storehouses and the ordinary warehouses they (Highlanders) formed a great proportion of the employed. They also found Highlandmen following the occupations of bankers, engineers, the medical profession ..." (40). Many of the Highlanders who gained such positions did so without the benefit of an education at one of the Highland Schools. Nevertheless, the operation of the two schools seems to have made a contribution to the successful assimilation of first and second generation Highland migrants into the city's skilled and professional workforce.

The type of economic assimilation that the Highland Schools promoted was not achieved at the expense of cultural isolation. Certainly, former pupils of such institutions might have their "Highlander" identity reinforced through remembrance of, or continued contact with, the school and its former pupils. Indeed, many of the former pupils who were tradesmen in the city had, in the early 1840s, formed themselves into a "society of medallists - auxiliary to" the school (41). Crucially, however, the school promoted cultural assimilation by abandoning the linguistic heritage of the pupils. English was used in the classroom and Gaelic was not even taught as a second language (42). Thus, the pupils of the school were encouraged to abandon the cultural

trait which differentiated them most from the host community.

We have seen, then, that the minority of first and second generation Highland migrants educated in Highland Schools in Glasgow appear to have been drawn from the "respectable", church-going element of the Highlander population. Once again, the nexus of Highlander community involvement appears to have failed to incorporate the mass of lower-working-class Highland migrants. The managers of the schools were able to match a solid, vocationally relevant schooling with a capacity to induce employers to take on their leavers. And while the successful continuation of the Highland schools was evidence of structural pluralism they, in the long-term, fostered economic and cultural assimilation. The Highland schools made no attempt to preserve the Gaelic language, the curriculum being designed to encourage the absorption of the pupils into the "respectable" sections of urban society. First and second generation Highland migrants who attended other schools, unless they were Catholic, were more directly assimilated into urban, lowland society, sharing the norms, values and cultural expectations of their fellow pupils and teachers.

Irish and Highland Migrants and Marital Assimilation

The rate of intermarriage between Irish and Highland migrants and the host society was yet another important factor in the speed of assimilation of the two groups. The

maintenance of a well-knit ethnic group was dependent on the prevention of intermarriage. In condemning inter-faith marriages the Catholic church powerfully reinforced the existing social and cultural impediments to such unions. In pronouncements from the altar and through the skills of persuasion of its priests the Catholic church strongly opposed "mixed" marriages and only reluctantly solemnised those alliances it could not prevent. The church feared for the faith of the Catholic entering such a marriage and for the children brought up by such a partnership. A lenten pastoral of 1867 warned of the dangers inherent in such unions.

There is another evil, against which we would caution, with all the earnestness of our souls, our dear Catholic flock. It is intermarriage with those separated from our holy church which has forbidden such marriages and calls them detestable ... Danger to the faith of the Catholic party, still greater danger to the faith of the offspring, dissensions and hatred in families from the absence of the marriage blessing, are but too often the bitter fruits of such marriages; nor have the few conversions which followed such unions been able to console the church for the dreadful and never-ceasing evils which flow from marriages which, although she may give them a reluctant consent to them, she never ceases to detest (43).

Although, as Bishop Murdoch noted, in such marriages the children were usually baptised Catholic if the father was of that faith or if the father was Protestant but inattentive to religious observance himself and indifferent to the religious practice of his wife, the church remained hostile to all inter-faith marriages (46).

Lees in her study of the Catholic Irish in London has suggested that the influence of the Catholic church on rates of intermarriage could also be an indirect one as involvement in the Catholic institutions and organisations

in a neighbourhood largely set the boundaries of the marriage pool within the city (45). Evidence available on the Catholic community living in Anderston seems to lend support to the view that the local Catholic priests either directly or indirectly influenced the selection of marriage partners. In the first three years of the St Patrick's mission 28.5 per cent of the children baptised were the offspring of "mixed" marriages. But within a decade the proportion of baptisms involving mixed marriages had been reduced to 19.2 per cent. Considering how gradual the effect of changes in intermarriage rates would be on baptismal figures, this decline perhaps indicates a quite significant reduction in inter-faith marriages (46).

Even before a vigorous local mission had been established there appears to have been little integration of first generation Catholic Irish through marriage. In the 1851 sample of Anderston, 77.6 per cent of the Irish male heads of household whose wife was present had an Irish spouse. When allowance is made for marriage between first and second generation Irish, and these marriages were not uncommon (47), then it can be seen that the Irish generally married within their own ethnic group (48). A similar picture emerges if we consider the Irish in the old, central districts at the same date. The sample of these districts reveals 79.7 per cent of the Irish male heads of household as having an Irish-born spouse.

