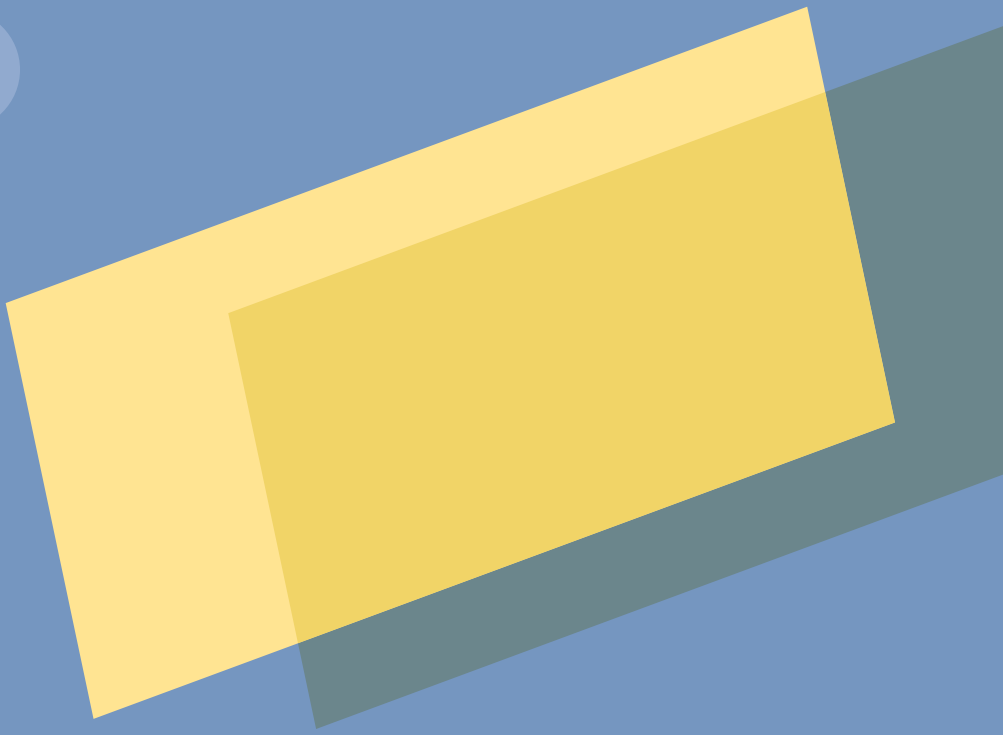


A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland

New Perspectives

Edited by
Stephen J. McKinney
Raymond McCluskey

palgrave
macmillan

A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland

"The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 has long suffered from undeserved neglect in the historical literature. Its centenary has now at length prompted fresh evaluation of this significant legislation in its broader social, religious and political context. In this new collection of essays, a wide array of perspectives are brought to bear, not only on the Act itself but also on its origins, implications and longer-term effects. This history has been largely hidden from view partly because of the dominance of the English tradition south of the border, but also because of the nature of religious conflict within Scotland. In this volume, the Catholic tradition in Scottish education is effectively unearthed and exhibited in full public view."

—Professor Gary McCulloch, *Brian Simon Chair of History of Education, IOE, University College London, UK*

"Current issues in Catholic education cannot be properly understood without an appreciation of the history behind them. This book admirably provides a scholarly analysis of the key agents, contextual factors and principles at work in Scotland before, during and after the 1918 Education Act. Unlike many other studies, it weaves together legal, historical, social, educational and religious angles of approach, offers fascinating, thought-provoking and sometimes surprising insights and draws attention to neglected features of the history of Catholic education in Scotland."

—Professor Emeritus John Sullivan, *Liverpool Hope University, UK*

"This collection casts fresh and sober light on the historical roots and legacy of a topic that is too often the subject of over-heated and uninformed contemporary debate. It is a contribution as much to the social and cultural history of modern Scotland, generally, as it is to that of Scottish Catholic education and features the most mature twenty-first century commentary and analysis finely nuanced by the archives. This book is one that has appeared not before time."

—Professor Gerard Carruthers, *Francis Hutcheson Professor of Scottish Literature, University of Glasgow, UK*

"As the field of Catholic Education Studies develops internationally it needs as an academic foundation scholarly studies of the historical beginnings of Catholic schooling in every nation. The book provides an excellent model for such studies, written in a scholarly, accessible, interesting and comprehensive way. It is to be hoped that researchers and scholars in other nations will seek to emulate this fine example."

—Professor Gerald Grace, *Editor of International Studies in Catholic Education*

Stephen J. McKinney
Raymond McCluskey
Editors

A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland

New Perspectives

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Stephen J. McKinney
School of Education
University of Glasgow
Glasgow, Scotland, UK

Raymond McCluskey
Glasgow, UK

ISBN 978-1-137-51369-4 ISBN 978-1-137-51370-0 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2019
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Limited
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Stephen J. McKinney
This book is dedicated to my children Stephen Conor (aged 26) and Lucy (aged 19)
Raymond McCluskey
This book is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Hugh

Contents

Notes on Contributors

S. Karly Kehoe is Canada Research Chair in Atlantic Canada Communities at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, and her specialism is religion, migration and minority identities in the British Atlantic. She sits on the editorial boards of the *Scottish Historical Review* and the *Innes Review* and is a member of both the Global Young Academy and the Royal Society of Canada's College of New Scholars, Artists and Scientists.

Raymond McCluskey studied history at the University of Glasgow before completing a DPhil at Balliol College, Oxford. He has recently retired from a lectureship in the School of Education, University of Glasgow. He is a past convener (president) of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association and former secretary of the History of Education (UK) Society.

Jane McDermid is Emeritus Fellow in History at Southampton University. She holds postgraduate degrees from Glasgow University and the London Institute of Education. Her main research interests are in British and Russian women's history from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. She is a member of the editorial board of the journal *History of Education* and is on the international advisory board of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

Mary McHugh is a graduate in History, Politics and Law, from the University of Strathclyde. She is an archivist of the RC Archdiocese of Glasgow and a trustee and secretary of the Scottish Catholic Heritage Collections Trust. McHugh lectured in church history at Chester College's inter-diocesan seminary, and then at Scotus College, the national seminary in Scotland until its closure in 2009. Her publications include articles in *Catholic Archives* and the *Innes Review*. Her historical research interests include the Catholic Union and the Eyre family.

Stephen J. McKinney is a professor in the School of Education, University of Glasgow. His work has been published extensively on topics such as Catholic schooling, faith schooling and the impact of poverty on schooling. He is Visiting Professor of Catholic Education at Newman University, an associate of the Irish Institute for Catholic Studies and on the steering group for the Network for Researchers in Catholic Education.

Tom O'Donoghue is Professor of Education in the Graduate School of Education, The University of Western Australia. He is also an elected fellow of both the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and The Royal Historical Society (UK). He specialises in the history of education in the English-speaking world, with particular reference to the history of teachers and the process of education in faith-based schools.

Geraldine Vaughan is Senior Lecturer in British Modern History at the English Studies Department, University of Rouen (Normandy—GRHis). She has published a book titled, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland, 1851–1921* (2013, Palgrave Macmillan). She is also a junior member of the Institut Universitaire de France and is writing on anti-Catholic networks throughout the British Isles and Dominions in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras.

1

Introduction

Stephen J. McKinney and Raymond McCluskey

The first part of the title of this book, *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, has been chosen very carefully to reflect the historical importance of Catholic schools for the Catholic community in Scotland and also to acknowledge the breadth of scope of Catholic education that extended beyond the schools. The editors wanted to add that the book will provide *New Perspectives* on this history to enhance and extend the scholarship in this field. The rationale for this book, essentially a collection of essays occasioned by the centenary of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, is to provide a series of scholarly responses to the historical context of the Act.

This book is concerned primarily with Catholic schools, but we argue that the history within its pages belongs to Scotland, not just the Catholic community, because its study helps us to understand the background to

S. J. McKinney (✉)
School of Education, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, UK
e-mail: stephen.mckinney@glasgow.ac.uk

R. McCluskey
Glasgow, UK

© The Author(s) 2019

S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_1

the evolution of state-funded schooling. The role of the different Christian churches in providing school education was of fundamental importance in this evolution.[1] The Church of Scotland and the Free Church were major providers of schooling prior to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. The schools of the Episcopal Church were less numerous, though still influential, and the number of Catholic schools grew exponentially between 1872 and 1918. The responses of the Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church to the 1872 Act and the accommodations of section 18 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, highlights the importance of these Churches in the provision of school education in Scotland and the recognition of this importance by the state in its negotiations with the Churches (especially the Catholic Church).

The centenary in 2018 of the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 has provided an opportunity for scholars to revisit the historical context which produced this landmark piece of legislation. This book is itself a response to the stimulus of the anniversary. It seeks ultimately, however, to open up new lines of enquiry for the next hundred years. The historical narrative which any community inherits is often closely tied to that community's shared sense of identity. The story of Catholic schools in Scotland has in the past served to underline the resilience, ambition and fortitude of an originally poor, unskilled community which, through its schools, has over the decades been transformed in terms of entry to the professions, the arts, the sciences and so many other important aspects of life. Now, one hundred years on from the 1918 Act, the time is right to ask new questions of the historical testimony of the generations which prepared for the Act, saw it come to fruition and then implemented it. This is a scholarly project for a new generation of historians, Catholic or otherwise. So much remains to be done, not least incorporating the insights of new evidence as increasing amounts of material become readily accessible by means of online repositories. It is the most ardent wish of the editors that the publication of this present volume of *New Perspectives* provides a catalyst for many subsequent new research projects.

The aim of this introduction is to provide an overview of the contents of this book which is focused primarily on the development of Catholic school education in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The two influential Acts, the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, dominate academic discussion of this period because

they are key points in the progress towards state funding for Catholic schools. While these two Acts feature prominently in contributions to this book, the purpose of the book is to deepen our historical knowledge and understanding of some of the key people and events that supported the growth and development of Catholic school education. An emphasis on people is highly appropriate—to focus on those who founded, developed, led and taught in Catholic schools.[2] Similarly events, or series of events, were to prove crucial in the growth and development of Catholic schooling and the integration of Catholic schooling into the state sector. There were two series of events post-1918, for example, that would be highly significant in the gradual journey to state-funded schooling for Catholic schools. These were the discussion and debate that unfolded concerning the expansion of St Mary's, Whifflet, and the construction of a new Catholic school in Bonnybridge (these are highlighted in a number of chapters in this book). These were to be very influential as they tested the relationship between local Catholic schools and the local educational authorities. The 'Bonnybridge case' tested sub-sections (7) and (8) of section 18 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. In the end there was a positive outcome for the local Catholic schools in Whifflet and Bonnybridge and, in the case of Bonnybridge, an important precedent was set. The book also provides insights into the impact of Catholic schooling on the Catholic community in Scotland, on Scottish education, and on the wider Scottish community, including some of the other Christian denominations.

Five Key Themes

There are many important themes that recur throughout the book, and the individual chapters provide very helpful insights into these themes. We would like to provide an overview of five of these themes. The themes are the impact of poverty and child poverty on Catholic schooling, the role of the religious and lay female teachers, the training of Catholic teachers, the identity of the Scottish Catholic community, and sectarianism.

One prevailing theme is the poverty of the Catholic community. This theme features in Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9. The poverty of Catholic families affected the lives and educational prospects of the children. This had a particularly serious impact on the school education of children in

a number of ways. First, there was an impact on attendance at school as a result of the personal circumstances of the family. The school fees that were required to be paid were small, but parents of large families struggled to pay these fees. Many children were required to work from an early age to contribute to the family income, or they were needed to care for siblings. Some children did not have adequate clothing for the winter months and could not attend school. The Saint Vincent De Paul Society was established in Glasgow in the mid-1800s and provided much needed relief to the children in the Catholic schools of the East End of Glasgow in the form of coats, shoes, school materials and free school meals.[3]

Second, there was an impact on the quality of the school environment as a result of the lack of financial resource within the Catholic community. The Catholic Church decided that Catholic schools would not be transferred at the time of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. This meant that Catholic schools had to continue to be funded, for the main part, by the Catholic Church which relied heavily on fundraising and donations. Catholic schools were often in poorly appointed buildings and, crucially, given the budgetary restraints on teacher salaries and equipment, children were taught in large numbers, in overcrowded classrooms and with inadequate resources.

There is considerable attention in this book to the importance of the male and female religious orders and congregations in Scotland. This is discussed in Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9. The roles of both religious and lay women in Catholic schools are recognized as being of paramount importance to early Catholic schools and their subsequent development. The Ursulines of Jesus arrived from France and were the first religious congregation to introduce convent life to Post-Reformation Scotland. The Ursulines arrived in Edinburgh in 1834 and opened a school. They also established a convent in Perth in 1865 and taught in the Catholic schools in the city.[4] The contribution of female religious such as the Sisters of Mercy, the Franciscans of the Immaculate Conception, the Sacred Heart Sisters, the Faithful Companions of Jesus, the Sisters of the Cross and Passion and the Notre Dame Sisters to Catholic school education was critical in terms of the quality of provision of Catholic schools and the education of young women at the secondary level of schooling.

The female religious teachers were often highly qualified, and some of those who had travelled from Europe were well informed about the latest international ideas, developments and movements in school education. Later, a number of them were also pioneers in their field. Sister Monica Taylor SND was widely recognized as an innovative teacher and researcher in science at Notre Dame Training College in Glasgow.[5] She was awarded an honorary LLD by the University of Glasgow in 1953 in recognition of her achievements. Sister Marie Hilda SND was instrumental in the conception, establishment and operation of the Child Guidance Clinic in the West End of Glasgow in 1931.[6] The Clinic from the onset was free and acquired an international reputation. Although the majority of children referred to the Clinic were Catholic, the Clinic attended to the needs of children of all denominations (and none).

Various chapters in this book highlight the issue of gender in the staffing of many Catholic schools. There are probing questions raised in the book about the position and role of the lay women teacher in the schools. Many of the lay women teachers were uncertificated or were pupil teachers. They were often poorly paid in Catholic schools and paid less than the male teachers who were in equivalent teaching roles.

The training of Catholic teachers is addressed by many of the contributors to this book (in Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9). There were opportunities for uncertificated teaching but the move in Scotland and England and Wales was inexorably directed towards qualified teachers who would be equipped to meet the increasing demands of the rise in educational standards.[7] There were opportunities for Catholic students to be trained in England. The male students could be trained in Hammersmith and the female students in Mount Pleasant College in Liverpool and in Wandsworth. Formal Catholic teacher training was introduced in Scotland with the opening of Notre Dame Training College in Glasgow in 1895. This is widely acknowledged as a major advance for Catholic teachers and Catholic schooling and was to be key in the increase in the quality and expertise of female Catholic teachers. The other major advance is also identified: the opening of St Margaret's College in Craiglockhart in Edinburgh in 1920. St Margaret's College was founded by the Society of the Sacred Heart to provide female Catholic teachers for the Catholic schools in the east of Scotland.[8] The provision for male

teachers was sometimes less satisfactory. The training programme of St Kentigern's Hostel for male teachers offered an interesting blend of a Catholic teacher formation and attendance at one of the provincial training centres. This arrangement was short-lived and, apart from this programme, the male teachers were unable to experience an integrated Catholic teacher education in Scotland comparable to the education of female teachers until they were admitted to Notre Dame in 1967.[9]

The next theme is that of Catholic identity which is examined primarily in Chaps. 3 and 7. This is possibly the most complex theme as it is influenced by internal and external pressures, perspectives, manoeuvring and even manipulation. There were tensions in the conflation of religious and national identities and the understanding of an 'Irish', 'Scottish' or a 'British' Catholic identity. The promotion of ultramontanism in the Scottish Catholic Church by the clergy in the late nineteenth century moved towards a British identity rather than an Irish identity and steered Catholics in Scotland towards a particular ecclesial identity. Nevertheless, a strong sense of an Irish identity prevailed among Catholics in parts of Scotland. There are also critical observations in the book on how Catholics understood their identity in relation to the wider world and their relation to traditional sciences and the emerging social sciences.

The last theme is sectarianism which appears in Chaps. 2, 6, and 8. Sectarianism in this context refers to interdenominational division and hostility between Catholics and Protestants that led to discrimination and at times even violence.[10] Sectarianism is a term that incorporates anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism yet remains an elusive concept when exploring the historical attitudes and manifestations of this social evil in Scotland. Part of the difficulty lies with the complexity of the enmity directed towards the Catholic community at different stages of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Sometimes it was rooted in a Protestant Calvinism that had a vehement opposition to Roman Catholicism. Sometimes this was conflated with anti-migrant xenophobia and sometimes conflated with anti-Irish racism or conflated with both anti-migrant and anti-Irish attitudes. This latter conflation was particularly marked in the arrival of large numbers of Irish Roman Catholics fleeing the series of famines in the mid-nineteenth century and in the injudicious and ill-fated campaign on Irish immigration conducted by some factions in the Church of Scotland that commenced in 1923.

Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2 provides the context for the book and discusses many of the key themes of this period of history and offers a detailed examination of the two Acts. This chapter will discuss the early Post-Reformation Catholic schools, particularly the school founded in Paisley in 1816 and the schools that were established by the Catholic Schools Society from its inception in 1817. This will be followed by a focus on the events leading up to the Royal Commission led by George Douglas Campbell, the Eighth Duke of Argyll, and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. The major points of the 1872 Act will be outlined as will the response of the Catholic Church to this Act. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, will be subjected to close scrutiny, especially section 18. The final sections will explore the response of the Catholic Church to this Act and the slow process of the integration of Catholic schools into the state-funded school sector.

Geraldine Vaughan examines the distinctiveness of Catholic schooling before the 1918 Education Act. Vaughan provides very valuable insights into some of the early practices including the relation in certain places between the Catholic school and the religious instruction delivered in parishes on Saturdays and Sundays. She discusses the unevenness of the experience of children in Catholic communities, pointing out that some Catholic children attended non-Catholic schools. She also points out that there were problems with attendance at school and there were challenges in remaining as voluntary schools in the post-1872 era. One of the key features of this chapter is that it raises the question of the Irish identity of Catholic schools and proposes that the influence of ultramontanism was strong within Scottish Catholicism.

S. Karly Kehoe argues that there is a need to ensure that race, class and gender are used to interrogate the historical legacy of education. Kehoe examines the importance of the role of the female religious in Scotland, especially after 1850. She argues that historical narratives have been slow to acknowledge their contribution to Catholic schooling, especially elementary schooling, and to teacher training for women. She highlights some of the major barriers that the Catholic community faced in engaging with Catholic schooling. Many of the families experienced great poverty

and the children had to work or care for siblings. This resulted in irregular attendance at school. She also explains that the women religious helped to create a culture of education within the Catholic community.

Tom O'Donoghue focuses on the role of the male religious orders in Scotland in the period leading up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. He provides a concise but very useful context of the origins and development of religious life from the ascetics in the desert to the present day. He then explains the importance of the contribution of religious teaching orders as the Catholic Church responded to the perceived threats of pluralism and rationalism. O'Donoghue examines the variety of male religious orders that established schools across the country thus avoiding the danger of concentrating on the Central Belt of Scotland.

Jane McDermid explores the role of lay female teachers in Catholic schools and provides an important account of the challenges faced by these teachers. There were issues in salary differentials between men and women and Catholic schools, struggling to meet the rising costs of maintaining schools, found female teachers to be a cheap labour source. There was also an over-reliance at times on female uncertificated teachers and pupil teachers. McDermid underlines the importance of the establishment of Notre Dame College and the impact that the foundation of this ambitious teacher-training centre had on the quality of female teachers and also on the widening of the curriculum.

Raymond McCluskey contributes a chapter on 'non-formal' learning and the scope of public lectures in the late nineteenth century. He draws from the Catholic weekly, the *Glasgow Observer*, and offers two snapshots: the discussion of the Roman Question and the engagement with scientific questions and developments of the day. The Roman Question was focused on the debates around the fall of the Papal States and the emerging tensions between ultramontanism and Gallicanism. McCluskey expounds on the contribution of the inveterate peripatetic lecturer, the Rev. John Stewart McCorry. The second snapshot reveals surprising engagement with some of the major scientific issues of the day: light, respiration and Darwin.

Stephen McKinney addresses an under-researched area: the response of the Church of Scotland to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, and to the perceived advantages gained by the Roman Catholic Church in denominational schooling. This chapter traces the key points of the anti-

1918 campaign through the Church of Scotland Assembly documents and some later comments from more contemporary historians. McKinney argues that the campaign against the 1918 Act was disaggregated from the anti-Irish campaign at an early stage and dropped the racial rhetoric. His analysis proposes that the campaign was used as a vehicle to reclaim and recover the influence (or some of the influence) of the Church of Scotland in schooling and to consolidate the position of religious instruction in public schools.

Mary McHugh provides an explanation of some of the key events that occurred after the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. These include the outcomes of the cases focused on the projected new Catholic school buildings in St Mary's, Whifflet, and in Bonnybridge. McHugh demonstrates that the transfer of the Catholic schools was a slower process than is often understood and the representatives of the Catholic Church were often cautious and guarded in their relationships with local authorities. The author also provides a very useful outline of the progress and development of Catholic schools and explains that there were persistent challenges in recruiting a sufficient number of Catholic teachers for the schools.

Acknowledgements The editors would like to offer heartfelt thanks to the academics who have kindly contributed to this book: Geraldine Vaughan, Karly Kehoe, Tom O'Donoghue, Jane McDermid and Mary McHugh. The original aim of this volume was to invite some of the leading academics in the field who have researched and published on the topic of the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. This aim was ambitious and we were delighted that our invitations were so generously accepted and that the chapters were so carefully and skilfully written. Despite the evident high level of scholarship, the chapters are all very readable and we expect that this book will enjoy a wide readership.

As we have undertaken the research for this book, we have presented our research and our ideas at national and international conferences. We owe a debt of gratitude to academic colleagues from Scotland and in other parts of the world who have listened to our papers and have offered critical and scholarly advice. We thank the following: Scottish Catholic Historical Association, Scottish Educational Research Association, Network for Researchers in Catholic Education, Nordic Educational Research Association and History of Education Society. The work for the book has also resulted in a number of spin-off publications for magazines and

newspapers and we have published articles in *Times Educational Supplement (Scotland)*, *Scottish Catholic Observer*, *Flourish*, *The Pastoral Review* and *Open House*. We are grateful to the respective editors for their willingness to allow us to present our work in their publications.

We also offer our deep thanks to the staff at Palgrave. Their continued support and encouragement have been greatly appreciated. They were committed to this project from the very beginning and considered this book to be an important contribution to the research on the history of Catholic schools in Scotland. In particular we thank Eleanor Christie, senior editor, who has advised and guided us and always with great patience and courtesy. We are also very grateful to Becky Wyde, senior editorial assistant, for her attention to detail and perseverance.

It is very interesting to note that one of the legacies of the religious orders and congregations is that a number of their members researched the history of Catholic education and Catholic schooling in Scotland. Some of their works are considered to be seminal and we acknowledge in particular the contributions of James Handley (Brother Clare FMS), Dom Mark Dilworth OSB and Brother Kenneth FMS. Similarly, academic staff in Notre Dame College, Glasgow; St Margaret's College, Craiglockhart; and, latterly, St Andrew's College in Bearsden (Glasgow) also contributed to the field of the history of Catholic education and schooling. We acknowledge in particular the contribution to this field by Dr Tom FitzPatrick, Sister Martha Skinnider SND and Teresa Gourley. This academic endeavour has continued in the School (formerly Faculty) of Education in the University of Glasgow in the work of Professor James Conroy, Professor Bob Davis and Dr Frank O'Hagan. We note the many seminars and discussions in the Faculty and School of Education that have been influential on our thinking and have helped to generate this project. We have greatly valued the work of Dr Frank O'Hagan on the religious orders and congregations in Glasgow. We thank the members of our previous Research and Teaching Group—*Creativity, Culture and Faith* (2010–2017)—and those in our current Research and Teaching Group, *Pedagogy, Praxis and Faith* (2017–present), for their unfailing help and assistance. They provided us with opportunities to test our ideas in staff seminars and provided excellent feedback. Finally, we thank Dr Roisin Coll, Fr Stephen Reilly, Dr Leonardo Franchi, Mary Lappin, Clare Fodey, Professor Margery McMahon, Dr Robert Doherty, Dr Maureen Farrell, Catherine O'Hare and Julie Robinson of the St Andrew's Foundation for Catholic Teacher Education for their great interest and enthusiasm for this project.

Notes

1. This history is being recovered in 'mainstream' history of education. Miller provides a very interesting discussion of the role of the Churches in the evolution of state-funded schooling in various parts of the English-speaking world. See P. Miller, "Historiography of compulsory schooling: what is the problem?", in R. Lowe (ed.), *History of Education. Major Themes. Volume II: Education in its Social Context* (London: Routledge, 2000), 156–183, especially 173–175.
2. For a useful explanation of why the focus on people is important in the history of the Catholic Church, see N. Tanner, *New Short History of the Catholic Church* (London: Burns & Oates, 2011), 237. Tanner argues that 'the Church means the people of God' and all of the challenges and successes they experience as they strive to live a Christian life.
3. S. J. McKinney, "Catholic schools in Glasgow and caring for the needs of those who are poor", in S. Whittle (ed.), *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education* (London: Routledge, 2017), 96–112. This book chapter provides a more detailed account of the relentless struggle to counter the effects of poverty in the early post-Reformation Catholic community and the concomitant effects on the attempts to provide Catholic schooling for children.
4. S. K. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 55–57.
5. There is a very helpful summary of Sister Monica Taylor SND's life and achievements in F. J. O'Hagan, *The Contribution of the Religious Orders to Education in Glasgow During the Period 1847–1918* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), 241–242.
6. The first Catholic Clinic for Child Guidance was established in Edinburgh in 1931. The Glasgow Clinic was to become more well-known and more successful. See J. Stewart, "An 'enigma to their parents': the founding and aims of the Notre Dame Child Guidance Clinic, Glasgow", *The Innes Review*, 57(1), 2006, 54–76.
7. T. A. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service. Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895–1995* (Glasgow: St Andrew's College, 1995), 25.
8. Ibid., 59–63.
9. Ibid., 208.

10. S. J. McKinney, "The historical and contemporary debate about the relation of Catholic schools in Scotland and the social problem of sectarianism", *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica – Journal of Theories and Research in Education*, 10(1), 2015, 13–45. See also S. J. McKinney and J. C. Conroy, "The continued existence of state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland", *Comparative Education*, 51(1), 2015, 105–117; G. P. T. Finn, "Sectarianism", in T. G. K. Bryce & W. M. Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 869–879.

2

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in Historical Context

Stephen J. McKinney and Raymond McCluskey

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore some of the main events that led up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. It is important from the onset to acknowledge the long history of Catholic education and Catholic schooling that has existed in Scotland. This can be traced back to St. Columba and possibly to St. Ninian.[1] St. Columba arrived in Iona around 563 and this was the base for the establishment of monasteries all over Scotland.[2] The seminaries attached to some of these monasteries were initially for the education of the monks, but around the seventh century lay students were admitted.[3] These students were probably boys who lived near the monasteries. The continued education of lay people in the monasteries

S. J. McKinney (✉)
School of Education, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, UK
e-mail: stephen.mckinney@glasgow.ac.uk

R. McCluskey
Glasgow, UK

© The Author(s) 2019
S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_2

was consolidated throughout the medieval monastic period, though this option would only be available to those who could afford to pay.[4] Later, education was also provided by song schools, grammar schools and the collegiate churches.[5] The establishment of the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen was of key importance in the flourishing of education in Scotland.[6] These were all ecclesiastical institutions. The University of St Andrews was established in 1410 and recognised as a university by a series of papal bulls from Pope Benedict XIII. The University of Glasgow was founded in 1451 by a papal bull from Pope Nicholas V. The University of Aberdeen was founded by William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, in 1495 and granted university status by a papal bull from Pope Alexander VI.

In recognising this long and rich history and the subsequent impact of the Reformation in Scotland on education and Catholic education, it is only right to commend the quality of the contemporary scholarship that has been focused on in these periods.[7] However, that history is not within the scope of this book, which locates itself in the late eighteenth to twenty-first centuries, with a primary focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The different authors presented here draw on the tradition of scholarship that has focused on the history of Catholic schools in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, and they extend, expand and deepen this scholarship. The legacy of the extant scholarship has produced many fascinating studies on the history of Catholic schools, including the establishment of the first Catholic schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the social and economic conditions of the Catholic community; the maintenance of the Catholic school system; the role of Catholic schools in the period before the introduction of mass compulsory state-funded schools in Scotland; the persistent challenges of training a sufficient number of Catholic teachers; the negotiations between the Church and the State concerning state funding for Catholic schools; the key role of the religious orders and congregations in establishing Catholic schools that were recognised for high-quality education, especially secondary schools; and the putative yet persistent claims of the relationship between Catholic schools and sectarianism.[8]

This chapter will provide an overview of the establishment of Catholic schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and their

growth and development throughout the early to mid-nineteenth century to the twentieth century. This overview will address some of the key themes of this history. The first section is focused on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The early post-Reformation Catholic schools in the late eighteenth century will be discussed, as will the schools that were founded in Paisley in 1816 and in Glasgow in 1817. Section two will survey the period leading up to the Royal Commission and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. The section commences with a concise account of the role of the different Christian Churches in school education in this period. The role of the religious orders and congregations and their contribution to Catholic schooling will be highlighted. The continued shortage of Catholic teachers will be explored, including an examination of the impact of the pupil-teacher scheme. The next section will provide a brief summary of the process towards a national system of schooling in Scotland and the work of the Royal Commission and the findings of the reports and special reports. The work of the Commission was conducted in the context of children working to help support the family. The section which then follows will delineate the key points of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. The response of the Catholic Church to the 1872 Act will be discussed in the following section, identifying the reasons why the Catholic Church refused to transfer their schools. This section will also include a brief summary of some of the recurring challenges faced by Catholic schools, such as the poverty of the Catholic community and the physical working conditions of Catholic schools. The next section sketches the early history of teacher training in Scotland and the influence of the Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland in the operation of teacher training. It also details the provision for Catholic teacher training that was available in England and Scotland and the opening of the Notre Dame Teacher Training College in Glasgow in 1895. The main part of the chapter follows with a summary of the lead-up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, before providing a scrutiny of the key sections of the Act that pertain to denominational schooling and their implications for Catholic schools. The chapter will then offer an explanation of the response of the Catholic Church to the 1918 Act and will trace the subsequent events that expedited the transferal of the majority of Catholic schools. The chapter will end with some concluding remarks.

The Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

There is evidence of small Catholic schools being established in various parts of Scotland in the late eighteenth century, including Edinburgh (1788), Glenlivet (1790) and Aberdeen (1791).[9] The catalyst for the wider growth and development of Catholic schooling was the increase in the Catholic population in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the early nineteenth century, the Catholic population in Scotland more than doubled between 1800 and 1827 from 30,000 to 70,000.[10] This was primarily caused by a steady flow of Irish Catholic immigrants seeking employment in Scotland, mainly in the urban and industrial areas.[11] The increase in the Catholic population, especially in the city of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, meant that there was an increase in Catholic children and this raised concerns about their education.

There were a number of important developments in Catholic schooling in the early nineteenth century. Recent research has highlighted that the first Catholic school in Paisley was established in 1816 and was run by a committee of twelve Protestants and twelve Catholics.[12] In 1817, the Catholic Schools Society was set up in Glasgow, and this is one of the key events that is frequently cited in the history of the evolution of Catholic schools in the nineteenth century.[13] There were fifteen Catholics and fifteen Protestants on the board.[14] The President of the Society was Kirkman Finlay, a Protestant manufacturer. The teachers in the schools were Catholic but initially the Protestant Bible was used and no creed was taught.[15] It is useful to examine the Catholic Schools Society within the context of a series of developments in schooling in the city of Glasgow in the early nineteenth century. Dr Thomas Chalmers, at that time a Minister in the Church of Scotland, was concerned about the levels of ignorance in his parish (the Tron in Glasgow).[16] He established schools that were supervised by the local Kirk session. Similarly, the Glasgow magistrates commenced establishing schools in the city. Returning to Kirkman Finlay, Lenman argues that Finlay felt he owed this support to the Catholic Schools Society because he employed a large number of Catholic workers without whom he would have been unable to operate.[17]

A number of Catholic historians emphasise the importance of the practical and symbolic aspects of the role and support of Kirkman Finlay.[18] He was a prominent businessman and politician, and his support prompted very mixed responses from his co-religionists and was 'in the teeth of popular Protestant resentment'.[19] The legislation for Catholic emancipation in 1829 was also to be unpopular.[20]

Dr Chalmers, who was a popular preacher, helped raise funds for the Catholic schools with public sermons.[21] He would later acquire considerable fame as he helped instigate the 'disruption' in 1843 that led to the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland, of which he was destined to become one of the leaders.[22] It is, of course, highly significant that twelve Protestants should help support the first Catholic school in Paisley and, similarly, fifteen Protestants in Glasgow. It is equally significant that two eminent members of the Protestant community should be prominent in the founding and initial financial support of Catholic schools in Glasgow.

The Lead-Up to the Royal Commission and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872

David Stow helped establish the Glasgow Infant School Society in 1827.[23] Stow was influenced by Dr Thomas Chalmers' views on education and found inspiration in the work of Samuel Wilderspin and his infant school in Spitalfields, London.[24] Later Stow would be one of the secretaries with George Lewis of the Glasgow Educational Society, which was founded in 1834 to promote the interests of the established Church and a national system of school education.[25] The position of the Church of Scotland as a national Presbyterian Church was challenged in the 1830s by an increasing rejection of the established church and by the growth of other Churches such as the Methodists, Brethren and Baptists.[26] A further serious challenge was to be posed by the Disruption of 1843. The consequence of the Disruption was the creation of the Free Church in Scotland, and this had grave implications for the national Church, as did the establishment of the United Presbyterian Church in 1847.[27] The Church of Scotland was only attracting around a third of church-goers.

The Free Church was to make a major investment in schooling in Scotland, and this diversification in Protestant schooling and the increase in the schooling organised by minority denominations (Roman Catholic and Episcopalians) contributed towards the weakening of the dominance of the Church of Scotland in schooling.[28] The state began to treat all of the denominations equally.

Catholic schools grew and developed as the Catholic community increased in number. The 1851 census identified thirty-two Catholic schools in Scotland (though there was an acknowledgement that the available data was incomplete).[29] The arrival of Irish Catholics fleeing a series of famines in the middle of the nineteenth century would precipitate a marked rise in the Catholic population, especially in the West of Scotland. While Catholic elementary or primary schools would increase exponentially, the provision of Catholic secondary level education would remain low throughout the nineteenth century.[30]

Waves of male and female religious orders and congregations were invited to Scotland and were encouraged to engage in Catholic schooling. They were all to have a major impact on the quality of Catholic schooling. Before 1560, male religious were quite diverse in terms of the forms of religious life they followed, and there was a mixture of enclosed and unenclosed: monks, canon regulars and friars.[31] Male religious were greater in number than female in the pre-1560 era and female religious were much less diverse and strictly enclosed. The return of male and female religious to Scotland in the nineteenth century ushered in a new era in a number of ways. There were far more female religious than male and the majority of the religious (both male and female) were unenclosed. Female orders and congregations often adopted a variety of roles in the Catholic community. Many of them were involved in school education and also in social welfare.[32]

The first female and male religious to come to Scotland in the post-Reformation Catholic Church were committed to school education. The Ursulines of Jesus arrived in Edinburgh in 1834 from France and reintroduced religious life to Scotland when they opened the first convent since the sixteenth-century Reformation. They also opened St Margaret's school, which was a boarding school for young ladies of the middle classes. A small group of sisters rented a house in Reid's Court and took

over the Catholic poor schools and provided free medicine to the poor.[33] They later taught in the Catholic schools in Perth between 1865 and 1910.

Two Franciscan sisters from France, Sister Adelaide and Sister Veronica, arrived in Glasgow in 1847. They were the first religious congregation to be established in the city in the post-Reformation era.[34] They established the congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and Sister Adelaide set up a private day school.[35] The fees from the school enabled Sister Veronica to teach in the orphanage in Abercromby Street.[36] The Franciscans grew quickly and were soon operating Catholic schools in Glasgow (notably, Charlotte Street) and later Inverness, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Greenock and Bothwell.[37] The Sisters of Mercy arrived in Glasgow in 1849 from Limerick to engage in teaching and nursing.[38] In the 1850s, they were operating two day and two night schools in Glasgow.[39] A new convent and convent school were opened in Hill Street, Garnethill, in Glasgow in 1877. In 1886, they also opened St Thomas of Aquinas College in Edinburgh.[40]

There are other less well-documented histories of female religious, often working outside of the cities. A good example would be the Sisters of the Cross and Passion, a religious order founded in Manchester in 1849.[41] The Sisters taught in Catholic primary schools in Ayrshire, specifically in Birnieknowe (beginning in 1894), Waterside (1906) and Irvine (1921).[42] They also taught in Fife, Lochgelly (1907). The Faithful Companions of Jesus founded and taught in St Margaret's Convent School in Paisley from 1896. The Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny arrived in Girvan in 1879 to teach in the local Catholic primary school.[43] The first sisters to work in the Diocese of Galloway since the Reformation, they later opened Sacred Heart Secondary School in 1886.

The Marist Brothers were the first male religious to arrive in post-Reformation Scotland, opening St Mungo's Academy in Glasgow in 1858.[44] By 1864, they were running four schools in the city.[45] They opened a school in Dundee in 1860 (in two rooms that were in the basement of St Andrew's Church) and a higher grade school in 1862.[46] The Marists had a brief spell in charge of St Mary's, Broughton Street, Edinburgh in the late nineteenth century but had possibly overstretched themselves and relinquished their duties. The Marists were more successful in Dumfries where they took charge of a school attached to St Andrew's

in 1873 and later established St Joseph's College. The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) opened St Aloysius' College in Glasgow in 1859, moving to the Garnethill district in 1866.[47]

The members of the religious orders and congregations were dedicated to teaching, but there remained a shortage of qualified Catholic teachers in Catholic schools and an over-reliance on pupil-teachers.[48] The pupil-teacher system was established in 1846. The pupil-teacher was an apprentice who was remunerated with a small salary, and there was a possibility that they could pursue their education at university or at a training college.[49] The work in school, the preparation in the evening and, for some, attendance at night classes meant that pupil-teachers often worked long hours. The pupil-teacher system was adequate for a simple school education that concentrated on the three Rs but was not designed for the more sophisticated curriculum that emerged in the late nineteenth century.[50] The system was abolished in 1906, and the 'junior student' system was introduced, a system that was never to attract much popularity.[51]

In 1847, the Catholic Poor Schools Committee was set up with the aims of supporting Catholic schools in obtaining grants and establishing training colleges that would train Catholic teachers.[52] The government grants could be used to supplement the salaries of pupil-teachers as well as for school buildings (though not if the building also functioned as a church).[53]

The Argyll Commission

The journey towards a national system of schooling in Scotland was protracted and highly complex.[54] There was an early attempt at creating a system of national education with the creation of the short-lived National Education Association (NEA) in 1850. The barriers to a national system included, perhaps unsurprisingly given the scale of Christian Church involvement in school education, the disputed issue of the nature of religious instruction in a non-denominational school.[55] The NEA initially supported the removal of religious instruction from schools. The Church of Scotland favoured retaining the status quo in religious instruction but allowing the opportunity for a 'conscience clause'. Their solution was to retain schools under Church control or to ensure that religious instruc-

tion was enshrined in law in a national system. The United Presbyterians supported the idea that religious instruction should not feature in state schools. The view in the Free Church was more complicated, with some opting for a national system, even if secular, and others who preferred the guaranteed retention of religious instruction. In the end, the Free Church promoted the idea of a national system which included religious instruction. One of the main challenges, then, in the movement to any form of national school system was the accommodation of the views of the different Presbyterian Churches. The Catholic and Episcopalian Churches were more concerned that the national schools would have a Presbyterian character, and they were very anxious to retain their unique Christian identities in their own schools.

The proposal to introduce the 'Revised Code' in Scotland prompted considerable debate and a 'bitter clash'.[56] The Revised Code was designed to regulate grants and reward schools by the 'payment of results'. This entailed measurement of results in the pupil figures, attendance patterns at the school and how schools performed in annual inspections. The Code was deemed problematic for a number of reasons, such as its evolution from the Newcastle Commission of 1861, the focus on England and Wales and the fact that there was no mention of religious instruction.[57] The Code was actually introduced in Scotland on 1 April 1864 but was suspended in June of that year after protests, and the Government set up a Commission of Inquiry into Scottish education.

In 1864, the Royal Commission was established under the leadership of the Duke of Argyll. The Commission published three reports and three special reports between 1865 and 1868.[58] The first report presented the findings of written and oral questions that had been posed to many of the key people involved in schooling.[59] The second report focused on elementary schools and the third examined burgh schools. The Commission reported that around four-fifths of the total number of children in Scotland were attending school. The fifth that were absent from school amounted to over 90,000 children.[60] The schools were varied in terms of quality of education provided. The Commission produced a report on the state of education in Glasgow in 1866. This report revealed that only half of the children in Glasgow were enrolled in school.[61] It further revealed that only around a third of the Catholic children of school age

in Glasgow were attending school.[62] This was not due to a shortage of space in the Catholic schools but was caused by the necessity for many of the children to work to help support their family.[63] Around a third of the Catholic children who were being schooled were being educated in adventure schools or in other inferior forms of schooling.[64]

Prior to the 1872 Act, the education of children across Scotland was highly inconsistent in terms of quality of education provided and, in some places, attendance. It was often dependent on parental attitudes towards the benefits of education and the ability of the family to pay the weekly fees.[65] The fees were small but could prove problematic for families with a large number of children. This was compounded by the fact that if the older children were at school, they were unable to work to help support the family. In the late 1860s in rural areas, children as young as nine were able to obtain summer work on farms. The children would often work in the summer and attend school only in winter.[66] In industrial areas, boys as young as ten or eleven could be employed as weavers or miners, and girls could be employed in sewing at an even younger age.[67] The Mines Act of 1842 introduced a ban on any boy under ten years of age being employed in a mine. The subsequent Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1860 raised the age to twelve but permitted boys aged between ten and twelve to work in the mines if they attended school twice a week or could provide a certificate of numeracy and literacy. The figures for school attendance in 1871 demonstrate that Airdrie (68% for all age groups of boys and girls 5–12 years), Coatbridge (69% for boys and 72% for girls) and Glasgow (71% for boys and 70% for girls) were the lowest figures for Scotland.[68] The inconsistencies in the education of the children and the concomitant levels of illiteracy and innumeracy prompted the Argyll Commission to move towards recommending a national system of schooling.