First generation Highlanders appear to have intermarried with non-Highlanders much more freely. In the Anderston

sample, 59.7 per cent of the Highlander male heads of household had married someone from the Highland counties. In the old, central districts the level of intermarriage was even higher, with close on half (54.8 per cent) of the highlander heads of household taking a non-Highlander partner. One other notable difference between the two migrant groups was that whereas the wives of the Highlanders not of the same ethnic group had been born in a wide variety of parishes in the Lowlands, the non-Irish-born wives of Irishmen were almost invariably born in the major urban centres of Lowland Scotland. This may suggest a greater amount of first and second generation intermarriage within the Irish population, although on the basis of such indirect evidence this is little more than conjecture.

Clearly, then, the marriage pool of Highland migrants was less narrowly restricted to a person's ethnic group than was the case for the Irish. Importantly, for the great majority of Highland migrants, religious adherence did not set them apart from the Presbyterian lowlanders. Those migrants who joined church congregations in Glasgow were not exclusively members of Gaelic congregations, many having found their way into English congregations (49). At any event, in the complex process of selection of marriage partner the fact that the bulk of Highland migrants were Presbyterian did not create a barrier to them marrying Lowland Scots. The same cannot be said for the bulk of Irish immigrants.

Chapter 6 - Notes

- (1) M. Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918", in T.R. Bone (ed.), Studies in the History of Scottish Education, (London, 1967), section 1; J.H. Treble, "The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland, 1878-1978", D. McRoberts (ed.), Modern Scottish Catholicism, (Glasgow, 1978), pp 111-139.
- (2) P.P. 1841, XIX, pp 521-522.
- (3) Glasgow Free Press, 15 June 1824.
- (4) P.P. 1841, XIX, pp 521-522, 541.
- (5) Glasgow Herald, 24 November 1827.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) See Chapter 6, note 34.
- (8) Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, pp 79, 83-84.
- (9) Glasgow Catholic Archives, Catholic Directory, 1851, p 88; Scottish Guardian, 6 June 1851; Glasgow Free Press, 24 February 1855.
- (10) Treble, "Development of Roman Catholic Education", p 112.
- (11) Skinnider, "Catholic Education", pp 21-22.
- (12) Ibid.; Treble, "Development of Roman Catholic Education", p 112; Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, pp 157-158; Glasgow Free Press, 24 February 1855.
- (13) Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, p 79.
- (14) North British Daily Mail, 18 June 1857.
- (15) Ibid.
- (16) Ibid.; one-fourth of the children taught at St Patrick's, Anderston, received a free education on the parish priests's recommendation.
- (17) Glasgow Free Press, 28 March 1857, pastoral letter from Bishops Murdoch and Smith.
- (18) Ibid.; 9 March 1867, Lenten Pastoral from Bishops of the Western District.
- (19) P.P., 1860, LIV, p 267.
- (20) Glasgow Free Press, 17 September 1859, comments of Dr Scanlan.
- (21) Ibid. 20 October 1855, comments of Rev. Chisholm.

- (22) North British Daily Mail, 26 January 1853, Industrial or Ragged Schools, AGM, report of Mr Smith, secretary; SRA, TD 200/147, P. Mulrine, 32 Years in Prison, (Glasgow, ND), p 1.
- (23) Glasgow Free Press, 27 October 1855.
- (24) Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, p 79.
- (25) P.P., 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 63.
- (26) North British Daily Mail, 22 May 1857; Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, p 86.
- (27) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11, 659.
- (28) Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, p 4.
- (29) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 60-61.
- (30) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11, 661.
- (31) Ibid.
- (32) North British Daily Mail, 22 May 1857.
- (33) Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, pp 86-87.
- (34) Ibid.
- (35) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11, 659; North British Daily Mail, 22 May 1857.
- (36) North British Daily Mail, 22 May 1857.
- (37) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11, 659.
- (38) Somers, Report on Education in Glasgow, p 86.
- (39) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11, 666.
- (40) Scottish Guardian, 11 February 1851.
- (41) P.P. 1844, XX, Q 11, 666.
- (42) P.P. 1841, XIX, 523, 546.
- (43) Glasgow Free Press, 9 March 1867, Lenten Pastoral by the Catholic Bishops of the Western District of Scotland.
- (44) P.P. 1837-1838, XXXII, App. 11, 92-95; App. 111, 275-278.
- (45) Lees, Irish in London, pp 149-154.
- (46) SRO, RH 21 68/1 Glasgow (St Patrick's), Register of Baptisms.

- (47) In 1855 the place of birth of 94 people married at St Patrick's was ascertained. Ten of these betrothed were Scots-born marrying Irish-born.
- (48) The sample figure for 1851, of course, includes the Protestant Irish residents of Anderston.
- (49) P.P. 1838-1839, XXXII, App. 111, 182.

CONCLUSION

In this comparative examination of the assimilation of Highland and Irish migrants in Glasgow during the mid-nineteenth century, a number of indices have been employed to assess the degree of absorption of the two migrant groups. Although the study does not offer a comprehensive account of migrant group interaction with the host society it does, nonetheless, provide an indication of some aspects of the different experiences of the two groups.

In both the central districts and in the suburb of Anderston the 1851 census data and other evidence presented suggest that the two migrant groups were taking up quite distinct positions in the local economies. The breakdown of the total labour forces by sector reveals clear differentials in the areas of the economy entered by the migrant groups. In Anderston the textile and pottery industries were exceedingly important for the Irish of both sexes but of little consequence for Highlander employment in the district. For the female Highlanders domestic service was by far the major source of employment while Irish girls were largely excluded from the jobs in this sector. In the central districts shoemaking, labouring, dealing and hawking were much more important types of economic activity for the Irish than they were for the Highlanders. The latter, however, were attracted to the sampled central districts by the opportunities in retailing, the food industries and the heavy industries much more so than were the Irish.

Yet it is only when the differences within sectors and industries are examined that the full extent of the variations in migrant group occupational position becomes apparent. The Highland migrants were far more successful in gaining access to the skilled occupations in the construction, metalworking, machinery and shipbuilding industries while the Irish male workers were largely concentrated in the jobs offering low levels of pay and status. There were, however, a significant proportion of Irish migrants engaged in the more skilled occupations in the heavy industries, a finding which challenges Handley's assertion that Irish immigrants were almost entirely absent from such positions at this period. Compared to the Highland migrant performance, however, the Irish had been far less successful in securing jobs offering pay, conditions and status that removed them from the lower working class. Indeed, the Highland migrants were well represented in all strata of society and were to be found in top positions in commerce, industry, and the professions. Only a tiny fraction of the Irish immigrants could be classified as belonging to the middle strata of society.

The case study of migrant recruitment to the Glasgow Police Force presented in Chapter 3 further underlines the fact that there was a strong degree of ethnicity in the patterns of recruitment of the new urban labour force. The data presented on migrant group recruitment to the city's constabulary suggest that the Irish migrants found greater difficulty in obtaining the better employments available in the city. Moreover, there is evidence which would appear to

indicate that the religious persuasion of applicants influenced recruitment patterns and perhaps points to a more general discrimination operating in other sectors of the labour market.

The importance of religious affiliation as an influence on migrant experience was considered in Chapter 4. It is argued that the effect of the Catholic church on the process of assimilation was that of preventing the full integration of immigrants and also subsequent generations of Catholics into a Protestant dominated society. The religious practice of a minority of Catholic Irish provided a focus of group solidarity and a source of identity for the majority of immigrants who were nominally Catholic. Catholic immigrants and their offspring largely restricted to the lowest social strata, and encountering prejudice and possibly discrimination in the new urban milieu, found an identity in Catholicism as the church preserved and sustained the institutional and ideological framework around which a Catholic culture could be formed. For the Presbyterian Scots, the maintenance of a Catholic culture reaffirmed the distinctiveness and threat of the Irish of Catholic persuasion.

If in this study the emphasis has been on the way the Catholic church, by preserving a distinct identity and traditions, functioned to restrict the full absorption of the Catholic population into the host society, it also needs to be suggested that in some ways the Catholic church may have promoted the long-term assimilation of the Catholic

element in Glasgow's population. In promoting the values of hard work, sobriety and moral rectitude the Catholic church encouraged habits among the faithful that might eventually remove some of the constraints upon their movement away from the lowest socio-economic positions. To strive for respectability through socio-economic advancement was conforming to the expectations of what constituted a "good" Catholic. The Catholic clergy appreciated the relationship between acute material destitution and spiritual impoverishment and encouraged their flocks to abandon social customs and practices inimic to social advancement.