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872

The 1872 Act introduced compulsory schooling for children aged five to thirteen:

> It shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his children, between five and thirteen

> years of age, and if unable from poverty to pay therefor, to apply to the parochial board of the parish or burgh in which he resides, and it shall be the duty of the said board to pay out of the poor fund the ordinary and reasonable fees for the elementary education of every such child or such part of such fees as the parent shall be unable to pay (section 69)

Where a child under the age of thirteen was in some form of employment, the employer also had responsibilities when the child had not received at least three years regular schooling between the ages of five and thirteen and could not read or write (section 72). A child could be exempted if a certificate was produced of 'ability to read and write, and of a knowledge of elementary arithmetic, granted in favour of any child by one of Her Majesty's inspectors' (section 73).

The Act decreed that within twelve months of the passing of the Act, school Boards were to be elected for every parish and burgh (sections 3–8). The parochial and burgh schools would come under the jurisdiction of the Boards and denominational or voluntary schools could be transferred to the Boards without compensation. All schools that were administered by the Boards would be known as 'public' schools.[69] The public schools and all other schools open to inspection would be available to all denominations (section 68). Section 68 affirmed that parents had the right to withdraw their children from 'any instruction in religious subjects and from any religious observance'. Instruction in religious subjects or practice of religious observance was to be at the beginning or the end of the day or at both the beginning and the end of the day. The vast majority of the Presbyterian schools had transferred by 1880.[70] The figure of 1306 Church of Scotland schools that existed in 1872 was reduced to 146 by 1880 and the 550 Free Church schools of 1872 were reduced to 39 by 1880. These numbers would continue to fall gradually up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

The Response of the Catholic Church to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872

The Catholic Church decided not to transfer its schools when the 1872 Act was enacted to protect their denominational status, and the right to approve teachers and to retain practice in religious observance and reli-

gious instruction. The Church was very concerned that there would be no compensation for schools that were transferred. The bishops and clergy also had serious reservations about Board schools, perceiving them to have the potential to favour the agenda of the Church of Scotland or even lead to the dominance of secularism in national education.[71]

Nevertheless, the 1872 Act had serious implications for Catholic schools. The introduction of compulsory schooling under the 1872 Act applied to the denominational schools that had not transferred, and this meant that the Catholic Church faced increased numbers in its schools.[72] The consequence was further major challenges in funding, staffing and resourcing the schools. One important outcome of the 1872 Act was the issue of the qualifications of the 'principal' teacher. Section 56 of the Act states that: 'No person shall be appointed to the office of principal teacher in a public school who is not the holder of a certificate of competence'. It was to be the responsibility of the Scotch Education Department after the passing of the Act to establish the regulations and procedures for obtaining the certificate of competency (section 57).

There were recurring issues that created serious challenges for the Catholic community and the maintenance of Catholic schools between the two Acts of 1872 and 1918. These challenges included the poverty of many of the Catholic families, poor attendance at school and the lack of Catholic teachers. Stevenson argues that the 1872 Act 'did nothing to help' these pressing needs in the Catholic sector.[73] The poverty of many Catholic families remained a serious challenge, and this had a detrimental effect on attendance at school. Catholic families required children to work from an early age to help support the family. There were other issues: sometimes a lack of adequate clothing and equipment prevented children from attending school. The Saint Vincent De Paul Society (SVDP) had a major role to play in the East End of Glasgow in supporting children to attend school by providing shoes, clothing, equipment and a lunchtime meal.[74] Catholic teachers worked in school buildings that were often in poor condition. They often had to teach large classes, and the equipment available in the school was inferior to that provided in other schools.[75]

The Education of Catholic Teachers

The early approach to teacher training in Scotland can be discerned in the work of John Wood and David Stow. John Wood became head of the sessional school in Edinburgh and the school became well known for the evolution of his 'explanatory' or 'intellectual' system.[76] By 1826, this was perceived to be a 'model' school and was used by the Church of Scotland to train teachers who were to be sent to the 'Assembly' schools in the Highlands.[77] As has been seen above, David Stow had established schools for infants in Glasgow, and the training of teachers in Glasgow was consolidated with the establishment of the 'Normal seminary' by the Glasgow Educational Society in 1837.[78] Both of these training schools were to come under the control of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh in 1837 and Glasgow in 1841). This meant that the Church of Scotland was effectively the leading body in the training of teachers.[79] As previously stated, the dominance of the Church of Scotland as a Presbyterian Church and in education was seriously challenged by the Disruption of 1843. One of the results of this was an increase in the number of teacher training institutions as the Free Church adopted the model of the structure of education that existed in the Church of Scotland. The Free Church of Scotland established its own Colleges in Glasgow and Edinburgh. David Stow headed the College in the Cowcaddens district of Glasgow, and the College in Edinburgh was established in Moray House.[80]

The training colleges that were run by the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland were available for the training of students from all the denominations.[81] Catholic schools, however, sought Catholic teachers who were well qualified in educational practices and understood the importance of the Catholic values at the heart of the Catholic school. Consequently, Catholic schools faced a recurring challenge in acquiring enough qualified teachers. There was an over-reliance on pupil-teachers and many of the teachers who were qualified were trained in Colleges in England. These Colleges in England—in Hammersmith, Liverpool and Wandsworth—were established with the encouragement and support of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee, and a steady stream of Scottish

Catholics headed south to be trained as Catholic teachers. Scottish male students attended St Mary's College, Hammersmith, which was founded in 1850 to train teaching Brothers and was available to laymen from 1854.[82] The first Scottish student was Thomas Barnes from Edinburgh, who attended between 1854 and 1855.[83] Most female students attended Mount Pleasant College in Liverpool, which was opened in 1856 by the Sisters of Notre Dame.[84] Mary Jane Smith and Catherine McGarvie from Edinburgh were among the first Scottish students.[85] It is interesting to note that the Notre Dame Institute in England found the code that evolved from the Newcastle Commission and the payment by results that included a narrowing of the curriculum to be counter to their aims in school education.

Some Scottish female students attended Wandsworth, opened in 1874 by the Society of the Sacred Heart.[86] The Society of the Sacred Heart opened a school and a short-lived pupil-teacher training centre in Aberdeen.[87] The courses in England were costly and few families could afford the expense. The continuing problem in the production of a sufficient supply of qualified Catholic teachers for Catholic schools was exacerbated by the differential in the pay scales for teachers in Catholic schools and public schools. In 1917, the average salary of an assistant school master in a Catholic elementary school in Glasgow was £94.1s.6d. This compared unfavourably with the average salary for the same post in a public school £154.12s.0d.[88]

The shortage of qualified Catholic teachers was to be addressed by the arrival in Glasgow of a group of Sisters of Notre Dame from Liverpool. The Scotch Education Department agreed to the creation of a Catholic Training College in 1891, and Archbishop Charles Petre Eyre of the Archdiocese of Glasgow invited the Sisters to Glasgow.[89] Sister Mary of St Philip and Sister Mary of St Wilfrid visited Glasgow in 1893 and selected suitable property in Dowanhill, Glasgow, for the College. The Scotch Education Department subsequently approved the establishment of a residential Catholic College in 1893. Four sisters, including Sister Mary of St Wilfrid, arrived in Glasgow in 1894 to be the founders of the convent and prepare the premises for the students. The formal opening of the Notre Dame Teacher Training College for Women in Glasgow took place in 1895. One of the important roles of the College was to prepare its

students to raise standards in schools within the Catholic community.[90] In 1897, a practising school was set up for the College.

The regulations of 1906 governing the education and training of teachers meant that the preparation of teachers included completion of secondary education and, as a minimum, two years training at college or university.[91] These entry requirements and qualifications differed from the system in England, and the qualifications acquired in England would no longer be acceptable in Scotland.[92] In the early part of the twentieth century, male candidates for teaching resided at St Kentigern's Hostel in Partickhill, and their studies combined religious instruction at the hostel and a two-year course at one of the Provincial Training Centres. After 1921, male students attended the Glasgow Provincial Training Centre in Jordanhill, Glasgow.[93]

Despite these efforts to train teachers and the consequent increase in the number of qualified teachers, there remained nonetheless a shortage of teachers in Catholic schools.[94] FitzPatrick's analysis of the crisis in Catholic schooling at the end of the First World War highlighted the shoddy condition of the buildings, overcrowding, poor resources and the lack of teachers as highly deleterious for any future improvement of Catholic schools.[95]

The Lead-Up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

Paterson argues that there were three main drivers for educational reform at the end of the First World War:

1. The simplification of the administration of education;
2. The projected incorporation of Catholic schools (and other voluntary schools) into the public sector;
3. The need to create an adequate framework for secondary education.[96]

A number of issues had to be resolved before the enactment of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, which would be the legislative vehicle for the initiation of these reforms. The Scottish Education Reform Committee

was established in 1916 and it began planning for the post-war era under the leadership of Alexander Morgan.[97] The Reform Committee promoted fairer remuneration for teachers and raising the school leaving age to fifteen. Morgan outlined two priorities in 1917: (1) equality of opportunity and (2), unsurprisingly given the context of the war years, moral education. An initial proposal in the administration of education, as recommended by the Reform Committee, was to devolve the responsibility for school education to the County and City Councils rather than ad hoc committees. The Scottish Secretary Robert Munro and the head of the Education Department, John Struthers, were sympathetic to this proposal.[98] In December 1917, Robert Munro introduced the Education (Scotland) Bill, which was intended to introduce this simplification of educational administration in Scotland.[99] There was considerable resistance to this idea from the Scottish School Boards Association, members of the Labour Party and the Churches (to retain their influence).[100] A compromise was adopted under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, and while the county remained the administrative body, there was a local ad hoc educational authority that was composed of elected representatives (using proportional representation) that included the Churches.[101]

There had been a series of unsuccessful attempts to reach some form of agreement or settlement between Catholic schools and the government in the early part of the twentieth century.[102] The war years took a heavy toll on the efficient management and operation of the Catholic schools. The salaries of Catholic teachers, in particular, were becoming increasingly inadequate and Catholic schools were unable to address this sufficiently in a period of rising costs. In 1916, there was a move by the managers of the voluntary schools in Edinburgh, both Catholic and Episcopal, to propose the agreement of the lease of their schools to the Edinburgh School Board under certain conditions that would alleviate some of the financial burden and ensure the denominational status of the schools.[103] The proposed agreement signified that the schools would remain as proprietors and be responsible for structural repairs to the buildings. Teachers would be appointed by the Board, though they would have to be qualified to teach religion and be approved in terms of their Church membership and moral character. The Board would appoint a

local clergyman as a religious examiner for the school, though he would be restricted to being present in the school at the time of religious instruction and the annual inspection. Any future Catholic school would come under the terms of the agreement as long as the Board was satisfied that the school was required.

The arrangement could not be realised because the Catholic authorities were seeking a national agreement, not a localised one. The managers of the Edinburgh Catholic schools and the majority of the Catholic Education Committee (a standing committee established in 1906 by the Catholic hierarchy to engage with the processes of the introduction of educational legislation) supported the proposal.[104] The school managers of the large and highly influential Archdiocese of Glasgow were opposed to the proposal, which contained the continuation of a significant financial burden and did not allow full control when appointing teachers. Section 20 of the Education (Scotland) Bill, 1917 precipitated further discussions between the government and the Catholic Church. Section 20 of this Bill represented a poorer agreement than the one that had been proposed in Edinburgh. The teachers would be taken over by the authorities and paid according to the appropriate pay scales; they would be required to have the requisite qualifications and be approved in religious belief and character, and religious instruction would continue not less than according to the use and wont of the former management. There were no assurances about Catholic schools that would be established in the future.

The Catholic Church was again divided as the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Auxiliary Bishop of Edinburgh rejected the Bill whereas the rest of the hierarchy and the Catholic Education Committee were willing to accept the Bill, though they did seek assurances about future Catholic schools. After some further extended and difficult negotiations, including disagreement with the final stages of the Bill by the Cathedral Chapter and senior clergy of the city of Glasgow, and intervention by the Holy See that supported the majority view to accept the Bill, agreement was reached. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 was passed through both Houses of Parliament and became an Act in October 1918. The Act received royal assent on 12 November 1918.

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

Section 18 of the 1918 Act refers to the new conditions for the inclusion of voluntary or denominational schools. There are no specific references to Catholic schools in this section, or elsewhere in the Act. The generic terms employed in section 18—voluntary or denominational schools—were applicable to all the remaining denominational schools that had not transferred: Catholic schools, Episcopalian schools, a small number of Presbyterian schools and other forms of voluntary schools.[105] Section 18 unequivocally introduced the opportunity for state-funded schooling for the remaining denominational schools.[106] The discussion below will restrict itself to a consideration of section 18 in reference to Catholic schools.

Section 18 offered the opportunity for Catholic schools to be transferred by sale or lease to the education authority. The education authority was bound to accept the transfer and if agreement could not be reached on the price or rent or other considerations, an arbiter would be appointed (section 18, (1)). Any Catholic school that transferred would be held and maintained as a public school and entitled to receive grants and also have sole power to regulate the curriculum and appoint teachers. In the short term, this would mean a considerable easing of the financial burden of maintaining the voluntary Catholic schools and, in the longer term, would mean that Catholic schools would be better maintained and better equipped.

There were three conditions attached to this regulation of the curriculum and appointment of teachers and, on the whole, these would be to the advantage of any school that transferred, certainly any Catholic school that transferred. These focused on the remuneration of staff, the qualifications of staff and approval of staff, and religious instruction and observance.

The staff who were at that point teaching in the schools would be taken over by the authority and, crucially, would be paid according to the same salary scale as other teachers:

> of corresponding qualifications appointed to corresponding positions in other schools of the same authority. (section 18, (3), (i))

The condition concerning the remuneration of teachers would be welcomed by teachers in Catholic schools as this would resolve many of the issues around disparity in pay scales between Catholic schools and public schools.

All teaching staff to be appointed to 'any such school' would be required to have the appropriate qualifications to teach, and these would have to satisfy the Department. They would also have to be approved:

> as regards their religious belief and character by representatives of the church or denominational body in whose interest the school has been conducted. (section 18, (3), (ii))

This meant that teachers for Catholic schools would have to be both qualified and approved.

The third condition was concerned with the time set aside for religious instruction and religious observance:

> Subject to the provisions of section sixty-eight (conscience clause) of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, the time set aside for religious instruction or observance in any such school shall not be less than that so set apart according to the use and wont of the former management of the school (section 18, (3), (iii))

The time for religious instruction and observance would not be restricted to the beginning or end of the day or to both the beginning and end of the day as was the case in the 1872 Act, but would be in accordance with the existing practice in the school. This condition was still subject to the conscience clause of the 1872 Act (section 68), which meant that parents could withdraw their children from religious instruction and observance. Nevertheless, the removal of the restriction that applied to the schools transferred under the 1872 Act would be highly advantageous for Catholic schools that transferred. The third condition required that the education authority appoint a supervisor of religious instruction in each school to report on the 'efficiency of the religious instruction' in the school. The post would not be remunerated and the supervisor would have to be approved in relation to religious belief and character (section 18, (3), (iii)).

There are two other very important points in section 18 that need to be examined. There was provision in section 18 (7) for the transfer of schools that might be built in the future (after the Act) by a voluntary body or denomination:

> A school established after the passing of this Act to which this section would have applied had the school been in existence at that date may with the consent of the Department be transferred to the education authority.[107]

Any such school that was transferred with the consent of the Department to the education authority would be under the conditions that had been set in section 18 of the 1918 Act. The second point refers to new schools that are required by a Church or denominational body after the passing of the 1918 Act. Section 18 (8) explains that if the Department is satisfied, after representations by an education authority or by a Church or denominational body and after inquiry by the Department, that a new school is necessary, it is lawful for the education authority to provide a new school. The new school would be subject to the conditions of subsection 3 of the 1918 Act that refer to the remuneration of teachers, the qualifications and approval of teachers, the arrangements for religious instruction and religious observance, and the appointment of a supervisor of religious instruction.

The Response of the Catholic Church to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

FitzPatrick states that 'with the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, a new era opened up for Catholic education'.[108] The offer of the transfer of the Catholic schools to the state system under the conditions of the 1918 Act appeared to alleviate many fears and anxieties of the Catholic community about the continued existence of a system of distinctively Catholic schooling. The continuation of the (then) accepted practices in religious instruction and observance and the approval of the religious belief and character of the teachers in the new state-funded Catholic schools would ensure the retention of the Catholic identity of the Catholic teachers and schools and safeguard the future of Catholic

schools. The parity in salary with other state-funded schools was a just reward for the existing Catholic teachers and made teaching more attractive to Catholic lay people.[109]

The training of Catholic female teachers was further enhanced with the opening of St Margaret's College in Craiglockhart, Edinburgh, in 1920.[110] The National Committee for the Training of Teachers was set up in 1920, and Notre Dame and St Margaret's College were incorporated into a national system of teacher training in 1920 (Notre Dame) and 1922 (St Margaret's).[111] There did remain issues with the training of Catholic men for teaching. As has been stated above, opportunities for male candidates opened up at Jordanhill and other Colleges in Scotland, but their training as Catholic teachers was not as well integrated as the training of Catholic female teachers.

The transfer of Catholic schools, however, was slower than might be imagined, for various reasons.[112] There was some anxiety that some of the ad hoc education authorities might exhibit anti-Catholic sentiments to the detriment of the Catholic schools.[113] This prompted the initial reaction, notably by the Archdiocese of Glasgow, to lease the schools rather than sell. The Diocese of Argyll and the Isles was the exception and they chose to sell three of their seven schools.[114] At that time, the influential Archdiocese of Glasgow was much larger than the current Archdiocese and covered an extensive and heavily populated area that incorporated Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire and North Ayrshire. Treble notes that in the early 1900s around three-quarters of all Catholic children educated in a Catholic elementary school were located within the boundaries of the Archdiocese of Glasgow.[115]

The Archdiocese of Glasgow used the rental from leases on schools to support the establishment of post-primary institutions, but new elementary schools would have to be initially funded by the parishes.[116] Sections 18 (7) and 18 (8) of the 1918 Act, which referred to the transfer of future schools and the responsibility for building new schools, were tested in cases such as the debate about the extension or new building for St Mary's, Whifflet in the early 1920s and the transfer of the Catholic school in Bonnybridge in the late 1920s.[117] One of the catalysts for the transfer in the large and influential Archdiocese of Glasgow was economic. The deep depression which beset industrial Lanarkshire and other parts of the West of Scotland had a marked effect on family incomes. The local parishes

experienced contracting income and were unable to meet the mortgage payments on the local school. In 1928, the process of selling the Catholic schools to local authorities was commenced. Once this process had started it would not, and could not, be rescinded.[118]

Concluding Remarks

The history of the establishment, growth and development of Catholic schools from the late eighteenth century onwards is complex and, as has been seen, there were many challenges and obstacles to be overcome. The role of male and female religious and lay teachers was crucial to the success of Catholic schools prior to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. Many of their lives were characterised by a burning sense of Christian vocation, determination, commitment and service to the poor. There is a strong sense that their efforts were consistently selfless and on many occasions heroic. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 is rightly understood to be a key moment in the history of state-funded Catholic schooling in Scotland. Nevertheless, it still has to be understood in context, as part of a process that preceded the Act and that continued after the Act. This settlement of state funding for denominational schools in the 1918 Act was to be unique in terms of the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe. The eventual integration of the majority of Catholic schools would mean that, in time, the educational provision available to the Catholic community would be vastly improved in terms of school buildings, qualified teachers and resources. This was of enormous benefit to the Catholic community and, as levels of numeracy and literacy and general education would rise in the Catholic community, this would help to create a more educated community that could contribute to the future of Scotland.

Notes

1. There is some academic dispute about the commonly held claims that St Ninian founded a monastery in Whithorn in the fifth century and that the activities may have included the education and training of

monks. The commonly held claims are presented in T. A. FitzPatrick, "Catholic Education", in H. Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology. Volume 11: Education* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 435. However, doubts have been cast over the historicity of these claims by other scholars. J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London: University of London Press, 1969), comments that the evidence about St Ninian is not really definite. The reliability of the evidence for St Ninian, the key aspects of his life and his connection to Whithorn are further interrogated in T. O. Clancy, "The real St Ninian", *Innes Review*, 52(1), 2001, 1–28. Of related interest, see R. McCluskey (ed.), *The See of Ninian: A History of the Medieval Diocese of Whithorn and the Diocese of Galloway in Modern Times* (Ayr: Diocese of Galloway, 1997).

2. I. R. Findlay, *Education in Scotland* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), 9.
3. S. L. Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), 1.
4. K. Curran, "'Through the Keyhole of the Monastic Library Door': Learning and Education in Scottish Medieval Monasteries", in R. Anderson, M. Freeman and L. Paterson (eds.), *Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 25.
5. E. Ewan, "Schooling in the Towns, c.1400–c.1560", in Anderson et al., *History of Education in Scotland*, 42–43.
6. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 436–439; Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, 24–36.
7. Some of the early chapters in Anderson et al., *History of Education in Scotland*, provide very useful overviews of these periods.
8. Examples include T. A. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland before 1872* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986); S. K. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); F. J. O'Hagan and R. Davis, "Forging the compact of church and state in the development of Catholic education in late nineteenth-century Scotland", *Innes Review*, 58(1), 2007, 72–94; F. J. O'Hagan, *The Contribution of the Religious Orders to Education in Glasgow during the Period 1847–1918* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006); S. J. McKinney, "The historical and contemporary debate about the relation of Catholic schools in Scotland and the social prob-

lem of sectarianism", *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica – Journal of Theories and Research in Education*, 10(1), 2015, 13–45.

9. C. Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789–1829* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), 220–223; C. Prunier, "'They must have their children educated some way': the education of Catholics in eighteenth-century Scotland", *Innes Review*, 60(1), 2009, 22–40.
10. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 12–13.
11. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 440.
12. T. Higgins, *St. John's School Barrhead 1842–1966. A History of the Origins and Growth of the School and its People* (Kindle Edition). The authors are indebted to Michael Martin for the reminder of this important school that preceded the more frequently cited school that was opened in Glasgow in 1817.
13. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 25; R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 93.
14. Johnson, *Developments*, 222.
15. M. Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818–1918", in T. R. Bone (ed.), *Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872–1939* (London: University of London Press, 1967), 15.
16. Ibid., 14–15. At the Disruption of 1843, Dr Thomas Chalmers led the evangelical party which seceded from the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church.
17. B. P. Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 229.
18. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 15; Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 93; T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700–2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), 489.
19. Lenman, *Enlightenment*, 229.
20. See A. Fraser, *The King and the Catholics: England, Ireland, and the Fight for Religious Freedom*, *1780–1829* (New York: Doubleday, 2018).
21. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 15.
22. A. N. T. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity. The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560–1960* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 59–61.
23. Stow established the Glasgow Infant School Society as joint Secretary with David Welsh, who was the minister of St David's parish in Glasgow. The schools aimed to educate the poor and were very con-

cerned with the idea of a religious and moral influence on the children. See A. Betchaku, "Thomas Chalmers, David Stow and the St. John's Experiment: A Study in Educational Influence in Scotland and Beyond, 1819–c.1850", *Journal of Historical Studies*, 27(2), 2007, 170–190; Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 37 and 145. By 1831 the number of infant schools had grown to five in the West of Scotland. See H. P. Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1987), 15.

24. R. R. Rusk, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Educational Institute of Scotland, 1928), 28.
25. Betchaku, 'Study in Educational Influence', 177; Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 43–44.
26. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity*, 61.
27. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 45.
28. Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 392.
29. J. Stevenson, "Scottish Schooling in the Denominational Era", in Anderson et al., *History of Education in Scotland*, 143.
30. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 445.
31. M. Dilworth, "Religious Orders in Scotland, 1878–1978", *Innes Review*, 29(1), 1978, 92–109, especially 103–109 where Dilworth provides a very helpful appendix listing the male and female religious and their establishment in post-Reformation Scotland.
32. D. Tierney, "Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772–c.1890", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2014.
33. A. A. Trail, *History of St Margaret's Convent*, *Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Chisholm, 1886).
34. Karly Kehoe makes the point that they were the first female or religious congregation. K. Kehoe, "Nursing the Mission: The Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow, 1847–1866", *Innes Review*, 56(1), 2005, 46–60.
35. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 156–157.
36. J. Watts, *A Canticle of Love: The Story of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), 28–29.
37. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 157.
38. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 85–86.
39. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 164.
40. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 446.

41. Sr Dominic Savio (Hamer) CP, "The Sisters of the Cross and Passion: a religious order for the poor, 1852–2002", *Innes Review*, 54(1), 2003, 79–102.
42. The sisters opened St Michael's Secondary School in Irvine in 1921.
43. Note that the website of the parish of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Girvan, has a page dedicated to the history of the parish and two downloadable histories—one on the parish and one on the history of the convent. There are three dates offered for the arrival of the sisters: 1878, 1879 and 1880. Available at: http://www.catholicchurchgirvan.org.uk/#/history-girvan/4537045122.
44. Dilworth, 'Religious Orders in Scotland', 93.
45. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 168.
46. T. A. FitzPatrick, "The Marist Brothers in Scotland before 1918", *Innes Review*, 49(1), 1998, 1–10.
47. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 26–27.
48. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 441–442; FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 31–32.
49. J. D. Wilson, "The Junior Students System", in Bone (ed.), *History of Scottish Education*, 194–195.
50. Bro. Kenneth. "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making", *Innes Review*, 19(2), 1968, 91–128, especially 92.
51. Ibid., 92–93.
52. T. A. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service: Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895–1995* (Glasgow: St Andrew's College, 1995), 24.
53. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 25.
54. L. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 37.
55. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 51–52.
56. D. J. Withrington, "Church and State in Scottish Education before 1872", in Holmes (ed.), *Education*, 60.
57. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 57–58.
58. M. Cruickshank, "The Argyll Commission Report 1865–1868: A Landmark in Scottish Education.", *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 15(2), 1967, 133–147, especially 133.
59. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, 360–361.
60. Cruickshank, 'Argyll Commission Report', 136.
61. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 22.

62. J. H. Treble, "The development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878–1978", *Innes Review*, 29(1), 1978, 111–139, especially 112.
63. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 21–22.
64. Treble, 'Roman Catholic Education', 112; Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 21.
65. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 126–133.
66. J. McDermid, "Education and Society in the era of the School Boards, 1872–1918", in Anderson et al., *History of Education in Scotland*, 192.
67. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 126–133.
68. Ibid., 134–136.
69. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, 37–38.
70. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 308–309.
71. Treble, 'Roman Catholic Education', 111.
72. McDermid, 'School Boards', 191.
73. Stevenson, 'Scottish Schooling in the Denominational Era', 148; Bro. Kenneth, *Catholic Schools in Scotland 1872–1972* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1972), 7.
74. S. J. McKinney, "Catholic schools in Glasgow and caring for the needs of those who are poor", in S. Whittle (ed.), *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education* (London: Routledge, 2017), 96–111.
75. Treble, 'Roman Catholic Education', 119.
76. M. Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London: University of London Press, 1970), 31.
77. These Assembly schools were designed to supplement the parish schools. Cruickshank, *Training of Teachers*, 40; Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 37.
78. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, 310, explains that a Normal seminary or school was where 'the rule or norm could be laid down and imitated'.
79. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 45.
80. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service*, 23.
81. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, 315.
82. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 442–444. St Mary's College, Hammersmith, was later to become St Mary's, Twickenham.
83. T. A. FitzPatrick, "Scottish Catholic Education: The Wider Context", *Innes Review*, 45(2), 1994, 147–170, especially 152, where FitzPatrick notes the geographical origins of the Scottish students up to 1906: 27

from Edinburgh, 74 from Glasgow, 16 from Lanark, 22 from Aberdeen, Perth and Dundee and 18 from Renfrewshire.

84. B. Aspinwall, "Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection", *Innes Review*, 45(1), 1994, 47–70. FitzPatrick, 'Wider Context', 155, notes that the Sisters of Notre Dame initially opened centres for pupil teachers before the College was opened. See also I. Stewart, "Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools in Edinburgh", *Innes Review*, 46(1), 52–66, which provides short histories of a sample of teachers who studied at Mount Pleasant College and taught in the early Catholic schools in Edinburgh.
85. FitzPatrick, 'Wider Context', 156.
86. Mount Pleasant and Wandsworth would eventually become part of Liverpool Hope University and Roehampton University respectively.
87. According to the website of the Society, young women would be trained for six months after six years of secondary schooling before proceeding to Notre Dame or, later from 1919, Craiglockhart.
88. Treble, 'Roman Catholic Education', 119.
89. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service*, 35–43; Cruickshank, *Training of Teachers*, 122–123.
90. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 444.
91. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service*, 49–50.
92. Ibid., 51.
93. Ibid., 51–53.
94. Treble, 'Roman Catholic Education', 118.
95. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 39.
96. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, 56.
97. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 292–295, especially 292, where the author notes that Alexander Morgan was the Principal of the Edinburgh Training College.
98. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, 57.
99. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 57.
100. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 293.
101. Bro. Kenneth, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918', 117–118.
102. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 55–63.
103. Bro. Kenneth, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918', 99–100.
104. Ibid., 95–102.
105. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, 308–310.
106. W. F. Brown, *Through Windows of Memory* (London: Sands, 1946), 183.

107. Bro. Kenneth, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918', 120, comments that the use of the word 'may' instead of 'shall' was to create some interpretative difficulties in the Bonnybridge case.
108. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 446.
109. T. Gourlay, "Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918", *Innes Review*, 41(1), 1990, 119–131. See Bro. Kenneth, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918', 127, for the comment that the Bill was also known as the Teachers' Bill because Catholic teachers had a role in the preparation of the Bill and, probably more importantly, they were to benefit greatly from the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.
110. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service*, 59 and 158–176. St Margaret's College was later merged with Notre Dame College in 1981 to create St Andrew's College. The merger was highly contentious at the time and opposed by many in the Catholic community in the east of the country as it was felt that this would weaken their position.
111. Cruickshank, *Training of Teachers*, 161–162; FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service*, 71.
112. J. H. Treble, "The working of the 1918 Education Act in Glasgow Archdiocese", *Innes Review*, 31(1), 1980, 27–44.
113. Ibid., 30.
114. Treble, "Roman Catholic Education", 124.
115. Ibid., 113.
116. Ibid., 125.
117. See A. Bain, "The significance of the Bonnybridge School Case of 1922–1929 for Catholic education in Scotland", *Innes Review*, 62(1), 2011, 70–81.
118. Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918', 120.

3

The Distinctiveness of Catholic Schooling in the West of Scotland Before the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

Geraldine Vaughan

Section 18 of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act—described by historians such as T. M. Devine as the *Magna Carta* of Scottish Catholicism—has partly overshadowed what Roman Catholics had achieved until then in terms of education. As F. J. O'Hagan and R. A. Davis pointed out in a 2007 article, the growth of the Roman Catholic educational system in Scotland from the late 1840s remains a 'still relatively under-researched field'.[1] Yet this statement must not cast a shadow over the fine writings of earlier researchers on the building, the provision and the struggles of Catholic schools in the West of Scotland from the early nineteenth century onwards.[2]

I would like to thank Martin Mitchell for his thorough reading and his most useful comments on my work. This chapter was written during a 2016 stay as a Visiting Fellow (School of Divinity, Edinburgh University) which was most generously funded by a Royal Society of Edinburgh/ Caledonian Research Fund European Visiting Research Fellowship.

G. Vaughan (✉)
Department of English Studies, University of Rouen, Rouen, France

Institut Universitaire de France, Paris, France
e-mail: geraldine.vaughan@univ-rouen.fr

© The Author(s) 2019

S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_3

The influx of Roman Catholic Highland and Irish workers after the Napoleonic Wars era triggered the rebuilding of churches and schools in the Lowlands. In the early 1820s, the *Glasgow Courier* complained of 'the cheapness with which this class of persons get over from Ireland to Scotland in the steam boats threaten[ing] to overwhelm the west of Scotland with the miserable beings in the lowest state of wretchedness and want'.[3] Earlier in the nineteenth century, rural Irish immigrants had settled in the South West (Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire), whereas industrial workers headed for Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Glasgow where weavers and navvies were required.[4] The Irish-born represented 13% of Lanarkshire's population in 1841. In neighbouring Renfrewshire, one-tenth of the population was Irish-born, overwhelmingly concentrated in Paisley, Renfrew, Port Glasgow and Greenock.[5] Those Irish migrants were in majority Roman Catholics, even though up to a third of the Irish came from a Protestant background. The Roman Church thus faced an immense challenge from the 1810s onwards—in the Lowlands, where the 'Old Faith' had almost been wiped out as a result of the Reformation, it had to resuscitate a Church and schooling system in a country which had the status of 'mission' land until the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878.

'The children of all sorts attend', wrote William Brown, the schoolmaster of Plains School, a Presbyterian primary school in Lanarkshire, in response to the 1838 queries circulated by the Select Committee on Education in Scotland. He further added, 'except for the Roman Catholics; sometimes a Roman Catholic child attends the school, yet this practice is strictly prohibited by the priests', before concluding that 'no sound Protestant would dream of sending his child to a Roman Catholic school'.[6] The testimony of a Catholic schoolmaster in Airdrie, Lanarkshire, directly contradicted this statement as he reported to the same Select Committee that 'Protestant children are attending the school'.[7] So, aside from religious instruction (when imparted), what could be so special about Catholic schools which made them potentially repulsive to Scottish Protestants?

The purpose of this chapter is not to furnish a full description of the building, staffing and financial difficulties which characterized primary Catholic schools in the course of a century—it is rather to examine the *originality* of the Catholic schooling system. The Catholics were not the

only ones having to accommodate the children of urban workers with very limited means and prospects to educate their children. Did they fare better than the other denominations? What was the purpose of the Roman Church in maintaining separate schools, often at a very high degree of financial sacrifice? What was special about the Catholic curriculum? Education could prove to be a competitive environment, with Protestant ragged schools attracting deprived Catholic children. How did the Catholics negotiate their entry into mainstream Scottish education in 1918? How can integration and separateness coexist?

To examine these issues, the historian can rely on previous studies of the schooling system as well as on primary sources such as the school logbooks, correspondence by priests, annual Catholic directories and reports on schools and school board activities by the local press in the West of Scotland. In the first part of this chapter, Catholic educational issues before the 1872 Education Act will be examined. The efforts put into the edification of a Catholic primary education system will be assessed, bearing in mind that the Scottish Protestants also struggled with deprived children in industrial areas. What standards of education emerged from the Catholic Inspectors' reports? The quality of teaching and originality of the syllabus will also be discussed. In the second part of this chapter, the post-1872 period will be detailed, particularly in regard to the action of Catholic members on public school boards. After the passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, the Catholic clerical and lay élites on local elected school boards demanded a greater share of public education money. What were the post-1872 challenges for Catholic schools in the West of Scotland?

Catholic Education Before 1872

Roman Catholic education in the Lowlands was virtually non-existent at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some of the first 'schools' were lessons given out in local mission rooms or sheds before decent buildings could be sought out or built. Nevertheless, there was certainly a distinct character of this impetus to school children in that it was fundamentally a missionary élan with all the zealousness inherent to such movements. James E. Handley in his epoch-making work on the Irish in Scotland

reminds us that often the first scholarly contact with the children was with the new priest during Sunday school classes when a new mission was established.[8] There was no rule of thumb as to when a chapel and a school should be built—but Bishop Murdoch noted in the early 1860s that in general, 1000 Catholics were enough to support a priest and fund the building of a church and a school.[9] In the early days, the mixed use of the church building or 'chapel school' was a cheap and quick solution for both. It is worth noting that leading Protestants were instrumental in the setting up of the first Catholic schools. This gesture can be interpreted as a philanthropic will to contribute to the education of the workforce. This was the case in Glasgow with the creation of the Glasgow Catholic Schools Society in 1817 by the Member of Parliament Kirkman Finlay, a Glasgow merchant, whose committee comprised Catholic and Protestant laymen.[10] This model of mixed piloting committees was present in other western towns—the Paisley Catholic school which had opened its doors in 1816 was supervised by a board of 24, consisting of 12 Catholics and 12 Protestants, which helped towards the paying of the schoolmaster's salary and regularly inspected the school and its scholars.[11] Financial help was not only private—the State did assist in the building and staffing of Catholic schools from the 1840s onwards. From 1847, provided the schools accepted inspection, funds from an education parliamentary grant could be allocated towards the building of a school. The funds represented one-third of the amount raised by other private means. This central government decision certainly offered relief to parishes which were often heavily in debt.[12]

By 1825, over a thousand pupils were instructed in the five Catholic primary schools of Glasgow.[13] In neighbouring Greenock, Father John Gordon established a school as well as a dwelling house for the schoolmaster in 1816, and the school, in the early 1830s, could accommodate around 120 children.[14] By contrast, in the mining district of Airdrie, located a dozen miles to the east of Glasgow, basic education was provided in a shed as an 'adventure school' from 1834 before a proper edifice was built in 1840.[15] Catholic schools also depended on a highly migratory population, which meant that when work was scarce, some areas became disaffected. Such was the case, for instance, in Chapelhall (Monklands): when Calder Ironworks closed down, the Catholic school had to close too due to the departure of the pupils and their parents.[16]

The quality of education in Catholic schools depended highly on the teaching staff, and there were great variations between individuals with appropriate or minimal teaching qualifications in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. Before the influx of Irish religious teaching orders starting in the mid-Victorian era and the institution of proper teacher training colleges on British soil (in London and Liverpool from the 1850s and in Glasgow from 1895), parents and children had to rely on an uneven supply of tutors. Excellent teachers could of course be found—such was the case, for instance, with James McAuley, an Irishman from Donegal who arrived in Airdrie in 1836. As a contemporary interviewed in the late 1860s put it: 'Well I remember him in Airdrie, before there was a priest or a chapel there, going from door to door, inviting the poor Catholic orphans to his school, where they would receive *free* education, although his income then did not average 7s 6d per week'.[17] In addition to teaching the 'three Rs', he provided classes in navigation and surveying. The teaching staff comprised (certified) teachers and pupil-teachers, whose role was defined in the 1847 parliamentary grant. To obtain financial support towards their maintenance, the schools had to employ pupil-teachers of at least 13 years of age, who could read and write correctly, and have basic skills in arithmetic and geometry (for boys) and sewing and knitting (for girls). After five years of training, they could apply to enter a Normal School. In practice, because they came quite cheap, pupil-teachers were regularly recruited and often given more than 30–40 pupils to teach. For instance, in Saint Mary School in Paisley in 1878, one certified teacher and two pupil-teachers had to deal with 200 pupils, thus illustrating the understaffing of Catholic schools.[18]

As regards the curriculum, at first glance Catholic schools do not seem to particularly stand out if compared with other Scottish schools dispensing education to pupils from working-class backgrounds. In terms of the three Rs, the same types of schoolbooks were in use in non-parochial Presbyterian schools and their Catholic counterparts during the mid-Victorian era. For instance, the Plains schoolmaster quoted in the introduction used Barrie's and Lennie's grammar textbooks as well as Gray's arithmetic, which were also in use in the Airdrie Catholic school.[19] Yet the specificity of Catholic education, as the Catholic clerical and lay authorities defined it, was of course its catechism—not only was it totally

distinct from the Presbyterian credo, but also in theory it was 'not merely a subject to be taught like other lessons in the curriculum. It must embrace the whole work of the classroom and be the centre about which all school subjects are grasped and the spirit by which they are penetrated'.[20] Yet in practical terms, secular and religious teaching were not always mixed—quite often, religious instruction was set aside and taught on Saturdays or Sundays. For instance, the master of Port Glasgow's Catholic school (established in 1834) reported that no religious instruction was imparted during the week—it was the responsibility of the parish priest on Sundays.[21] In the Catholic school on High Street in Glasgow, catechism was taught on Saturdays.[22] When children were examined on religion by the Reverend managers of schools, they would normally be expected to know the commandments, the articles of the creed and their prayers.[23] In the 1830s Airdrie school, in order that 'the religious instruction of Protestants is not interfered with', James McAuley used the 'Testament of the Protestant translation' with the children when both Catholic and Protestant children attended the school.[24] In the Catholic school on High Street in Glasgow, the master taught both Catholic catechism and 'other catechisms if required'—for this he made use of the 'Protestant Bible and Testament'—in accordance with the instructions of the Catholic Schools Society.[25] In 1866, the headmaster of Saint Lawrence School in Greenock commented in the school logbook on the Saturday religious teaching: '[the] teacher confined himself to Religious Instruction which he believes is the most important, though he does not omit to mix during the week his lessons with religion'.[26] In effect, the schoolmaster's ability and the Reverend manager's involvement (i.e. individual strivings) determined the amount of religious teaching and its mixing with secular subjects. What characterized religious teaching in Catholic schools before the 1870s was its unevenness more than anything else.

Aside from the religious dimension, Catholic teachers struggled like the other Scottish teachers who had to face irregular attendance and overcrowded classrooms. Material was also wanting—an inspector noted for the Coatbridge Catholic School in June 1854: 'I am surprised in a school of 102 boys, under a master of some standing … No slates are used and 23 only learn to write on paper'.[27] Parents were supposed to buy slates for their children, but as the headmaster of Saint Lawrence School, Greenock,

noted in 1865, the majority of parents would not allow their children slates until they could read well, and if the teacher remonstrated they would tell him, 'we are the guardians of our children and if you do not teach them as we wish, we will send them elsewhere'.[28] Another major obstacle to the instruction of children lay, of course, in the irregular attendance of the latter. This was a constant complaint with teachers who strove to impart knowledge to children only periodically present. Many reasons could account for the absence of children: primarily work of course, but also bad weather (for want of shoes) or frequent moving of parents ('migrating birds' as one headmaster called them).[29] The various factory acts of the 1850s did encourage some form of schooling for the under-13-year-olds in that they had to produce evidence of elementary schooling (6 weeks before their employment and 150 hours of instruction per semester of employment), but this could not constitute an enticement for regular schooling of the poorer children.[30] When Father Condon took a census of his parish of Saint Lawrence's in Cartsdyke (Greenock) in 1869, there were 560 children of school age (5–13 years), yet the average attendance in the Catholic school was 269 (i.e. around 50% of children of school age actually attended school).[31] But when compared to the figures of attendance in the late 1850s in Glasgow, where less than 50% of the 5–10 age group as a whole received education, the Catholic statistics seem less extraordinarily low.

Given these constraints, it is to be wondered what teachers and children achieved. For Catholic schools under government inspection, the reports of Catholic inspectors, although certainly sympathetic to the cause of their coreligionists, offer valuable hindsight. On the whole, reports insisted on the quality of education in often dire conditions, thus focusing on the positive aspects of the Catholic schools. When Saint Margaret School in Airdrie was examined in June 1854, the inspector noted that the instruction of arithmetic and writing was correct. One master, James McAuley, along with four monitors taught 120 boys in 7 classes organized in half circles. The report concluded that '[t]he general condition of this school is creditable to the masters, and decidedly above the average of schools inspected for the first time'.[32] This was the overall tone of inspectors' reports on Catholic schools before the 1872 Act—reports which stressed the great efforts shown by the educational body and the clerical management amidst often dire material conditions.

Since the majority of pupils, teachers and clergymen would have had an Irish background, was there an effort in Catholic schools to enhance an Irish identity? Evidently, subjects where an Irish dimension might have been stressed would be history, geography and music. References to Ireland in the educational archives consulted were quite rare, with the exception of some songs and hymns which were taught to the younger children. For instance, in Paisley's Saint Mary School in the 1870s, Irish folk songs and Irish emigration ballads were learnt by the children (e.g. *Meeting of the Waters*, *Isle of Beauty*, *Fare Thee Well* and *Beautiful Isle of the Sea*).[33] Saint Patrick's Day was not always given as a holiday for children—it depended on local practice.[34]

Education could prove a competitive environment—in 1863, 100 Catholic children attended the Protestant ragged school in Greenock.[35] This was particularly the case with poor or boarded-out children whose parents or guardians could not always pay the minimal fees required. Accordingly, Bishop Murdoch enquired into the case of children being 'proselytized' by Boards of Guardians in 1862. In response, Father Michael Condon from Greenock wrote back reporting on a series of cases of Roman Catholic children who were boarded out with Protestant families and sent to Protestant schools. For instance, he cited the case of three brothers and sisters, Margaret, Mary and James Weston, aged between two and six, who had been boarded out since 1856 in Luss, in a family where they were taught the *Shorter Catechism* daily and sent to a Protestant school.[36] Another local case was that of Thomas Cavens, a Roman Catholic boy, who was sent to the ragged school by the Greenock Board of Guardians. Priests could also find it difficult to provide minimal religious and secular instruction to Catholic children inside the poorhouses. Thus, Father James Danaher, an educational zealot, wrote in 1850 to the Scottish Board of Supervision complaining that when he visited the Greenock poorhouse he was not allowed access to the Catholic orphans.[37]

Post-1872 Catholic Education in Scotland

What changes did the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act bring about in Catholic schools? At first glance, not many since the Catholic (as well as Episcopalian) authorities decided against having their schools join the

State system under the authority of elected school boards as they considered that the whole arrangement was in fact denominational and Presbyterian. In effect, the majority of State schools decided to adopt the *Shorter* (Presbyterian) *Catechism*, although parents could elect to withdraw their children during religious instruction. But the Roman Catholic authorities were adamant that the Catholic schools be reinforced to 'provide protective education, to inoculate youth against … indifference or Protestantism'.[38] So, more than anything else, what the Act did for Catholic taxpayers was to raise the level of their contribution as they had to pay school rates for the State system as well as support their own schools. Accordingly, the Catholics were entrapped in a double financial obligation as a Catholic paper put it in 1888: '…we are obliged by law to build and maintain Board schools; and by conscience we are obliged to build schools in which our children may become acquainted with the tenets of the true faith'.[39]

One of the main provisions of the 1872 Act was that it made education compulsory for all children aged between 5 and 13 whether they attended Board schools or not. In reality, exemption certificates could be obtained after the age of 11 (Standard III), and few pupils above that age were to be found in the Catholic schools. In Catholic schools, attendance figures were still far from satisfactory even in the years leading up to the First World War. Although defaulting parents could be prosecuted and fined, this was not a strong enough deterrent. In 1911, Patrick and Joseph Roddy of Saint John School in Port Glasgow were brought before the Sheriff Court and their parents fined 10 shillings.[40] In some cases, children were pursued: in 1909, Patrick Hanley and Willie Docherty (in years Junior 1 and 2), from Saint John's, were sent away to the Glasgow Truant School for bad attendance.[41] But the head teachers of the majority of Catholic schools in the West of Scotland did not expect full attendance given 'the poverty of a great many of the children' as one of them wrote in 1911.[42] In some cases, the energy and dedication of a particular headmaster could lead to the betterment of attendance levels—when Joseph McCurdy took charge in early 1914 of the Saint Lawrence Boys School in Greenock, he strove to achieve this goal. In December 1914, he noted in the school logbook that Mr Jamieson, the chief compulsory officer, had announced that the school had won the attendance banner which was offered for competition amongst all Greenock schools with 94.6% of attendance in the preceding four weeks.[43]

Although Catholic schools were not under the State system (until their transfer after 1918), certain material and financial advantages were gained with the revised education laws of the 1880s and 1900s. With the abolition of school fees and the advent of free education (1889), the financial burden on voluntary schools was augmented—however, with the Education Act of 1897, the government granted 3 shillings per pupil in Catholic schools.[44] Subsequently, the 1908 Education Act conferred greater powers to school boards which could determine their financial aid to necessitous children both in private and public schools. The Catholics seized the opportunity to obtain support towards the provision of books in their schools—in April 1910, the Old Monkland School Board, thanks to the pressure of Catholic members, granted that 'secular' books would be freely distributed to poor children in Coatbridge Catholic schools.[45] On the eve of the First World War, overall public funds granted £5 per public school child, as opposed to £2 per Catholic scholar.[46] Yet the financial burden of having to maintain a voluntary school system seemed more and more intolerable in the 1910s. An increasing number of Catholic School Board members complained of the heavy taxation bearing upon the Catholic community's shoulders. They were all the more keen to stress the achievements and the resemblance their schools bore to Board schools. As Father Hackett, member of the Old Monkland School Board (Coatbridge), put it in 1914:

> It was only a question of time when they [Catholics] would have their rights in spite of everything because they must insist on fair play, and if they helped to collect £22,500 to educate 8000 children, the other [Catholic] 4000 children should get part of the money. They had the same inspectors, the same codes, the same books, the same timetable, but because they taught their children a different Catechism they were deprived of a share of the grant.[47]

Inspection Reports in the post-1872 era were still fairly positive in view of the general material conditions of Catholic schools. In 1876, Inspector Ross noted:

> My surprise is not that these schools are not what they should be, but that they are what they are. It is not fair to compare them with ordinary Scotch

> schools of good traditions. For the parents of many of these children are poor and migratory; home influence is generally bad or nothing…. Notwithstanding that, these schools deserve an honourable place…. The priests are intelligent, energetic and fair managers. In the matter of discipline, I rate these schools highly; in general intelligence they are low.[48]

Reports in the 1872–1918 period stressed both the material and intellectual improvements necessary in Catholic schools while praising the work already accomplished. In 1874–1875, the Inspector for Saint Mary School in Paisley, staffed by one certified teacher and three female pupil-teachers, noted that 'The school is conducted with pretty fair success, but improvement is desirable. Reading is monotonous and mechanical…. The day of my visit was cold and frosty but there was no fire in the room'.[49] Nonetheless, progress could be observed in later reports: in 1876, the same inspector noted that 'There has been improvement here since my last visit. The class-room has been enlarged, and is now well lighted. The highest grant for discipline can be recommended. General intelligence, Grammar, Geography and History are good'.[50] The Education (Scotland) Report of 1885–1886 gave information on the percentage passes in Scottish schools and showed that the Catholic schools had equivalent results to Board schools in reading and writing, but did slightly less well in arithmetic.[51] Had the quality of teaching improved in Catholic schools? The lower wages which were offered by Catholic schools did not help attract teachers, and those schools still employed, in the early twentieth century, a disproportionate number of pupil-teachers and uncertified assistants in order to minimize costs.[52] Nevertheless, thanks to the religious teaching orders and the establishment of Notre Dame Training College in 1895, professional training was improving amongst female teachers, who represented over 75% of the certified workforce.[53]

The 1872 Act did not transform Catholic schools *per se*, but it did change Catholic involvement in the overall Scottish education system. With a low voting franchise (£4 per annum) and the cumulative vote system, the Catholic electors managed to elect quite easily some members of their community to the newly formed school boards.[54] Catholic members were anxious to reduce expenses for the public system and thus lower the educational taxes which were levied on all ratepayers. Catholic priests, as school managers, naturally came forward as candidates as soon as the

Boards were set up in 1873. Alongside the priests, prominent local Catholic figures also ran for a seat on the Boards. Catholic participation on the various committees, alongside the Scots Protestant or 'Secular' members, helped open a dialogue between the different religious denominations. There were strong disputes at times but there was an overall collaboration of all members—this might be one of the local factors which contributed to the advent of the 1918 Education Act. What was different about the vision of the Catholic members involved in those Boards? At first, it is to be noted that, apart from the religious instruction committee, Catholic members were appointed on all school board committees. In 1903, for instance, Father Michael Fox was made convener of the Attendance Committee and Daniel McLaughlin chairman of the Buildings Committee in the Greenock School Board.[55] Evidently, one of their distinctive features in their management of public school affairs was certainly to keep the rates as low as possible. Their thriftiness was sometimes praised by their Scotch colleagues—in 1882, Mr Allan of Airdrie School Board commented positively on the appointment of Father Thomas O'Reilly to the committee of the Faskine (public) School: '[he] would make an efficient member of the school committee, as the Catholic schools were conducted on a much cheaper scale'.[56] Yet too great a display of thriftiness could lead to accusations of stinginess, as a correspondent wrote about the Old Monkland School Board in 1900, with 'four Roman Catholics elected, whose prime object in being on the Board is keeping down taxation, and when it comes to touching the local purse, not to further education but to prevent it'.[57] Another characteristic feature of Catholic clerical members on those Boards was their experience as school managers and the fact that, as a consequence, their advice on building issues and administering staff was well sought. '[I] had had an experience of patching up schools and building schools for the past twenty five years', declared Father Hackett to the Old Monkland School Board in 1912 when he recommended that a new public school be built in Langloan (Coatbridge) in lieu of repairing the old edifice.[58] In 1913, the latter recommended his fellow priest on the certified teacher recruiting committee: 'Father Geerty was a man of experience; he had been conducting a school for twenty years and he knew a teacher when he saw one'.[59] Nevertheless, Catholic members were also different from other

Scots members in that they expressed strong views on a public education system which they rejected on the whole. As ratepayers, they felt entitled to criticize aspects of Scottish education. Their criticism could focus for instance on textbooks used in the Board schools—in July 1897, Mr Gallagher, a Catholic member of the Paisley School Board, put forward a motion against the use of Colliers' History in State schools on account of its anti-Catholic and anti-Irish nationalist bias. He quoted two excerpts which he regarded as offensive: 'Bloody Mary, who forgot the mercy natural to women' and 'Ireland has reaped numberless blessings from the Union'.[60]

Conclusion

In conclusion, before 1872, Catholic schools had to face the same type of difficulties as other Scottish schools in a poor urban working-class environment. Attendance was patchy, material conditions were far from ideal and although school inspection reports reflected the great effort put into Catholic education, satisfying levels of literacy and numeracy in children were not yet attained. Hence, there was a certain amount of similarity in the fate of both Scottish Protestant and Catholic schools providing for deprived children. After 1872, the Catholic schools struggled more financially, but they also adopted the same curriculum as the State schools and strove to achieve the same educational standards. There was nothing distinctively Irish about them either—as Irish nationalists in Scotland were prompt to point out in the early 1920s. This was the case with the Dr O'Dwyer Sinn Fein Club in Coatbridge, which lamented, in 1920, over the exclusion of Irish history from schools in the West of Scotland.[61] In effect, the growing influence of ultramontanism amongst the Catholic clergy in Scotland from the late 1860s ensured that Catholic schools reinforced a British Catholic identity rather than stress the Irish origins of the majority of its pupils.[62]

So what was so *original* about Catholic education in the 1816–1918 period? Two features did distinguish Catholic schooling from mainstream Scottish schooling. First, the near-absence of secondary education. All nineteenth-century efforts had focused on primary schooling essentially

for social and economic reasons—by 1918, only 3% of the Catholic children in Glasgow were recipients of a higher education (essentially concentrated in Saint Mungo Academy and in the Jesuit college of Saint Aloysius).[63] Second, the religious ethos of Catholic schools ensured that Catholic pupils remained separate from other Scottish pupils. That was the reason the Catholics did not join in the 1872 proposal of transferring their schools, but they were not alone, in that Episcopalians also refused to hand over their schools. However, this did not mean that the Catholics remained aloof from the Scottish educational system—as it was earlier argued, they worked their way inside the school boards and joined discussions on all aspects of Scottish schooling. This local involvement of Catholics certainly helped the passing of the 1918 Act, which can be read as a testimony to the State's involvement in the protection of minorities. It must not be forgotten that since the 1840s, Catholics had received a certain amount of financial support from parliamentary grants and central authorities, despite the harsh criticism emanating from ultra-Protestant bodies (whether it be the no-Popery cries of the 1850s or the fiery denunciations of Pastor Jacob Primmer in the 1900s). Section 18 of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 guaranteed that Catholic schools would enter mainstream Scottish education while retaining distinct religious features, and it also meant that Catholic schools, as they had since their beginning, should accept children from all religious creeds. Looking back on the 1918 Act, the Member of Parliament for Bridgeton (Glasgow) Mr Maxton recalled the transfer of Catholic schools in a 1944 debate: 'I was a member of the big Glasgow education authority', he said, and 'for 25 years the settlement, which to me is not a final settlement of the educational problem but merely a way of living, has worked with a minimum of friction and to the tremendous improvement and advantage of Scottish education'.[64] In other words, the 1918 Act can be interpreted as an historical example of a quite successful attempt at conciliating separateness and integration.

Notes

1. Francis J. O'Hagan and Robert A. Davis, "Forging the compact of church and state in the development of Catholic Education in late nineteenth-century Scotland", *Innes Review*, 58(1), 2007, 73.

2. See Mary McHugh, "Catholic schooling in Hamilton before 1918", in T. M. Devine (ed.), *St Mary's Hamilton: A Social History 1846–1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995), 71–79; Martha Skinnider, "Catholic elementary education in Glasgow 1818–1918", in T. R. Bone (ed.), *Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872–1939* (London: London University Press, 1967), 13–70; J. H. Treble, "The development of Roman Catholic education in Scotland, 1878–1978", in David McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978* (Glasgow: J. S. Burns, 1979), 111–139; James C. Conroy, "A very Scottish affair: Catholic education and the State", *Oxford Review of Education*, 27(4), 2001, 543–558; T. A. FitzPatrick, "The Catholic Teachers' Union, 1917–1919", *Innes Review*, 41(1), 1990, 132–135; James McGloin, "Catholic education in Ayr, 1823–1918. Part One", *Innes Review*, 13(1), 1962, 77–90.
3. *Glasgow Courier*, 10 June 1824. See also T. M. Devine, "Highland Migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760–1860", *Scottish Historical Review*, 62(174), 1983, 137–149.
4. G. Walker, "The Protestant Irish in Scotland", in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Irish immigrants and Scottish society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), 48.
5. J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland* (Glasgow: J. S. Burns, 1964), 49.
6. Parliamentary Papers (64), *Answers made by schoolmasters in Scotland to queries circulated in 1838, by order of the Select Committee on Education in Scotland*, 1841, 558.
7. Ibid., 561.
8. J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947), 191.
9. Glasgow Archdiocese Archives (GAA), WD 9/3: pencil note by Archbishop Eyre.
10. J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland 1798–1845* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1945), 279–280.
11. Parliamentary Papers (64), *Answers made by schoolmasters in Scotland*, 675.
12. The references to heavy parish debts are numerous throughout the correspondence of priests with the Western Vicariate (see GAA, General Correspondence). In 1851, the parliamentary grant amounted to £150,000 and aid was granted on condition that schools be open to Catholic inspectors. See *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1851, 124–127.

13. Francis J. O'Hagan, *Change, Challenge and Achievement: a study of the development of Catholic Education in Glasgow in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Glasgow: St Andrew's College, 1996).
14. *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1835, 48.
15. Glasgow City Archives (GCA), TD729/64: *Education in Airdrie before 1872*. There were Catholic 'adventure schools' in Glasgow up to the 1860s which provided low standards of education with poor staffing—so that children under 13 could produce certificates that they had undergone a minimal number of hours of education. See O'Hagan, *Change, Challenge and Achievement*, 7.
16. *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1860, 86.
17. *Glasgow Free Press*, 4 September 1867.
18. *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1879, 103.
19. Parliamentary Papers (64), *Answers made by schoolmasters in Scotland*, 558, 561.
20. James E. Handley, "French Influence on Scottish Catholic Education in the Nineteenth Century", *Innes Review*, 1(1), 1950, 29.
21. Parliamentary Papers (64), *Answers made by schoolmasters in Scotland*, 685.
22. Ibid., 521.
23. GCA, CO/2/5/6/86/1: *St Lawrence's RC school logbook*, 26 October 1869, 178.
24. Ibid., 561.
25. Ibid., 521.
26. GCA, CO2/5/6/86/1: *St Lawrence's RC school logbook*, *April 1864–November 1884*, 27 January 1866, 62.
27. *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1856, 95–96: School Examination Report, 22 June 1854.
28. GCA, CO2/5/6/86/1: *St Lawrence's R.C school logbook, April 1864–November 1884*.
29. GCA, CO2/5/6/86/1: *St Lawrence's R.C school logbook, April 1864–November 1884*, 84: 13/6/1866.
30. Handley, *Irish in Scotland 1798–1845*, 197.
31. *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1873, 117.
32. *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1856, 95.
33. GCA, CO2/5/6/65/1: *Paisley, Saint Mary School Logbook*, *November 1871–October 1887*, 141–167.
34. For instance, the children in Port Glasgow were given a holiday on Saint Patrick's Day in 1908 (GCA, CO2/5/6/74/1: *Port Glasgow, St John's RC School Logbook*, February 1898–December 1912, 328).

35. *Glasgow Free Press*, 21 November 1863.
36. Scottish Catholic Archives, OL/104/18: Michael Condon to Bishop John Murdoch, 13 November 1862.
37. Parliamentary Papers, 1863 (518) LII.519: *Copy of any Regulations, Instructions or Correspondence of the Board of Supervision in Scotland relating to Religious Instruction of the Pauper Children of Roman Catholic Parents*: Letter from James Danaher to J. F. Gordon, Esq., Edinburgh, 30 August 1850.
38. B. Aspinwall, "The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland: Some Preliminary Outlines", *Innes Review*, 33(1), 1982, 50.
39. *Glasgow Observer*, 3 April 1888.
40. GCA, CO2/5/6/74/1: *Port Glasgow, St John's Roman Catholic School Logbook*, February 1898–December 1912, 3 December 1911.
41. GCA, CO2/5/6/74/1: *Port Glasgow St John's Roman Catholic School Logbook*, February 1898–December 1912, 12 November 1909.
42. Ibid.
43. GCA, CO2/5/6/37/2: *Saint Lawrence's Boys School Greenock Logbook*, April 1904–1918, 11 December 1914.
44. Handley, *Irish in Scotland 1798–1845*, 235.
45. *Coatbridge Leader*, 2 April 1910.
46. Handley, *Irish in Scotland 1798–1845*, 237.
47. *Coatbridge Leader*, 20 June 1914.
48. Scotch Education Department, *Education Reports, 1875–1876*, 155–156, quoted in T. R. Bone, *School Inspection in Scotland 1840–1966* (London: London University Press, 1968), 107.
49. GCA, CO2/5/6/65/1: *Paisley, Saint Mary School, November 1871–October 1887 Logbook*, 17 March 1876, 114.
50. Ibid., 14 April 1877, 151.
51. Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education", 27.
52. Handley, *Irish in Scotland 1798–1845*, 226.
53. Ibid.
54. The cumulative vote allowed voters to allocate several votes (as many votes as there were candidates) on one or several candidates. See G. Vaughan, "'Papists looking after the Education of our Protestant Children!' Catholics and Protestants on western Scottish school boards, 1872–1918", *Innes Review*, 63(1), 2012, 30–47.
55. *Greenock Telegraph*, 15 April 1903.
56. *Airdrie and Coatbridge Advertiser*, 22 April 1882.
57. *Airdrie and Coatbridge Advertiser*, 14 April 1900.

58. *Coatbridge Leader*, 30 April 1912.
59. *Coatbridge Leader*, 19 April 1913.
60. *Glasgow Examiner*, 10 July 1897.
61. *Glasgow Observer*, 3 January 1920.
62. B. Aspinwall, "Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection", *Innes Review*, 45(1), 1994, 48.
63. Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education", 31.
64. Hansard, House of Commons Debates 25 February 1944, vol. 397, 1193. (http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1944/feb/25/clause-14-classification-of-auxiliary#S5CV0397P0_19440225_HOC_139).

4

Women Religious and the Development of Scottish Education

S. Karly Kehoe

The establishment of the Ursulines of Jesus in Edinburgh in 1834 marked a turning point for Catholicism in Scotland, but it was with the arrival of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (1847), the Sisters of Mercy (1849), the Good Shepherd Sisters (1851) and the Daughters of Charity (1860) that a new era of female-led educational activism really began. Having come to Scotland to help the Church cope with the growing number of Highland and Irish migrants in the urban centres, it was these communities that reached deep into the industrial and rapidly urbanising heartland. In contrast to the Ursulines, who were more closely aligned with Scotland's affluent Catholics, the other communities, whose origins were French and Irish, worked with Church and community leaders to construct a Catholic parochial education system that would reach working-class girls and young women. While some had convent boarding schools for the daughters of the middle and upper-middle classes to ensure their own financial survival, their mission was to provide

S. K. Kehoe (✉)
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, NS, Canada
e-mail: Karly.Kehoe@smu.ca

© The Author(s) 2019
S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_4

education to and support for the poor and those women shouldering an ever-expanding responsibility for Scotland's socio-economic development as vital participants in the industrial labour force.

This chapter highlights the emergence and development of a system of Catholic female education between the early 1850s, when women religious began to assume the bulk of the responsibility for elementary education, and the early years of the twentieth century. It concentrates on the teaching sisters, thereby illuminating an important dimension of Scotland's educational tradition. In contrast to both England and Ireland, Scotland was a nation that had successfully used education to maintain a distinct identity. The system of Catholic education that emerged from the mid-nineteenth century reflected that.

Unlike England, where elementary 'educational provision for the masses' depended upon the generosity of philanthropists,[1] Scotland's existing parish school system had provided some basic form of schooling to most children. The legacy of this iconic, though somewhat invented, tradition of 'democratic' education has been central to constructions of Scottish national identity, yet few scholars or commentators have considered how Catholic education fits with that. As a correction, this chapter gives this educational legacy greater legitimacy by emphasising the role of women religious in the promotion of female education after 1850. In focusing their efforts on girls and young women, these Roman Catholic sisters, while expanding the social authority of Catholicism, dramatically expanded the base of Scottish education and made it more democratic than it had ever been.

The proliferation of infant and girls' schools, Sunday schools, boarding schools and night classes for female factory workers corresponded with the growing number of Irish and Highland Catholics, who congregated in Scotland's urban centres, and with the rise in the number of Catholic converts who had been influenced by John Henry Newman's Oxford Movement. The school system established and developed by the pioneering religious communities was taken to the next level by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, arguably the most professional teaching congregation in the world. Their sole focus was teacher training and, prior to 1894, when they established their college and convent at Dowanhill in Glasgow's leafy and prosperous West End, no Catholic teacher training

programme had existed in Scotland. Their arrival ushered in a dramatic transformation in Catholic education and changed the way that countless young women thought about their futures.

Women religious have had a profound influence on defining the progress and direction of Catholic education in Scotland and yet their contributions have been seriously neglected. Gender bias and a tendency to prioritise the activities of the male clergy is certainly a big part of the problem, but the media's tendency to conflate Scotland's Catholic schools with the legacy of sectarianism has made legitimate and historically informed public discussions of Scottish education difficult.[2] It is likely that if more people were encouraged to consider the ways in which the Catholic system enabled the Scottish nation to make good on its promise of a truly democratic system of education, as opposed to arguing about its perceived divisive nature, a healthier conversation about the legacy of Scottish education as a whole would start to unfold. In this respect, but also in many others, researching women's roles in the development of Catholic education would be a major step forward.

In her 1990 chapter on the state of Scottish education, Helen Corr noted that 'one of the most powerful and enduring myths to permeate Scottish society is that Scotland has traditionally enjoyed a more equal and open educational system than England'.[3] As a pioneer researcher in the field, Corr was well placed to deliver this critique, but she was not alone; Lindy Moore, who is best known for her work on women and education in north-east Scotland, made a similar observation.[4] Slowly there came to be awareness, though largely only among female scholars, that class, race and gender needed to be incorporated as categories of analysis when considering the historical legacy of education. The fact that neither Corr nor Moore paid attention to the women in the Catholic schools at the time was unfortunate, but it was due to a fundamental lack of foundational research. No one had visited the convents to request access to their archives and no one had considered their pupils. The absence of Catholic women was conspicuous given their influence over the development of modern Scotland's educational landscape.

It was surprising that women religious were almost completely ignored among scholars investigating the Catholic system. J. H. Treble's important and influential examination of Catholic schools between 1787 and

1978, for example, gave women religious just two quick mentions and overlooked, completely, their male counterparts.[5] While Thomas A. FitzPatrick's essay on Catholic education in Glasgow and south-west Scotland offers some very useful background information about the development of the system before 1872, he too only mentioned the work of sisters twice.[6] John McCaffrey's thoughtful piece on education and the Scoto-Irish experience, which argued that education was one of the main ways in which Irish Catholics were able to 'become part of Scottish society without becoming absorbed by it', also missed this component, despite acknowledging that the teaching sisters held the Church's educational efforts together.[7]

The tendency for scholars to concentrate on the priests and the bishops, who took on the roles of school managers, instead of on the religious personnel, who were actually active on the ground in the schools, has obscured the reality of education in Scotland. An important shift began in the mid-1990s when two articles appeared: the first by Bernard Aspinwall, one of the most prolific historians of Catholicism in Scotland; and the second by Ian Stewart, a teacher and researcher. They published articles in the *Innes Review*, the journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, which drew attention to the influential role played by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in providing Scotland with female teachers and in expanding educational provision for women more generally. Up until this point, such work was a completely 'unexplored area', but their research was soon complemented by FitzPatrick's *No Mean Service*, which also focused on the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.[8] Sr. Dorothy Gillies, a Sister of Notre Dame de Namur, had written a small book for the congregation about the first superior of the Glasgow community in the late 1970s, but unfortunately it was not widely distributed or consulted by scholars.[9] This preliminary base has since been expanded by Jane McDermid, Francis J. O'Hagan, Robert A. Davis and me, who began to explore the significance of the relationship between Catholic women, the religious communities and education in Scotland.[10] While O'Hagan and Davis sought to normalise the contribution made by the religious communities, male and female, by including them in a study considering the links between Catholic education and national identity in Scotland, McDermid and I undertook new research specifically on

Catholic women—lay and religious. McDermid's exploration of the experience of girls and young women as learners and my detailed interrogation of the roles and experiences of women religious and their communities have broadened significantly the perspective on the gendered nature of Catholic education in Scotland and are informing understandings of the expansion and assimilation of Scotland's Catholic community.[11] Based on my extensive work with the archives of numerous religious congregations and communities, I have also compared the experience of teaching sisters in Scotland with those in Canada as a way of expanding existing perspectives on women religious and their links with the development of 'national' cultures.[12]

An Overview of Growing Provision

As John F. McCaffrey once observed, the whole purpose of having a Catholic system of education was to shape the 'religious and moral' character of Scotland's Catholics, but basic literacy and 'general information suited to the needs of the modern age' were also part of the package.[13] A Catholic Schools Committee was founded in Glasgow in 1817 by industrialists and entrepreneurs, who relied heavily upon Irish migrant labour. Its purpose was to provide schooling for their workers. Religion was not to be taught and classes were to be run at night to ensure that the daily running of the factories was not interrupted.[14] Beyond the five schools that it had managed to establish by 1825, there was no real movement until the Ursulines of Jesus arrived in Edinburgh in 1834. Two young women from Morayshire, Agnes Xavier Trail and Margaret Teresa Clapperton, had been sent to France for their novitiate with the Ursuline mother house in the hope that they would return to Scotland and establish a community in Edinburgh. It was a successful enterprise and by 1841 there were 14 sisters, and 20 years later this number had grown to 16 choir sisters and 10 lay sisters.[15]

The potato famines that struck much of Ireland and large parts of the Scottish Highlands in the mid-1840s sparked a migrant crisis, and Glasgow and its surrounding districts were soon flooded with desperate people arriving in search of food, support and employment. Unable to

cope with the humanitarian crisis unfolding around them, some of Glasgow's more proactive priests, such as Rev. Peter Forbes, began to make desperate pleas to religious communities in France and Ireland to send sisters to set up convents in Glasgow. Luckily for them, the number of women entering the religious life was expanding rapidly, and the number of active women religious (those who took simple as opposed to solemn vows and undertook works of charity outside of their convents) proliferated.

The first sisters arrived in Glasgow on 18 June 1847; they were two Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, Mother Adelaide Vaast and Mother Veronica Cordier, and their benefactress, Constance Marchand. They were followed two years later by five Sisters of Mercy from Limerick: Mother Moore; Sr. M. Clare McNamara; Sr. M. Catherine McNamara; Sr. M. Joseph Butler; and Sr. M. Clare Kerrin.[16] As I have detailed elsewhere, both of these pioneering communities experienced significant challenges before they were firmly established in the city, but they each engaged with teaching almost as soon as they arrived.[17] It was their early efforts which laid the foundation for Scotland's Catholic school system.

Religious communities could not simply go where they pleased—they had to have the permission of the local bishop, and so the communities that established themselves in Glasgow and elsewhere did so because they had been invited. It also tended to be the case that religious communities were concentrated in areas where the population was stable enough to support them and where there was the most need. In Scotland, therefore, the majority of the religious communities were concentrated in and around Glasgow, but other foundations were also made in centres like Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee. Consequently, it was in these areas where the bulk of the Catholic schools were located, and while the efforts were led by the women themselves, important partnerships formed between sisters and priests; some were difficult but others were extremely productive. George Rigg, a native of Kirkcudbrightshire and student of Blairs College and Scots College, Valladolid, had served as a school manager and parish priest in Edinburgh before being assigned to Perth in 1855. He was widely recognised as a champion of education and as someone who worked well with women religious, though this might have had something to do with the fact that three of his sisters and at least five of his cousins had joined the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow.[18]

In 1865, 18 years after the Franciscan Sisters first arrived in Glasgow, an education commission was established to investigate the state of education in the city. Glasgow was Scotland's largest city and was teeming with industry and international trade links. For a number of decades following the famines, Glasgow was a prime destination for economic migrants and, as a consequence, the number of Catholics ballooned.[19] The Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy, despite directing some of their attention to informal nursing work in response to epidemic disease, were teachers first and foremost and had prioritised the establishment of schools for infants, girls and young women. What they had been able to accomplish between their arrival and 1865 impressed inspectors and was highlighted in the *Report on the State of Education in Glasgow* prepared by the education commissioners, James Greig and Thomas Harvey.

When Greig and Harvey started their investigation of the city's existing school provision in the mid-1860s, they hardly knew where to begin. Equipped with a list of existing schools from the Lord Provost, they arranged their studies around districts, as opposed to parishes, to link up with the boundaries used for the 1861 census. Included within the report that they presented to Parliament in 1866 was substantial information about the city's Catholic schools, the teachers who ran them and the registered children, including some information about their families. While they observed that there were 19 Catholic schools with 3,498 pupils on the rolls and an average attendance of 2,790, what struck them was the ubiquity of women religious.[20] The Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy were the principal teachers in 10 of these schools, whereas the Marist Brothers and the Jesuits ran four between them; five others were in the hands of lay mistresses and masters. These women religious were consistent in their focus that made them stand out in the eyes of the education commissioners:

> Apart from the education, we were struck, in the girls' schools especially, with the harmony existing between the Nuns or Sisters and their charges. The good manners and respectful tone of the children contrasted favourably with any other school for the same class in Glasgow. There is indeed something attractive and pleasing in the sisters' schools. There is an air of tranquillity and refinement about the Sisters themselves.[21]

The schools they ran were, for the most part, parochial but the Franciscan Sisters also ran a convent boarding school and the Marists and the Jesuits each ran a boys' college. In addition to these schools were two Catholic industrial schools and two Catholic reformatories that were also managed by the religious communities. The industrial schools were for 'vagrant' children or for 'criminal' children under 12, and the reformatories were for 'criminal' children over 12. The Franciscan Sisters managed the girls' industrial school and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, who had arrived from France in 1850, ran the girls' reformatory at Dalbeth; the boys' industrial school was run by the Marist Brothers and the reformatory was managed by a layman.[22] By no means did these schools and institutions include all the city's Catholic children since a number were 'scattered up and down in Protestant schools' and others did not go to school at all.[23]

The commissioners linked the expansion of Catholic schools to the city's growing Catholic population and according to them they were almost everywhere: 'Indeed it may be said that they are everywhere except in Blythswood'.[24] The drive to build Catholic schools was accelerating across urban Scotland, and beyond Glasgow the presence of women religious and their schools was being felt in Dundee, Edinburgh and Perth but also in Inverness, Aberdeen, Dornie, Elgin, Coatbridge, Lanark and Leith as the nineteenth century progressed. The proliferation of schools by the 1860s was remarkable given that a Catholic system did not actually exist prior to the late 1840s.[25]

Such an aggressive campaign of school building put significant pressure on already limited financial resources.[26] The teaching sisters were an invaluable resource during this critical period because they came from congregations which placed the education of girls and young women at the heart of their socio-religious mission and possessed significant authority as religious personnel. They had specialist skills, provided a form of teacher training to their membership and were extremely cost-effective—compared with lay teachers, both male and female, women religious were cheaper. Having taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, they could share resources and make limited funds stretch far, and although there were times when their salaries got communities through hard times, usually when new foundations were being established, they did not stop

working if they did not get paid. Their membership of communities belonging to increasingly international congregations afforded them a degree of security that was unavailable to the majority of the young women they taught. This is not to suggest that the sisters, especially the pioneering ones, did not face hardship, but rather it is a way of highlighting the fact that no matter how hard many of their pupils worked, acute poverty and necessity continued to force countless bright young women into factory, mill or other work throughout the century. What also set the sisters apart from lay female teachers was that there was no risk of them leaving to get married or to have children. Convent culture, its simplicity, contemplative atmosphere and the congregational rule by which all sisters lived shaped the culture of the schools they ran.

It has been noted, in relation to England, that educational reform progressed relatively smoothly because convents were able to attract 'educated middle- and even upper-class women to the teaching profession',[27] but the same can be said for Scotland. Communities like the Ursulines of Jesus, whose members tended to come from society's upper ranks, and middle-class communities, like the Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, ran the boarding schools which populated the ranks of the next generation of teachers. In Scotland, the sisters paid significant attention to their boarding schools because they were their lifelines. There is no doubt that the women religious were dedicated, through their vows and congregational rules, to provide service to the poor, but it would be incorrect to suggest, as some have done, that the Catholic education system originated in the schooling of poor children because it was very much a mix.[28] In fact, for those religious communities whose focus was only teaching, boarding schools almost always ran alongside the parish schools.

In spite of the class distinctions, which definitely informed the development of education, poverty was an issue that extended across Scotland and affected all the religious communities, both in terms of the funds they were able to access and the extent to which they influenced the life prospects of those who attended their parish schools. A culture of education had to be established and this was hampered by the irregular attendance of many of their pupils. Poor parents saw no practical value in sending their children to school when they could be sent off to work to

earn a wage or kept at home as minders for younger siblings. Poverty forces people to make these kinds of difficult choices, and since the relevance of education had yet to be fully appreciated by many of the poorest families, the sisters, like other teachers across Scotland, faced an uphill battle. In his letter to Harvey and Greig about the state of the schools in St Joseph's parish (Glasgow), Rev. Henry Thomson explained that although some of the parents could read, almost none could write and so trying to convince them that school was more important than work was practically impossible. He also observed that in spite of the Factory Acts, which were first passed in 1833 to protect children from exploitation, jobs in the silk mills, potteries, foundries, glassworks, paper mills and match works were still readily available to them. It was not so in the cotton mills, however, since they were more regularly policed.[29] The repercussions were definitive and stand as one of the main reasons why so many Catholic children failed to 'realise their true potential'.[30]

Democratising Education

As noted above, ensuring that Catholic schools existed at all and seeing to it that children attended them with some degree of regularity was a challenge, but it was one that needed to be met if education in Scotland was to become truly inclusive of religious minorities. One of the points highlighted in the introduction was that the pivotal role that women played in the development of Scottish education has been largely overlooked. In part this is because popular impressions are difficult to shift and the affection that many have for the romantic image of the local parish school master endures. What many fail to recognise is that these local figures were heavily dependent upon their wives and daughters.[31] Exploring the female contribution will provide a more complete understanding of what Scotland's national tradition actually looked like. Considering the contribution of the teaching sisters, what is clear is that they were central to bringing Scotland's Catholic schools to fruition and ensuring their firm establishment, as part of the national landscape, by 1900.

Following the landmark 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which brought elementary education under state regulation and passed author-

ity for education to locally elected school boards, the Catholic Church opted to run its own system. The decision to opt out of the state system was taken by the Church leadership because, in addition to being sceptical of state interference, it was felt that board schools promoted Presbyterianism and put the religiosity of Catholic children at risk.[32] O'Hagan and Davis are two scholars who have considered the links between education and national identity in Scotland and they observe that at a time when education across Europe was being absorbed by various states, the legislation introduced for Scotland in 1872 represented a move in the opposite direction because it empowered the established Church.[33] In spite of having its own schools, the Catholic Church was still required to ensure that they adhered to the regulations of the Act, and without access to rate support, the Church relied even more heavily upon communities of teaching sisters. They tended to be concentrated in the urban centres, but as the nineteenth century progressed, their influence began to extend across Scotland. Often this was indirect as the women, who had been taught by them, began to take up teaching positions all over including in rural areas where the sisters themselves were unable to go.

It was in the classrooms, in the spaces that existed between the state and the Church, where the influence of the women religious was most keenly felt because not only did they provide classroom teachers but their growing communities and the foundations that sprung up in new locations across many parts of Scotland enabled them to implement a degree of standardisation that had been largely absent. This strengthened education overall, but it was an extremely difficult period for Catholic schools since the cost of maintaining them was crippling. The endemic financial instability and the persistent lack of qualified teachers were major challenges that were exacerbated by the Church's decision, from 1872, to run its own system and by the new emphasis on provision and performance.

On the eve of the Act, the Church established an Education Committee of the Eastern District (ECED) and linked it with London's Crisis Fund Committee, which had been established at the behest of the Catholic Poor School Committee to create a uniform structure across Catholic education in Britain. The ECED dealt with Catholic schools across the whole of Scotland's Eastern District including those in Edinburgh,

Dundee, Lochee, Haddington, West Calder, Kilsyth, Dalbeattie, Linlithgow, Dumfries, Crieff, Stirling, the Borders, Arbroath and Perth, and it was responsible for allocating its share of the grant money. While it was obvious to everyone that more schools needed to be built to accommodate the growing number of pupils, the conditions of the grant income specified that the money could not be used for the construction of schools or to support schools which doubled as chapels.[34] The service provided by the teaching sisters was critical to the system's survival. In 1878, women religious were teaching in 14 of the Eastern District's 48 Catholic schools, whereas male religious, namely the Marist Brothers, were in five others. It is fair to speculate that sisters had trained or taught the majority of the lay teachers who were running the rest.[35] It was a similar situation in the Western District, where Glasgow was located, where the sisters were also training and managing scores of pupil teachers.[36]

In the decade following the 1872 Act, the number of grant-aided parish schools in Scotland rose from 65 to 138, and one of the consequences of this growth was the feminisation of the teaching profession; in this respect the Catholic schools were part of a broader trend across Scotland since women were cheaper to employ than men.[37] Interestingly, though, the feminisation of teaching within the Catholic system had started decades earlier, when communities of women religious first began to establish themselves in Scotland's urban centres. One of the issues, though, was that access to support was unequal. Aspinwall estimated that the number of Catholic parish schools in Scotland ballooned from 90 in 1875 to 180, with roughly 60,000 pupils in less than two decades.[38] Irregular attendance notwithstanding, classrooms were still packed and teachers, particularly young and inexperienced pupil teachers, were overwhelmed and exhausted. Women religious were fortunate because they could count on constant support from their communities, whereas the lay teachers often worked alone and without the same level of support and guidance. This affected the progress of a number of Catholic schools, and according to one scholar these young women struggled, much more than their Board-school contemporaries, with inferior equipment, big class sizes and poor buildings.[39]

The convert surge, in the wake of the Oxford Movement, influenced Catholicism in Scotland dramatically and transformed female education

in an attempt to align it more closely with Victorian ideals of femininity. The number of women entering the religious life grew significantly during this period and the personal and collective missions they embraced did much to shape a social welfare agenda where women were at the heart of social transformation. The religious life offered women the opportunity to fulfil their ambitions of service to God through public works of charity, and the work they undertook helped them to acquire a level of self-confidence that lay women simply did not possess. These factors are difficult to quantify, but they had a significant impact on the personal development of countless young women.

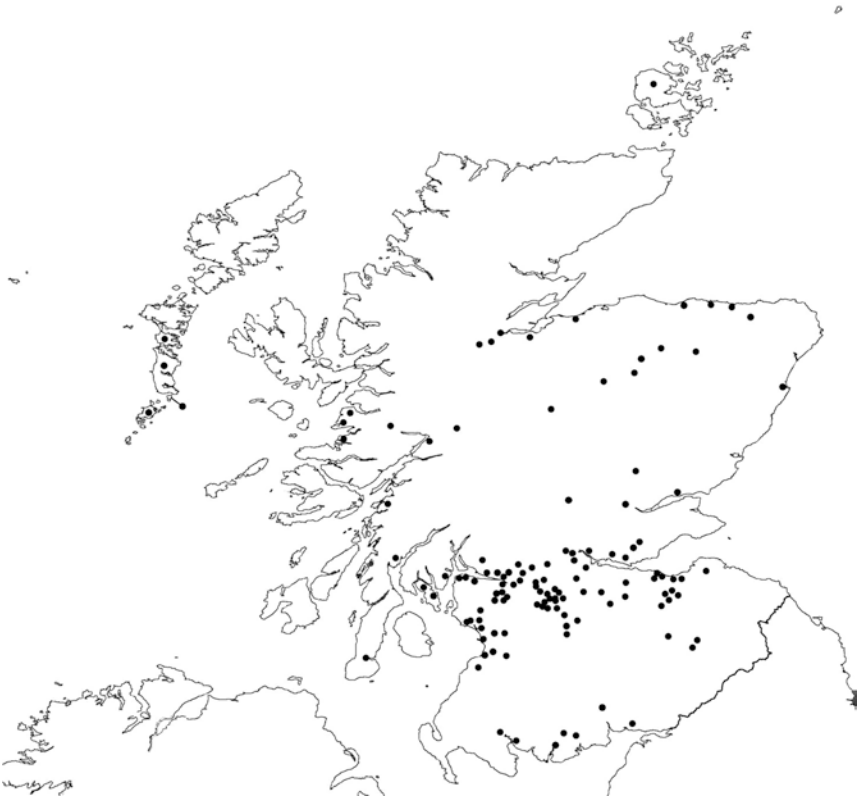
The primary objective of a teaching sister was to ensure that her pupils would become dutiful Catholics with a firm grasp of the Church's teachings, but for those who became teachers themselves, valuable skills were passed on in the process. The sisters' connections with European congregations meant that their teaching techniques were constantly shared and regularly updated which put them at a distinct advantage over their non-religious colleagues. It needs to be remembered that the majority of teachers, both lay and religious, had not attended training college, and in fact, the number of untrained teachers in Scotland's Catholic system was extremely high, with 'two-thirds' of women and half of men having no formal teacher training following the introduction of the 1872 Act.[40] The women religious, though, had a significant amount of 'informal' convent-based and on-the-job training. What this meant for the lay female teachers, in particular, was that coping with anything beyond the elementary level was extremely difficult.[41] This, of course, was yet another consequence of the overall poor financial condition of Scotland's Catholics.