If in this respect, then, the Catholic church contributed to the eventual structural assimilation of the Catholic community, it still needs to be stressed that the institutional arrangements adopted by the church to ensure the preservation of the faith accentuated the distinctiveness of the Catholic population in the local community. Separate educational provision for Catholic children had an important influence on social attitudes. The assimilative potential of integrated schooling was frustrated by the desire on the part of the Catholic clergy to ensure that a sound religious instruction was acquired by all schooled Catholics. Thus, in the local working-class neighbourhood, especially from the 1850s onwards, the Catholic school, alongside the Catholic chapel, became a durable instrument and embodiment of a Catholic culture.

Throughout the mid-century period, the Catholic church made strenuous efforts to prevent inter-faith marriages and this

proved another obstacle to the full assimilation of the Irish and their descendants. If they were not already married before arriving in Scotland the Catholic immigrants were instructed not to marry a Scottish Protestant. A vigorous, parochial "social" Catholicism, the foundations of which were laid at the mid-century, was likely to diminish the prospect of greater selection of partners from outwith the faith. That, and the general hostility on the part of the Protestant population towards Catholics, severely limited the assimilative potential of the intermarriage between Irish and Scots.

Highland migrants were more readily assimilated into mainstream society. C.W.J. Withers has recently argued for the development of strong community ties among the Highland migrants in Lowland towns. But his thesis is inconsistent with evidence presented in this study which would suggest that in terms of territorial location, institutional arrangements and social interaction the Highlander population in Glasgow quickly integrated with their fellow Scots.

The Highland migrants, not confined to the lowest socio-economic positions, were much more evenly distributed throughout the different housing areas of Glasgow. Unlike the Irish, few of whom escaped the excessive overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions of the slum localities of the city, the Highland migrants were well represented in the more affluent areas of the city. Even within the slums, there were marked differences in the propinquity of the two

migrant groups, with the Highlanders less isolated from other inhabitants.

Although Gaelic churches were established to cater for the linguistic needs of large numbers of Highland migrants, the great majority of them had little or no contact with these congregations. Moreover, whereas successive generations of Catholics attached themselves to the local neighbourhood church, many of the Gaelic-speaking Highland migrants themselves and certainly their offspring had no desire to continue as members of a Gaelic congregation. The initial attachment of some Highland migrants to Gaelic congregations in Glasgow did not prove an impediment to the eventual assimilation of the Highlander element into the host society.

To an even greater extent than the Gaelic churches, the schools operating for the children of Highlanders were not local institutions but drew their populations from the entire city. Although a free education was provided in the Highland schools, lower working-class Highland families appear to have been seldom able or interested in taking advantage of the education on offer. If the children of this social strata did experience some schooling it would be alongside other Protestant children. Moreover, children with Highlander parents located in the middle and upper strata of society were likewise schooled with Lowland Protestants in the various schools operating in the city. Of the children who were educated in the Highland schools, they received an education which, generally speaking, prepared

them to take up skilled positions.

If membership of a Gaelic congregation reduced the likelihood of Highland migrants marrying a non-Highlander, the rapid absorption of those of Highlander descent into mainstream Protestant congregations made the long-term intermarriage between Highlanders and other Scots much more likely. Even before the shift from Gaelic to mainstream congregations, however, it would seem unlikely that linguistic preference would be as serious an impediment to intermarriage as religious persuasion.

It is possible to accept Wither's' suggestion that Highlander churches may have operated in the short-term as a focus of a Highlander community. At the same time, the Catholic Irish more generally identified with church institutions and organisations at this period, and developed distinctive sets of social relationships, shared activities and common bonds which were much more enduring than those promoted by the Gaelic churches and clubs. In structural and cultural terms, the Highland migrants were more rapidly assimilated into the host society.

APPENDIX

In this study the procedure adopted for classifying occupational groups into socio-economic categories is generally that proposed by W.A. Armstrong. This is true for the data derived from the 1851 census presented in Chapters 1 and 2 and for the information on occupations which informs the discussion of housing in Chapter 5. It was considered necessary, however, to make minor modifications to classification of particular occupational groups in the light of other evidence indicating the socio-economic status of such groups. For example, Armstrong has police constables as belonging to category III, "skilled" employment. The body of evidence presented in Chapter 3 would indicate that the definition "skilled" to this occupation is historically inaccurate.

Below are listed the alterations to the classification adopted by Armstrong, setting out the category to which the occupation has been re-classified (Armstrong classification in brackets):

Police Constable	IV (III)
Weaver (textile)	V (III)
Wine and spirit dealer	III (II).

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