The recruitment of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur was a deliberate attempt to legitimise the Catholic system in Scotland. A professional and much-respected international congregation of teachers and teacher-trainers, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur reshaped Catholic teaching in Scotland and their arrival signalled a 'deepening mutual understanding and collaboration between the Catholic Church and the State'.[42] They boosted teaching standards by making training available locally, whilst also enhancing the authority of the Scottish Education Department. Senior figures like Sir Henry Craik, the Department's secretary, welcomed them since their presence countered the growing authority of the univer-

sities over teacher training.[43] Although they only arrived in Glasgow in 1894, their connection with education in Scotland went back a number of years. Records show that by 1887 roughly 330 of the 1300 young women, who trained at their Mount Pleasant teacher training college in Liverpool, were from Scotland, and of these 60 became sisters themselves, with 30 choosing the Notre Dame congregation.[44] After arriving in Glasgow, the new superior, Sr Mary of St Wilfred, received a friendly good luck note from those sisters she had left in Liverpool:

> O weel for thee in usquebaugh
> To pledge you Dowanside
> And auld Mount Pleasant greeted sair
> She wasna by thy side –
> But sin we canna gang to thee
> We send this glass o' wine
> Wi wishes true and triple cheer
> To ane wha for herself is dear
> And for the Auld lang syne.
> *
> We hope indeed that a' the nuns
> That lo'ed thee mony years
> May drink thy right guid health in tea
> A-sitting on their chairs
> But sin the Mither's cross the Tweed
> They needs maun bide a wee –
> Yet still their hearts can rin awa
> Wi wishes true frae ane and a'
> And a glass o'wine to thee.[45]

Many of the women who trained in Liverpool returned to Scotland and ended up teaching all over as Map 1.1 reveals. The Aspinwall list includes the names of 321 women, who were trained by the Sisters of Notre Dame at Mount Pleasant, and who taught, at some point in their careers, at Catholic schools in Scotland. The vast majority (197) taught in Glasgow schools, but the list reveals that there were many others who travelled further afield to places like Barra, Beauly, Castle Douglas, Kingussie, Tomintoul, Bute, Orkney, Aberdeen, Gourock, Peebles and Dufftown.[46]



Map 1.1 Locations of female teachers trained by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Liverpool (Many thanks to John Bennet for constructing this map from the names included in the Aspinwall list.)

Since the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur were a congregation of professional teachers, pedagogy was an integral part of each member's religious development. Importantly, their overarching ethos was that 'Human beings (including women) should be encouraged to develop their physical, mental and spiritual capacities to the full' and so their trainees—lay and religious—were encouraged to develop an intellectual capacity that those who did not train with them found difficult to do. The knock-on effects were significant since they, as teachers in their own right, were able to pass on a higher level of knowledge and encourage a

greater degree of creativity in their students than most of their contemporaries.[47] In Glasgow, this tradition helped to embed intellectual skills, and for sisters and their pupils with special abilities, the community offered unprecedented support. Two prominent examples were Sr. Monica Taylor, the niece of an industrial chemist, who retired as an internationally renowned biologist, and Sr Marie Hilda, a convent-educated Australian native, who was widely recognised as a pioneer of child guidance.[48] Neither would have achieved what they did had they not had the support of their congregation, which was unusual for a religious community since the common practice was to promote strict equality among the sisters to ensure that no one stood out from the rest, regardless of any special abilities one might possess. In Liverpool, the community's archives is a folder about Taylor and in it is an interesting account of how science experiments were brought to the convent. Taylor's uncle, who initially dismissed her desire to obtain a B.Sc. because of her sex, changed his mind and decided to do what he could to help the sisters' pupils to learn about science so that they would be in a better position to teach it. A former pupil offered the following memory:

> One Saturday in the year 1891, lorries came to the convent with a great deal of scientific apparatus from the chemist's own laboratory. On seeing this the sisters quickly prepared the 'new room' with long tables suitable for demonstrations…. When the chemist and his assistant arrived he demonstrated the experiments described in the text books the children were using … the children were thrilled with these experiments, never having seen anything like it before, and therefore taking a keen interest.[49]

Apart from cultivating the intellectual potential of the women who trained with the sisters in Glasgow, Dowanhill provided an unprecedented advantage for enhancing the democratic ideal: its principal, Sr Mary of St Wilfred (Mary Adela Lescher), was female, and under her direction the congregation's influence and reach spread quickly. When Dowanhill opened in 1894, there were just 22 students, but by 1900, there were over 80 and teaching had been transformed 'from a last resort into a positive career choice'.[50] The last frontier, of course, was university and here, too, the sisters were successful in making headway. Having first

secured a link with the University of Glasgow, the Sisters of Notre Dame sent many of their students there for classes, and a number also went on to obtain degrees. Women such as Eleanor Smith (M.A.), Katheleen Nolan (B.Sc.), Isabella Robertson (M.A.), Ealeanor Kelly (B.Sc.), Kathleen Walsh (M.A.), Gertrude Cheadle (M.A.) and Janet Lomax (M.A.) were some of the many women who obtained degrees, mostly from the University of Glasgow, after having studied first at Dowanhill. Janet Lomax, whose honours were in Latin and French, would have received a 'valuable scholarship' had it not been for the exclusion of Catholics.[51] This access to higher education enabled women to develop their intellectual potential whilst solidifying a Scottish Catholic middle class.

Conclusion

Over the course of the nineteenth century, women made a major contribution to Catholic life and identity in Scotland because of the educational paths they pursued, but we still know too little about them and about the women, both lay and religious, who made this possible. Much of the credit for improving the education on offer to Catholic children, but especially to girls and young women, needs to go to the communities of women religious whose vocation enabled them to dedicate their lives to improving the educational prospects of a group of children whose families were more largely unfamiliar with schooling. It was not until the 1880s and 1890s that their influence began to be widely felt as the 'cohorts of well-educated, middle-class female teachers capable to improving the intellectual capacity' they had trained spread throughout the system.[52]

Notes

1. Kim Lowden, "Women Religious and Teacher Education: A Case Study of the Sisters of Notre Dame in the Nineteenth Century", in Mary Eaton, Jane Longmore and Arthur Naylor (eds.), *Commitment to Diversity: Catholics and Education in a Changing World* (London: Cassel, 2000), 67.

2. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/2652381.stm; http://www.scotsman.com/news/scotland/top-stories/galbraith-under-fire-for-claiming-catholic-schools-cause-sectarianism-1-735750; http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13202586.Two_in_five_Scots_oppose_Catholic_schools__first_major_survey_into_sectarianism_finds/ (accessed 22 October 2015).
3. Helen Corr, "An Exploration into Scottish Education", in W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland. Volume II, 1830–1914* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 290.
4. Lindy Moore, "Invisible Scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872", *History of Education*, 13(2), 1984, 121–137; idem, "Education and Learning", in Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (eds.), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 111–139.
5. J. H. Treble, "The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878–1978", *Innes Review*, 29(2), 1978, 111–139.
6. T. A. FitzPatrick, "Catholic Education in Glasgow, Lanarkshire, and South-West Scotland Before 1872", *Innes Review*, 36(2), 1985, 86–97.
7. John F. McCaffrey, "Education and National Identity: the Scoto-Irish Experience and Aspirations", in Susan M. Parkes (ed.), *Education and National Identity: The Irish Diaspora*, special issue of *Aspects of Education*, 54, 1997, 55–71.
8. Bernard Aspinwall, "Catholic Teachers for Scotland: The Liverpool Connection", *Innes Review*, 45(1), 1994, 47–70; Ian Stewart, "Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh", *Innes Review*, 46(1), 1995, 52–66. T. A. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service: Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895–1995: A Centenary Celebration* (Bearsden: St Andrew's College, 1995).
9. Sr Dorothy Gillies, "A Pioneer of Catholic Teacher-Training in Scotland", *Studies from the Notre Dame Archives*, 1(1), 1978.
10. Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2005) and idem, "Catholic working-class girls' education in Lowland Scotland, 1872–1900″, *Innes Review*, 47(1), 1996, 69–80; Francis J. O'Hagan and Robert A. Davis, "Forging the compact of church and state in the development of Catholic education in late nineteenth-century Scotland", *Innes Review*, 58(1), 2007, 72–94; S. Karly Kehoe, "Constructing a system of education", in idem, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism,*

Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 110–148.

11. Jane McDermid, "Catholic women teachers and Scottish education in the nineteenth and early twentieth", *History of Education*, 38(5), 2009, 605–620.
12. S. Karly Kehoe, "Border Crossings: *Being* Irish in Nineteenth-Century Scotland and Canada", in Mary Hickman and Jim MacPherson (eds.), *Irish Women in the Diaspora: Theories, Concepts and New Perspectives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 152–167.
13. McCaffrey, 'Education and National Identity', 61.
14. FitzPatrick, 'Catholic Education', 87.
15. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 77.
16. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 81–88.
17. See Chapter 3 in Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*.
18. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 100.
19. John McCaffrey, "Politics and the Catholic Community since 1878", *Innes Review*, 29(1), 1978, 142–145.
20. James Greig and Thomas Harvey, *Report on the State of Education in Glasgow*, Education Commission (Scotland), 1866, 79.
21. Greig and Harvey, *Report*, 81.
22. Greig and Harvey, *Report*, 104–105.
23. Greig and Harvey, *Report*, 79 and 98–99.
24. Greig and Harvey, *Report*, 78.
25. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 115.
26. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education', 117–121.
27. Lowden, 'Women Religious', 70.
28. James C. Conroy, "A Very Scottish Affair: Catholic education and the State", *Oxford Review of Education*, 27(4), 2001, 553.
29. Greig and Harvey, *Report*, 157–158 (Appendix 5). Letter of Rev. Henry Thomson (St Joseph's R.C. Schools, N. Woodside Road, Glasgow, May 17th, 1865): "On the state of education among the Roman Catholics of Glasgow".
30. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education', 121.
31. Jane McDermid, "No Longer Curiously Rare but Only Just within Bounds: Women in Scottish History", *Women's History Review*, 20(3), 2011, 390.
32. O'Hagan and Davis, 'Forging the compact', 77.
33. O'Hagan and Davis, 'Forging the compact', 79–80.

34. Scottish Catholic Archives. ED9/13/4. Eastern District of Scotland Education Fund Report, 1871.
35. Scottish Catholic Archives. ED9/13/6. Eastern District of Scotland Education Fund Report, 1877–1878.
36. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 120–123.
37. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education', 113.
38. Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers', 47.
39. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education', 119. McCaffrey makes the same point: 'Education and National Identity', 60.
40. McDermid, 'Catholic women teachers', 617.
41. Stewart, 'Teacher Careers', 61; Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland*, Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education (No. 61), (London: University of London Press, 1970), 122–123; Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education', 117–118.
42. O'Hagan and Davis, 'Forging the compact', 83.
43. O'Hagan and Davis, 'Forging the compact', 85–86.
44. Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers', 50.
45. Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Provincial Archives Office, Liverpool. SNDL. DH.h/2. Card in small white envelope, 'To dear Sister Mary of St Wilfred from the Sisters of Mount Pleasant'.
46. Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers', 52–64.
47. Lowden, 'Women Religious', 82.
48. Gillies, 'Pioneer of Catholic Teacher-Training', 51–52; John Stewart, *Child Guidance in Britain, 1918–1955* (London: Routledge, 2013), 71–78.
49. SNDL. DH.h/5. Monica Taylor Folder. 'An Early episode in the teaching of science in convent schools as told by a pupil who entered the school in 1884 at the age of 7'.
50. Cruickshank, *History of the Training of Teachers*, 122; Lowden, 'Women Religious', 68.
51. SNDL. *Downhill Training College Magazine*, see 'University Notes' throughout the issues for years 1909–1914.
52. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 124.

5

The Role of Male Religious Orders in Education in Scotland in the Decades Leading up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

Tom O'Donoghue

Introduction

There is a long tradition of investigation and writing on the history of Catholic education which focuses, in the usual words of the researchers involved, on 'the contribution' of religious orders and congregations (the religious) to education in various countries. As the word 'contribution' indicates, the approach taken in many of the works produced in this tradition is often highly sympathetic to the activity of the religious. Furthermore, it often adopts a Catholic in-house type of language which is meaningful for those who grew up in an era when the presence of nuns, brothers and priests was central in the teaching force in Catholic schools. However, non-Catholics and Catholics of a younger generation can struggle to make meaning of what is written.

This chapter takes a different approach in providing an exposition on the role of male religious orders in Scotland in the decades leading up to

T. O'Donoghue (✉)
Graduate School of Education, The University of Western Australia, Crawley, Australia
e-mail: tom.odonoghue@uwa.edu.au

© The Author(s) 2019
S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_5

the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. While eschewing a sympathetic approach, neither does it adopt an unsympathetic one. Rather, the chapter seeks to promote a dispassionate understanding of the situation in time and place. To this end, it first sketches out the broad historical background to the spiritual, missionary and educational project of the Catholic Church (the Church) during the nineteenth century, and particularly in relation to how this coincided with a time when it was rapidly losing its temporal power. The project in question was central in the Church's task of seeking to re-assert its authority wherever possible and to expand it in new lands.

In the implementation of its project, the Church was able to draw upon some of the older religious orders as well as on a host of new ones. An exposition on the broad international context to this development is provided in the first section of the chapter, thus setting the scene for a consideration of the nature and extent of the role played by the male religious orders in education in Scotland. This consideration is dealt with under three main headings: the general background, schooling and involvement in education beyond schooling.

The Broad International Context

The religious way of life commenced with the ascetics of the desert during the period 250 A.D to 500 A.D.[1] The monastic movement followed between 500 A.D and 1200 A.D., with the Benedictines and the Cistercians being especially prominent. Over the next three centuries, from 1200 A.D to 1500 A.D, the mendicant orders, most notably the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Carmelites and the Servites, emerged and grew. The next group to flourish, from 1500 A.D to 1800 A.D, consisted of the apostolic orders, which included the Jesuits. The final group to emerge, primarily from the middle of the 1700s, comprised those orders deemed to be especially involved in institutional ministries. The orders of religious teaching brothers (brothers), alongside the orders of teaching priests, belong to this last era in the age of religious life within the Church. Brothers differed from priests in that their members, then as now, were not ordained clergy.[2] Another distinguishing feature

for long has been that, like those belonging to religious orders of priests, but unlike diocesan priests, they live in community.

All groups of religious are considered within this chapter under the term 'religious orders'. This follows the practice in 'ordinary' discourse. In saying this, it is recognised that Canon Law distinguishes between religious institutions, religious orders and religious congregations. However, it was considered that engaging here in outlining in detail the intricacies of what is involved would detract from focusing on the principal aims of the chapter.

What is necessary to make clear at this point is that within many religious orders (in the 'ordinary' sense of the term) of priests, brothers and nuns, there were two classes of members until after the Second Vatican Council. The great majority of female religious involved in education were 'sisters', a group distinguished in Canon Law from nuns. The popular practice, however, became one of using nuns as a generic term. Within most female religious orders also a distinction was made between 'choir' nuns and 'lay nuns'.[3] The general pattern was that lay nuns, who could be identified by the more humble clerical garb they wore, carried out the domestic work in the convents so that the choir nuns could be free to pray the Divine Office, engage in intellectual pursuits and do the apostolic work of the order. Priests who were teachers were either diocesan priests and thus belonged to a group which had no equivalent of lay nuns, or were members of religious orders of priests, which did; those in the lesser ranks of religious-order priests were termed brothers. The work of these non-ordained personnel consisted of domestic duties, heavy maintenance work and farm labouring.

Religious brothers who were members of religious orders of priests must not be confused with those belonging to religious orders of brothers like the De La Salle Brothers, the Marist Brothers and the Irish Christian Brothers. Like the religious orders of nuns and priests, they lived in community and took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.[4] As with nuns, they differed from priests in that they were not ordained. Occasionally a community of religious orders of brothers had a small number of 'domestic brothers'. Their principal duties were to keep the house or monastery clean and to do general maintenance work.

Historically, the most central characteristic of the way of life of priests and brothers of all kinds, as with nuns, for most of the period under

consideration in this chapter is that while they worked in the world they also had to divorce themselves from the world as much as possible. In other words, they were religious first and foremost, and teaching, while deemed to be a very important role, was always in accord with and, where necessary, took second place to their spiritual life.[5] Indeed, the expectation in this regard was made crystal clear to all aspiring to be priests and brothers even before they took one step over the threshold and entered the cloister. Once inside, the message continued to be reinforced among recruits of the orders and with great regularity and increasing intensity from year to year, as they proceeded through the various stages of the priesthood and brotherhood. In this way, they became more and more socialised into what Goffman has termed a 'total institution'.[6]

Goffman defined a 'total institution' as 'a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life'. Members of religious orders of brothers and priests certainly lived a life that conformed to this definition. This was a life distinguished from the basic social arrangements in modern Western society whereby the individual 'tends to sleep, play and work in different places with different co-participants, under different authorities and without an overall rational plan'. For priests and brothers, the barriers separating these various spheres of activity were broken down, so that, as with members of other total institutions, their life conformed to the following characteristics identified by Goffman:

> First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same things together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, the whole sequence of events being imposed from above by a series of explicit, formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institutions.[7]

Certain deviations from these characteristics can be pointed out in the case of the life of teaching priests and brothers, but these were minor

rather than major. Regarding the first characteristic, for example, namely that all aspects of life are conducted in the same place, it is certainly the case in some locations that brothers and priests who were members of religious orders had to venture away from the monastery if the school, or church building, were not also located on one site, but their rules were designed to ensure that they remained as oblivious as possible to 'the outside world' as they moved through it daily.

In their more than 16 centuries of existence, religious orders have experienced cycles of expansion, stagnation and even collapse due to various upheavals. One great period of upheaval in the modern era was caused by the French Revolution of 1789; yet by 1850, the decline that had set in was reversed.[8] Indeed, over the nineteenth century as a whole, more than 600 new religious orders were founded within the Church worldwide. A distinguishing feature of these new orders, along with some of the older ones that were reconstituted, was that they were oriented around specific areas of work. Teaching was one of the most prominent of such works, so much so that, as Wittberg has pointed out, the century has been designated by some authorities as 'the age of the teaching orders within the history of the Church'.[9]

The domination of Catholic schooling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by members of religious orders was partly a consequence of the Church being embattled since the Reformation. Of particular significance was its loss of temporal power throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the Papal States being reduced to no more than 108.7 acres in 1870.[10] The response throughout most of the century was to engage in an all-out war on Liberalism, viewing it as a doctrine fuelling a desire to strip it of its worldly influence. The threat, as the Church saw it, was coming from an increasingly pluralist and rationalistic society, and it responded by a vigorous assertion of its exclusive claims to truth and authority. The ideology underpinning its approach was distinguished, as Connolly suggests, 'by its political conservatism, its exaltation of papal authority, and its acceptance of a dogmatic, combative theology'.[11] A highly organised system of ecclesiastical administration which was clerically dominated and hierarchical, as well as being very strongly centralised, was also promoted.

Because the educational work of the teaching religious was constructed by the Church as being a vocation rather than a career, they were able to

ensure that Catholic schooling was shaped in a manner that served the Church's interests. Overriding all else was the interest in making sure that religious instruction was provided in the schools.[12] The outcome was the provision of special lessons in which Catholic prayers and doctrines were taught. In addition, great stress was placed on using every opportunity to promote Catholic principles and ideals when teaching the various subjects on the secular curriculum, while religious pictures, statues and extracurricular activities were harnessed to great effect to create an all-pervasive religious atmosphere in the schools.[13] Furthermore, the importance of providing a basic elementary education in reading, writing and arithmetic for the majority of Catholic children was stressed.

Viewed in the widest sense, the great expansion in Catholic education internationally at the primary school level in the nineteenth century can be seen as having been part of a major effort driven by the middle classes in various European countries which cut across religious denominations and was aimed at pacifying and regulating the lower classes.[14] The Church, however, had its own additional motivation, driven by its mood of intransigent defiance as it responded internationally, as has already been pointed out, to what it saw as a hostile world. Schools came to be seen by the Church as one of its instruments for holding on to, and re-establishing its control over, the faithful at a time when it was rapidly losing its temporal influence. Intimately related to this was the view of the Catholic Hierarchy in countries where Catholicism was not the religion of the majority that education was important in elevating the status of Catholics so that, in turn, the status of the Church itself would be elevated. For this reason also, the Church expanded its efforts in secondary schooling (albeit at a much slower rate than with primary schooling) with the advent across many Western countries of mass state secondary school education.[15]

The General Background

Given the overall thrust of this book, all that is required here is the presentation of a very general overview of the development of Catholic education in Scotland up until 1918.[16] McDermid[17] has pointed out that until the late eighteenth century, the majority of the 30,000 Scottish

Catholics lived in the Highlands and Hebridean Islands and their marginal position remained essentially unchanged until the second decade of the nineteenth century when the country experienced substantial Irish Catholic immigration.[18] Conroy has made the same observation when indicating that by the time of the passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act the provision of education in the country compared favourably with that in other European countries in terms of access to, and attendance at, primary and secondary schools.[19] Referring to this context, McDermid has also pointed out that most of the newly arrived Irish Catholics were much too poor to consider education for it to have any significance for them.[20]

By the middle of the 1800s, the majority of Catholics lived in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.[21] This was due initially to population movement to these districts, first with the coincidence of Highland clearances and the city's industrial expansion, and later because of Irish migration. An outcome, as Conroy tells us, is that the Church began to provide education, beginning in Glasgow, where a number of schools were created from 1817 onwards.[22] Gradually, O'Hagan, points out, 'the Catholic community through its Bishops and their representatives became more organised with the establishment of the Catholic Schools Society, the Catholic Institute, and the Catholic Poor Schools Committee, established by the Bishops of England and Wales and subsequently joined by the Scottish Hierarchy'.[23] These bodies, he states, 'became the conduit for the small and generally unsystematic sums of grant-aid available'.[24]

There were few Catholic schools in the Highlands and Islands. On this, McDermid has noted that before the 1872 Act the only schools in the Catholic and Gaelic-speaking heartland of South Uist, Barra and Eriskay were provided by Protestant organisations, of which the Church was very suspicious.[25] Referring to the country as a whole, Conroy has concluded that the quality of education on offer in Catholic schools remained woefully inadequate.[26] In a similar vein, McDermid states that 'the Hierarchy relied particularly on female religious to socialise and civilise the children of the immigrant poor'.[27] She also argues that because teacher training remained under the control of Protestant denominations with no Catholic college existing in Scotland until the mid-1890s, 'Catholic teachers, themselves poorly educated and uncertified had to rely on learning by rote and the tawse'.[28]

The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act 'offered the possibility for Catholics to maintain schools of a reasonable standard and gradually to create a small but significant middle class through the much more focused and systematic financial support'.[29] It provided for any ecclesiastical body to be able to transfer its schools to local school boards which would then assume financial responsibility for their maintenance. However, both the Episcopalian Church and the Catholic Bishops of Scotland decided to continue, where possible, to provide their own schools, primarily to safeguard religious education from both the Church of Scotland and secularisation. At the same time, Catholic schools did continue to receive grant funding; between 1872 and 1918, the number of Catholic schools in receipt of grant aid rose sharply from 65 to 224.[30] Nevertheless, they continued to be characterised by teacher shortages, poor wages, high teacher—pupil ratios and cramped accommodation. The situation was exacerbated by the large number of unskilled, low-waged Catholic workers having to withdraw their children from school as soon as they were capable of earning a salary. McDermid also points out that before 1872, 'contrary to the situation in the parochial school system, it appears that Catholic girls in Glasgow had a better (relatively speaking) education than Catholic boys because of the earlier arrival of female religious orders'.[31] This began to change when the Marists arrived in Glasgow (1858) and took charge of boys' education, followed by the Jesuits (1859) who concentrated on middle-class boys. In saying this one must not lose sight of the fact that the overall under-development of Catholic elementary education meant that only 3 per cent of pupils in Glasgow were undertaking post-primary study until the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act.

Male Religious Orders and Schooling

Before 1560, the religious in Scotland, members of the 'old orders', were monks, canons regular and friars in the case of men, while the women were few in number and were strictly enclosed. Some of the old orders returned in the nineteenth century, but they were a very small minority. The great majority of the orders that arrived were termed 'active' orders

and were unenclosed. These orders of sisters and brothers came at the request of the clergy in order to provide elementary Catholic education for the poor children in the Lowland towns and to care for the sick and destitute in the urban ghettoes.[32] This situation arose largely because of the 400,000 or more Irish men and women who migrated to Great Britain between 1841 and 1851. The bulk of the teaching work was taken up by the teaching orders of nuns who, with Catholic lay women teachers, taught primarily in primary schools, and especially in parish schools, while also providing Catholic secondary education for a relatively small number of girls. No convent school, however, was established amongst the Catholic population in the Highlands and Islands.

The same general geographical pattern of provision, with one or two exceptions, prevailed with regard to Catholic boys' schools run by male religious orders. In line with the Church's commitment to building up a Catholic middle class as well as providing basic elementary education for the great majority, two Glasgow boys' schools, St Mungo's Marist Brothers school and St Aloysius' Jesuit school, were established amongst the heavy Clydeside concentration of Catholics. The Marist Brothers established St. Mungo's in 1858[33] and followed up with schools in Dundee (1860), Dumfries (1873), Edinburgh (1877–1888), St Kentigern's, Glasgow (1907) and St. Joseph's, Glasgow (1919). St Aloysius' College was established by the Jesuits in 1859, followed by Sacred Heart Edinburgh (1860), Dalkeith, Midlothian (1861), Galashiels (1863–1902), Airdrie (1916–1917) and Bothwell (1917). The Benedictine monks opened a school in their monastery at Fort Augustus in 1880. Early in the next century, the De La Salle Brothers commenced the provision of education; they opened schools in Tranent, East Lothian (1914), in Bishopbriggs, Glasgow (1915), in Edinburgh (1918) and in Slatefield, Glasgow (1919).

The first male order to establish schools during the period under consideration, as has already been noted, was the Marists.[34] This order is more correctly known as the Marist Brothers of the Schools. It was founded in France, at La Valla, in 1817, by Marcellin Champagnat, a young French priest of the Society of Mary, otherwise known as the Marist Fathers (SM), or The Society of Mary. The origin of the Marist Fathers was the Catholic revival that took place in the Archdiocese of Lyons after the French Revolution. A small group of young men preparing

for ordination to be priests for the archdiocese decided to form a new religious order. They were influenced by the work of the Jesuits. They were also cognisant of the need 'to do good quietly'; prior to the Revolution, the Jesuits in Western Europe had been suppressed because they had been deemed to have become too powerful within the Church. The outcome was the establishment of the Marist Fathers, with the objective of facilitating the Catholic revival through conducting parish missions in France and doing missionary work overseas.

Champagnat was one of the early members of the Marist Fathers and he established the order of the Marist Brothers when he commenced training a group of young men as catechists. He then went on to prepare them as teachers to educate poor boys according to the methods of the De La Salle Brothers. Eventually he formed them into a religious order based very much on the De La Salle 'rules'. Soon members were spreading across France in response to requests from parish priests to staff schools in their parishes. By 1840, when Champagnat died, there were 280 brothers working in education in various parts of the world.

In 1847, at the invitation of Bishop (later Cardinal) Wiseman, the Marist Fathers arrived in London to take charge of St Anne's parish in Spitalfields. Then, on 23 August 1858, St Mungo's Academy in Glasgow was opened by the Marist Brothers. FitzPatrick points out that in the 1880s the roll here approached 150, and in 1882 a start was made on turning the school into a more extensive establishment.[35] Much of the development was overseen by a Frenchman, Brother Ezechiel, who arrived as director of the school in 1892 and continued in that role for the next 17 years, by which time the other schools of the order already noted had been opened. However, as FitzPatrick has pointed out, not only was there no major demand for secondary school education but even at the primary school level there was pressure on children to enter the workforce at a young age, with a unique system developing in Dundee called the 'half-time' system, which facilitated those beyond third standard and at least 11 years of age, being able to spend, in alternate weeks, 3 days and 2 days at school and the rest of the week tending the machinery in the mills.[36]

The second male order to open schools, it will be recalled, was the Jesuits, more correctly known as the Society of Jesus. Established in 1534

by St Ignatius of Loyola, the order became famous for founding schools, colleges, universities and seminaries around the world, and for engagement in intellectual research. The opening of schools in Scotland during the period under consideration in this chapter meant a return of the order to the country; it had had a significant presence there up to its suppression by Rome in 1773.

When St. Aloysius College was opened, boarders were received from all parts of Scotland. McCabe has also noted that it established a grammar school-like tradition, stating:

> Three levels of instruction took care of an elementary school for boys aged seven to nine; an intermediate division, for boys aged ten to thirteen, who studied the ordinary branches and some rudiments of algebra and geometry; and advanced classes for boys older than thirteen, who read Greek, including Homer and Xenophon, Euripides and Thucydides; Latin, including Virgil, Horace, and Livy; elementary French, Italian and German; algebra and geometry.[37]

The opening of a school by the Benedictines also gave a new profile to this particular monastic order which, like the Jesuits, had been prominent in Scotland in pre-Reformation days.

Correctly known as the Order of St. Benedict, the Benedictines owe their origin to St. Benedict of Nursia who opened a monastery at Subiaco in Italy around 529 A.D. The Benedictine monks commenced construction of their monastery building at Fort Augustus in 1876 and completed it in 1880. In one wing of the monastery a school for boys of the upper classes opened with 8–10 pupils. The following years there were 15 boys in attendance being taught by five Benedictine priests, a junior and three lay brothers. The land for the monastery and school was given to the English Benedictines by Lord Lovat, a leading local Catholic aristocrat and landowner,[38] and the salaries of the teachers were paid by Lord Bute, a convert to Catholicism. In 1882 the monastery was raised to the status of an abbey and pupil numbers grew to about 60. The school closed after 16 years, but re-opened, again as a boarding school, in 1920.

The final male religious order to open schools in Scotland during the period under consideration was, as already noted, that of the De La Salle

Brothers.[39] This is the popular title for the religious order of brothers more correctly known as the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The order was established by a French priest, Jean Baptiste De La Salle, at Reims, in France, in 1680, and has been prominent in educational work of all kinds throughout the world since the eighteenth century. It was established in particular for the education of the children of artisans and the poor.

Initially, the order was active, not so much in the establishment of schools, but in the provision of trained teachers for the existing Catholic schools in France. When the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* was published in 1913, it picked out two pedagogical innovations of the De La Salle Order for particular note.[40] The first of these was the employment of the vernacular language in teaching reading. This approach, so common at the present time that considerations of the possibility that other approaches might be undertaken rarely arise, was innovative when introduced by the De La Salle Order, since the practice in schools in France at the time was largely to teach reading by using Latin texts. The second innovation was the use of 'the simultaneous method'. This contrasted with 'the common approach', which was that of one-on-one instruction within the groups of students allocated to individual teachers. It has been concluded that 'a consequence of this new method of teaching was the dividing up of the children into distinct classes according to their attainments', and that later on there was 'formation of sections into classes in which the children were too numerous or too unequal in mental development'.[41]

During the French Revolution, the De La Salle Order was suppressed, but it was restored in 1802, and over the next 10 years regrouping took place. Soon there were houses in Italy, Corsica, Belgium, the Island of Bourbon and Cayenne. Within another 50 years, the order had a presence in Canada, the United States, Egypt, Germany, Singapore, Algiers, England, Ireland, Australia, Mauritius, India, the West Indies, the Cape Colony and Australia. Battersby notes that a sudden increase in the number of De La Salle Brothers in some of these countries took place in the early 1900s 'due principally to an influx of brothers from France following the application in that country of the Waldeck-Rousseau laws of 1901, and of the Combes laws of 1904'.[42]

Prior to coming to Scotland, the De La Salle Brothers opened their first foundation in England. This was in Clapham in 1855. Ten years later, they extended their presence north to Liverpool in 1866 and to Manchester in 1884. However, as has already been indicated, it was to be another 30 years before they opened a school in Scotland. This opening represented the first presence of the order in the country at any time in history.

Notwithstanding the large Irish proportion of the Catholic population in Scotland, the Irish Christian Brothers did not open a school in the country until as late as 1951.[43] This order was established in the city of Waterford, Ireland, in 1802, by a wealthy merchant, Edmund Ignatius Rice, for the education of poor boys.[44] In taking this direction, he was influenced by the work of the Presentation Sisters for the education of poor girls. Soon the order spread throughout Ireland, opening schools in various major centres of population. The work extended to include not only primary but also secondary and technical education, along with running orphanages and a school for the deaf. From Ireland, the order spread to Liverpool and other parts of England, and by the second half of the nineteenth century communities had been opened in Australia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, New Zealand and India. Early in the twentieth century, a presence was established in Rome and the United States. Dr Gillis, Bishop of Edinburgh, requested that the order open a school at Leith in 1838, but this did not eventuate. There was a similar outcome following an attempt in 1932 by Archbishop McDonald of St Andrews and Edinburgh to persuade the order to open an industrial school in Edinburgh.[45]

Male Religious Orders' Involvement in Education Beyond Schooling

Clearly the quality of education on offer in Catholic schools in Scotland in the early part of the period under consideration in this chapter was woefully inadequate. This can be attributed to such matters as irregular attendance and lack of punctuality by boys and girls, the inability of the Catholic community to afford to be able to pay the same level of wages as

could the Board schools, a heavier reliance on pupil-teachers than in Board schools and the high level of failure of Catholic pupil teachers at scholarship examinations. The pupil-teacher system had been introduced in 1845 in Scotland, as in England, to provide teachers for the elementary schools. It involved intelligent pupils being selected at 13 years of age to be apprenticed to teaching. They underwent an annual examination for graded personal payment, and after 5 years they were eligible to obtain a scholarship to proceed to a teacher training college.

A few female pupil-teachers were sent to Mount Pleasant College in Liverpool after it was opened by the Sisters of Notre Dame, in 1856, and to Digby Stuart College in Hammersmith, after it was opened by the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1870. The situation did not really start to improve, however, until after the Sisters of Notre Dame opened their teacher training college for females at Dowanhill, in 1895.[46] Indeed, Cruickshank has noted that within 20 years after the 1872 Act, while the number of Catholic schools inspected had increased from 22 to 176, more than two-thirds of their female teachers and half of their male teachers were untrained.[47] Also, the matter of poor teaching for both boys and girls was often compounded for Catholic students in the Highlands and Islands throughout all of the period, with teachers often being unable to speak Gaelic and having to rely on pupil-teachers to translate instructions to pupils.

In 1918, only 4 per cent of Scotland's Catholic schoolteachers were members of religious orders and they were concentrated in Lowland secondary schools. Keeping this context in mind, the proportion of this percentage that related to male teachers would have been smaller if the Marist Brothers had not sought to increase the supply of pupil-teachers amongst their own recruits.[48] This development was initiated by Br. Alphonsus, who had gained a teacher's certificate in 1861, having attended St Mary's Teacher Training College for males in Hammersmith, outside London, which was founded in 1850 by the Catholic Poor School Committee on the initiative of Cardinal Wiseman. The novitiate was then in Beaucamps, and as the number of English-speaking aspirants increased, Br. Alphonsus was transferred there to take charge.

In 1873 a General Chapter decided to combine Marist houses in Great Britain and its colonies into one Province overseen by an assistant general.

Under this new structure, Brother Alphonsus brought the novices under his guidance from Beaucamps to Dumfries. It was also decided to replicate at Dumfries the boarding school at Beaucamps at which English-speaking pupils had been accommodated from time to time. The syllabus of the South Kensington Science and Art Department was taught and students were prepared for university entrance examinations. In 1877, the novices were re-located to another site. Attention to their training both as teachers and religious was maintained.

A small number of males, both religious and lay, also attended St. Mary's Teacher Training College in Hammersmith. It was established on similar lines to that of the De La Salle Brothers at Ploermel, Brittany, where English students were sent between 1848 and 1851. In its first year St Mary's was run by a French brother. An English principal was appointed the following year. The original idea was that the college would be solely for the training of De La Salle brothers. In 1854, however, in response to a shortage of suitably qualified candidates, the decision was taken to admit lay students, and by 1860 only lay students were attending.

In 1899 St. Mary's became associated with the Congregation of the Mission (usually known as the Vincentians), who oversaw its transference further away from London, to Strawberry Hill, Twickenham.[49] The Vincentian order was established in France by Saint Vincent de Paul and five other priests in the early 1600s. Its rules were framed on those of the Jesuits and it was decided that its particular objectives would be the religious instruction of the poor, the training of the clergy and foreign missions. Very soon establishments were set up not only in France but also in Italy (1638), Tunis (1643), Algiers (1646), Ireland (1646), Madagascar (1648), Poland (1651) and Turkey (1783). The order contributed to teacher education in Britain until they left St. Mary's in 1992.

The notion of mission mentioned above did not relate only to ministering to those in far-off lands. Indeed, the concept of mission, as O'Hagan points out, was central to the work of all the religious orders working in Scotland.[50] From the middle of the nineteenth century, Scotland, as with Australia and New Zealand, was considered mission territory, with the work of the orders being defined as concerned with the spiritual, educational and social needs of Catholics as members of a minority community. This prompted some of the teaching orders to

engage in social and community work in addition to teaching in schools. Those male orders which contributed in this wider sense to the education of the community, along with those considered as being specifically concerned with schooling, were the Vincentians (in Lanark from 1859), the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (in Leith from 1859), the Passionists (in Glasgow from 1859), the Redemptorists (in Perth from 1867), the Franciscans (in Glasgow from 1868) and the Premonstratensians (in Wigtown from 1889 to 1896, and in Whithorn, Wigtownshire, from 1891 to 1895). FitzPatrick notes that shortly after the Marist brother, John O'Hara, arrived in Glasgow in 1830, he joined the St Vincent de Paul Society and, through it, with others, he set up four evening schools.[51] In a similar vein, O'Hagan notes that when the order opened schools in Glasgow in the 1860s, they also conducted night classes to give secular and religious instruction to working males.[52] Concurrently, they harnessed the Parish Young Men's Society to establish lending libraries, brass band groups and drama societies. The orders of priests working in Scotland also had a distinct involvement in Catholic education through conducting religious retreats for pupils in Catholic schools.[53]

Internationally, the best-known example of the involvement of the male religious in assisting working-class Catholics in Glasgow is that of the establishment of Glasgow Celtic soccer team. This was not run as a school-based team. Rather, it was set up by the Marist Brothers to promote community building among the working-class Catholics of the city, with the intention that it would also generate income towards the provision of free meals for poor school children.[54] More generally, this was part of the project of the orders aimed at raising the Catholic community out of the ghetto.[55] The Church also worked in a similar way through the promotion of the Irish Gaelic games of hurling and Gaelic football, thus supporting the work of Ireland's Gaelic Athletic Association with Irish immigrants in Scotland.[56]

Conclusion

Historically, while a variety of Catholic male religious orders have been involved in work of different types, including nursing, they have been primarily involved in teaching. The most central characteristic of their

way of life for most of the period under consideration was that, while they worked in the world, they also had to divorce themselves from the world as much as possible. In other words, those who taught, as with those engaged in providing other services for the faithful, were religious first and foremost, and teaching, while deemed to be a very important role, was always in accord with and, where necessary, took second place to that life.

Against this background, as has been pointed out, male religious were primarily involved at the primary school level in helping Scottish Catholics to maintain their commitment to their religion, and to acquire the fundamentals of Catholic religious doctrine and of an elementary education. To a much lesser though no less important extent, they also helped to elevate the status of Catholics in Scottish society through the provision of Catholic secondary school education for a minority. Much of this activity at both primary and secondary school level was focused on the children and grandchildren of Irish Catholic immigrants. However, amongst the student population were also those of Italian, Lithuanian and Polish Catholic migrants.

In making the points outlined above, it is important not to overemphasise the influence of the teaching religious relative to that of lay teachers since there were not enough nuns, brothers and priests to fill the places of teachers in the Catholic schools of Scotland at the time. Indeed, by 1918 only 4 per cent of the country's Catholic schoolteachers were members of religious orders. Also, while nearly all Catholic secondary schools were in their hands, the low numbers involved were such that they were not able to provide opportunities for Catholic secondary school education for all who desired to have it. Furthermore, the concentration of teaching religious was in Glasgow and, to a lesser extent, in Paisley, Dundee and Greenock. As a result, the primary schools in rural towns and rural districts throughout the country were staffed primarily by lay women. Related to this, McDermid has pointed to the claim that the Church's educational efforts largely disregarded the Highlands and Islands, and failed to consider the Catholic population there as 'a distinct, organic, cultural and linguistic entity'.[57] In a similar vein, when the Notre Dame training college was established in Glasgow in 1895, Gaelic was not part of the curriculum.

The Catholic male religious orders, like most other Catholics interested in the education of their co-religionists, welcomed the full state funding made available for Catholic schools under the provisions of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. The role of the orders in education over subsequent decades is one that needs to be taken up in another essay. Here it would be important to deal with the sorts of issues that have been dealt with in the present work. However, it is necessary to highlight that any projects related to it should also focus on a range of issues for which currently we only have silences for that era, as well as for the one that has been considered here. These include those issues which would necessitate investigating the memories of male teaching religious in their role as teachers, the memories of former pupils of 'regular' primary and secondary schools and those who attended orphanages and 'special schools', as well as the memories of those teaching religious who left the priesthood or the brotherhood. The realities of life in particular teaching orders and in individual houses and monasteries, including the drawing up of, and contestations on, educational policy, also need to be examined. There is also a need to try to capture the experience of the overall life of being a member of a religious teaching order and how communal living was negotiated, including the nature of any tensions that may have existed and how they were dealt with. Special attention in this regard needs to be paid to how lay brothers within teaching orders were seen by their congregation, how they were perceived within individual communities and how they perceived themselves. In a similar vein, there is also a need to investigate how members of different religious teaching orders perceived each other, in particular in relation to those orders that specialised in educating different classes. Addressing such matters would present very challenging issues to do with methodology and sources. However, it is a challenge that would be well worth taking up in order to further our knowledge on the role of male religious in education in Scotland.

Notes

1. I have dealt with this in T. O'Donoghue, *Catholic Teaching Brothers: Their Life in the English-speaking World, 1891–1965* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

2. Ibid., 156.
3. This account is based on that in C. Trimingham Jack, "The lay sister in educational history and memory", *Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society Annual Conference* (Auckland, New Zealand, 1998).
4. E. Smyth, "Much exertion of the voice and great application of the mind: teacher education within congregations of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto, Canada, 1851–1920", *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'Histoire de l'Éducation*, 6(3), and *History of Education Review*, 23(3), (Joint Issue), 1994, 97–113.
5. See T. O'Donoghue and J. Harford, "Addressing the apparent paradox of the Catholic sister principal, 1940–1965", *History of Education*, 13(6), 2013, 765–782.
6. E. Goffman, *Asylums* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).
7. Ibid., 11.
8. P. Wittberg, *The Rise and Fall of Catholic Religious Orders: A Social Movement Perspective* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 53.
9. Ibid.
10. E. O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 85.
11. S. Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1985), 27.
12. See T. A. O'Donoghue, *Upholding the Faith: The Process of Education in Catholic Schools in Australia, 1922–1965* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001).
13. Ibid.
14. See, for example, M. J. Hickman, "Catholicism and the nation state in nineteenth century Britain", in M. Eaton, J. Longmore and A. Naylor (eds.), *Commitment to Diversity: Catholics and Education in a Changing World* (London and New York: Cassell, 2000), 47–66.
15. See, for example, H. Judge, *Faith-Based Schools and the State: Catholics in America, France and England* (Wallingford, Oxford: Symposium Books, 2002).
16. For the broad background, see D. McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878–1978* (Glasgow: J. Burns, 1979). Particularly in relation to Catholic schools, see Br. Kenneth, *Catholic Schools in Scotland 1872–1972* (Glasgow: The Catholic Education Commission, 1972), and T. A. FitzPatrick, "Catholic Education in Glasgow, Lanarkshire and

South-West Scotland before 1872", *The Innes Review*, 36(2), 1975, 86–96.

17. See J. McDermid, "Catholic women teachers and Scottish education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries", *History of Education*, 38(5), 2009, 605–620.
18. See T. M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991).
19. See J. C. Conroy, "A very Scottish affair: Catholic education and the State", *Oxford Review of Education*. 27(4), 2001, 543–558.
20. See McDermid, 'Catholic women teachers'.
21. See T. Gourlay, "Catholic Schooling in Scotland Since 1918", *The Innes Review*, 41(1), 1990, 119–131; J. C. Conroy and M. McGrath, "Secularisation and Catholic education in Scotland", in G. R. Grace and J. M. O'Keefe (eds.), *International Handbook of Catholic Education* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 385–405; T. A. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland before 1972* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986); B. Aspinwall, "The formation of the Catholic community in the West of Scotland: Some preliminary outlines", *The Innes Review*, 33, 1982, 44–57; B. Aspinwall, "Catholic teachers for Scotland: The Liverpool connection", *The Innes Review*, 45(1), 1994, 47–70; J. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", *Records of the Scottish History Society*, 21, 1983, 275–300; J. H. Treble, "The development of Roman Catholic education in Scotland 1878–1978", *The Innes Review*, 29(2), 1978, 111–139.
22. Conroy, 'Very Scottish Affair'.
23. F. J. O'Hagan, *The Contribution of the Religious Orders to Education in Glasgow During the Period 1847–1918* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006).
24. Ibid.
25. McDermid, 'Catholic women teachers', 608.
26. Conroy, 'Very Scottish affair', 543–558.
27. McDermid, 'Catholic women teachers', 608.
28. Ibid., 606.
29. Conroy, 'Very Scottish Affair', 547.
30. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic education', 120.
31. McDermid, 'Catholic women teachers', 606.

32. M. Dilworth, "Religious orders in Scotland, 1878–1978", *The Innes Review*, 29(1), 1978, 94.
33. J. E. Handley, *History of St. Mungo's Academy* (Paisley: John Aitken, 1943).
34. This account is based on that in T. A. O'Donoghue, *Catholic Teaching Brothers: Their Life in the English-speaking World, 1891–1965* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 84–85, and M. G. Annis, "The Contribution of the Marist Order to Catholic education in Glasgow (1858–1900)", unpublished BA (Hons) thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1973.
35. T. A. FitzPatrick, "The Marist Brothers in Scotland before 1918", *The Innes Review*, 49(1), 1998, 1–10.
36. Ibid.
37. J. V. McCabe, *A History of St Aloysius' College 1859–1999* (Glasgow: St. Aloysius' College, 2000), 160.
38. This account is based on those in O'Donoghue, *Catholic Teaching Brothers*.
    Ibid., 32–33.
39. Ibid.
40. See http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=2922.
41. Ibid.
42. W. J. Battersby, *The De La Salle Brothers in Great Britain* (London: Burns and Oates, 1954), 77.
43. See F. A. Zwolinski, "The Congregation of Christian Brothers in Scotland, 1951–1983", *The Innes Review*, 49(1), 1998, 11–40.
44. This account is based on those in O'Donoghue, *Catholic Teaching Brothers*.
45. See Zwolinski, 'Congregation of Christian Brothers', 13.
46. D. Carrigan, *The Catholic Teachers Colleges in the United Kingdom: 1850–1960* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 136.
47. M. Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London: University of London Press, 1970).
48. T. A. FitzPatrick, *No Mean Service. Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895–1995: A Centenary Celebration* (Glasgow: St Andrews College of Education, 1995).
49. See J. McCann, "Contribution of the Vincentians to Catholic education in England and Ireland", *International Studies in Catholic Education*, 6(1), 2014, 91–107.

50. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 75.
51. T. A. FitzPatrick, "The Marist Brothers in Scotland before 1918", *The Innes Review*, 49(l), 1998, 7.
52. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 101–102.
53. M. B. Dealey, *Catholic Schools in Scotland* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1945), 133.
54. See T. Campbell and P. Woods, *The Glory and the Dream: The History of Celtic FC 1887–1987* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1986), and J. E. Handley, *The Celtic Story: A History of the Celtic Football Club* (Glasgow: Stanley Paul, 1960).
55. R. Boyle and P. Lynch (eds.), *Out of the Ghetto: The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998).
56. J. M. Bradley, *Sport, Culture, Politics and Scottish Society: Irish Immigrants and the Gaelic Athletic Association* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998).
57. McDermid, 'Catholic women teachers', 606.

6

The Role of Lay Women Teachers in Catholic Education Before the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

Jane McDermid

In his history of the intellectual life of the British working classes, Jonathan Rose presented two examples of Catholic education in early twentieth-century Scotland, both female, which he portrayed as typical of the elementary school experience of Scotland's largest minority. His impression from these early twentieth-century recollections was that compared to non-Catholics, at least before the 1918 Education Act, working-class Catholic adults

> gave their schools and teachers a much lower positive rating, were more likely to complain about corporal punishment in education, were less likely to see any benefit in their education, were far more prone to regret the quality of their schooling, and were much happier to leave school.[1]

Historians tend to explain the lower standards of Catholic schooling before the 1918 Act by pointing to the impact of large-scale migration from Ireland, especially from the 1840s, and linked to that the

J. McDermid (✉)
Southampton University, Southampton, UK
e-mail: J.McDermid@soton.ac.uk

© The Author(s) 2019

S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_6

generalized poverty of the mainly working-class Catholic population. More specifically, the Church's decision to remain outside of the national system of education set up by the 1872 Education Act accounts for the substantial under-funding reflected in inadequate accommodation, limited resources and heavy reliance on largely unqualified, poorly paid schoolmistresses.[2] The Catholic School Committee recorded that even at the end of the century, demand for qualified teachers and assistants was still far in excess of supply.[3]

Although he does not comment on the gender of the teachers, one of Rose's witnesses was taught by a woman, though it is unclear whether she was lay or religious. Nor is it clear whether she was certificated, but as the following discussion will show, in such a small rural school, it is likely that she was not, especially since teacher training remained under the control of the churches and there was no Catholic college in Scotland until the mid-1890s. Founded by the sisters of Notre Dame, it was to train schoolmistresses. A common complaint has been that women religious are often hidden from history or marginalized in contrast to the attention paid to lay mistresses.[4] However, since the 1990s considerable recovery work has been done on the religious teaching orders, whereas in the history of the schooling of Catholic working-class children in Scotland before the 1918 Education Act, less has been written on lay women despite the fact that they made up the majority of schoolmistresses.[5]

One of Rose's two witnesses grew up in a crofting family in the Grampians. Born in 1913, Anne Kynoch's first school was non-Catholic, and she regretted losing her 'intellectual freedom' when she moved to a Catholic school. Anne's recollection of the latter was as a 'prison and hell for me'. She felt

> insulted by the low academic standards, the history lessons grossly slanted in favour of Mary Stuart ('the blackmail of hate'), the time wasted on saints' lives and catechism, her teacher's sadistic bouts of caning ('which gave her great sensual pleasure'), and above all the restrictions on library privileges.[6]

For Rose, this bleak reflection is a telling indictment of Catholic elementary schooling, though he points out that 'memories can grow sour with age' and that the majority of people who recalled their school experience

did not share the dissatisfaction of these two women. Moreover, the pedagogy of rote learning and corporal punishment was prevalent in nineteenth-century Scotland and not confined to Catholic schools.[7]

Problems and Pressures

Although Catholics remained outside of the national system until the 1918 Act, the aim of the Church was to win acceptance from the host community while forming a distinct identity in what was a hostile environment.[8] Catholic education in the nineteenth century faced the twin problems of rapid population growth and mass migration. Until the late eighteenth century, the majority of the 30,000 Scottish Catholics had lived in the Highlands and Islands, with only three score or so in Glasgow, then migration from the former but especially from Ireland reversed this profile.[9] The census of 1851 showed that of the 207,367 Irish-Scots, 135,975 (66.6 per cent) had settled in the west-central region (Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire) where they made up 15.4 per cent of the population.[10] By the late 1870s around a fifth of the Scottish population lived in Glasgow, while two-thirds of those born in Ireland lived in the city and surrounding areas.[11] By 1910, when Catholics made up 10 per cent of Scotland's population, they were 17.6 per cent of Glasgow's.[12] Mary Hickman has argued that anxiety over the potentially disruptive influence of so many migrants of a generally reviled religion led the Church to adopt the strategy of separate education in order to strengthen Catholic but eliminate, or at least dilute, Irish identity.[13] As Karly Kehoe's chapter in this volume shows, the clergy relied particularly on female religious to spearhead the efforts to socialize and civilize the children of the migrant poor and to mould the daughters who would go on to make up the rank and file of elementary school teachers.[14]

In addition to overcrowding and large classes, Catholic schools suffered from irregular attendance and poor punctuality, and after the 1872 Act the standard of teaching remained lower and there was an even heavier reliance on pupil teachers, the majority of whom were female, than in the Board schools. Moreover, the failure rate of Catholic pupil teachers at scholarship examinations was high and those who passed did

not achieve high places. These problems were acknowledged by the Catholic School Committee which admitted that the Church could neither match the support for the professional development of teachers and pupil teachers extended by school boards nor afford the wages paid by even the smallest boards.[15]

The tradition in Scotland was of a male-dominated profession with the revered figure of the 'dominie' at its centre.[16] The Church made efforts to attract men to its schools by, for example, offering special grants to male pupil teachers and to students and teachers at male training colleges, but these had little impact.[17] By 1880 there were three to four times as many females as males at all levels of the teaching profession in the Glasgow Archdiocese.[18] A proposal to establish a training college for men foundered in 1907 because the bishops recognized that it would prove considerably more expensive than the female college.[19] Moreover, it was difficult to retain male teachers given the low salaries and alternative job opportunities.[20] With many fewer employment options, women, both lay and religious, constituted a cheap labour source.

Clergy and teachers felt they were up against not only the prejudice of the Protestant majority but also the ignorance of Catholic parents who tended to keep children from school as soon as they could contribute to the family income. In particular, heads often complained of mothers' attitudes to education and to teachers.[21] Still, before 1872 it appears that Catholic girls in Glasgow enjoyed a better (relatively speaking) education than boys, because of the earlier arrival of female religious orders, the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in 1847 and the Sisters of Mercy in 1849.[22] The arrival in Glasgow in 1858 of the Marist Brothers who took charge of boys' education and a year later the Jesuits who concentrated on middle-class boys might seem to have changed that, but this reversal of fortunes may have been more apparent than real due to the pupil-teacher system (introduced in 1846) which gave opportunities for those Catholic girls whose parents could afford to do without either their daughters' wages or their help at home.[23] Only a minority became pupil teachers, however, and even fewer went on to training college, for whereas the Church considered teaching a respectable occupation for a woman in contrast to factory work, the latter was better paid and the needs of the family came first.[24] Thus, the headmistress at St John's in Port Glasgow recorded in 1887 that 'one by one

girls who thought to work on in school in prospect of a [pupil teacher] vacancy, have left for employment which would presently add a little to the family income'.[25] Some pupils, notably in the textile regions of Renfrewshire and Dundee, were under the half-time system which both clergy and teachers found frustrating: the mistress of St James's school in Renfrew recorded that the reverend manager tried to persuade factory owners not to take on girls, insisting he would not admit half-timers but, she added, his threat did not improve attendance.[26]

In the mixed as in the single-sex schools, complaints of the impact of truancy on both academic progress and discipline persisted.[27] Headmistresses in Lowland schools frequently complained that mothers kept daughters in particular at home to help with domestic duties.[28] In the Highlands, boys and girls were recorded as absent helping on the croft and whereas girls were more likely to be kept from school to help in the home, teachers also regretted that boys' education was severely circumscribed by family circumstances.[29] Log books reveal that very few, girls or boys, stayed on into the senior standards: at St Mary's Girls' school in Glasgow in 1889, the mistress lamented that a number of pupils had been granted labour exemptions to leave early.[30] Mistresses also had to deal with children who only began to attend from the age of nine or ten: one complained they were 'almost unteachable' and a 'drag' on the other pupils.[31]

The Church favoured mixed-sex infant schools followed by either single-sex schools or separate departments within the same school, but generally this arrangement was possible only in larger urban centres.[32] Even there, a few schools were mixed-sex and had a lay female head teacher.[33] The Church considered women to be naturally best suited to teach infants and girls, but even in the Catholic boys' schools, female assistants were increasingly employed in the later Victorian period, and Francis O'Hagan gives the example of St Mary's Boys' school, Glasgow, which employed female teachers in the early 1900s.[34] Outside of Glasgow, sizeable towns such as Airdrie had separate schools for girls and boys, though the example from Geraldine Vaughan's study suggests parents were more willing to send sons than daughters: she found that in 1856 there were 120 pupils in boys' school, but only 80 pupils in the girls' school.[35] In small towns and rural areas, Catholic schools were mainly mixed-sex with a predominantly lay female staff: from my sample of 35

Catholic schools, of which 15 were in Glasgow, 24 were run by lay women, and of the 20 schools outside of Glasgow, 14 had lay headmistresses, 5 lay headmasters and 1 a female religious.[36]

Catholic school logs show a higher teacher-pupil ratio than in Board schools. In the smaller schools, a teacher was often supported only by monitors and pupil teachers, and in one case, in 1893, a pupil teacher substituted for a headmistress who was absent due to illness.[37] Class sizes in Catholic schools were generally large: at the end of the century, when the number of pupil teachers was decreasing, some classes accommodated up to 100 pupils with teachers experiencing unrelenting pressure from the 'constantly increasing' numbers of children.[38] Depending on numbers in the higher standards, teachers in mixed-sex schools found it more efficient to have the girls and boys in the same classroom, but as the mistress at Holy Cross, Glasgow, found early in 1900, it was not always possible to do so.[39]

Not surprisingly, the curriculum in the majority of schools was limited to meeting minimum government requirements for both sexes, with the focus on the '3 Rs' and, additionally for girls, domestic subjects. Whereas this emphasis on a specifically female curriculum reflected government policy, it was also central to the Catholic Church's strategy of surviving in a hostile environment by endorsing the values they shared with the wider society including the domestic ideal for women.[40] However, although female teachers predominated in schools, the range of domestic subjects on offer was limited, and there was some parental resistance to their prominence in the girls' curriculum.[41] Mistresses sometimes expressed resentment at the heavy burden of domestic subjects, especially in mixed-sex schools, but more often they complained that parents persistently declined to provide the necessary materials for their daughters, especially the younger ones.[42] In practice, Catholic schools found it difficult to support the range of domestic subjects offered in Board schools because of the additional expense and lack of suitable accommodation, as well as the burden on the mistresses who were often expected to teach these in addition to the basic curriculum, without having the opportunity to gain the necessary expertise. When subjects such as cookery and laundry were taught, conditions were often inadequate: in an unexceptional example from Glasgow in 1888, cooking was taught from a stove installed in a cupboard.[43]

Yet whatever the constraints and the additional load these put on the mistresses, notably in mixed-sex schools, the city's Archbishop was an enthusiastic supporter of efforts to extend the teaching of domestic economy in Catholic schools. He considered these essential for both the harmony and comfort of the family home and the health and prosperity of the community. This was reflected in his membership on the board of directors of the School of Cookery in Glasgow from its establishment in 1876.[44] Such an emphasis on the domestic also reflects the willingness of school managers to sacrifice academic, or 'specific', subjects for vocational, especially in the girls' curriculum, which in turn limited the range of what mistresses could teach.[45] Often, domestic economy was the only specific subject open to girls in Catholic schools. At least to the 1880s when other specific subjects were introduced, they appear to have been mainly reserved for boys.[46] Specific subjects were even less likely to be offered in Catholic schools in the Highlands and Islands, and when they were it was in urban centres: for example, in Inverness, St Joseph's school offered Latin, French, domestic economy and, by the 1890s, cookery.[47]

Indeed, the irregular attendance of pupils and the inadequacy of equipment made it very difficult to teach specific subjects, domestic economy included, effectively. Still, there was some educational progress: by the end of the century, girls as well as boys were encouraged to try for the Merit Certificate and to enter university examinations.[48] These, however, were exceptions to the general pattern of frequent truanting and leaving school as soon as possible. The numbers receiving a secondary education remained tiny into the twentieth century. As late as 1918, only 8.5 per cent of Catholic children benefited from some form of secondary education: even in Glasgow, as little as 3 per cent did.[49]

The Teachers

Moreover, only a minority of teachers in Catholic schools were qualified above the level of pupil teacher, relatively few of whom were able to go on to college, which before 1894 was Mount Pleasant in Liverpool.[50] That year the first Scottish Catholic teacher training institution, Dowanhill

College, also run by the sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, was established in Glasgow, confirming the even greater dependence on female staff in Catholic than in Board schools.[51] Moreover, whereas by the early 1890s only a tiny minority of teachers (8 of a total of 216) in Board schools did not have certificates, two-thirds of female Catholic teachers and a half of the males were without them.[52]

Bernard Aspinwall noted that the sisters of Notre Dame assured the young women they trained that not only did they stand between the priests and the parents but they derived authority from Almighty God.[53] Both parties were to be treated firmly and professionally, while tact was particularly commended in their dealings with the clergy. The schoolmistresses should 'respect the priest in "his little whims and plans about his school", conciliate but retain a respectful distance, yet never compromise on professional educational issues'.[54] The sisters of Notre Dame widened the college curriculum beyond government requirements to include, for example, foreign languages, classical as well as modern. They encouraged students in self-education and once qualified to continue professional development.[55] Again, only a minority of schoolmistresses would have the time, energy or resources to do so, but a few who did gained impressive qualifications. Miss Mary Ginlay, headmistress of Holy Cross mixed-sex school in Glasgow, received the LLA (Licentiate in Arts) from St Andrews University in 1898. Two years later the HMI (Her Majesty's Inspector) applauded her teaching of the senior class, though his report implicitly criticized the shortcomings of the majority of her counterparts:

> Nothing can have a more beneficial effect upon the older pupils and tend more to induce them to prolong their stay at school than the feeling that they are being directly taught and trained by the most highly qualified teacher.[56]

She was exceptional but not unique: in 1903 nine Dowanhill students registered at Glasgow University, while in 1906 the Notre Dame Sisters themselves were given permission to attend the University and take higher degrees.[57]

HMI reports acknowledged the progress made against great odds but, more explicitly than in the report on Miss Ginlay, they highlighted the more typical lack of a serious training in method and of an intel-

lectual education among the majority of Catholic teachers.[58] The opening of Dowanhill College in 1895 was in response to such concerns. Yet while the Church and religious orders strained to raise the level of teaching and learning, it still lacked the resources to pay the same salaries as School Boards. Female teachers were paid less than male in both Board and Catholic schools which meant that women in the latter were paid the least: in 1911, the average annual salary of male teachers in Catholic schools was £4 lower than their equivalents in Board schools, whereas that of Catholic women teachers was on average £7 lower than Board schoolmistresses.[59]

The injustice of such low pay for women teachers was acknowledged by Father Joseph Holder who was a member of the Dundee School Board in the mid-1890s. He criticized the 'enormously disproportionate rates at which we are accustomed to pay our male and female teachers' in the Board schools: the annual salary of male assistant teachers was almost £98, that of their female equivalent just under £55. He was not calling for equal pay but rather to reduce the differential for those performing the same duties. Moreover, he recognized that since women in Board schools were concentrated in teaching infants and the lower standards, they had bigger classes than men in the higher standards and, since the mistresses also taught needlework which was compulsory for girls, they earned more in grants for the school than the men who taught the more prestigious subjects such as Latin and mathematics to a minority of mainly boys. While he was not challenging the domestic ideal, he pointed out that men in Dundee, which had an exceptionally high rate of female employment, were not the only breadwinners, observing that 'female teachers who have to support claims beside their own are far more numerous than those who have not'.[60] Such differentials were replicated in Catholic schools where mistresses received on average around half the salary of masters. His argument, therefore, had as much if not more relevance for Catholic schools, but it gained support neither from most Board members nor from reverend school managers who were particularly reliant on those low salaries.

The Church's educational efforts to meet the growth in numbers of Irish-born children were concentrated on the Lowlands and, it has been claimed, this led to the neglect of the Highlands and Islands as a 'distinct,

organic, cultural and linguistic entity'.[61] When Notre Dame training college was opened in 1895, Gaelic was not on the curriculum and education at all levels was in English.[62] In addition, Catholic as well as Board schools had difficulties attracting teachers, especially men who had more chances than women of employment outside of education, to poorly remunerated jobs in isolated regions. Hence Catholic schools in the Highlands and Islands tended to rely on a single mistress and pupil teachers. There were few separate Catholic schools in the region: even after the arrival of the Ursuline Sisters in 1865, there were not enough Catholic children in Perthshire to merit separate schools.[63] Two years later only 13 per cent of Catholic children (of whom there were around 300 in the county) attended the two schools in Perth. After 1872, the Church sometimes complained about the appointment of teachers to Board schools which Catholics attended in the region not just because of fears of proselytism but also because of prejudice among Board members about the 'low' social origins of Catholic teachers, reflected in the negative image of Catholics in some sections of the press.[64]

In order to strengthen the community and safeguard its own position, the Church sought to inculcate a desire for education among its parishioners.[65] The religious orders, moreover, aimed to stimulate the development of a skilled working class and a middle class by instilling a desire to keep children longer in school.[66] However, by the turn of the century, Dowanhill had contributed only 143 qualified teachers, and while it was making headway—the *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland* for 1902–1903 shows that there were 101 Catholic students in training, all of whom were female and 2 of whom were attending Glasgow University—the numbers remained small compared to the needs of the schools.[67] It was clear that as long as Catholic schools remained outside of the state system, only a few teachers could follow this route of professional qualifications and social advancement. With the continuing reliance on female uncertificated and pupil teachers, the efforts of their schools to reach the standards of the rate-aided Boards had little chance of success before the 1918 Act. Nevertheless, Mary McHugh has found that despite Irish-born females remaining concentrated in unskilled and low-skilled occupations, the training of Irish-born schoolmistresses had improved significantly by the turn of the century; and while most certificated teachers

were employed in the Lowlands, this trend was also seen in the Highlands and Islands.[68] For example, F.G. Rea, the (English) headmaster of a Catholic school in South Uist between 1889 and 1894, recalled in his memoir that some of the girls he had taught became head teachers and qualified nurses. Some of the boys also became head teachers and doctors, and he highlighted without comment their success in a wider range of better paid employment opportunities.[69]

Religious Leaders, Lay Followers

David Limond has argued that the dominant distinctive component of being a Catholic girl in Scotland between the 1872 Education Act and the end of the Second World War was the possibility of being taught by nuns.[70] Karly Kehoe has shown how crucial female religious were for the development of Catholic education, including the training of teachers, especially in the larger urban centres.[71] Certainly, whereas lay teachers were subject to the reverend manager, the religious orders regarded his authority over them as limited: he could engage their services but they reserved the right to withdraw and the manager was 'helpless to contest their decision'.[72] Lay mistresses could not act so independently, but as Bernard Aspinwall noted those trained by the sisters were advised on how to 'manage' the manager. As one lay headmistress recorded in 1888 when dealing with an 'insolent' female assistant: 'Hitherto in my schools, I have been considered as the *first*, and under certain necessary and fitting restrictions so far as the Reverend Managers were concerned, the *supreme* authority'.[73]

Francis O'Hagan agreed with Bernard Aspinwall that the sisters provided some 'outstanding examples of leadership'.[74] Karly Kehoe in particular insists that female religious orders were not only integral to establishing the Catholic school system in Glasgow, but that the sisters often remained the principal teachers in most of the city's Catholic schools and that they influenced the lay women who worked under them and whom they trained, thereby maintaining their key role.[75] Influence, however, is easier to assume than to measure, especially when neither religious nor lay women left much in the way of personal papers.

It is indisputable that the Church gave the teaching orders the leadership role in elementary education and that the statements made by the religious orders for their influence were accepted by the authorities. Thus the Argyll Commission into the condition of education in Scotland in the mid-1860s accepted the claim made by the sisters who taught evening classes in Glasgow that the girls who attended were much better behaved than those who did not and 'made much better wives', commending their efforts to remedy such 'ignorance'.[76] The main source for this chapter has been such official reports and especially school log books written by head teachers. Logs are of variable use with some merely noting that the work of the school continued as usual and others giving substantial detail on what went on, with sometimes idiosyncratic commentaries. Holdings of Catholic school logs are scattered, making it difficult to assess the influence of the female religious orders or, indeed, the clergy, on Catholic elementary teachers in Scotland as a whole. Few of the logs kept by lay women which I have consulted make any reference to female religious, and though they note visits of the reverend manager, they rarely comment on them.

The annual reports of the religious examinations of Catholic schools in the Western Province, which included Glasgow, confirm the numerical predominance of lay women. For example, in the Greenock mission area from 1880 to 1881, there were 30 schools of which 3 were for boys and 3 for girls, 7 for infants and 17 mixed-sex. The principal teachers included 2 lay men, 6 from religious orders and 22 lay mistresses, of whom 1 was married.[77] This example also confirms the enormous expansion in Catholic elementary schooling after 1872 which overwhelmed the religious orders: by 1894, there were 180 Catholic schools in Scotland, with accommodation for 60,000 children.[78]

Certainly, influence cannot be measured just by numbers. At the same time, the religious orders were concentrated in Glasgow, with fewer in significant urban centres such as Edinburgh, Paisley, Dundee and Greenock. Indeed, Glasgow was the exception in what was a small-town society, and elementary schools in both small towns and rural areas relied on lay women.[79] The *Report of the Religious Examination of Schools* for July 1909–July 1910 recorded that there were 81 mostly mixed-sex schools in the mission area within Glasgow's orbit: 22 had male lay principals, 17 were from religious orders, and the majority were lay women. In contrast, in

Glasgow's 55 departments, there were 14 male principal teachers, 12 lay women and 24 from religious orders. Some schools had a mixture: St Joseph's in Glasgow had a male principal teacher in the boys' department, the Sisters of Mercy were in charge of the girls, and a lay woman managed the infants.[80] The report for July 1912–July 1913 revealed that in the mission schools of the Glasgow Archdiocese, there were 43 headmasters, 96 headmistresses, 58 trained male assistants, 521 trained female assistants, 16 untrained male assistants and 584 untrained female assistants.[81] On the eve of the passage of the Education Act in 1918, only 4 per cent of Scotland's Catholic schoolteachers were members of religious orders, and they were concentrated in Lowland secondary schools, orphanages and reformatories.[82]

Female religious were certainly important for teacher training, devoted themselves to provision for the very poor and for delinquent children, and played a key role in providing middle-class schooling.[83] However, by 1918 the orders did not have sufficient numbers even to provide opportunities for the minority of Catholic girls and boys who were able to go on to secondary education.[84] Teaching orders hoped to recruit from their students but the numbers were not large, and the motivation of some may have been the lack of opportunities outside of the religious life.[85] Most employment for working-class women was insecure, unskilled manual labour. Lay women, especially without qualifications, were cheap to employ in a system which had large numbers of children but received limited grants from the state. School logs show that the reverend manager visited often, but that the day-to-day running of the school was the responsibility of the mistress.[86] Logs rarely give access to the private thoughts of the teacher and, at least until the early twentieth century, few working- or lower middle-class women left personal reminiscences. In view of the pressures on poorly educated and often unqualified schoolmistresses outlined above, it is perhaps unsurprising that so many relied on rote learning and the tawse. However understandable that is, Jonathan Rose has provided us with the memories of two women who experienced such methods which, even if unrepresentative, are very uncomfortable to read.

There was a lack of professional alternatives to teaching for women of all faiths in late 19th- and early twentieth-century Scotland and little scope for promotion within schools.[87] Nevertheless, in view of the numbers of girls and women who taught at all levels in Catholic schools, it seems to have

been a position to which many aspired. Although salaries in Catholic schools were indeed considerably lower than under the boards, Catholic mistresses had more chances of a principal teacher's post than women employed by the latter. Given that many teachers had neither been taught nor trained by female religious, the impression is that the latter's role in elementary education was not as significant as was the case in Ireland with its much larger pool of teaching sisters. Even for those who were educated by the teaching orders, we cannot assume that the lay women simply did as the sisters told them given the lack of evidence on the relationship between them: as Martin Mitchell has said of the clergy, the fact that the female religious were important and influential figures did not mean that they could exercise authority without question.[88] The religious orders brought into Scotland were expected by the Church hierarchy to provide leadership in female education. However, in Catholic elementary schooling, lay mistresses were not only in the majority but also more representative of their community. Of course, they were on the bottom rung of the educational ladder, but since more parents sent their children to Catholic schools than attended church, these women were vital to the success of that strategy.[89]

Conclusion

The Church's mission was not just to protect its community but to raise expectations of what could be achieved through education in a hostile host society which believed that schooling should foster a common citizenship.[90] Whatever their limitations, lay women were the foot soldiers of the Catholic school system and (for good or ill) played a significant role in the schooling of the working class. Before the 1918 Act, they were severely limited by their own education, circumscribed opportunities and all the pressures described above. Recognizing their contribution to Catholic education does not detract from the significance of female religious. Rather, since teacher training remained under the control of the sisters of Notre Dame after the 1918 Act, they may have increased their influence on their growing numbers of students. Whatever the case, it is clear that when the 1918 Act incorporated Catholic schools into the national system, it gave their lay mistresses more opportunities for both intellectual and professional development.[91]

Notes

1. Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), 184–85.
2. See Sister Mary Bonaventure Dealy, *Catholic Schools in Scotland* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1945); Sister Martha Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1818–1918", in T. R. Bone (ed.), *Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872–1939* (London: London University Press, 1967).
3. The *46th Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1893, Glasgow Archdiocese Archive (GAA), ED9.
4. Bart Hellinckx, Frank Simon and Marc Depaepe, *The Forgotten Contribution of the Teaching Sisters: A Historiographical Essay on the Educational Work of Catholic Women Religious in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Studia Paedagogica 44 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), 13. Some recent works examining the role of active women religious in the UK in the nineteenth century include Barbara Walsh, *Roman Catholic Nuns in England and Wales, 1800–1937* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002); Carmen M. Mangion, "'Good Teacher' or 'Good Religious'? The Professional Identity of Catholic Women Religious in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales", *Women's History Review*, 14(2), 2005, 223–242; S. Karly Kehoe, "Nursing the Mission. The Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow, 1847–1866", *The Innes Review*, 56(1), 2005, 46–50; Deirdre Raftery, "The "mission" of nuns in female education in Ireland, c.1850–1950", *Paedagogica Historica*, 48(2), 2012, 299–313.
5. See Bernard Aspinwall, "Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection", *The Innes Review*, 45(1), 1994, 85–108.
6. Rose, *Intellectual Life*, 184.
7. Ibid., 186. See, for example, David Northcroft, *Scots at School* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).
8. For anti-Catholicism in Scotland, see, for example, Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (eds.), *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (eds.), *Out of the ghetto? The Catholic community in modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998); T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's shame?*

Bigotry and sectarianism in modern Scotland (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000).

9. John F. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries", *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 21, 1991, 275–300: 275. See also Skinnider. 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 13; James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and the County of Lanark for the Government Census of 1831* (Glasgow: J. Smith, 1832), 260.
10. Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797–1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), 2.
11. McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland', 276.
12. J. J. Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow 1896–1936: socialism, suffrage, sectarianism* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 127.
13. Mary Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), 12. In her study of Greenock, Airdrie and Coatbridge, Geraldine Vaughan argues instead that the Church's aim was not to 'de-nationalise' its Irish parishioners, but rather to keep them away from radical nationalism: Geraldine Vaughan, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland 1851–1921* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 133. See also her chapter in this volume.
14. For an example, see John Quinn, "The Mission of the Churches in Dundee 1846–1886", unpublished MLitt thesis, University of Stirling, 1993, 106–107.
15. See *The 47th Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1894, GAA, ED9; *The 42nd Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1889, 15, GAA, ED9/2.
16. William F. Hendrie, *The Dominie: A Profile of the Scottish Headmaster* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), 1.
17. *The 39th Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee*, 1886, v–vi, 7, GAA, ED9/2.
18. *Report of the Religious Examinations of Schools for 1880–81*, GAA, ED7.
19. Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA), DE99/1, Catholic Education Committee, 1906–1907: November 1906 and February 1907.
20. See *The 51st Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1898, GAA, ED9/2.
21. See, for example, the log book entries for 17 June and 1 August 1865, 2 October 1867, St Lawrence's School, Greenock, Glasgow City Archives (GCA), CO2/5/6/36/1.

22. Mary McHugh, "The Development of the Catholic Community in the Western Province (Roman Catholic Dioceses of Glasgow, Motherwell, and Paisley) 1878–1962", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1990, 116–17.
23. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 17–18.
24. Girls, including pupil teachers, tended to be kept at home to help mothers while they were engaged in heavy domestic duties such as laundry, or substitute for them when they were in paid employment, or ill, or to allow older sisters to earn money outside the home. See, for example, the log book for St John's R.C. mixed-sex school, Port Glasgow, entry for 3 February 1888, GCA, CO2/5/6/78/2.
25. Ibid., log book entry for 17 October 1887.
26. St James's School, Renfrew, GCA, CO2/5/6/77/1, log book entry for 18 September 1895.
27. See, for example, St John's Girls' School, Glasgow, GCA, D-ED7/222/2/1, log book entry for 30 April 1899. For (largely unsuccessful) incentives offered to children to improve attendance, see, for example, St Margaret's Girls' School, Glasgow, GCA, D-Ed7/161/2/1, log book entry for 11 February 1898; St John's Girls' School, Glasgow, GCA, D-ED7/222/2/1, log book entry for 25 June 1896.
28. See, for example, St John's School, Port Glasgow, GCA, CO2/5/6/36/1, log book entry for 14 September 1885.
29. For example, see Eskadale R.C. School, Highland County Archives (HCA), CI5/3/39b, log book entry for 17 May 1895; Duisdale School, HCA, CI5/3/34a, log book entry for 17 May 1895; Strontian School log book, HCA, CA5/3/16a, entry for 26 September 1879. Keeping boys at home for domestic reasons, especially if there were no older daughters, also happened in the industrial lowland regions: see, for example, St Mungo's Academy, GCA, D-Ed7/247/1/1, log book entries for 24 August 1867, 12 and 24 November 1868, 12 October 1883.
30. St Mary's Girls' School, GCA, SR10/3/894/2/1, log book entry for 20 August 1889.
31. St Margaret's Girls' School, GCA, D-ED7/161/2/2, log book entry for 11 April 1902.
32. See, for example, St Aloysius' School for Girls, GCA, D-ED7/188/1, log book entries for 1876.
33. Ibid., girls' and infants' school. See also Holy Cross School log books from 1882, GCA, D-ED7/103/1/1 for boys and girls; St Michael's School log books from 1877, GCA, SR10/896/1/1.

34. Francis J. O'Hagan, *The Contribution of the Religious Orders to Education in Glasgow During the Period 1847–1918* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), 181. For the late nineteenth century, see, for example, St John's Boys' School, GCA, D-Ed7/221/1/1, log book entry for 18 May 1888; St Margaret's Boys' School, Kinning Park, GCA, D-ED7/161/1/1, log book entry for 18 February 1884.
35. Vaughan, *'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland*, 77.
36. For examples from my sample of Catholic schools, see the log books of the following schools: GCA, CO2/5/6/45/1, St Margaret's, Johnstone; CO2/5/6/77/1, St James', Renfrew; CO2/5/6/65/1-2, St Mary's, Paisley; CO3/10/7/52/1, St Mary's, Largs. See also Dumfries Ewart Library, KD5/151/1, St Peter's, Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbright; and HCA, CI5/3/39/a, Eskadale R.C. School, Inverness.
37. St Ninian's School, Gourock, May 1893, GCA, CO2/5/6/18/1.
38. *The 20th Annual Report of the Religious Examination of Schools (1896–97)*, CAGA, ED7. See also the *Forty-Second* (1889) and *Fiftieth* (1897) Annual Reports of the Catholic School Committee, GAA, ED9/2.
39. Holy Cross School, GCA, D-ED7/103/1/1, log book entry for January 1900.
40. See Bernard Aspinwall, "Children of the Dead End: The Formation of the Modern Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1815–1914", *The Innes Review*, 43(2), 1992, 119–144.
41. See, for example, St Lawrence's School Greenock, GCA, CO2/5/6/36/1, log book entry for 31 July 1866; Albert Public School, Airdrie, GCA, CO1/5/5/2/2, log book entry for 31 August 1893.
42. See, for example, Achnarrow Public School, HCA, CI5/3/4a, log book entry for 16 May 1882; Braes School, HCA, CI5/3/14a, log book entry for 21 May 1896.
43. St Aloysius' School, GCA, D-ED7/188/1, log book entry for 30 November 1888.
44. For the School of Cookery, see the Hill and Hogan Bequest Correspondence (1889–1903), GCA, T-HH4/3/1-3, and the Sederunt Book of Directors of the Glasgow School of Cookery, GCA, T-HH4/1//1.
45. For example, see Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2005), chapters 3 and 4.
46. See, for example, St Andrew's Boys' School, GCA, D-ED7/192/1/1, log book entry for April 1877; St Margaret's Boys' School, GCA, D-ED7/161/1/2, log book entry for January 1897.

47. St Joseph's School, HCA, CI5/3/53a, log book entries for February 1873, May 1876, and the HMI Report for 1898. See also Jane McDermid, "Gender and geography: the schooling of poor girls in the highlands and islands of nineteenth-century Scotland", *History of Education Review*, 32(2), 2003, 30–45.
48. See, for example, St Aloysius' School, GCA, D-Ed7/189/1/1, log book report for 1899; St Mary's Girls' School, GCA, SR10/3/894/2/1, log book entry for 6 August 1897.
49. McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland', 298; Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 31. For before the 1872 Education Act, see T. A. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland Before 1872: its contribution to the change in status of the Catholic community* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).
50. Alexander Wall, "The Supply of Certificated Teachers to the Roman Catholic Elementary Schools of Britain 1848–1870", unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Lancaster, 1983, 289. Bernard Aspinwall compiled a list of 195 women associated with Scotland who trained at Mount Pleasant College in Liverpool between the mid-1850s and early 1900s, which shows that 57 entered religious life, 67 married, 71 remained single and lay teachers: 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland', 89–101.
51. See Helen Corr, "The sexual division of labour in the Scottish teaching profession", in W. M. Humes and H. M. Paterson (eds.), *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983). See also T. A. FitzPatrick, "Scottish Catholic Teacher Education: the wider context", *The Innes Review*, 45(2), 1994, 147–70.
52. *The Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1891–92*. See also FitzPatrick, 'Scottish Catholic Teacher Education: the wider context', 60.
53. Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland', 87. See also *The 51st Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1898, and *The 53rd Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1900, 2–3, GAA, ED9/2.
54. Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland', 87. See also O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 243.
55. See Kim Lowden, "Spirited Sisters: Anglican and Catholic Contributions to Women's Teacher Training in the Nineteenth Century", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2000, 316.
56. Holy Cross School, Crosshill, GCA, D-ED7/103/1/1, log book entries for 15 August 1898 and summary of HMI Report. For the LLA (sometimes referred to as Lady Literate in Arts), see Robert Bell and Malcolm

Tight, *Open Universities: A British Tradition* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993), 78; Lindy Moore, "Women in Education", in Heather Holmes (ed.) *Scottish Life and Society Volume 11: Institutions of Scotland: Education* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 316–343, especially 320.

57. *The 46th Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1893, GAA, ED9/2, 13, where 'several' was not quantified. See also O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 246–47.
58. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*, 1891–1892, 257 and 1902–1903, 18.
59. Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow', 39.
60. Rev. Joseph Holder, *Basis for An Argument in Favour of the Better Payment of Female Assistant Teachers in the Employ of the Dundee School Board* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1894): SCA, SM/13/43/2.
61. Ray Burnett, "'The Long Nineteenth Century': Scotland's Catholic Gaidhealtachd" in Boyle and Lynch (eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?*, 166–68.
62. See, for example, Eskadale R.C. School, HCA, CI5/3/39a, log book entry for 29 April 1874 where the reverend manager catechized the pupils in Gaelic.
63. See Drummore Public School, Perth and Kinross Record Office, CC1/5/7/27, log book entry for October 1876.
64. See the *53rd Annual Report of the Catholic School Committee*, 1900, GAA, ED9/2, 2, for the social origins of the teachers. See the *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*, 1895–1896, 16–17, and 1902–03, 759–70, for the preference for university educated teachers. See also Marjorie Cruikshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London: University of London Press, 1970). Steve Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 22–23, show that some parts of the press were sympathetic to the situation of the Catholic community.
65. See Gallagher, *The Uneasy Peace*, 23.
66. See O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, chapters 3 and 5.
67. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*, 1902–03, 18.
68. McHugh, "Development of the Catholic Community in the Western Province", 76.
69. F. G. Rea, *A School in South Uist: Reminiscences of a Hebridean Schoolmaster, 1890–1913* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), 81.

70. David Limond, "The Female Experience of Schooling in Scotland, 1872–1945: Lassies o' Pairts or Lassies Apart?", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1996, iii.
71. S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Catholic Church: Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 134.
72. Memo of 23 November 1917 from the Ecclesiastical Managers, St Patrick's School, to Lord Skerrington, SCA, DE105/1.
73. St John's School, Port Glasgow, GCA, CO2/5/6/73/1, 205, emphasis (underlining) in the log book.
74. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 22.
75. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, especially chapter 4.
76. James Greig and Thomas Harvey, *Education Commission (Scotland). Report on the State of Education in Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable for H.M.S.O., 1866), 84.
77. *Report of the Religious Examination of Schools*, July 1880–July 1881, 14, GAA, ED7. Bernard Aspinwall has pointed out that it was common for Catholic schoolmistresses to continue teaching after marriage: 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', 89.
78. Ibid., 85.
79. John F. McCaffrey, *Scotland in the 19th Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 3.
80. *Report of the Religious Examination of Schools*, July 1909–July 1910, 9, GAA, ED7. The remaining principals were recorded with initials only. Whereas lay mistresses were identified by surname and usually first name, this was generally not the case for the sisters who taught. See York Lane R.C. School Accounts book 1889–1903, SCA, SM13/15: the maximum number of un-named sisters who taught there in the 1890s was three, compared to between 10 and 13 named lay mistresses.
81. *Report of the Religious Examination of Schools*, July 1912–July 1913, 6, GAA, ED7. 'Untrained' denoted former pupil teachers who did not go on to teacher training college.
82. Dealy, *Catholic Schools in Scotland*, 162.
83. O'Hagan, *Contribution of the Religious Orders*, 12.
84. Dealy, *Catholic Schools in Scotland*, 162.
85. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Catholic Church*, 135.
86. Rev. Brother Kenneth, *Catholic Schools in Scotland 1872–1972* (Glasgow: Catholic Education Commission, 1972), 11.

87. See Helen Corr, "Teachers and Gender: debating the myths of equal opportunities in Scottish education 1800–1914", *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 27(3), 1997, 355–63.
88. Martin J. Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on The Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 2. For Ireland see, for example, Deirdre Raftery and Catherine Nowlan-Roebuck, "Convent Schools and National Education in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Negotiating a Place within a Non-denominational System", *History of Education*, 36(3), 2007, 353–65.
89. For a discussion of the importance of schools to the Church's strategy, see Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity*, 252.
90. See R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Lindsay Paterson, *Scottish Education in the 20th Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).
91. See Anthony Ross, "The Development of the Scottish Catholic community 1878-1978", *The Innes Review*, 29(1), 1978, 30–55, on the significance of the 1918 Act for the Catholic community in Scotland in guaranteeing religious freedom, relieving financial burdens and contributing to the growth of a Catholic middle class.

7

Catholic Education Beyond the School: Sodalities and Public Lectures

Raymond McCluskey

Introduction

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 is predominantly perceived to be associated with Catholic *schools* but there is a broader contextual background to the Act which can be drawn across the decades previous to its passing and which highlights the value bestowed on broader aspects of education by influential members of the Scottish Catholic community. In short, education in the Catholic community before 1918 was *not* confined to the school years. Though for most Catholics adulthood brought little contact with formal higher (academic) education, representatives of a burgeoning middle class as well as aspirational working-class individuals can be found attending lectures and presentations, both public and private, which touched on a wide range of issues. This chapter offers some snapshots from a still much under-researched area of Scottish Catholic life before 1918. While focusing on some key illustrative areas in the interests of concision and focus, the chapter seeks nonetheless to establish

R. McCluskey (✉)
Glasgow, UK

© The Author(s) 2019

S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_7

more generally that many in the Catholic community actively sought knowledge of new discoveries in science, archaeology and other subjects of the moment.

In recent times, historians have become increasingly aware of the complexities involved in trying to understand and articulate the evolution of individual and community identities amongst Scottish Catholics, particularly in Glasgow and its environs in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Education informed character and a sense of identity. What might be termed 'non-formal education' could be encountered outside the school: in associations, such as the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS) and the St Vincent de Paul Society (SVDP), and in attendance at public lectures.[1] The CYMS had been founded by Dean Richard Baptist O'Brien of Limerick, Ireland, in 1849 and had not long afterwards, in 1855, established its first branches in Scotland in Kilmarnock and Greenock. Its purpose was to educate and provide libraries in the interests of avoiding 'leakage' from the co-religionist community. The SVDP had its origins in the desire to promote Christian charity in the midst of irreligious polity in France (founded in Paris in 1833). It arrived in Edinburgh in 1845 and quickly planted itself in the Scottish missions over the ensuing years, gaining a reputation for its attentiveness to individuals' pressing welfare needs.[2] Both the CYMS and the SVDP (the latter predominantly in an effort to raise funds through collections) promoted lectures for adults. Systematic investigation of the sponsorship of lectures by these sodalities is essentially still work in progress in Scottish historical circles.[3] Building on the pioneering work of Bernard Aspinwall, Karly Kehoe has in recent times underlined the need for more research on such sodalities which increasingly characterised the social and devotional life of Catholic missions throughout Scotland.[4] Indeed, as long ago as 1996, Stathis Kalyvas' portrait of the rise of Christian democracy in Europe had already argued the case for the defining nature of associational culture in the life of the nineteenth-century Church.[5] A key purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to begin to ask questions of the role of 'non-formal education' in forming subtler shades of community identities amongst those Catholics who were active in the associational culture of the period. In so doing, one is mindful of the work of Jonathan Rose in opening up possibilities for situating groups such as the CYMS within a broader movement of Victorian

self-improvement.[6] Indeed, in terms of making an important contribution to Scottish (Catholic) historiography more generally, there is a certain urgency in a study such as that which follows below, particularly if the analysis of the Scottish experience is not to fall behind comparative work being done elsewhere.[7] Studies of Catholic associational life elsewhere in Europe, such as the investigations of the German experience by Raymond Chien Sun and Margaret Stieg Dalton, serve to prompt reflection on similarities of outlook and purpose in the Scottish context despite differences in immediate political and socio-religious environments.

The principal source for the chapter which follows is the *Glasgow Observer*, a weekly newspaper published continuously from its beginnings in April 1885 and a significant mouthpiece of the Irish Catholic diaspora in the Central Belt and beyond. Indeed, particularly in its first couple of decades of existence, the *Observer* provided richly detailed sketches of activities in missions *throughout* Scotland. Historians have 'dipped' into this material over the years, but it remains true to assert that it is still largely 'unmined' (and is likely to remain so until the material can be digitised). In its early years, the *Observer* reflected the interest of its readership in Irish affairs. However, Charles Diamond, the newspaper's proprietor from 1887, eschewed Catholics' traditional support for Gladstone's Liberals in becoming an early Catholic member of the embryonic Independent Labour Party.[8] He was not shy in addressing topical issues of the day: on 4 October 1890, as part of a series of editorials on 'The Church and Society', he mused on the nature of education and its role in the modern state.[9]

After a brief consideration of a contemporary presentation of the purposes of the CYMS and a preliminary overview of lectures advertised over the course of some months during a single year (1885), this chapter will continue with a focus on two disparate, but connected, snapshots with a view to offering correctives to any temptation to view the late nineteenth-century Scottish Catholic community as universally limited in its intellectual horizons, essentially focused on a single issue, namely Irish Home Rule. The first theme—the so-called Roman Question—illustrates an interest in continental affairs and allows for discussion of public lectures, illustrated particularly by the career of the Rev. John Stewart McCorry, an inveterate representative of the genre. The second snapshot offers a

glimpse of an engagement with contemporary scientific questions and developments which might strike some readers as unexpected. As a consequence of the nature of the principal source materials and the strictures of word count, the chapter concentrates primarily on the male experience of adult learning. The experience of women will receive more focused attention in a future study.

Prologue: Contemporary Presentations of the Role and Purpose of the CYMS

Archbishop Charles Petre Eyre of Glasgow, an Englishman appointed in 1869 mainly in order to bring resolution to potential Irish-Scottish conflict within the Catholic community in the West, set down some (undated) thoughts in advance of a lecture on the purpose of the CYMS. The duties of young men, he noted, included the aim of 'constant self-improvement, self-education and keeping abreast of the times'.[10] There are echoes of Archbishop Eyre's aspirations for the CYMS as an agency for self-improvement in a lecture given by the Rev. Michael Maginn to the St Mary's, Greenock, branch of the Society on 25 January 1886. The *Glasgow Observer*'s detailed report provides one of the best *theoretical* outlines of the purpose of the CYMS to be sourced in Scotland from this contemporary period.[11] Michael Maginn (1848–1890), priest-in-charge at St Alphonsus', Glasgow, was quick to appeal to the increasingly confident self-image of his audience of fellow Irishmen, outlining the growth of Catholicism in Glasgow and extolling the fact that CYMS meetings provided a necessary safe haven from political in-fighting over the future of the Emerald Isle. To criticisms that the CYMS was guilty of watering down commitment to identification with an Irish nationality, Maginn was to the point in stating that 'if he thought for a moment that membership of these societies made an Irishman a worse Irishman or a worse lover of his country, he certainly would have nothing to do with them', adding that 'outside the societies, every man could take whatever side he liked in politics, because they lived in an age of politics when every man should have his own views on public questions.'[12]

For Maginn, however, the key role of the CYMS was educational, understood in terms of preparing Catholic young men for the antagonisms of the workplace. Out of a seemingly defensive mentality, therefore, sprung an openness to knowledge transfer by means of reading and discussion. 'It was necessary', stated Maginn, 'not only to have their Catholic children, when leaving school, well educated, but also to keep them together after leaving school, and by means of Catholic surroundings and sound instruction, to strengthen them in faith, and cause them to remain firm and true in their religious principles.' There was no excuse, Maginn argued, for not keeping oneself informed of current issues: 'Then there was another most advantageous purpose served by these young men's societies—they were the means of communicating a vast amount of useful information and instruction to the members. All the societies were provided with libraries and, what was more, their societies provided for lectures on the most interesting questions that engaged men's minds in these days. Hence the societies fostered among the members a taste for a more enlarged and more varied education than was given at school.' These comments were applauded throughout. Of course, Maginn's extended treatment of his theme—'Catholic Societies and their power for good at the present time'—embeds the almost eschatological expectations of such literature in this period (the belief, for instance, that Scotland would eventually be won back for the 'old faith'). But his broad-brush overview of the purposes of the CYMS provides a most instructive window into the attitudinal contexts in which a broad range of subjects would have been discussed.

The *Observer* report also evidences a developing openness to a more complex range of community connections and identities. Nowhere is this more apparent, perhaps, than in the vote of thanks to Maginn which was extended by Mr Neil Brown who, in the course of his own lengthy discourse, acknowledged the fact that numbers were down at the meeting because it coincided with the 'celebrations of the birth of Robert Burns (25 January)'. The full significance of this statement, in an age when Burns' Masonic connections increasingly posed barriers to Catholic celebrations of the bard, is impossible to state. But there is certainly a broadening of mind on display with Brown's appeal that the libraries of the

CYMS, already replete with works of Irish literature, should 'introduce a little of Scotch literature into their libraries'.

Having noted the claims (or aspirations) of Maginn, it is natural for the historian to wish to find a window into the meeting rooms of the CYMS in late Victorian Scotland in order to assess whether Maginn's expectations are, indeed, borne out in the range of topics being addressed. In the absence of a scholarly longitudinal study of CYMS meetings, it is nevertheless illuminating to sample the notices of lectures for the CYMS and other groups in the pages of the first months of publication of the *Glasgow Observer* (April–July 1885) (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Examples of lectures advertised in 'Glasgow Observer' (April–July 1885)

25 April	CYMS St Mary's, Greenock	*The Church and Her Persecutors*	Fr Gaul
23 May	Greenock Young Ireland Society	*Young Ireland*	Mr John Tooley
6 June	Springburn Literary Association (St Aloysius)	*Secular Combined with Religious the Only True System of Education*	Mr Stephen J. Henry
13 June	Irish Literary Society (Gallowgate, Glasgow)	*The French Revolution*	Mr P. Martin
20 June	St Joseph's Literary and Debating Society	*Danish Invasion of Ireland*	Mr Dunn
27 June	St Laurence CYMS, Greenock	*Love of Holy Church*	Brother Askin
27 June	Greenock Young Ireland Society	*Hours with Irish Poets*	Mr McGrath
27 June	St Patrick CYMS, Edinburgh	*Rome During Christmas of 1879*	Rev. Curhane
27 June	Glasgow Young Ireland Society	*Agitation and Agitators*	Mr Reilly
11 July	St Alphonsus' Young Men's Guild, Glasgow	*A Talk About the Romans*	Mr Thomas Colvin
11 July	CYMS Edinburgh (Catholic Institute)	*Mary, Queen of Scots*	Rev. Glasheen
18 July	St Alphonsus' Young Men's Guild, Glasgow	*Curious Epitaphs*	Mr David
18 July	St Alphonsus' Young Men's Guild, Glasgow	*Origin of Railways*	Mr Thomas McConnell

Even this brief quarterly selection from 1885 is sufficient to suggest that the range of topics was broad. Irish themes, not surprisingly, feature prominently, but there are moreover such diverse foci as education, epitaphs (possibly Irish burial stones?), the French Revolution and *Scottish* history. The picture emerging is certainly not one of a community with a single-focus (Ireland) but, rather, one which mirrors their contemporaries' thirst for knowledge and broadening of mind more generally—in other words, self-improvement. However, in the interests of concision, it is the 1885 listing of two particular themes—on the Romans (seemingly both Ancient and Modern) and on the origins of railways—which this chapter proposes to take forward in providing two dedicated snapshots on, first, the post-*Risorgimento* 'Roman Question' and, secondly, on the worlds of science and technologies.

Snapshot 1: The Roman Question

It has already been asserted that it was through meetings of the CYMS and SVDP, as well as 'ad hoc' arrangements such as public lectures, that adult Catholic males were educated in the wider issues of the day. Amongst these continuing issues was the 'Roman Question' which was a shorthand for discussions concerning the future of the papacy after the fall of the Papal States and, ultimately, Rome itself to the forces of Italian *Risorgimento* in 1860 and 1870, respectively. The Roman Question was only finally resolved with the successful negotiation of the *Treaty of the Lateran* and the creation of the Vatican City State in 1929.[13] Consideration of the 'Roman Question' inevitably prompted minds to consider issues touching on continental Europe. Increasingly in recent years, one of the most discussed issues in the history of the Catholic community in nineteenth-century Scotland has been the extent to which the Church which had emerged by the end of the century could be described as 'ultramontane'. The scholarship of Bernard Aspinwall, for example, pointed to a policy of increasing the cohesion of a disparate community through the appointment of 'ultramontanist' bishops, such as Archbishop Charles Petre Eyre of Glasgow, and the promotion of 'ultramontanist' attitudes.[14] More recently, Karly Kehoe has highlighted the role of 'ultramontanes'—

led by middle- and upper-class converts—in seeking to infuse a sense of British identity, mixed with loyalty to Rome, amongst the wider Catholic community. The significance of Kehoe's important analysis is that the 'ultramontanes' are seen to constitute, alongside Irish immigrants and recusant Scots, a sort of third force in Catholic development.[15]

Defining 'ultramontanism' and its antonym, 'gallicanism', is thwart with difficulty.[16] Nevertheless, a shorthand summation might be that 'ultramontanism' represented an emphasis on the executive power of the papacy with an accompanying cultivation of a popular 'cult' of the pope's person by way of, for example, display of lithographs in the home; 'gallicanism' emphasised the autonomy of local ecclesiastical jurisdictions (while acknowledging a papal primacy of honour), particularly as defined by the borders of developing nation states, most characteristically (but not exclusively) in France. Such ready definitions, however, run the risk of being unsatisfactory. Like all attitudes it was subject to development over time, offering myriad faces and articulations. In Eamon Duffy's celebrated history of the popes, the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878–1903) was encapsulated as 'ultramontanism with a liberal face' *precisely* in order to emphasise a distinctiveness from the reign of his predecessor, Pius IX, whose pontificate had seen the ostensible 'victory' of ultramontanism at the First Vatican Council.[17]

The key focus here, however, must be to gain some impression of the extent to which ultramontane attitudes were transmitted to lay people who were not associated with pontifical universities, seminaries or learned libraries but, rather, attended public lectures or meetings of their local sodalities. Certainly, it has already been recognised that churches, ever more ornate, reflected an ultramontane mindset which portable items such as prayer cards and pamphlets allowed to be transported to domestic environments.[18] There remains the question, however, of how 'ordinary people' learned to *interpret* their sketch-drawing of Leo XIII or the words of Cardinal Wiseman's *Full in the Panting Heart of Rome*.[19]

There are certainly examples of lectures being delivered on the Roman Question and the position of the Pope as 'prisoner of the Vatican'. There are extant reports, for instance, of two talks delivered in the mission of St Joseph's in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. The first, in August 1861, saw John Bradley make the twenty-odd mile journey from Glasgow to address the

members of the CYMS on 'The Temporal Power of the Pope'.[20] Interestingly, Bradley touched on the works of Voltaire (1694–1778), Claude Fleury (1640–1723) and Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) during the course of his lecture, as well as making mention of Raphael and other Renaissance artists. This cultural referencing would seem to reflect the social aspirations of the 'self-improved gentlemen' of the Society. Another lecture, delivered some fourteen years later on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the fall of Rome to Garibaldian troops, was delivered by the Rev. Donald Carmichael, on 'The Pope: What he is and how he came to be it'.[21] It was sponsored not by the CYMS but by the SVDP. Carmichael, from St Mary's in the Calton in Glasgow but previously himself the priest-in-charge in Kilmarnock, was destined to become, in 1896, rector of Archbishop Charles Eyre's Glasgow seminary.[22] Educated in France, it is tempting to speculate that Carmichael would consequently have been able to bring a breadth of European references to his listeners. Reviewing the *Glasgow Observer*'s report of the proceedings, it is certain that he sought to communicate an impression of Catholic *reasonableness* in addressing pressing contemporary issues.

A decade on, there is a glimpse of a lecture in Aberdeen in 1886 where Rev. James McGregor addressed the Catholic Association on 'The Papacy and Leo XIII', but it is a frustratingly brief reference.[23] On 2 May of the previous year (1885), a more detailed report is provided of the Rev. Patrick Gaule lecturing on 'The Church and her Persecutions' in the Mechanics' Hall, Greenock.[24] The narrative, however, has no obvious Irish overtones—though Gaule himself was a young twenty-eight-year-old Irishman—for it is not vicissitudes in Ireland which are the focus. Instead, like Carmichael in Kilmarnock in 1875, Gaule laid claim to a chronologically extended European heritage in looking back at history and the challenges to papal authority. What requires to be noted is that, while reference to the likes of Martin Luther may have been unsurprisingly negative, the treatment is in no way vitriolic during the course of this lecture. Given the context in which the lecture was being delivered, it is the *lack* of simplistic prejudice which is telling of a more sophisticated approach to history than might otherwise have been expected. Indeed, Gaule's engagement with the *German* Reformation and its complex ramifications declares an independence from the transference of

puerile opinion to his listeners. Gaule's comment that 'the old faith in *these* lands (Britain) is springing into new life again' might once have been interpreted in superficial fashion as only typical of the apologetical intent of such a lecture, tinged as it might be perceived with a certain expectant triumphalism. However, a revisionist approach, much more sensitive to the inherent complexity of identities, must see such a statement for what it actually is: identification with a British context. What Gaule's lecture, perhaps, suggests is that, with an independent Scottish Hierarchy restored by Leo XIII in 1878, there is a basic fact of Catholic life now made manifest: the Catholic Church in Scotland is *not* an extension of the Irish Church. The members of the CYMS who attended Gaule's lecture—and others like this one in Glasgow, Edinburgh and elsewhere—were being urged to think in broader terms of who they were and what their aspirations might be in their relationship with the wider citizenry.

However, it is the Glasgow-born priest, Rev. John Stewart McCorry (1812–1880), who must stand out in this period as an inveterate invited lecturer to various Catholic associations in Scotland and, indeed, beyond. McCorry clearly had an eye towards posterity in that he published his lectures shortly after delivering them and several have survived. Indeed, at least one of his works was translated for publication in France—an almost unheard of achievement for a Scottish priest of this period.[25] They deal with a whole range of topics from purgatory to church decoration. He had a Roman background, having studied at both the *Propaganda Fide* and Pontifical Scots Colleges, before returning to Scotland to begin a singularly peripatetic career (even by the standards of the age), serving for a time in all three of the ecclesiastical Districts of Scotland (Northern, Eastern and Western) before leaving in 1870 for London and, eventually, Rome itself where he lived out his final years.[26] There is mystery in all this moving around which might be explained through further research. Moreover, there is an aspect of the 'street-fighter' about McCorry which emerges from his writings. Yet there is evidence too that he instilled loyalty in the communities he served and it is, moreover, difficult for us now to discern what impact in terms of motivation towards further learning his lectures may have had on his listeners whom historians must certainly not patronise.

On 19 February 1860 in St Andrew's, Glasgow, McCorry lectured on 'The Trials and the Triumphs of the Church as illustrated in the Person of the Roman Pontiff'.[27] He dedicated the text to the 'Young Men of Glasgow by their friend and former fellow-citizen, the Author'. This affirmation of shared bonds of citizenship towards the city of McCorry's birth is noteworthy. The lecture is, in its own way, erudite, with long sketches of ancient history, as well as quotations in Latin which go untranslated in the printed text. It is not scholarship as such—McCorry has too many axes to grind and one wonders whether he would have offered an impression of being well-read or simply garrulous and entertaining—but what of its effect in terms of triggering curiosity and interest in members of the audience? The 'Advertisement' or Preface to the printed edition of McCorry's lecture is revealing of his voice and intentions:

> The following discourse was delivered in the Cathedral Church, Glasgow, on Quinquagesima Sunday, by request of the St Andrew's Conference of St Vincent de Paul's Society. As it handles, however imperfectly, a subject of intense interest at the present moment, it is given to the press, as a small proof that here, in Scotland, the children of the Church are as devoted in their spiritual allegiance to the common Father of the faithful, as are their brethren in more favoured lands. They also have beheld, with bitter pain, the indignities to which the Roman Pontiff has been wantonly exposed, and the spoliation of the ancient territories of the Holy See, which has been systematically attempted. In union with their brethren throughout Christendom, they likewise raise the shout of indignation against such atrocious deeds of sacrilege as, under the abused name of liberty, have been committed; while, at the same time, they tender to the great and glorious Pius IX their loving obedience, and are ready to prove, by their acts, their undying gratitude to him who is the Head of the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church.[28]

Again, on 30 December 1862, a lecture delivered in the City Hall, Glasgow, was an opportunity to range over the issue of the 'Temporal Power of the Sovereign Pontiff'.[29] The references here are to major continental contributors to the contemporary debate: Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Félix Dupanloup (1802–1878), Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802–1861); he addresses the arguments of such as Luigi

Alamanni (1495–1556), Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703), Louis Thomassin (1619–1695) and Giuseppe Agostino Orsi (1692–1761). He ends, perhaps significantly, without any identification with Ireland, addressing, rather, 'my fellow citizens of Glasgow, children of the Church', declaring that Rome is 'the home of every Catholic, for every Catholic is a Roman'. If the majority of his listeners were, indeed, of Irish origin, then this final salutation provides yet another hint of the complex interplay of the plural identities of Catholics in Scotland which so often slips through unarticulated in other discourses—particularly journalistic—of the period.[30]

A final example from 10 September 1865 finds McCorry lecturing on 'Pius IX and the Nineteenth Century' in St Vincent's, Glasgow, on behalf of the funds of the SVDP.[31] While apologetical in tone, closer reading finds broad conceptualisations which listeners might use in clarifying their thoughts on issues: ideas of novelty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rationalism in the eighteenth, fanaticism and indifferentism in the nineteenth. There is something very important to be said about the way in which such lectures provided new vocabulary and concepts (or, indeed, challenged old concepts) which those in attendance might take away in order to make sense of the politics and cultures of the world around them. This sharing in a 'language of the intellect' could potentially lead men just as equally *away* from involvement in radical movements as onwards to embrace them. Establishing and illustrating that link by way of proving such a thesis is, however, very difficult and will require further forensic research in local newspapers and archives. But it is intriguing to think that a vital aspect of these embryonic Catholic communities' self-understanding in relation to the wider Scottish community and the great questions of the day might be on the cusp of being revealed more fully to us.

Snapshot 2: Lectures on Science

For the purposes of the second snapshot in this chapter, the camera now turns to a topic which has been chosen precisely because it challenges the anecdotal notion that Catholic societies would have been anti-science,

avoiding the subject as a threat to religious belief and practice. Although not by any means abundant, there are nevertheless references to lectures on science in the pages of the *Glasgow Observer* during the first decade of its existence. This should not be a surprise. As Don O'Leary has pointed out, the relationship between modern science and Catholicism was in no way straightforward, as if attitudes were pre-scripted, particularly during the relatively more 'open' pontificate of Leo XIII (1878–1903).[32] Indeed, notable Protestant writers were quick to point out that certain of their own evangelical co-religionists harboured resistance to scientific claims every bit as robust as their perceived Catholic counterparts.[33] Under-researched though the area may be, it is nonetheless rewarding to survey some of the lectures advertised.[34]

The first clear reference to science appeared in a July 1885 edition of the *Observer*, only some months after the paper's first appearance. An article glorying in the title 'Astronomy—The Geography of the Heavens—Its Analogy to Mundane Civil Divisions—Ancient Ideas about the Stars' proceeds to discuss the nature of the constellations and the stars within them, the legend of Andromeda and the origins of the signs of the zodiac, before concluding with a reflection on the vastness of the Milky Way and the Universe. This appears to be, however, a syndicated piece, with clues to an authorship in New York, but it is interesting that it merited publication in the Catholic *Glasgow Observer*.[35] Half a decade on, the paper carried a short article on the 'Meteorological Section in the New Vatican Observatory', celebrating its up-to-date resources (e.g. a Thomson-Mascart photographic electrometer) and enjoying the irony of the Observatory's accommodation being not far from the room in which Galileo had been confined. An appreciation of the irony required, of course, familiarity with the traditional narrative of the Galileo story; it also required some detachment from a strictly rigorist interpretation of Galileo's confrontation with the Church of his day. There is apparently a sub-plot in play here of the times having moved on. Presumably, readers of the *Observer* were expected to have sufficient reservoirs of such critical detachment.

Against such brief glimpses of a broader context of popular engagement with science, there are also reports of science talks to be found in the *Observer*'s pages. In December 1887, the CYMS in Kilmarnock was

addressed by a recently ordained assistant priest, Rev. Edmund J Ryan, on the subject of 'Light'. This was, however, no theological exploration of 'light' as a metaphor for the attributes of the Deity. The talk was emphatically focused on the *science* of light: 'Fr Ryan, who presided, lectured on "Light", explaining its component parts and the velocity at which it travels.' In what one presumes was a gripping finale, Fr Ryan concluded the lecture with 'some chemical experiments and ended with an exhibition of coloured fire'.[36] No doubt some of the same properties of light featured in March 1890 when members of St Alphonsus' Young Men's Guild (Glasgow) were addressed by Mr Alexander Boyle on the related topic of 'Famous Lighthouses', providing a 'very fine description of the well-known Eddystone Lighthouse, exhibiting (while doing so) some excellent plates of the same'.[37] As during Ryan's lecture in Kilmarnock, the Boyle talk had featured the use of a 'magic lantern', enhancing the learning experience of all in attendance.[38]

On occasion, one finds tantalising references which prove impossible to follow up. A February 1890 edition refers to a forthcoming meeting of the St Margaret's Young Men's Guild, Airdrie, whereupon 'a critique on Mr Graham's paper on Astronomy will be given by Canon Makintosh.'[39] It is disappointing that no report of the Canon's intervention can be traced. There is, however, more information relating to a lecture on 'Respiration', delivered later the same year to the CYMS of St John the Evangelist in Portugal Street, Glasgow. Mr T Brenna 'explained the mechanism of the respiratory organs of the human system, the agents that combine in keeping up the temperature of the body, as well as the various courses that act so destructively on the breathing functions and the influences that affect the blood through the pulmonary arteries'. This was an exercise in *useful* learning as Brenna, in 'referring to those diseases peculiar to the lungs and bronchial tubes … pointed one means whereby to protect against the deleterious effects of the atmosphere upon these organs'.[40] It would appear that Brenna was *not* a doctor. Like many of the CYMS lecturers, he may have researched his piece using the magazines and books of his branch's reading room or circulating library.

Perhaps the greatest controversy of all in the science-religion interface related to Darwin and evolution and interest in this 'hot' topic is certainly represented in the *Glasgow Observer* reports.[41] A first example is another lecture presented to the CYMS in St John the Evangelist, Portugal

Street, in July 1890. The branch's President, Mr P Corrigan, read a paper entitled 'Earth Scripture', straightaway situating this lecture within a particular interpretation of nature's (and, by extension, science's) role as a mirror of the creator. Corrigan 'explained the various factors concerned in the territorial changes that are perpetually taking place, as well as numerous instances of geological phenomena that present themselves throughout the globe'.[42] He continued in some detail to dissect the causes of the destruction of the chalk cliffs of Axmouth in Devonshire in 1839. If Corrigan made reference at any point to the narratives of creation in Genesis, it is certainly not referred to in the *Observer* report. What is striking, however, is the sense of curiosity and openness to a new area of study implied in the observation that Corrigan's paper 'threw much light on geology as affording an interesting subject for study, and one which … was only in comparative infancy [and] should repay the diligent research of the student'.

Indeed, this was the theme of a paper written (though not delivered in person) by the Rev. John Gerard SJ of Stonyhurst College on *The Church and Science* and presented at the National (Great Britain) Conference of the CYMS held in Glasgow in August 1890, just a month after Corrigan's own contribution in his branch.[43] Gerard acknowledged initially that 'many Catholics distrust science', viewing it as 'dangerous', but his intent is clearly to inform and change attitudes. Science, he proclaims, 'does not and cannot run counter to revealed truth'. Indeed, theory, speculation or hypothesis is *not* science. Consequently, Catholics must not refuse to contemplate the claims of science but, rather, approach its study with their minds at ease. In contrast to counter-claims that religion was based on sentiment, Gerard is keen to emphasise that, in fact, it is scientists who are allowing their emotions to govern their claims. Science has certainly made great strides but 'her advance has not kept pace with the eagerness of some of her followers.' He ends in summoning a roll call of the great and the good who have attested to the complementarity of God and science, amongst them Isaac Newton (1643–1727), George Gabriel Stokes (1819–1903), Lord Kelvin (1824–1907) and St George Jackson Mivart (1827–1900). Gerard is emphatic in asserting that 'we do an injury to science when we assume towards its advances an attitude perfectly defensive.'

Does Gerard's polished paper allow us a glimpse of how science was being treated more generally in CYMS lectures? Intriguingly, the *Glasgow Observer* provides a brief description of the response to the paper by one of the delegates, a Mr Deachan: 'Brother Deachan, in some interesting remarks, said that gentlemen of the Huxley and Tyndall schools were always aiming their darts at the Catholic Church. Why was this? If these people could get her out of the way they might get on with their pseudo-science. The Church was the great barrier to error and so long as she existed the Huxleys and the Tyndalls could make but little progress. Science, properly so called, was nature and nature must ever be the support of our holy religion.'[44] Was Deachan domiciled in Scotland? It is not clear. However, he is probably representative of a more general Catholic response to the science and religion debate which must surely, if viewed in proper historical context, point towards a much more sophisticated discourse than a superficial hindsight might suggest when observed from the twenty-first century. What is significant, ultimately, is the encouragement to Catholics to *engage* with scientific issues. While defensive, Gerard's paper makes it clear that these issues cannot be interpreted in simplistic, binary terms (religion, good; science, bad). Catholics should embrace scientific study as a means to discovering more about the God-created world and cosmos. In short, there is a need to be informed—to be *educated*. In the words of Gerard's conclusion: 'Far from regarding it as the enemy let us welcome its discoveries, conscious that as on the one hand God alone can explain the mysteries of nature, so on the other every fresh truth gathered from nature is another witness to God.' Such sentiments prompt one to propose that those who attended CYMS talks on science, as in Kilmarnock in 1887 or Airdrie in 1890, were probably much more open to 'engaged wonderment' in the face of new developments in scientific thought than might previously have been supposed by many commentators in the decades since.[45]

Conclusions

This chapter makes no claims to comprehensiveness in its treatment of its theme. What it has sought to do is to provide sketches of learning experiences in the Scottish Catholic community which are both illuminating

(to the extent that they may be unexpected) and suggestive of avenues for future scholarly research. It is certainly true that the focus has been almost exclusively male but, as alluded to previously, the female experience must be awarded similar dedicated attention in work still to be published. However, the purpose of this chapter as, indeed, of the volume in which it appears is to set out new paths which will enrich understanding of the Catholic community's learning experiences in the decades before the 1918 Act.

What, at this juncture, might be some of the conclusions to be drawn from this study? First, it would be wrong to assert that all male Catholics in parish communities took advantage of the opportunities to attend the meetings of the CYMS or other such sodalities. However, the numbers attending the CYMS in the decade of the 1890s were not insubstantial in many areas. While it is impossible without access to log-books to ascertain exactly what sort of numbers of participants were attending CYMS meetings, serendipity *has* provided scholars with a roll call of CYMS membership in a single year. A report in *The Tablet* on the occasion of the 20th Annual Conference of the CYMS in 1891 provides a teasing account of numbers involved in various branches: Dumfries, 296; Edinburgh, 500; Glasgow, 886; Gourock, 30; Greenock, 107; Kilmarnock, 73; Stirling, 178; Braemar, 58; Buckie, 65; Dumbarton, 120; Falkirk, 213; Oban, 40; Stranraer, 32.[46] Numbers alone, of course, do not tell the whole story. However, it does need to be acknowledged that amongst these numbers would be many of the leaders of community life, including schoolteachers.

Second, there was interest in topics beyond those associated with Ireland (though these were ever present and popular). Catholics were keen to discuss the great issues of the day, including the Roman Question, which touched on a great deal more than questions of religious authority but related to an entire geo-political grasp of how the modern world (and Western Europe more particularly) was to be shaped. At the same time, one notes that related themes in European art and literature were touched on. This was further reflected in, for example, the excursion made by members of the CYMS at the annual National Conference of 1885 to Rosslyn Chapel where, it was reported, 'gentlemen will have the privilege of visiting the pretty Gothic chapel and seeing the celebrated Apprentice

Pillar on presenting their tickets at the door.'[47] Such developing awareness of European culture and, as at Rosslyn in 1885, Scottish architectural history suggest a developing inquisitive mentality amongst such groups which surely demands further research. What Geoffrey Spurr pointed out in 2002 about the YMCA in London ('surprisingly little scholarly attention') still holds true for the CYMS in Scotland.[48]

Third, and most intriguingly perhaps, it is clear that science was not off-limits. When a certain Francis Quin of Ibrox Place, Glasgow, wrote to the *Glasgow Observer* on 12 August 1885, encouraging a campaign for a 'Catholic Hall and Library' for Glasgow, he did so because he believed that the 'Catholics of Glasgow would gain immensely if they had greater facilities for becoming acquainted with Catholic literature—*even including the physical sciences* expanded from a Catholic point of view.'[49] Such advocacy runs entirely counter to the view that Catholics were anti-science. This is not to say that there was not a great deal of misunderstanding and in some cases downright rejection. But, once again, it is clear that the evolution of popular Catholic attitudes towards science in this period is much more complex, less monochrome, than previously presented.

Finally, if not an entirely new idea, this chapter nevertheless has sought to emphasise that the history of Catholic education before 1918 has a story to tell beyond the obvious one of the schools. It is a story of the development and sustenance of interests which might variously be described as intellectual, artistic, scientific, literary, practical and so on. In short, multifarious—and multifarious was the range of personalities which attended meetings of sodalities and other public lectures and talks over the years and decades, building up circulating libraries where possible and finances would allow. Such social and learning experiences in the adult years must reasonably be considered to have had an impact on those who shaped the presentation of—and approaches to—Catholic education in the years leading up to 1918 and, indeed, beyond. This chapter having stated a case for such an albeit tentative assertion, it will be for scholarship in the future to explore the roles of the CYMS and other sodalities in helping to form the teachers who led learning in the schools as well as nurturing other members of the Catholic community with significant influence on the directions taken by Catholic education both before 1918 and since.

Notes

1. Attempting to define terms such as 'formal', 'non-formal' and 'informal' education is to enter a conceptual minefield. This chapter refers to learning outside of a school but nevertheless *subject to planning and organisation* (e.g. at a public lecture or sodality meeting) as 'non-formal', taking its cue from Daniel Schugurensky, *The Forms of Informal Learning: Towards a Conceptualization of the Field* [SSHRC Research Network on New Approaches of Lifelong Learning (NALL) Working Paper No. 19] (Toronto: Centre for the Study of Education and Work, 2000). However, it is impossible for any of these terms to be catch-all: self-directed study (e.g. using a circulating library) was pursued by members of the Catholic community, but Schugurensky would include this under 'informal' learning.
2. Bernard Aspinwall, "The Welfare State within the State: the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Glasgow, 1848–1920", in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History*, 23 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 445–59.
3. A helpful and concise definition of a 'sodality' is to be found in M. Massa (ed.), *American Catholic History: A Documentary Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 225: 'In the Catholic Church, sodalities are associations of laymen and women for devotional and charitable purposes.'
4. S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church. Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in 19th-Century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 149–71. See also Geraldine Vaughan, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland 1851–1921* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 65–66. A seminal study in the general field, providing a scholarly template, is Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto 1850–1895* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993). On Scottish Catholic history more generally, Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622–1878* (Montrose: Standard Press, 1970), is still relevant.
5. Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), esp. 63–84.
6. Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010; 2nd ed.).

7. For what follows, see Raymond Chien Sun, *Before the enemy is within our wall. Catholic Workers in Cologne, 1885–1912: A Social, Cultural and Political History* (Boston: Humanities Press, 1999); Margaret Stieg Dalton, *Catholicism, Popular Culture, and the Arts in Germany, 1880–1933* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005). Of related interest, see Julio de la Cueva Merino and Ángel Luis López Villaverde (eds.), *Clericalismo y asociacionismo católico en España* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2005). The earlier work of Yves Marie Hilaire still provides a benchmark for historians of the period: see Yves Marie Hilaire, *Une chrétienté au XIX^e siècle? La vie religieuse des populations du diocese d'Arras (1840–1914)* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Publications de l'Université de Lille III, 1977), esp. 408–416.
8. W. M. Walker, "Irish Immigrants in Scotland: their priests, politics and parochial life", *The Historical Journal*, 15(4), 1972, 665. See, too, Joan Allen, "'Keeping the Faith': The Catholic Press and the Preservation of Celtic Identity in Britain in the late nineteenth century", in Richard C. Allen and Stephen Regan (eds.), *Irelands of the Mind: Memory and Identity in Modern Irish Culture* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 32–49.
9. *Glasgow Observer*, 4 October 1890, 1.
10. Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives [hereafter GAA] IP—E18/25/1.
11. *Glasgow Observer*, 30 January 1886, 3.
12. Maginn sought to make a distinction between the non-political mission of the CYMS and other groups immersed in the politics of Ireland which might also promote non-formal adult education but often in the context of tense relations with ecclesiastical authorities: see Terence McBride, "The Secular and the Radical in Irish Associational Culture of Mid-Victorian Glasgow", *Immigrants and Minorities*, 28(1), 2010, 31–41.
13. Frank J. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789* (London: Longmans, 1998), 175.
14. See, for example, B. Aspinwall, "Catholic Devotion in Victorian Scotland", in Martin J. Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), 31. It must be noted with interest, however, that even in this same essay Aspinwall displays some doubts about the extent of the impact of ultramontanism, noting that 'aristocratic and convert self-confidence as much as ultramontanism helped to restore (the Scottish) hierarchy' (35) and 'increasingly Roman-educated clergy did not promote Ultramontane figures' (42), preferring ethnic folk culture and medieval romanticism.

15. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 50. Elsewhere, Kehoe has written of the growing influence of 'ultramontanism' in Canada, with implications for the visibility and survival of a Scottish Catholic community there. See S. Karly Kehoe, 'Catholic Identity in the Diaspora: Nineteenth-century Ontario', in T. Bueltmann, A. Hinson and G. Morton (eds.), *Ties of bluid, kin and countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009), 84.
16. For a discussion sensitive to the subtleties involved in the definition of both 'ultramontanism' and 'gallicanism', see the 'Introduction' to Richard F. Costigan, *Rohrbacher and the Ecclesiology of Ultramontanism* (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1980), xiii–xxx, esp. xvii. See also Peter R. D'Agostino, *Rome in America. Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 24.
17. Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 286.
18. Bernard Aspinwall, "The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland: Some Preliminary Outlines", *The Innes Review*, 33 (1982), 44–57.
19. T. E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791–1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 97–98, reminds the reader that Wiseman also advocated the congregational singing of plain-song in the interests of reinforcing ultramontane sentiments amongst the laity.
20. Reported in *Glasgow Free Press*, 17 August 1861, 3.
21. Lecture reported and summarised in *Kilmarnock Standard*, 25 September 1875, 3. See Raymond McCluskey, *St Joseph's Kilmarnock, 1847–1997: A Portrait of a Parish Community* (Kilmarnock: St Joseph's Church, 1997), 76–77.
22. *Catholic Directory for Scotland* [hereafter *CDS*] (Glasgow, 1903), 248–50.
23. *Glasgow Observer*, 20 February 1886, 5.
24. *Glasgow Observer*, 2 May 1885, 6.
25. John Mac-Corry, *La Suprématie de Saint Pierre et de ses successeurs les Pontifes Romains, traduit et annoté par l'Abbé Gobert* (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre, 1856).
26. *CDS* (Glasgow, 1881), 155–56.

27. John Stewart McCorry, *The Trials and the Triumphs of the Church as illustrated in the Person of the Roman Pontiff* (Glasgow: Hugh Margey, 1860).
28. McCorry, *Trials and Triumphs*, 3.
29. John Stewart McCorry, *Lecture on the Temporal Power of the Sovereign Pontiff* (Glasgow, 1863). Report in the *Glasgow Herald*, 31 December 1862.
30. Karly Kehoe, reflecting on the seminal work of Jane McDermid, has also highlighted the concept of a 'plurality of identities' shared across communities in Scotland. See Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 65.
31. John Stewart McCorry, *Pius IX and the 19th Century* (Glasgow, 1865).
32. Don O'Leary, *Roman Catholicism and Modern Science* (New York-London: Continuum, 2006).
33. S. H. Haywood, "Spiritual Pirates", *Popular Science Monthly*, 6, 1875, 599–603; Andrew Dickson White, "The Retreat of Theology in the Galileo Case", *Popular Science Monthly*, 41, 1892, 145–54.
34. The need for further research into connections between science and Catholicism has been noted elsewhere: Diarmid A. Finnegan and Jonathan Jeffrey Wright, "Catholics, science and civic culture in Victorian Belfast", *British Journal for the History of Science*, 48(2), 2015, 262. See also Diarmid A. Finnegan, *Natural History Societies and Civic Culture in Victorian Scotland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009).
35. Of related interest, see Aileen Fyfe, "Science and Religion in Popular Publishing in 19th-century Britain", in Peter Meusburger, Michael Welker and Edgar Wunder (eds.), *Clashes of Knowledge: Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Science and Religion* (New York: Springer, 2008), 121–132.
36. *Glasgow Observer*, 10 December 1887, 5. See McCluskey, *St Joseph's, Kilmarnock*, 96–97.
37. *Glasgow Observer*, 1 March 1890, 5.
38. Elizabeth Shepherd, "The Magic Lantern Slide in entertainment and education, 1860–1920", *History of Photography*, 11(2), 1987, 91–108.
39. *Glasgow Observer*, 1 February 1890, 5. The Canon's name is usually listed as James McIntosh in modern treatments.
40. *Glasgow Observer*, 13 September 1890, 5.
41. Of related interest, see Martin S Brennan, *What Catholics have done for Science* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1887): J. A. Zahm, *Catholic Science and Catholic Scientists* (Philadelphia: H L Kilner, 1893); J. A. Zahm, *Evolution and Dogma* (Chicago: D H McBride, 1896).

42. *Glasgow Observer*, 12 July 1890, 5.
43. John Gerard, "The Church and Science", *The Irish Monthly*, 21(235), 1893, 38–43.
44. *Glasgow Observer*, 9 August 1890, 5. The references are to Thomas Huxley (1825–1895) and John Tyndall (1820–1893), generally perceived to be the principal apostles of 'scientism'. See O'Leary, *Roman Catholicism and Modern Science*, 26–31.
45. Of related interest, see Joshua M. Moritz, "The war that never was: exploding the myth of the historical conflict between Christianity and Science", *Theology and Science*, 10(2), 2012, 113–123; J. A. Zahm, "Christian Faith and Scientific Freedom", *The North American Review*, 157(442), 1893, 315–24.
46. *The Tablet*, 8 August 1891, 13.
47. *Glasgow Observer*, 1 August 1885, 5.
48. Geoffrey D. Spurr, "The London YMCA: A haven of masculine self-improvement and socialization for the late-Victorian and Edwardian Clerk", *Canadian Journal of History*, 37(2), 2002, 275.
49. *Glasgow Observer*, 15 August 1885, 4.

8

The Presbyterian Campaign (1923–1930) Against the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

Stephen J. McKinney

Introduction

Stewart J. Brown's seminal article in the *Innes Review* (1991) provided a detailed examination of the campaign of the 'presbyterian churches against the Scoto-Irish Roman Catholic community'.[1] The main points to emerge from this article have been referenced in many of the key works on historical sectarianism in Scotland and on state-funded Catholic schooling in Scotland.[2] Brown's article points out that the campaign was twofold: the *restriction of Irish Catholic immigration* and the *repeal or revision of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918*. His article, however, is primarily focused on the *restriction of Irish Catholic immigration*. This chapter aims to explore the second part of the campaign in some detail: the *repeal or revision of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918* from 1923 to 1930. The chapter will also discuss some later responses to this campaign from writers with a Church of Scotland or Protestant background.

S. J. McKinney (✉)
School of Education, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, UK
e-mail: stephen.mckinney@glasgow.ac.uk

© The Author(s) 2019
S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_8

The chapter will begin with a short explanation of the nature of the opposition of the Church of Scotland to the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act and the initial reaction to the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. The chapter will then examine the 1923 campaign and the ongoing developments in the Church of Scotland, concluding at 1930 with the introduction of the Committee on Education of the united Church of Scotland. The chapter will also examine early perspectives on the campaigns from literature generated by members of the Church of Scotland, especially the perspectives of Alexander Gammie, one of John White's biographers, and the historian, J. R. Fleming. The chapter will continue with a contrasting section on later perspectives from some influential figures within the Church of Scotland, notably the perspectives of Duncan B. Forrester and Douglas Murray. The chapter will end with some concluding remarks.

The Reaction of the Church of Scotland to the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act

The Education Committee of the Church of Scotland in 1872 was primarily focused on the impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act on the then current school system.[3] The Education Committee voiced concerns about the implications of the 1872 Act for the future of the parochial schools and their transference to Boards. They were also concerned about the preservation of religious instruction and the burden on the taxpayers. The 1872 report stated that there was no need for the intervention planned under the 1872 Act: the reported non-attendance in schools in towns was exaggerated and increased grants for the Highland and Island parishes and 'better organisation' of the schools in the burghs would resolve the issues in primary education. The committee did not question the 'reasonableness' of providing grants to Episcopalian and Catholic denominational schools. The 1873 report discussed these issues further.[4] The main point remained that the Education Committee did not accept that there was any need for major interventions in the existing arrangements for schooling.

The reaction to the 1872 Act raises a very important issue that will continue to be raised in subsequent discussions: the status of religious instruction in non-denominational schools. The Church of Scotland was concerned that religious instruction was at the discretion of the School Board and there were no guarantees that religious instruction would 'be taught according to the use and wont of Scottish schools'.[5] Stevenson points out that religious instruction was in practice taught in the majority of schools, bar one or two exceptions.[6] Nevertheless, the Church of Scotland would campaign vigorously for religious instruction as a statutory provision.

The Initial Reaction of the Church of Scotland to the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act

In the 1918 report of the Education Committee, there was no strong reaction to the transfer of denominational schools by the Education Committee and the General Assembly.[7] The 1918 report did explore the implications of the new 1918 Act and the introduction of Education Authorities and Education Committees. There is a factual explanation of the arrangements for the transfer of voluntary schools and the continuation of religious instruction and approval of teachers in these schools. The Education Committee, however, was more concerned to press for the appointment of supervisors or advisors for religious instruction in public schools (with no role in the secular education in the schools). This could be extended to the voluntary schools; they could also appoint their own supervisors or advisors.

The 1919 report also provided a factual update of the Act and repeated the information about the transfer of the voluntary schools.[8] The 1920, 1921 and 1922 Education Committee reports make no mention of denominational schools, Catholic schools or voluntary schools.[9] Rather, there is a campaign in 1920 to ensure an adequate religious training for those who will teach in non-denominational schools and four directors of religious instruction were appointed for Scotland.

Irish Immigration in the 1923 Assembly

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1923 proved to be an important point in the discussion about Catholic schools. There is no comment concerning Catholic schools or the 1918 Education Act in the 1923 Education Committee report.[10] There is, however, a separate report of the committee that was set up to consider overtures from the Presbytery of Glasgow and from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on the topics of 'Irish Immigration' and the 'Education (Scotland) Act 1918'.[11] This was presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on 23 May 1923. The two topics were later discussed under two Sub-Committees. As has been stated, there has been considerable academic engagement with the campaign on Irish immigration. A short summary will follow in the interests of providing important contextual background to the discussion on the Education (Scotland) Act 1918.

The report articulates concerns over the 'incursion into Scotland of a large Irish Roman Catholic population within recent years'.[12] The Irish Roman Catholics are described as being segregated by their race, customs and traditions and by their loyalty to their Church. They 'cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race'.[13] They are claimed to divide Scotland racially, socially and ecclesiastically. The report makes a clear distinction between the Irish Roman Catholics and the small number of Scottish Roman Catholics and the Orange (Irish Protestant) population. The Scottish Roman Catholics, in contrast with the Irish Roman Catholics, have the 'right to call Scotland their country, in common with their fellow-countrymen of the Protestant faith'.[14] The Orange population is 'of the same race as ourselves and of the same faith and are readily assimilated to the Scottish population'.[15] The report estimates that soon every third person would be Irish: the Irish Roman Catholic population has, they claim, almost doubled in 40 years and in the next 40 years could be as high as 1,500,000.[16] They are anxious that this alien people will have permeated the whole of Scotland.

The incursion of the Irish Roman Catholics is perceived to be a challenge to the ideals of the Reformation when Scotland became almost 'homogeneous in Faith and ideals'.[17] The influx of the Irish Roman Catholics began the 'destruction of the unity and homogeneity of the Scottish people'.[18] The Irish Roman Catholics came to provide cheap

labour in Scotland, and native Scots have emigrated to America and the dominions looking for better conditions of life, higher wages and wider prospects. The departure of the native Scots is described as a great loss, and they have been replaced by a people of a different race and a different faith. The report claims that very few of the Irish emigrated from Scotland. Scotland was now divided into two camps: Scottish and Irish.

The Irish Roman Catholics are described as being not as thrifty and independent as the Scots, and they are quick to seek social relief. They are poor partly because of intemperance and improvidence and demonstrate little ambition to better themselves.[19] The report makes a claim that the Scots do not want to work with the Irish and that Irish foremen favour the employment of fellow Irishmen. The time had come for the Scottish people to safeguard their heritage which is a just and patriotic end. The report expresses anxiety that if the Catholic Church converts Scotland, the bigger prize of England will be within reach.[20] The report comments that the Sabbath is not as revered as it once was, it has become a day for political meetings and concerts. The increased secularisation of the Sabbath is exacerbated by the Irish influence. The Roman Catholic Church has able men attempting to convert the Scottish nation, though they may not be successful. The blatant stereotyping and inaccuracy of many of the claims (e.g. the claims concerning the preferential treatment in employment) have been discussed and critiqued by academics.[21]

The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act at the 1923 Assembly

The 1923 report focuses on the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act on pages 759 and 760. The report states that the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act has been very beneficial for the Roman Catholic Church. The schools have been sold or leased and an:

> over-taxed and financially distressed Scotland has to pay immense sums for the lease or purchase of buildings, which the Scottish people control only to a limited extent.[22]

The report states that the Education Act of 1918 was passed into law when Scotland was preoccupied by the war. This Act has made the Roman Catholic Church in proportion to numbers the:

> most richly-endowed church in Scotland, and has securely entrenched her in the very schools she has either sold or leased to Education Authorities.[23]

The report cites the example of the Glasgow Education Authority which pays the Roman Catholic Church £25,000 a year for the lease of the Roman Catholic schools, and has paid £47,000 for their fittings and furnishing.

> The education act of 1872 made no such generous provision for the transference of the schools built by the Church of Scotland or the Free Church of Scotland.[24]

The report further comments on the scale of the provision of Catholic schools in Glasgow:

> Such an endowment of denominational schools in one city alone for the children of an alien race is surely unprecedented.[25]

The report deplores the claims of the Roman Catholic Church, under the 1918 Act, for the erection of new Catholic secondary and primary schools when they are considered to be required. The report also states that the 'Church will not allow the children of her people to attend Protestant secondary schools'.[26] This means authorities are required to attend to the needs of the Catholic children, by paying for their education in Catholic schools or building new schools for them. The Roman Catholic Church is (in the use of the schools):

> loaded with wealth received from an overburdened nation, is using it for the purpose of securely establishing a Faith in their land that is distasteful to the Scottish race, or of supplanting the people who supplied these riches by a race that is alien in sympathy and in religion.[27]

The report informs the Assembly debate on 29 May 1923 under point 3:

> The General Assembly call upon the Government to amend the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918, so that the right to impart religious instruction shall be accorded to all public schools as is accorded in transferred schools; and further, the General Assembly request that section 18 of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 be so altered as to bring it into line with section 38 of the Act of 1872, with the addition of the provision of section 18 of the Act of 1918 as regards the appointment of teachers and religious instruction in transferred schools. The General Assembly also consider that sub-sections 7, 8, 9 and 10 of section 18 should be revised and altered.[28]

Section 18 of the 1918 Act is the section that is dedicated to voluntary or denominational schools. In the first point, the Assembly seeks to secure the same rights to deliver religious instruction in schools that have not been recently transferred. Sub-section 7 refers to the provision for the transferal of schools that were established after the passing of the Act. Sub-section 8 refers to the building of new denominational schools if required by the Education Authority. Sub-section 9 refers to the position of schools after ten years of transfer to the authority or building of a new school. If after inquiry the school is no longer required for denominational purposes and Sub-section 3 of section 8 of the 1918 Act is no longer applicable, the school can be discontinued or reconfigured as a public school. In these circumstances, compensation, if appropriate, should be paid to the appropriate body. Sub-section 10 refers to the modification of section 38 of the 1872 Act.

The language of the 1923 report appears to be heavily influenced by thinking on eugenics. In that era, eugenics proposed a form of 'biological determinism': differences between races are characterised by inherited and inborn traits that help to explain social and economic distinctions.[29] Key phrases appear in the report to emphasise the seriousness of the problem posed by the presence of the (perceived to be) growing Irish Roman Catholic population. These phrases configure the problem as a problem of race. The problem is described as the 'problem of the Irish Roman Catholic population' (750) and 'an Irish Problem' (751). The

Irish are frequently referred to as the Irish 'race' (750 and on ten other pages) and as aliens: 'alien people' (758), a 'large alien population' (758), an 'alien race' (759) and a 'race that is alien' (760). It is important to note that the discussion about the repeal or revision of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 in the 1923 report is partially couched in the language of racial and denominational difference that is prevalent in the campaign against Irish immigration. As has been seen above, there are two references in the discussion on Catholic schools pertaining to an alien race. First, the Catholic schools are described as schools for the children of an 'alien race' (759). Second, the Catholic Church is using the schools to establish a faith for a 'race that is alien in sympathy and in religion' (760).

In the 1924 report of the Committee on Church and Nation, the remit for the Education (Scotland) Act has been devolved to a Sub-Committee.[30] It is noted that this issue was also being discussed by a similar Committee of the United Free Church. The Sub-Committee met on 14 April 1924 in a conference with the United Free Church Sub-Committee. Some Education Authorities were invited to attend this meeting. There were plans to hold a further and enlarged conference. The report of the Sub-Committee is consistent with the call of the General Assembly in the deliverance of 1923, point 3, and extends the focus of the Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee sought financial information about the transferred schools. The Sub-Committee argued that all new transfers should be conducted subject to the 1872 Act. The Act should be amended such that Education Authorities should have control over teachers in transferred schools. The Sub-Committee also sought a report on the numbers of 'teachers in transferred schools who are members of religious orders'.[31] It was proposed that if sub-sections (7, 8) of section 18 do refer to authorities having to take over future transferred schools from Roman Catholic or other churches, this should be repealed. Any transference of schools should be under the 1872 Act. The final point is a condemnation of the right to compensation for the transferred schools (after ten years) under Sub-section 9 of section 18. This is rejected as 'open to grave abuse'.[32] The report of the Sub-Committee is incorporated into the Church and Nation Committee report under Appendix II. The General Assembly noted the report and renewed the remit for the Sub-Committee.

It is instructive that in the 1924 report of the Sub-Committee on the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, the pejorative language of 'race' and 'alien race' does not appear and will not resurface in any of the subsequent reports of the Sub-Committee. By contrast, the tone of the 1923 report has been continued in the 1924 report of the Sub-Committee on Irish immigration. This particular Sub-Committee had been charged to further the remit to urge the government to investigate the situation to preserve and protect Scottish nationality and civilisation.[33] The report commented that the increase in the Irish population was deemed to be detrimental because they were a drain on relief funds and they had a high level of criminal conviction.[34]

The 1925 Committee on Church and Nation provided a series of proposed amendments to the 1918 Act.[35] First they proposed that Sub-section 3 (iii) be amended such that religious instruction is to be at the beginning or the end of the school period and, perhaps more crucially, will be specified in a table and approved by the Scottish Education Department. They proposed that Sub-section 7 be amended to exclude payment or rent to those who transfer a school to the Education Authority. The proposed amendment to Sub-section 8 is also concerned with religious instruction being at the beginning or the end of the school period. Sub-section 9 is to be amended to delete the time limit of ten years and to delete all reference to possible compensation. They also provided an alternative amendment that section 18 should not be applicable to any school acquired by an Education Authority after the passing of this Act. The Sub-Committee reported on a further joint conference with the United Free Church which agreed on the amendments outlined above and formed a joint deputation to the Secretary of State for Scotland to present the agreed amendments. The Secretary of State suggested a conference with Dr. Macdonald of the Education Department. The Secretary agreed to meet the deputation after the conference. The remit to the Sub-Committee was continued. The report of the Sub-Committee on Irish immigration of 1925 focused on the high levels of emigration of Scots and the intention to discuss the 'racial problem' with the Secretary of State for Scotland.[36]

The 1926 report of the Committee on Church and Nation included a series of amendments to the 1918 Act in Appendix IV that had been agreed by the joint Sub-Committee.[37] There are two that are highlighted

as key points in the short section that reports on the Sub-Committee on the Act. First, the Sub-Committee proposes that 'religious teaching, according to use and wont' be obligatory in all non-transferred schools.[38] Second, where there is sufficient accommodation in schools, there is no need to transfer or build a new school. If parents desired denominational religious instruction, then, this could be provided by teachers of the same faith as the children. In the same year, the General Assembly instructed the Sub-Committee on Irish immigration to 'take what steps are open to ascertain the relative position of the Scottish and Irish races in Scotland'.[39]

The 1927 report of the Education Sub-Committee presents a proposed statement that was to be submitted to representatives of the Roman Catholic Church.[40] The statement begins in expressing that:

> Our desire is for the largest possible measure of agreement with the Roman Catholic Church in the administration of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, by the Education Authorities of Scotland.[41]

In this statement, the two main points highlighted in the 1926 report are revisited. The Sub-Committee seeks the 'acquiescence' of the Roman Catholic Church in their demand for the statutory right for religious instruction in other schools (non-denominational). They also ask that separate schools be only employed in large cities and towns where the numbers of Catholic children are large; in smaller towns, villages and rural areas, they ask that the Roman Catholic children attend public schools and receive appropriate religious instruction. The actual wording of the underlying principles, however, is less sanguine. Principle (2) advocates discretion for Education Authorities in providing additional transferred schools (where they are deemed necessary or desirable) but that there be no statutory obligation if they can arrange appropriate religious instruction by teachers of the same faith as the children. This is quite different from what appears to be an initial appeal for good sense extended by the Roman Catholic Church. The Sub-Committee on Irish immigration of 1927 produced a statement on the population of the Scottish and Irish races in Scotland.[42] The statement revisited the issues of emigration and the alleged drain on relief funds. The statement expresses great concerns about social, moral and spiritual disruption for the Scottish race and the pressing need to preserve the Scottish race.

The proposed changes to provision of school accommodation and assurances of 'guarantee' of appropriate religious instruction were reiterated in the report on the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 (contained in the report of the Committee on Church and Nation) in 1928 with renewed urgency as a result of the process of the Bonnybridge case.[43] It is useful to examine the Bonnybridge case and the implications of the final ruling in this case.

The Catholic clergy in Bonnybridge (a small town near Falkirk) had requested that Stirlingshire Authority build a new Catholic school for the growing population of Catholic children.[44] This was refused but an existing school could be considered for transfer. The building of a local Catholic school was completed in 1925, and the local priest, Father Miley, and the trustees requested the transfer of the school to the local authority. This would have been under the provision of section 18 (7) of the 1918 Act. This was refused and the case was sent to the Scottish Education Department for arbitration. In 1928, the Scottish Education Department granted permission for the transfer. Stirlingshire Authority was unhappy with this decision and a legal battle ensued. The first interpretation was by the First Division of the Court of Session that favoured the transferal, but an appeal to the Inner House, later in the year, led to the case of Stirlingshire Authority being upheld. The trustees appealed and the matter was referred to the House of Lords. In 1929, the Lords supported the first decision that the school be transferred. The Bonnybridge case has been interpreted as an important consolidation of the responsibility of an Authority to accept a new Catholic school that had been built after the 1918 Act (under the conditions of section 18 (7)). Rt Rev. William Francis Brown, auxiliary bishop in the English diocese of Southwark but an energetic advocate of Catholic education throughout Britain, wrote in *The Tablet* in December 1929 that Sub-section 7 of section 18 of the Act had been written very carefully to 'secure the right to new (Catholic) schools' (Brown, 1929).[45] He also commented that authorities around the country had been willing to fund new Catholic schools and that Stirlingshire, apart from one or two difficult cases, had been fair in their dealings with Catholic schools.

There was a fuller report of the Sub-Committee published in the Supplementary Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1928.[46] This report was focused on the impending change in legislation

that would result in the cessation of the Education Authorities and the establishment of Education Committees of County Councils and the town councils of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee. The Church of Scotland was concerned about the continuation of the religious instruction in non-transferred schools according to use and wont. The Sub-Committee identified three proposals. First, they sought the insertion of a clause that maintained the then current system. Second, they sought representation of the Scottish churches on the proposed Committees. Third, they sought supervisors of religious instruction in all non-transferred schools. There were serious concerns that the move to Education Committees would weaken the 'security' for religious instruction. The Secretary of State agreed to the request for representation on the proposed committee but limited to: 'at least one person conversant with the custom which has prevailed in the public schools of Scotland of giving instruction in religion to children'.[47] The Church of Scotland was dissatisfied with this and sought representation of all the churches that had handed schools over in 1873. The Sub-Committee sought and received support from the Educational Institute of Scotland on 8 November for the 'continuance of religious instruction in every school according to use and want'.[48] The Sub-Committee on Irish immigration of 1928 proposed that they pursue the passing of immigration laws in the UK, to 'mitigate the danger to Scottish nationality'.[49]

In the 1929 report of the Committee on Church and Nation, there is a separate section devoted to the Local Government (Scotland) Bill.[50] This presents correspondence between John White and Sir John Gilmour, Secretary of State for Scotland. The Church of Scotland sought to 'safeguard' religious instruction in the new bill. The Church now requested at least three persons, not one, conversant with the customs which prevailed in the public schools in Scotland and the Church sought guarantees that these be representatives of the churches. The Church was also anxious that if a Sub-Committee was formed for religious instruction that an adequate representation would be ensured from the Church Association in each area. John White added a reminder that the Church of Scotland transferred their schools in accordance with the 1872 Act for no payment and without the security of religious instruction that was conferred to the schools in 1918.

After a meeting with the joint committee on 15 January 1929, Sir John sent a letter to John White on 24 January 1929. Sir John rejected the three proposals but stated that he would add an amendment to the effect that if an Education Authority decided to discontinue religious instruction under section 7 of the 1918 Act, this could not be enacted without being ratified by the electorate of the area. John White's reply on 28 January 1929 states that the ratification by the electorate was a 'very valuable safeguard'. He registers his disappointment that the three proposals have been rejected and argues that Church Associations be recognised in each area. Sir John Gilmour, in a later letter of 2 February, states that Church Associations cannot be accorded statutory recognition until they have been formed and have demonstrated their usefulness. The amendment was added and the bill stated that at least 'two persons interested in the promotion of religious instruction in terms of section 7 of the Education (Scotland) Act' be nominated by the Churches or denominational bodies, but that these would be nominated separately from those who represented the denominations which were concerned with the transferred schools.[51] According to Augustus Muir, one of John White's biographers, White himself drafted the clause on the two persons to be nominated; further, he sought and gathered support and the clause was inserted in the bill.[52] The General Assembly recorded 'deep satisfaction' with these outcomes and instructed the Committee on Education to oversee the nomination of representatives and to bring before the presbyteries the proposal for Associations of Churches.

The Sub-Committee on Irish immigration of 1929 renewed the emphasis on safeguarding Scottish nationality.[53] The report also included a review of statistics and an account of a meeting with representatives of the government. At this meeting the deputation sought regulations on immigration, repatriation of natives of the Irish Free State who were a financial burden on the state or convicted of criminal activity and that voting rights be only accorded to people who had accrued a period of residence.

The report of the Committee on Education for 1930 is from the Committee on Education of the united Church of Scotland.[54] The report states that it benefits from the co-operation of the Committees of the uniting Churches.[55] The Church of Scotland had reunited with the majority

of the United Free Church in 1929, thereby ending the Disruption that began in 1843.[56] The united Church was still very 'interested in maintaining the place of religion in the life of the schools'.[57] The main focus of the report is on the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929 and the Bonnybridge case. There are two other short sections on work in training colleges and the schoolmasters' pension scheme. The section on the Local Government Act describes the action to ensure the presbyteries were fully cognisant of their responsibility to confirm that appropriate Church representatives are appointed for the Education Committees. The section on the Bonnybridge case provides the narrative of the events, procedure and outcome of the case. This is prefixed by a statement that the Committee has not made any public pronouncement on the effects of the decision, but the implications of the decision have to be considered. This must be undertaken to avoid anything that will 'awaken religious animosities or induce an atmosphere of sectarian bitterness'.[58] The Committee interprets the decision as 'far-reaching' because the Education Authority has no locus in such decisions as these belong to the Scottish Education Department (which is circumscribed by statute). The Committee recommends careful study and a full inquiry into the recent interpretation of the 1918 Act.

The Sub-Committee on Irish immigration of 1930 urges the government to produce exact statistics on immigration and issues like the number of Irish on unemployment benefit.[59] Furthermore, the Sub-Committee expresses dissatisfaction with the few statistics that have been provided by the government in what appears to be a lukewarm response to the request for information.

Some Early Perspectives on the Campaigns

The next two sections will examine some responses to the twin campaign against Irish immigration and the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. Brown and Bruce et al. note that the official biography of John White written by Augustus Muir in 1958 makes no mention of the campaign against the Irish Catholics.[60] Bruce et al. argue that this demonstrates that anti-Catholicism had by that point become outdated. Brown further adds that J. H. S. Burleigh is silent on this matter in his *Church*

History of Scotland (1960).[61] There is, however, some mention of the campaigns in earlier works, in books produced around the time of the campaign. Alexander Gammie wrote an early biography of White in 1929 in the 'Great Churchmen Series'. There is a brief mention of the campaign in Gammie's book in a terse account of some of the additional areas of activity for the Church and Nation Committee formed in 1919 and jointly led by John White. One of the major initial areas of activity for the Committee was 'the question of how best to commend the teaching of Jesus Christ to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life'. Gammie adds:

> To these subjects many others were added from time to time, such as the Lambeth proposals for the Re-union of Christendom, the question of Presbyterial Superintendence, the problem of Irish Immigration, the proposed Amendment of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, in regard to Religious Instruction, to quote only a few.[62]

The omission or brief acknowledgement of the twofold campaign is not, however, replicated in Fleming's third volume of *A History of the Church in Scotland 1875–1929*.[63] Fleming addresses both issues and, in doing so, he uses the rhetoric and language of the Sub-Committee in an indiscriminate manner.

> Considerable areas of a once entirely Protestant character have been occupied, one might say colonised, by a race of antagonistic habits and ideals. The Irish Roman Catholics are financially poor and obtain more than their share of relief funds. Criminal statistics do not tell in their favour—they fall too easy a prey to intemperance and improvidence and show little desire to rise in the social scale.[64]

Fleming turns his attention to the second part of the campaign: the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. He claims that the Catholic Church has focused on Catholic school education as a means to ensure continuity in the faith:

> An over-taxed people found itself obliged to pay immense sums for school buildings over which they had no rights, and which were used to propagate an alien form of faith.[65]

He is pessimistic about any long-term success of the twofold campaign begun in 1923:

> It does not seem likely any agitation for the disenfranchisement or repatriation of Irish immigrants will be successful, but there is at least good ground for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry that will take steps to safeguard the future and prevent the ideals, traditions, and spiritual foundations of the Scottish Race being undermined by hostile forces in the land of their inheritance.[66]

This polemical approach is somewhat tempered by the sober admission that secular materialism is more to be feared than the pope.[67] Interestingly, Fleming has clearly failed to recognise the divergent paths taken by the two campaigns. While the Sub-Committee on Irish immigration continued to use the language of 'race' and preservation of the 'Scottish race and nationality', the Sub-Committee on Education abandoned the language of 'race' used in the 1923 report in all subsequent reports.

Some Later Perspectives on the Campaigns

Space will not permit a full survey of the perspectives leading up to the present day, but it is illuminating to discuss perspectives that emerge in the ecumenical age of the late 20th and early 21st centuries and, particularly, around the time of the public apology by the Church of Scotland for 'any part played in sectarianism by our Church in the past'.[68]

Relationships between the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church at national and local levels had greatly improved from the 1960s onwards, as the following examples will demonstrate. At the national level, the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church have cooperated in a Joint Commission on Doctrine for over 40 years.[69] The launch of ACTS (Action of Churches Together in Scotland) in 1990 was highly significant as the Roman Catholic Church were full members. On the local level, some of the local meetings of ministers, the 'fraternals', invited the neighbouring Catholic priests to join them.[70] There has been

some recent grass-roots collaboration between the two churches to tackle sectarianism.[71] In May 2001, Norman Shanks, the then leader of the Iona Community, was instrumental in the initiation of a study into sectarianism, and in 2002 the Church and Nation Committee provided a report on sectarianism: 'The Demon in our Society'.[72] This report acknowledges that the Church and Nation Committee campaigned 'intemperately' against Irish immigration and that this was effectively racism. The report stated that the Church of Scotland in the twenty-first century had to be part of the solution. In a later report on sectarianism to the General Assembly of 2012, the General Assembly reiterates its regret for statements made regarding Irish immigration.[73]

It is interesting to note that this contrite tone is reflected in the later literature produced by scholars within the Church of Scotland and wider Protestant traditions. In particular let us focus on some of the work produced by some of the most influential scholars of the Church of Scotland. Duncan B. Forrester, the then Professor of Christian Ethics and Practical Theology and Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, wrote in 1999 that:

> The early days of the reunited Church as a Protestant folk-church were sullied by concerns about the 'Irish Roman Catholic menace' and calls from the Church of Scotland for the repatriation of Irish Roman Catholics who were on relief or had fallen foul of the law.[74]

Douglas Murray, the then Principal of Trinity College and Senior Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at the University of Glasgow, points out the flaws in the campaign in 2000:

> The campaign was futile and its basic premise, that the Irish population in Scotland was continuing to increase, was shown by both the government and the press to be false.[75]

The use of the words *sullied*, *futile* and *false* contrasts markedly with the words used by Fleming and the 1923 report: *antagonistic habits and ideals*, *intemperance*, *improvidence* and *alien form of faith*.[76]

Later, Muirhead (2015), in a more popular account of the history of Scotland's churches, written after the public apology of the Church of Scotland, describes the reaction of some to the inclusion of the Catholic schools in 1918:

> For some there was outrage at Catholic education being paid for out of the rates and 'Rome on the Rates' became a slogan in the campaign.[77]

He tempers this with an acknowledgement of the position of the Catholic parents:

> Of course the parents paid rates too and had previously been paying for schools that they did not use.[78]

He balances up the (alleged) segregation caused by the schools with the advantages of the increased opportunity for Catholic children to progress to post-elementary school education. Later in the book, discussing anti-Catholicism, he states:

> One topic that remained, and remains, an embarrassment to Scottish Churches was anti-Catholicism, something which came to the fore periodically, often triggered by changes in the political climate.[79]

The legacy of the *futile* and *false* anti-Catholic campaign, according to Muirhead, is a lingering sense of *embarrassment*. The language has changed, the tone is conciliatory and a more critical evaluation emerges. Murray provides an astute analysis when he states that the campaign against Irish immigration was rooted in the anxiety of the Presbyterian churches about their declining influence in Scottish society and the Roman Catholic support for the Labour party.[80] Murray argues that there was also a serious concern about a challenge to Article III of the Articles Declaratory: 'that the Church of Scotland was a national Church representative of the Christian faith of the Scottish people'. Part of the impetus for the united Church was that this would be the largest Church in Scotland, but the increase in the number of Roman Catholics posed a potential threat to this ambition. Sinclair adds that this would then be a very serious challenge to

the concept of Scottishness that reaffirmed the close connection between nationality (and, for some, race) and Presbyterianism.[81]

The issue of the later evaluation of the campaign against the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 is more problematic. The 2002 report does address the issue of 'Education and separate schooling' in a very short section (section 6).[82] This refers to more recent discussion and debates about denominational schools and sectarianism. The General Assembly of 1999 reached the conclusion that:

> Separate schooling, while not necessarily causing sectarian attitudes, and indeed there is no real evidence to show that denominational schools, in themselves, lead to prejudicial attitudes, may nevertheless help reinforce the prejudice and stereotypes which are passed on by society.[83]

The 2002 report accepts that this statement itself has been perceived by some people as being sectarian. The report ends this section with an inconclusive and unsatisfactory statement:

> We believe that it is right to acknowledge this perception and, in the spirit of our report, to reflect upon its significance.

There is no explicit apology in the 2002 report for the use of racial language in the 1923 report when referring to Catholic schools. The 1923 report, as clearly outlined above, did refer to the Catholic schools educating children of an 'alien race' and the schools being used to establish a faith for 'a race that is alien in sympathy and religion'.[84] The majority of the statements of culpability in the 2002 report refer to the campaign against Irish immigration. It may be possible that these statements were intended to incorporate the two racial references to Catholic schools. It is also possible that the 2002 report was distracted by more contemporary debates about Catholic schools.[85] Later debates on the position of denominational schooling became more focused on issues such as segregation and sectarianism and parental rights. Catholic schools could be perceived to be sectarian or contribute to sectarianism by segregating children.[86] The facts remain, however, that two racial statements were used in reference to Catholic schools in the 1923 report.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined the twofold campaign against the *restriction of Irish Catholic immigration* and the *repeal or revision of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918*, with a detailed exposition of the campaign against the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. The campaign against Irish immigration was partially used as a means of expediting the process of unification between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. The campaign against the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, while attempting to repeal some of the perceived injustices of the 1918 Act, was similarly used to serve some pressing concerns of the Church of Scotland in relation to education. The Church of Scotland used the campaign as part of the strategy to secure religious instruction in non-denominational schools and, latterly, to ensure adequate representation on the Education Committees to protect the interests of the (newly reunited) Church of Scotland.

Notes

1. S. J. Brown, "'Outside the Covenant': The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922–1938", *Innes Review*, 42(1), 1991, 19–45.
2. For example: G. P. T. Finn (2003), "Sectarianism", in T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education: Post-Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 897–907; S. Bruce, T. Glendinning, I. Paterson and M. Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); J. Conroy, "Sectarianism and Scottish Education", in T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 793–803.
3. Appendix Education (Scotland) Bill. Statement by the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1872* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
4. Report of the Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1873: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1873* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).

5. Stevenson, J. Stevenson, *Fulfilling a Vision. The Contribution of the Church of Scotland to School Education, 1772–1872* (Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 142–145.
6. Ibid., 145.
7. Report of the Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1918: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1918* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
8. Report of Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1919: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1919* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
9. Report of Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1920: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1920* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons); Report of Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1921: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1921* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons); Report of Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1922: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1922* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
10. Report of Education Committee submitted to the General Assembly, May 1923: *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year 1923* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
11. *Report of committee to consider overtures from the Presbytery of Glasgow and from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on 'Irish Immigration' and the 'Education (Scotland) Act 1918' to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 23 May 1923.
12. Ibid., 751. There is some mention of Poles working in coal mining districts, but the threat is perceived to be caused by the Irish race.
13. Ibid., 750.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 758.
17. Ibid., 751.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 758.
20. Ibid., 757.
21. M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992); T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700–2007* (London: Penguin 2006); Brown, 'Outside the covenant'.

22. *Report of committee to consider overtures*, 759.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 760.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 763.
29. M. Turda, "Race, Science, and Eugenics in the 20th Century", in A. Bashford and P. Levine, *Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 62–79.
30. Report of Sub-Committee on Education (Scotland) Act 1918 to Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1924* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
31. Ibid., 647.
32. Ibid.
33. Report of Sub-Committee on Irish Immigration, to Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1924* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
34. Ibid., 640.
35. Education (Scotland) Act 1918 in Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1925* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
36. Report of Sub-Committee on Irish Immigration to Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1925* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons). The General Assembly instructed the Sub-Committee to 'watch over the racial situation in Scotland' (727).
37. Proposed Amendments to the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. Appendix V of Report on Committee on Church and Nation in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1926* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
38. Ibid., 592.
39. Report of Sub-Committee on Irish Immigration to Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1926* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons), 596.

40. Education (Scotland) Act 1918, Appendix IV of Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1927* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
41. Ibid., 1192.
42. Irish Immigration, Appendix V of Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1927* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
43. Education (Scotland) Act 1918, Appendix IV of Church and Nation Committee, in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1928* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
44. A. Bain, "The significance of the Bonnybridge School Case of 1922–1929 for Catholic education in Scotland", *Innes Review*, 62(1), 2011, 70–81.
45. W. F. Brown, "The Bonnybridge School Case", *The Tablet*, 21 December 1929.
46. Report of Sub-Committee on Education (Scotland) Act 1918 to Church and Nation Committee, in *Supplementary Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly at the Adjourned Meeting, 1928* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
47. Ibid., 200.
48. Ibid.
49. Report of Sub-Committee on Irish Immigration, to Church and Nation Committee in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1928* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
50. Local Government (Scotland) Bill, Committee on Church and Nation in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, May 1929 and at the Adjourned Meeting October 1929* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
51. Ibid., 711–712.
52. A. Muir, *John White* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), 274–275.
53. Report of Sub-Committee on Irish Immigration, to Church and Nation Committee in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1929* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).

54. J. McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).
55. Report of the Committee on Education in *Church of Scotland: Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1930* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
56. M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 437.
57. Report of the Committee on Education, 1930, 1123.
58. Ibid., 1128.
59. Report of Sub-Committee on Irish Immigration, to Church and Nation Committee in *Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1930* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
60. Brown, 'Outside the covenant'; Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland*; Muir, *John White*.
61. Brown, 'Outside the covenant'.
62. A. Gammie, *Dr John White: A Biography and a Study* (London: James Clarke, 1929), 115–16.
63. J. R. Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland 1875–1929* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1933).
64. Ibid., 146–147.
65. Ibid., 148.
66. Ibid., 150.
67. Ibid., 151.
68. Church & Society Council, *Sectarianism*, A Report for the Church of Scotland General Assembly, May 2012.
69. S. M. Kesting, "Ecumenism in Scotland", *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 14(2), 2014, 175–192.
70. Andrew T. N. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity* (London: Bloomsbury), 212.
71. Kesting, 'Ecumenism', 176.
72. E. Kelly, "Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism", *Scottish Affairs*, 42(1), 2003, 32–46; The Church and Nation Committee, *The Demon in our Society* (2002).
73. Church & Society Council, *Sectarianism* (2012).
74. D. B. Forrester, "Ecclesia Scoticana – Established, Free or National?", *Theology* 102(806), 1999, 80–89.
75. D. M. Murray, *Rebuilding the Kirk: Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1909–1929* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 2000), 272–273.

76. Fleming, *Church in Scotland*.
77. Muirhead, *Reformation*, 34.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., 208.
80. Murray, *Rebuilding the Kirk*, 273.
81. D. Sinclair, "The Identity of a Nation", in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000).
82. The Church and Nation Committee (2002), 19–20.
83. *Report of Department of Education to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1999), 2.4.2.
84. *Report of committee to consider overtures* (1923).
85. See S. J. McKinney, "The historical and contemporary debate about the relation of Catholic schools in Scotland and the social problem of sectarianism", *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica – Journal of Theories and Research in Education*, 10(1), 2015, 13–45.
86. A. M. Douglas, *Church and School in Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1985).

9

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, Revisited: The Act and Its Legal Implications

Mary McHugh

On 21 November 1918, the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act received the Royal Assent. The object of the Act was 'to make adequate provision for the organisation of national education in Scotland short of the Universities.'[1] The 1918 Act abolished the previous system whereby voluntary, including Catholic, schools received Government grants, subject to inspection by Her/His Majesty's Inspector, towards their maintenance provided that satisfactory buildings had been erected and a proper staff of teachers put into the school. The 1918 Act provided that in future no grants should be payable in respect of any school not maintained by the Education Authority whether provided by the Education Authority or transferred to it by a religious body.[2] The new Act marked as much of a beginning as it did an ending, for it still remained to be seen how it would operate in practice, and what would be its impact on the Catholic community.

Catholic concerns over safeguards for the Catholic voluntary sector focused on four main areas: the control of religious instruction (as neither the 1872 Act nor the 1918 Act made religious teaching in Scottish schools

M. McHugh (✉)
Archdiocese of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK
e-mail: Mary.McHugh@rcag.org.uk

© The Author(s) 2019

S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0_9

mandatory),[3] representation on School Management Committees, the appointment and dismissal of teachers, and the provision of new schools.[4] Compromise on most points was however necessary. The Government refused to accept any amendment which might have limited the freedom of choice of the new education authorities to make an appointment from the Catholic applicants for any post. As a result, members of religious orders were to have no special privileges, and appointments were to be left to the good sense of the authorities. On the issue of new schools, discussions centred around two related points; whether the State would provide all stages of education for Catholic children or, if the Catholic community continued to provide their own new schools, whether the new authorities would be compelled to subsequently accept such schools for transfer. In the end, the wording of the Bill on this point appeared to have remained obscure, and its interpretation was not more fully defined until a dispute arose in 1928 over the Catholic school in Bonnybridge.

Certain benefits accrued almost immediately, Catholic teachers receiving parity of salary with their colleagues in the State system. The laity too might reasonably have hoped for some easing of their double financial burden. However, such hopes only gradually saw fulfilment for, in the early years of the Act's operation, many Glasgow clergy remained unconvinced as to its possible benefits for the Catholic community, and their misgivings emerged once more in the discussions over the method by which the schools should be transferred to the new Education Authorities.

Two alternative methods of transfer were available—either to sell the schools outright or to lease them for an agreed period in exchange for rental income. The majority of members of the Catholic Education Council for Scotland, though prepared to accept leasing as an interim arrangement, favoured the sale of Catholic schools to the new authorities. Lord Skerrington supported sale as a general policy and pointed out that the continued ownership of ageing school buildings could not be of benefit to the Catholics of Scotland. His views were echoed by Bishop Donald Martin of Argyll and the Isles who was not averse to selling schools even when they were in close proximity to Churches.[5]

Such opinions as to the merits of sale were not shared by Monsignor John Ritchie of Glasgow, who expressed his disapproval both to the Council itself and directly to Monsignor Brown, the Apostolic Visitor.

Ritchie stated that the Archdiocesan Schools Transfer Board established in January 1919 to transact, and advise the Archbishop, on all business connected with the transfer of schools to the national system was very largely, in fact predominantly, in favour of leasing.[6] Indeed, by November of the same year, leasing agreements had been concluded covering thirty-seven schools in the City of Glasgow, twelve in Dunbartonshire, thirty-nine in Lanarkshire, and twenty-one in Renfrewshire. By the same date, a total of £15,651.17s.10d in rental income had been received.[7]

With the exception of rents paid directly to four schools owned and managed by religious orders—St Mungo's, Notre Dame, the Convent of Mercy, and Charlotte Street—the Schools Transfer Board and from 1920 onwards successive Diocesan Education Boards were the normal recipients of such income, which formed the basis of a charitable trust for educational purposes.[8] Among such purposes was the continued provision of school buildings for, unconvinced that any potential savings in cost were sufficient to outweigh the perceived danger of secularism, the Archdiocese of Glasgow had, in 1919, taken the decision to continue, as and when necessary, to construct all new schools and extensions, for both elementary and higher grade pupils, from its own resources. Such schools would, on completion, be leased to the appropriate education authority.[9]

However, this policy relied on two, as yet untested, assumptions: firstly, that the 1918 Act had indeed given to the Church the right to identify and remedy deficiencies in Catholic school provision and, secondly, that the various education authorities were obliged to accept such schools for transfer. One of the most notable test cases concerning the former occurred over the type of new accommodation required to house the pupils of St Mary's RC School, Whifflet. The Diocesan Education Board favoured the erection of a ten-classroom extension at a cost to the Archdiocese of £8500, while the Lanarkshire education authority suggested that an entirely new school should be built, at a cost of between £20,000 and £25,000.[10] The search for a solution to the dispute eventually enmeshed the officials of the Scottish Education Department, who were anxious to resolve the issue without recourse to a court of law, preferring instead to try to foster a spirit of trust between the two parties. However, not until 1924, did both parties agree to accept the judgement of the Crown's Law Officers as a means of arbitration. In the event, the arbiters found in

favour of the Church when the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland, asserted that the Education Authority as leasees could not rebuild premises let to them.[11] Such a task could only be undertaken by the owner of the property, in this case, the Archdiocese or its nominees. It took some time for the Lanarkshire Authority to accept the implications of the judgement and, in October 1924, only the exercise of the chairman's casting vote ensured that the ruling was approved. Even in 1925, motions were still being proposed that the authority should build all schools for the children in its area.[12]

When the House of Lords upheld Lord Murray's judgement of 1928 in the Bonnybridge case, in which he ruled that Catholic schools established after the passage of the 1918 Act could be offered for transfer to the appropriate education authority, which must accept them at a fair price,[13] the school building policy appeared to have been vindicated. However, in purely practical terms, the decision of 1919 by the Glasgow Diocesan Education Board to continue to build only served to maintain an unnecessary financial burden upon the Catholic community, a difficulty apparently evident to the Schools Transfer Board which had 'all along been alive to the seriousness of the burdens entailed by leasing, and consequently building,' but which, nevertheless, had 'loyally accepted the finding of the Archbishop.'[14] Even so, one member, Canon Hugh Kelly of Dumbarton, continued to express his dismay at the policy adopted. Kelly, like Lord Skerrington and Bishop Martin, favoured the outright sale of Catholic schools and argued that the policy of leasing and building was totally impractical. In Kelly's view, the safeguards provided by the 1918 Act were perfectly sufficient, and therefore to retain the proprietorship of the buildings was of little consequence, while to go on building was simply to continue 'hugging our chains.'[15] He also believed that a policy of sale would benefit the relationship between children, teachers, and clergy, by allowing the priest to cease being a manager, and become to the school 'a Pastor only.'[16]

But selling the schools would not only relieve the double financial burden, it would also transfer completely to local authorities the task of finding solutions to such problems as overcrowded and inadequate school buildings. The school at Carfin was by 1924 threatened by subsidence on account of mineral workings,[17] and although this particular situation was unusual, many school buildings were criticised by Surveyors and Valuators in the early 1920s.

Overcrowded classes, however, could be caused not only by deficient accommodation, but also by inadequate staffing levels and an increasing demand for, particularly Catholic secondary, education. The evident overcrowding in some Catholic higher grade and secondary schools in the early 1920s suggests that the Catholic community shared in this heightened demand for post-primary instruction. In Cambusnethan (Wishaw) RC School in 1919, a class of 102 infants were being taught by one teacher,[18] while in Mossend, though the number on the roll stood at 1754, the staffing of the school was sufficient for only 1525 pupils.[19] However, the difficulties facing the Diocesan Education Board were perhaps best summed up in the case of Motherwell Higher Grade School, of which it was claimed that there were 'not rooms enough for the requisite number of classes, nor teachers enough for the requisite number of rooms.'[20] As a result, local authorities employed married women to teach on a temporary basis in Catholic schools, while the Church sought to attract suitable male recruits from Ireland.[21] In a further attempt to ease the difficulties caused by staff shortages, non-Catholic teachers were appointed, particularly to posts in Catholic advanced division and secondary schools. However, though the Church accepted the necessity of such appointments, it was reluctant to support them on a long-term basis. Indeed, when Lanarkshire Education Authority engaged permanently eleven Protestant teachers working in intermediate and secondary Catholic schools in the county, the Teachers and Hostel Sub-committee of the Diocesan Education Board 'took a very serious view' of what it termed 'this violation of the Statutes.'[22] The Board itself, with financial support forthcoming from the Charitable Trust, also attempted to improve the supply of Catholic teachers by disbursing grants to students in training for the teaching profession.[23] Such grants took the form of an interest-free loan to cover the whole, or part, of the cost of a course at the University or Training College, and were aimed particularly at those who without such assistance would be unable to complete their studies.[24] Though repayment of such loans was implied, in practice this condition was never enforced. Nor were legal proceedings initially instituted against defaulters. The Trust, albeit reluctantly, accepted the fact that some loan grants would prove to be irrecoverable, and few applicants were ever refused.[25] These grants were particularly important in enabling intending

primary school teachers to pursue their chosen career, for such individuals were otherwise dependent upon inadequate Corporation bursaries. Prospective secondary teachers were more fortunate for, as university students, they were also eligible to apply for Carnegie grants to finance their degree studies.[26]

As a result of its decision to build its own schools, the Diocesan Education Board initially had to undertake the responsibility of preparing, at the request of the Scottish Education Department and the various county authorities, schemes for the development of Catholic post-primary education. For Lanarkshire, the Board proposed the operation of two 'post-intermediate' schools, at Motherwell and at Elmwood (Bothwell), together with five intermediate schools—three which already existed at Motherwell, Elmwood, and Whifflet, and two additional schools sited at Hamilton and at Cambuslang or Rutherglen. In Dunbartonshire, the proposals included the need for an intermediate school situated between Dalmuir and Clydebank, while in the city itself, sites in the Garngad and Crosshill districts were being considered with a view to building additional schools.[27]

By the late 1920s, some, though by no means all, of these proposals had become reality. St Roch's Advanced Division Centre in Garngad opened in 1928; as did St Anthony's, Govan, to serve Catholic pupils on the south side of the river.[28] In Clydebank, a new building was erected in 1923, thus providing Our Holy Redeemer's School with additional facilities, including science,[29] while in Glasgow the former Alexander's school was purchased as an annexe to St Mungo's Academy and opened as such on 24 August 1925.[30] However, Holyrood Senior Secondary School in the Crosshill district did not open until 1936,[31] while Hamilton was not provided with an intermediate school until 1939.[32]

Yet, as Canon Kelly had foreseen, the cumulative effect of the school building policy gradually forced Catholic leaders in the west of Scotland to accept that the only viable future for Catholic education lay in complete financial integration with the State sector. In January 1927 Archbishop Mackintosh had informed the Diocesan Education Board that 'from now onward, instead of letting its schools to the various education authorities, the Archdiocese, as the leases now in force expire, will negotiate with those authorities for the sale of the said schools.'

Nevertheless, 'it must not be a sale at any price, but a sale to be arranged by equitable negotiation or arbitration.'[33] By September 1927, discussions had been entered into with the Glasgow Education Authority concerning the sale of Catholic schools within its area. Though the eventual sale of the Catholic schools within the Archdiocese of Glasgow was therefore spread over a considerable period of time, the financial impracticality of building schools from its own resources had been acknowledged. Any lasting solution to the problems of overcrowding and the replacement of inadequate school buildings involved a sustained injection of capital expenditure which the Church itself could not hope to meet. Further extension of Catholic post-primary provision also required a similar commitment of resources. As a result, during the course of 1928–1929, Archbishop Mackintosh informed the various authorities that the Church 'could not for the future undertake the provision of new school accommodation.'[34]

Certain schools however were excluded from the negotiations concerning sale. Schools excluded included the convent schools and St Mungo's Academy as the Diocesan Education Board 'had no control over these.'[35] Also excluded were those schools where a school and Church were combined in one building. Such premises would continue to be leased by the authority on an annual basis. In November 1927, the Diocesan Education Board also signalled its intention to sell those schools in Ayrshire owned by the Archdiocese, a decision which Galloway diocese viewed with dismay as it opposed any such policy. In spite of an appeal from Galloway 'for uniformity as regards Ayrshire,'[36] the Board upheld its original decision, claiming that for the Archdiocese to renew its lease with Ayrshire 'would very greatly hamper us when we come to forcing the policy of sale on the other authorities later on.'[37]

On 15 May 1928, the sale of the Archdiocesan-owned schools within the city of Glasgow to the Education Authority came into effect.[38] However, in September of the same year similar offers of sale previously made to the other education authorities were withdrawn, and the Diocesan Education Board instead successfully proposed that a one-year lease should be negotiated.[39] The proposed reform of Local Government, and the considerations raised by the Bonnybridge case, made it necessary to proceed with caution.[40]

In 1918–1919, the Church had viewed with suspicion the advent of the ad hoc education authorities, even though these were elected by the ratepayers on a plural system of voting which allowed transfer of votes according to preferences.[41] Even greater misgivings were aroused when in 1929–1930 the Local Government (Scotland) Act replaced the former authorities with Statutory Committees of County, or Burgh, Councils on which minorities were to be represented by co-opted members. Glasgow Corporation in drawing up its required scheme for the constitution of an Education Committee proposed that Catholic representation on its Committee should be limited to one individual.[42] In reality, however, three of the Councils—Glasgow, Dunbartonshire, and Renfrewshire—included two Catholic representatives, while Lanarkshire accepted three.[43] A conscious effort was also made by the Diocesan Education Board to ensure that one such representative in each county was a lay person.

After 1929, the Board continued to proceed cautiously with regard to the ownership of diocesan schools, for although the policy of sale was not totally abandoned, it was considerably delayed and tended to become somewhat piecemeal. Though intimation had been given to Lanarkshire County Council in September 1930 of the Board's willingness to sell the schools serving Cleland, Baillieston, and St Patrick's Coatbridge, a further five schools—at Uddingston, Bothwell, Newmains, Larkhall, and New Stevenston—were not sold until January 1937.[44] In Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire leasing agreements persisted, though in October 1936 the county clerk of Renfrewshire wrote to the Diocesan Education Board requesting terms of sale.[45] In March 1938, his counterpart in Dunbartonshire made a similar approach, and by January 1939 valuations in respect of six schools had been prepared.[46] However, the advent of war eight months later effectively thwarted these negotiations for in January 1940 Dunbartonshire County Council withdrew from the sale, primarily because of wartime restrictions on capital expenditure. Leases were instead continued for a further five years.[47]

In waiving its right to build, the Archdiocese doubtless hoped that the local authorities, as in the case of Greenock, would be able to effect a more rapid improvement in Catholic school provision and ease overcrowding, particularly in the post-primary sector. To some extent such hopes were realised. In Glasgow, between 1936 and 1939, two senior,

and three junior, secondaries were established.[48] The opening of Holyrood senior secondary in 1936 to serve the south side of the city had a noticeable, and immediate, effect upon St Mungo's Academy where the numbers attempting the qualifying examination for entrance fell by almost one-third (31%).[49] In Lanarkshire, after 1928, two new junior secondaries were opened.[50] Dunbartonshire, however, was relatively less well served, for although a new building was provided in 1931 to house St Ninian's in Kirkintilloch,[51] the absence of any attempt to make senior secondary schooling available in Clydebank was a notable omission.

Though between 1926 and 1935, a further 4929 post-primary, and 9611 primary, places had been created in the Western Province,[52] the trade depression of the 1930s led to a period of retrenchment in education from which the Catholic community was not wholly immune. Teachers were forced to accept cuts in salary as an alternative to unemployment,[53] while only those students obtaining the best teaching marks during their college course were able to secure employment. Opportunities to enter the profession were also curtailed. The Diocesan Education Board in 1934 noted the potential cutback in the intake of students to Jordanhill Training College, where most Catholic male students received their training.[54] The economic difficulties which gave rise to such proposals also led Glasgow Corporation in 1934 to refuse to provide separate school accommodation for the Catholic community in the Cardonald district of the city 'which had increased greatly in population … on account of housing developments.'[55] Though a considerable number of Catholic families had moved into the area, the number of children was initially deemed insufficient to merit their own school. Instead, Catholic pupils were accommodated in Craigton Public School where separate Catholic classes were formed, with Catholic teachers.[56] In effect, the Corporation's Education Committee wished to maximise the use of its school buildings, thereby to avoid incurring unnecessary expenditure. As it appeared that an education authority could not be forced to build a denominational school under the terms of the 1918 Act, Glasgow availed itself of the continuing opportunity to erect new school buildings under the Act of 1872, thus retaining a liberty to change their character as future circumstances might suggest.[57] The Diocesan Education Board at first made no objection to this arrangement, for so long as Catholic children occupied any such

building the Corporation treated it 'for all other purposes as being a school under the 1918 Act.'[58] Similarly, the Board did not demur when, in times of emergency, non-Catholic children had to share a building allocated to the Catholic community. However, the campaign waged by the Scottish Protestant League, under its leader Alexander Ratcliffe, caused considerable anxiety to the Church authorities. Concerned both by Ratcliffe's activities and by Glasgow's clear intent to continue to build using the provisions of the 1872 Act, the Diocesan Education Board approached the Scottish Education Department for guidance. Bishop Brown of Pella, the former Apostolic Visitor, also intervened. In response, the Department suggested that the provision of schools under the 1872 Act could tend 'to keep the Protestant objectors to such schools quiet,' and so help the Catholic view,[59] though it was doubtful if this sufficiently compensated for the absence of legal safeguards. The whole problem, it was admitted, 'is very difficult and has the seeds of trouble.'[60]

By 1943, the trouble anticipated by the Department had not arisen. The eighteen schools in Scotland built under the 1872 Act, the majority of them in Glasgow, continued to be administered under the 1918 Act.[61] However, as Archbishop McDonald of Edinburgh pointed out, the fact that no difficulties had yet occurred did not imply that the problem had been solved. Schools erected under the 1872 Act simply did not enjoy the protection and benefits of the 1918 Act, and, in McDonald's opinion, the 'seriousness of the position,' if difficulties later arose, was readily apparent. Of particular concern was the position of the supervisors of religious instruction, the authority for whose appointment was provided only in the 1918 Act. It was therefore feared that in those schools built under the 1872 Act, education committees could at any time appoint non-Catholic teachers while refusing to appoint supervisors of religious instruction, as the 1872 Act had made no such provision.[62]

The evident concern over the position of the supervisors of religious instruction reflected the desire of the Catholic authorities to maintain the religious character of their schools. This desire was also demonstrated in other ways, most notably in the requirements for intending teachers who had to be approved by the appropriate diocesan authority with regard to 'religious belief and character.'[63] In order to qualify for such recognition, in the form of the Religious Certificate of Approval, male students were

required to reside in St Kentigern's Hostel during their course of studies at Jordanhill, while female students were required to train in either of the two Catholic teacher-training colleges at Craiglockhart in Edinburgh, or at Dowanhill. Both groups of students had also to sit a second formal Religious Examination, having already passed the Prospective Teachers' Examination in their final year of secondary schooling.[64] The Hostel system, however, did not prove to be a success, and as early as June 1923 the Marist Brother in charge informed the Diocesan Education Board that the students' attitude was 'one of continuous protest' and advised that residence should become optional.[65] Nevertheless, the Board would not be dissuaded from its desire to provide an adequate hostel for men students who proposed to become teachers, and it continued to uphold, as late as 1927, its belief in the benefits to be derived from some period of hostel residence, possibly during students' postgraduate year at Jordanhill.[66] The Religious Certificate of Approval, however, proved to be a more permanent feature, though it was partly dependent for its effectiveness on the co-operation of the various education committees. Not all committees were consistent in ensuring that candidates for teaching posts possessed the required qualification, and in February 1941 the Board specifically noted that five teachers teaching in Renfrewshire did not possess the religious certificate.[67]

The outbreak of the Second World War forced the Archdiocese to relax some of its regulations. In October 1939, due to the exceptional circumstances then prevailing, two pupils were permitted to attend Ayr Academy, and the Board determined that Archbishop Mackintosh's ruling should apply to other students in a similar position.[68] The evacuation of children from the city and its environs to designated receiving areas such as Perthshire and Aberdeenshire also compelled the diocesan authorities to accept, though 'under protest,' that 'in cases where it was proposed to merge Catholic children in Protestant schools,' the relevant Director of Education should 'be obeyed in the first instance.'[69] Nevertheless, where possible, the Board sought to obtain information on the position in the various districts, with Brother Germanus, for example, submitting a satisfactory report on evacuation areas in Perthshire.[70] Catholic schools were also, on occasion, asked to accept non-Catholic children. In Dalmuir, with the

'public' school out of commission, Dunbartonshire County Council requested permission from the diocesan authorities to house temporarily these pupils in St Stephen's RC School.[71]

Even prior to the end of the Second World War, forward planning for educational reconstruction and future requirements was being undertaken. The effect of the war on home life, with fathers in the forces and mothers at work, focused attention on the need to extend social assistance and welfare arrangements in the schools, and on making nursery provision available for pre-school children. Such concerns found expression in the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act which provided for free milk, meals, and medical inspection for all children, while nursery schools could be established in those areas 'where there was sufficient demand.'[72] Catholic leaders accepted that 'social conditions have arisen and may continue which may render it imperative or at least highly desirable to send their children to school before the age of five.'[73] Nevertheless, the Hierarchy made clear its desire that separate nursery provision, where numbers were sufficient, should be made for Catholic children.

In reality however, the Hierarchy's fears were premature, for, in the decades after 1945, nursery schools were destined to remain an underdeveloped sector of education, with other, more immediately urgent, problems claiming the attention of the various authorities. The damage, and destruction, to school buildings caused by the war contributed to a continued shortage of school places, a shortage which was further emphasised when a school-leaving age of fifteen became effective in 1947. The raising of the leaving age was expected to add about 60,000 pupils to school rolls,[74] and as a result most authorities accepted the Scottish Education Department's offer to provide additional classrooms in the form of hutted buildings. In addition, as wartime conditions had effectively denuded both the schools and the training colleges of their male students, sufficient teachers were not available. For this reason, the 1945 Act abolished the marriage disqualification for women teachers,[75] and a succession of special schemes sought to attract entrants into the teaching profession. The temporary Emergency Training Scheme was superseded in 1951 by the Special Recruitment Scheme which offered financial assistance to individuals following other occupations who were prepared to train as teachers.[76]

Though these twin problems of school accommodation and teacher supply were common to both Catholic and non-Catholic schools, their persistence pressed particularly heavily upon the former, for the inter-war attempts by both diocesan and public authorities to effect some improvement in these areas had already been constrained by economic depression. For example in 1945, there was still no higher grade school in Clydebank to serve the Catholic communities of Yoker, Clydebank, Dalmuir, Old Kilpatrick, Duntocher, and Hardgate. Instead, 126 children—68 girls and 58 boys—travelled respectively to Notre Dame and St Patrick's High Schools in Dumbarton, while others attended local non-Catholic schools.[77] The Diocesan Education Board noted with some concern the evident reluctance of parents to send their children to Dumbarton due to the distance involved.[78]

The secondary department of Our Holy Redeemer's Clydebank, however, was not replaced until 1970. In that year, St Andrew's High opened as a comprehensive school offering a full five- to six-year secondary course, though St Columba's Secondary, incorporating the Junior Secondary department of St Mary's, Duntocher, had already opened nine years previously in 1961. Improvements in secondary provision and accommodation in the town therefore occurred only gradually, a process which was reflected throughout the Western Province. In 1947, the Scottish Education Department admitted that progress in school building was disappointingly slow,[79] and the continuation of building restrictions and the licensing system until 1954 meant that, as in the case of new Churches, any necessary expansion was limited due to a shortage of materials. No new, purpose-built Catholic secondary was built anywhere in the Province until the opening of St Augustine's in the Milton district of Glasgow in 1954.[80]

By the early 1960s, some education authorities had made considerable progress in the provision of new schools. Cranhill comprehensive school, for example, opened at the end of 1960, was the 75th new school in Glasgow since the war.[81] New schools, however, took time to plan and erect, and education authorities, now legally required to provide 'secondary education for all,' initially attempted to meet their obligations by adapting and recategorising existing buildings.[82] In Glasgow, advanced division centres and primary schools containing sizeable advanced division

classes continued to be upgraded to Junior Secondary status. Similarly, outwith the city, the extension to St Mary's School, Whifflet, began an independent existence as St Edmund's Junior Secondary in 1948,[83] although in Port Glasgow, St John's functioned as both a primary and Junior Secondary school until 1960.[84]

Indeed, by the mid-1950s when education authorities were better able to plan for future requirements, the effectiveness of the bipartite system was already being questioned. Glasgow, for example, had already begun to move away from the junior-senior secondary division and planned instead for the establishment of six-year comprehensive secondary schools, attended by children of all abilities. In the minds of most Scottish parents, the Junior Secondary had become a symbol of educational failure, with the majority of pupils leaving before the completion of their course.[85] By 1955, similar dissatisfaction was reflected in the political manifesto of the Labour Party, which declared that 'the ideal of a comprehensive educational system is part of the Scottish tradition.'[86]

The full-scale introduction of comprehensive education was initiated in October 1965. Circular 600, issued by the Scottish Education Department, declared that henceforth the Scottish educational system would be comprehensive in nature, and local authorities were invited to submit schemes for bringing the decision into effect.[87] In areas such as Glasgow, where the policy had already been anticipated, the changeover to the comprehensive system was virtually complete by the early 1970s.[88] For the Catholic community, the effects of the new system were likely to prove significant, as it contributed to a more rapid expansion than might otherwise have been possible, in the number of Catholic schools providing the full secondary course.

Improved educational opportunities for Catholics, however, could not be effected solely by the provision of the necessary secondary places, for the persistent shortage of teachers acted as one factor inhibiting development. The most serious shortages occurred in mathematics, science, homecraft, and physical education, but many schools also found it difficult to recruit teachers of English, music, history, geography, commerce, and art.[89] Mathematics was particularly badly served, for, with only a very meagre supply of honours graduates entering the teaching profession, it was difficult to find suitable candidates for appointment as

heads of department,[90] a situation which boded ill for the future development of the subject, particularly in the early 1960s when the work of the Nuffield Foundation contributed to the introduction of an alternative syllabus not only in mathematics but also in science. Moreover the division of science into its component parts—physics, chemistry, and biology—itself created a need for more specialist teachers. The new Scottish Certificate of Education from the 1960s onwards also promoted an increase in the number of separate subjects, with new courses such as 'modern studies' being introduced.[91]

In attempting to attract the necessary specialist teachers, education had to compete with the perceived attractions of industry and commerce, and with posts in the scientific and civil service, all of which absorbed increasing numbers of graduates direct from university. Graduate recruitment into the teaching profession in the mid-1950s was only 40% of the figure a quarter of a century earlier.[92] For Catholic schools, which drew upon non-Catholic specialists to make up shortfalls in specific subjects, such a reduction in graduate entrants into teaching could only extend the period of staffing difficulty. In addition, increasing 'wastage' rates among young woman teachers, in part due to earlier marriage, became a source of concern. Of those female students who had completed their training between 1959 and 1963, almost one quarter (25%) were no longer teaching by the latter date.[93] Thus, although Notre Dame College of Education over the same period trained 648 female teachers, 484 with the primary and 164 with the secondary qualification,[94] it could reasonably be expected that a substantial number of these would leave the profession within a few years. Nor, at least in the 1960s, could male entrants to teaching have compensated for such losses, for, in 1962, they comprised only 17% of the training colleges' total intake.[95] Such difficulties in teacher supply led education authorities to employ increasing numbers of retired and uncertificated teachers, with some staff aged more than seventy being re-employed.[96] In 1962, it was estimated that to fill vacancies, reduce over-size classes, and replace the teachers aged over seventy would require an additional 3739 teachers, a figure which had risen by 1966 to 5000.[97] As a result, a national campaign was launched to persuade married women to return to the profession, particularly to relieve shortages in the primary schools. Though by 1972 the staffing position in Catholic schools had improved—assisted

by a fall in the birth rate and by the arrival within the teaching profession of some of the beneficiaries of the post-war expansion of secondary education—the raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen in 1972 tended to offset any increase in teacher supply. 'As relatively fewer pupils in Roman Catholic schools formerly remained at school after the age of fifteen these schools tended to be more affected by the raising of the leaving-age.'[98] Further, though 'the increase in the number of [Catholic] teachers … was proportionately greater than in non-denominational schools the number of [Catholic] pupils increased still faster.'[99]

As a result, though staffing shortages continued to afflict non-denominational schools as well, Catholic pupil-teacher ratios remained comparatively high.[100] In an attempt to effect some improvement, authorities drew upon the Scottish Education Department's designated area schemes of 1967 and 1971 which targeted resources to areas of greatest need. Under both schemes, supplements to salary were made to induce teachers to apply for posts in the most seriously understaffed schools.[101] The national total of posts covered by the scheme—3785 in 1967 and 4565 in 1971—were allocated to education authorities under a quota system based on each authority's share of the most seriously understaffed schools. The largest shares of the posts available went to Glasgow, Lanarkshire, and Renfrewshire. Indeed, in 1971, these three counties alone accounted for 85% of the allocation.[102] Each authority was then invited to select schools, both primary and secondary, for designation within its quota. As staffing ratios for Catholic schools were 'manifestly not as satisfactory as for non-denominational schools,'[103] the Catholic community benefitted disproportionately from such incentives. Indeed, the operation of the 1971 scheme in Glasgow was deliberately weighted in favour of Catholic schools by designating no fewer than fifteen of their nineteen secondary schools, all of which had pupil-teacher ratios in excess of the highest figure (18:1) recorded in non-denominational schools. Indeed, nine out of the fifteen had ratios of 20:1 and over.[104] With recruitment of secondary teachers, particularly for Catholic schools, now being Glasgow's 'highest staffing priority,' primary schools were excluded from the 1971 scheme.[105]

The success of the first designation scheme, under which designated schools improved their staffing position in comparison with non-designated schools, boded well for the impact of its successor.[106] However,

even in the early 1970s, the Catholic community faced continuing difficulties in supplying the necessary teachers, particularly from its own resources. In Ayrshire, of four secondary schools significantly understaffed in relation to their size, three were Roman Catholic.[107] Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire both reported staffing imbalances between non-denominational and Roman Catholic secondary schools, imbalances which affected both the school as a whole and individual subject departments.[108] The need in times of general shortage to recruit all teachers irrespective of the specialisms professed could produce imbalances between subjects, even in schools with apparently acceptable pupil-teacher ratios.[109] Furthermore, concerning Renfrewshire, it was suggested that Roman Catholic schools produced 'proportionately fewer pupils with entry qualifications for higher education than do non-denominational schools,'[110] while in Glasgow the staffing complements in Catholic schools made it 'very difficult … to produce pupils with the potential to become teachers,'[111] particularly in areas of continuing shortage such as mathematics, art, and technical subjects. Promoted posts, such as principal teachers and above, remained especially vulnerable to staffing difficulties. Even so, Glasgow was reluctant to appoint non-Catholic staff to such duties,[112] a policy supported by the Catholic Hierarchy which desired to ensure the religious character of the schools. In a change from both the 1872 and 1918 Acts, under the 1980 Education (Scotland) Act, the right of children to receive 'religious instruction' and to take part in 'religious observance' became guaranteed by law.[113]

Nevertheless, with its schools now both financed and controlled by Scotland's county burghs and councils, the Church's responsibilities had radically altered. Its role had become what Canon Kelly had always desired it should be, namely spiritual and pastoral rather than administrative. Even so, broader educational developments also exerted considerable influence upon the Church's ability to provide for the religious training of Catholic children. Curricular changes, and the need to alter timetables to accommodate other disciplines, meant a downgrading in importance for the religious knowledge period. Further, the rapid expansion of secondary education, and the related staffing shortages, led to the abandonment in 1966 of the Prospective Teachers' Religious Certificate Examination.[114] Originally geared towards the aspirations and abilities of

the relatively small number of Catholic higher grade candidates, it became both unsuitable and unwieldy in an era of secondary education for all. Nor, with their continued, though increasingly reluctant, acceptance of the need for non-Catholic and uncertificated teachers, could Catholic schools assume that every member of staff would be willing or able to undertake religious instruction.[115] An awareness of such difficulties led in the early 1970s to the appointment of full-time secondary school chaplains and the provision of religious education centres to provide resources for both clergy and teachers. Such efforts further demonstrate the Church's desire to maintain the religious character of the schools.

This desire to maintain the religious character of the schools is the recurrent theme which links the pre- and post-1918 periods. Rome also continues to emphasise the importance of Catholic Schools, seeing them as 'an enormous heritage and indispensable instrument in carrying out the Church's mission in the third Christian millennium. Ensuring their genuinely Catholic identity is the Church's greatest challenge.'[116] Schools are truly 'ecclesial' and should be integrated with the pastoral activity of the parish, diocese, and universal Church.[117] The specific purpose of a Catholic education is to form 'good citizens … enriching society with the leaven of the Gospel, but who will also be citizens of the world to come.'[118] Archbishop Miller continued that it is the clear teaching of the Church that parents are the first educators of their children and have the original, primary, and inalienable right to educate them in conformity with the family's moral and religious convictions. At the same time, the vast majority of parents share together educational responsibilities with other individuals and institutions, particularly the school. Schools are extensions of the home, but it is parents, not schools, not the State, and not the Church, who have the primary moral responsibility of educating children to adulthood. The principle of subsidiarity must always govern relations between families and the Church and State in this regard.[119] Parents do not surrender their children to the Church but share a common undertaking to educate the child and to imbue the child's life with the spirit of Christ. Nor do parents surrender their children to the State. But, for subsidiarity to be effective, families and those to whom they entrust a share in their educational responsibilities must enjoy true liberty about how their children are to be educated. This means that in principle, a State monopoly of education is not permissible … only a pluralism of school systems will respect

the fundamental right and the freedom of the individual, although the exercise of this right can be conditioned by many factors, including the social reality of each country. Even if it means public financial support for religious schools, parents must be truly free to choose according to their conscience the schools they want for their children.[120]

As early as 1896, in a Memorandum from the Diocesan Education Board to the Scotch Education Department, Canon Cameron restated the Catholic position that the maintenance of their schools was a matter of conscience.[121] Robert Munro (later Lord Alness), the person who piloted the 1918 Act through Parliament, would have been familiar with this argument. More recently, Professor Tom Devine and others have argued that 'the educational dimension of religious freedom, and the choice that it allows, has long been recognised in Scotland. The country's network of Catholic, Episcopalian and Jewish schools has sustained the right to religious freedom since the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. By ensuring funding for education on a non-discriminatory basis to minority groups, the 1918 Act was a pioneer of religious freedom.'[122] The margin of appreciation recognised by the European Court of Human Rights to member states in deciding on the best way to accommodate religious freedoms means that these freedoms will be looked at also in the national context in which they occur. In a devolved Scotland, the future of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act is the responsibility of the Scottish Parliament, who will oversee its future on reaching its centenary and beyond. Debates, indeed arguments, over its implications and future will doubtless continue. But having achieved its centenary, and from international covenants and conventions which did not exist at its inception, the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act may also look to receive some support.

Notes

1. Lord Finlay introducing the Second Reading of the Education (Scotland) Bill in the House of Lords. See Hansard, www.hansard.millbanksystems.com, 30 October 1918.
2. *The Tablet*, article by Bishop Brown of Pella, 21 December 1929. Brown had been the Apostolic Visitor to Scotland at the time of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918.

3. New clause on Religious Instruction, House of Commons. See Hansard, www.hansard.millbanksystems.com, 16 October 1918.
4. Brother Kenneth, "The Education Scotland Act in the Making", *The Innes Review*, 19, 1968, 119–120.
5. Glasgow Archdiocesan Archive (GAA)—ED11, Minute of Meeting of Catholic Education Council, Edinburgh, 28 July 1919, 3.
6. GAA-ED11, Mgr John Ritchie to Mgr Brown, 29 July 1919.
7. GAA-ED11, letters from John McLachlan, writer, to Mgr John Ritchie, 12–15 November 1919.
8. GAA-MY52/18, *Ad Clerum*, 20 September 1923. Diocesan Education Boards were normally reconstituted every three years. Because the schools mainly belonged to parishes, a second (No. 2) Charitable Trust was later formed so that income could be apportioned between the parishes.
9. J. H. Treble, "The Working of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act in Glasgow Archdiocese", *The Innes Review*, 31, 1980, 30. See also J. H. Treble, "The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878–1978", in D. McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878–1978* (Glasgow: J. S. Burns, 1979), 125.
10. Treble, 'Working of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act,' 31.
11. Ibid., 33.
12. Ibid.
13. James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, Vol. 2 (London 1969), 44.
14. GAA-ED11, Mgr Hugh Kelly [to unidentified Monsignor], 25 March 1920.
15. GAA-ED1/5, undated Memorandum from Canon Hugh Kelly inserted in the *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 25 June 1923–3 May 1926*.
16. Memorandum, ibid.
17. Treble, 'Working of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act,' 35.
18. Ibid.
19. GAA-ED41, copy report from Scottish Education Department (32.3883), 27 September 1920.
20. GAA-ED41, copy report from Scottish Education Department (19/E.8061-178 H.G), undated.
21. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education,' 127. Even prior to the 1918 Act, the Church in the west of Scotland had sought the

services of Irish teachers to ease the staffing shortages in its schools, but such attempts were not particularly successful, with the Scottish Education Department being reluctant to recognise those with Irish qualifications.

22. GAA-ED1/5, *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board*, Teachers and Hostel Sub-Committee, 18 February 1924, 51.
23. GAA-FR18/1, Charitable Trust, Minute Book, 12 June 1925, 23 December 1932, 12 June 1925, unpaginated.
24. GAA-FR18/1. The normal amounts awarded to individuals in loan grants were: University Arts course, three years—£60, four years—£80, and Training College, two years—£40, three years—£60.
25. GAA-FR18/1, ibid., 12 June 1925. Powers to award loan grants to suitable candidates were delegated by the Diocesan Education Board to its Treasurer and Secretary. Only the most doubtful cases were settled by the Board itself.
26. Mrs. Ellen McHugh to author. In 1924 it became a requirement that all male teachers must be graduates. See Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland*, Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education [No. 61] (London: University of London Press, 1970), 169.
27. GAA-ED1/3, Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 4 April 1921, unpaginated.
28. Thomas A. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland before 1972: its contribution to the change in status of the Catholic community of the area* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), 60.
29. Ibid., 63.
30. James E. Handley (Bro. Clare), *History of St Mungo's Academy 1858–1958* (place and date of publication unspecified), 157.
31. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 61.
32. Ibid., 62.
33. GAA-ED1/6, *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board 24 May 1926–28 October 1934*: 17 January 1927, 41, quotes verbatim a letter of 3 January 1927 from Archbishop Mackintosh to the Diocesan Education Board.
34. Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education,' 127.
35. GAA-ED1/6, *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board 24 May 1926–28 October 1934*: 5 September 1927, 72.
36. Ibid., 16 January 1928, 90.

37. Ibid., 23 January 1928, 91.
38. GAA-FR18/1, *Charitable Trust Minute Book, 4 March 1931*. The agreement itself was signed in February 1928. Two of the Catholic schools in the city, Sacred Heart, Bridgeton, and St Roch's, Garngad, were the property of the RC Charitable Trust. Formal approval of the sale of these two schools is not recorded in the Minute Book of the Trust, until 4 March 1931, although the transfer itself had taken effect on 15 May 1928.
39. Ibid., 24 September 1928, 109. Ayrshire and Lanarkshire agreed to the proposal (19 November 1928, 116); Dunbartonshire (17 December 1928, 122).
40. Ibid., 22 October 1928, 112.
41. Treble, 'Working of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act,' 29–30.
42. GAA-ED1/6, *Minute Book of the Diocesan Education Board, 24 May 1926–28 October 1934*: 25 November 1929, 144.
43. Ibid., 11 April 1930, 157–159—concerning nomination of Catholic representatives to the [County] Education Committees.
44. GAA-ED1/7, *Minute Book of the Diocesan and Provincial Education Board 26 November 1934–13 June 1955*: 25 January 1937, unpaginated.
45. Ibid., 22 October 1936.
46. Ibid., 16 January 1939—the schools at Renton and Milngavie were excluded from these negotiations.
47. Ibid., 23 January 1940.
48. FitzPatrick, p. 61—there were in fact five junior secondaries, the advanced centres at St Mary's, Calton, and St Roch's, Garngad, having been upgraded.
49. Handley, History of St Mungo's, p. 178
50. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 64—St Mary's, Lanark, was upgraded.
51. Ibid.
52. GAA-ED8, *Religious Examination of Schools, 1934–35*. By 1934–35, the number of post-primary places totalled 11,016—8013 of these in secondary and former Higher Grade schools and 3003 in Advanced Divisions. Primary places totalled 95,278 attached to missions/parishes, and a further 1442 provided by Religious Orders.
53. Cruickshank, *History of the Training of Teachers*, 172; Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, vol. 2, 123.

54. GAA-ED1/7, *Minute Book of the Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 29 May 1935, unpaginated.
55. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. James R. Lyons to Archbishop Andrew MacDonald (St Andrews and Edinburgh), 28 September 1934, 1.
56. Ibid.
57. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. *Memorandum, covering the operation of the Scottish Education Act 1918* (1934), unpaginated.
58. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. R. M. Allardyce, Education Offices, Glasgow, to Mr J. W. Peck, Scottish Education Department, 10 November 1934.
59. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. Mr. Peck to Bishop Brown, 9 November 1934.
60. Ibid.
61. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. Archbishop Macdonald to Bishop Brown, 16 January 1943.
62. Ibid.
63. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 52.
64. GAA-ED1/3, *Minute Book of Diocesan Education Board*, 3 October 1921, unpaginated.
65. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 53.
66. Ibid.
67. GAA-ED1/7, *Minute Book of Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 24 February 1941, unpaginated.
68. Ibid., 8 November 1939.
69. Ibid., 4 December 1939.
70. Ibid., 8 November 1939.
71. Ibid., 30 June 1941.
72. Findlay, 29. (See note 1 above.)
73. GAA-ED16, from Southwark. *Memorandum on behalf of the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland in connection with the Education (Scotland) Bill 1944*, 3.
74. *Education in Scotland 1947* (1948), 5, Report of the Secretary of State, National Records of Scotland—ED34.
75. Findlay, 29.
76. Cruickshank, *History of the Training of Teachers*, 189.
77. GAA-ED1/7, *Minute Book of Diocesan and Provincial Education Board*, 3 March 1945.
78. Ibid.

79. *Education in Scotland 1947* (1948), 6.
80. From information in FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 126–133.
81. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, vol. 2, 196.
82. Findlay, 29.
83. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 129.
84. Ibid., 131.
85. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, vol. 2, 211.
86. Ibid., 177.
87. Ibid., 212
88. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 126; Treble, 'Development of Roman Catholic Education,' 137.
89. *Education in Scotland 1962* (1963), 21, Report of the Secretary of State, National Records of Scotland—ED34.
90. Ibid.
91. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, vol. 2, 205.
92. Cruickshank, *History of the Training of Teachers*, 191.
93. Ibid., 190. By comparison, the annual 'wastage' rate of women teachers trained between 1935 and 1938 was 4.5%.
94. Calculated from tables in FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, Appendix II, 178–180.
95. Cruickshank, *History of the Training of Teachers*, 191.
96. Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, vol. 2, 224.
97. Cruickshank, *History of the Training of Teachers*, 190.
98. Treble 'Development of Roman Catholic Education,' 132–133.
99. Ibid., 133.
100. Ibid., 134.
101. *Education in Scotland in 1971* (1972), 28, Report of the Secretary of State, National Records of Scotland—ED34
102. Ibid.
103. *Education in Glasgow. Report by HM Inspector of Schools 1972* (1973), 7.
104. Ibid., 19.
105. Ibid.
106. *Education in Scotland in 1971*, 28.
107. *Education in Ayrshire. Report by HM Inspector of Schools, 1974* (1976), 16. The three schools were Sacred Heart High, St Joseph's Academy, and St Conval's High.

108. *Education in Dunbartonshire. Report by HM Inspector of Schools, 1974* (1976), 3. The pupil-teacher ratio in non-denominational schools was 14:7, in RC schools, 18:1.
109. *Education in Renfrewshire. Report by HM Inspector of Schools 1973* (1974), 7. Renfrewshire also reported severe staff shortages in primary schools, often in the RC sector and particularly in the Greenock/Port Glasgow area. Areas with teacher-training colleges within their boundaries gained considerably in teacher recruitment (see page 9).
110. Ibid., 7.
111. *Education in Glasgow*, 19.
112. Ibid.
113. Jacqueline Watson, Marian de Souza and Ann Trousdale (eds.), *Global Perspectives on Spirituality and Education* (Routledge: New York and London, 2014), 7, quoting B. Hartshorn, from T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 375–380.
114. FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education*, 141.
115. Ibid.
116. Archbishop J. Michael Miller CSB, *The Holy See's Teaching on Catholic Schools* (2005). Available from the Catholic Education Resource Center at www.catholiceducation.org.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. GAA-ED2, *Memorandum to the Scotch Education Department*, April 1896.
122. Mr Tufyal Choudhury, Professor Sir Tom Devine, Professor Ian Leigh, and Dr. Deirdre McCann, "Religious Freedom in Scotland A Legal Proposal", 6. The text of the 'Legal Proposal' document can be accessed online at www.sconews.co.uk/opinion/39879/religious-freedon-in-scotland-a-legal-proposal.

Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

© The Author(s) 2019
S. J. McKinney, R. McCluskey (eds.), *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51370-0