THE HIGHLAND COMMUNITY IN GLASGOW IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

A STUDY OF NON-ASSIMILATION.

By

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CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

In recent years a growing body of economic and social research has

been directed towards studies of migration, the problem of the

assimilation of immigrants and the persistence of cultural traditions

in new environmental circumstances. The present study is an attempt

to contribute towards this work by looking at the evolution of the

Glasgow Highland community in the nineteenth century.

Though the Highlanders in their homeland and overseas have attracted

much attention, the study of their reaction to urban, industrial life

has been subjected to less scrutiny. The work already done on this

area has tended to argue that a speedy process of assimilation to the

dominant cultural pattern took place.

The present study looks at a wide variety of indicators, such as

residential, employment and household patterns, as well as the question

of cultural traditions, and argues, on the contrary, that a definite

Glasgow Highland community existed,with its own institutions and

patterns of social relationships, within the wider Glasgow society.

In contrast to assimilation models, the Glasgow Gaels showed a preference

for distinct settlement areas, as well as a predilection to "clustering"

in certain employment opportunities. In addition, they demonstrated a

loyalty to specific Highland institutions of a cultural and religious

nature which marked them off from the non-Gael. These features in

turn encouraged strong intra-group social and domestic relationships.

CHAPTER ONE.

AIMS, SOURCES AND METHOD.

In the present period, when there is a growing awareness that Britain

is now a multi-cultural society, an historical exploration of immigrant

communities and their relationship to the host society has an undeniable

relevance. Although it is only in recent decades that detailed

investigations of immigrant communities have been carried out in Britain (1),

in the United States the settlement of ethnic minorities and their

assimilation into urban populations have occupied the attention of

historians and sociologists since the early years of the twentieth

century. It is, therefore, in the historical and sociological writings

of the U.S.A. _ where the most impressive theoretical models of the

immigration process and the methods of measuring assimilation are to

be found.

Much of the early work on the settlement of ethnic minorities

in urban areas focussed on the alienation suffered by the immigrants as

a result of their removal from a traditional society with its emphasis

on kin and community. (2) More recent studies, however, have demonstrated

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(1) J.A. Jackson, The Irish in Britain (London, 1963);L.H. Lees, Exiles
of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London (Manchester, 1979); R.D.
Lobban, The Migration of Highlanders into Lowland Scotland, Ph.D thesis,
Edinburgh University, 1969
(2) Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man" American Journal
of Sociology 33 (1928); Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life"
American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938).

how some ethnic minorities have recreated, in the urban environment, the

kinship networks and community solidarity usually associated with rural

communities. (1) Oscar Lewis, for example, argues that the process of

disorganisation and the weakening of kinship bonds described by Wirth

were not apparent from his researches into the peasant settlers in

Mexico City in the 1950s. There he found that the process of urbanisation

had strengthened family ties, that religious life had become more

organised, and that the village system of compadrazgo and the use

of village remedies and beliefs had survived. (2)

With the recognition that some immigrant communities retained much of

their ethnicity came attempts to find a satisfactory measure

of assimilation. (3) Stanley Lieberson addresses this problem in his

research into ten immigrant groups in ten different cities in the United

States. (4) He defines assimilation in terms of residential and

occupational dispersal, the extent of marriage outside the ethnic group,

the ability to speak English and the adoption of American citizen-

ship. (5) But his conclusion,based on census data to plot residential

patterns and occupational status, is that the key to assimilation lies in

the extent of residential segregation:

(1) H.J.Gans, The Urban Villagers (Glencoe, 1962); Oscar Lewis, "The
Folk-Urban Ideal Type", The Study of Urbanisation, Hauser, P. and Schnore,
L. (eds.) (New York, 1966)
(2) O.Lewis, op.cit. pp.494-495
(3) For a review of the various works on assimilation, see C.Price, "The
Study of Assimilation" in Migration, Jackson (ed.) (Cambridge, 1969)
(4) S.Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities (Glencoe, 1963).
(5) Ibid., p.12

"...the greater the degree of differentiation of a group

residentially, the greater their differentiation from other

aspects of the general social structure." (1)

The question of measuring the assimilation of immigrants was also taken up by

Milton Gordon. (2) In discussing the relationship of the immigrant

group to the host community, Gordon draws a useful distinction between

primary and secondary group relations. Primary group relations he

defines as those on the most intimate and informal level

(such as the family, the social club or clique, the child's play

group); secondary group relations as those maintained on

the formal and impersonal level and which bring the individual into

contact with the institutional arms of civic and state authority. (3)

Gordon argues that it is possible for the ethnic group to become

assimilated on the secondary group level, thus fulfilling the criteria

of full citizenship, while maintaining primary group relations within

the ethnic sub-society. (4) Only when primary group relations are

carried out between the immigrants and the host society, he hypothesises,

can full assimilation be said to have occurred. (5)

The study of the Irish in London in the nineteenth century by Lynn Lees

indicates that the urban sub-society created by the Irish not only

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(1) Ibid., p.190
(2) M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York, 1964). Gordon
draws up seven variables in the assimilation process - change of cultural
patterns to those of the host society, large scale entrance into the
primary groups of the host society (termed structural assimilation), large
scale inter-marriage, development of a sense of people-hood based on host
society, absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination and the absence
of value and power conflict. p.71
(3) Ibid. pp. 33-34
(4) Ibid., p. 37
(5) Ibid., p. 80

ensured that primary relations were carried out within the ethnic group,but also,that, to a certain extent, these precluded relationships outside the group on a secondary level. (1) Lees based her study on an empirical invest-igation of three areas of concentrated Irish settlement, using census data to determine the socio-economic and socio-demographic status of the Irish community. She discovered that the Irish had maintained their identity largely through a life-style based on primary group relations with other members of the Irish community. Close kinship relations had survived the urban experience and the immigrants' sense of "Irishness" had been strengthened through adherence to the Catholic Church which contained a strong Irish motif, and through the various social and political organisations which were closely bound up with Irish nationalism and Catholicism:

> "They developed a cultural shield against much of the outside world.
> Their ethnic loyalties separated them from much English cultural
> and social life. Some migrants worked within heavily Irish trades
> or for Irish employers. Irish pubs, political groups, friendly
> societies, and other organisations kept migrants from mixing with
> English peers and fostered their emerging ethnic identity. Their
> marriages kept the Irish within the community while they created an
> environment in which an Irish identity could be transmitted to the
> next generation. Religion, politics, work, and the family thus
> mutually re-inforced an Irish sub-culture resistant to middle class
> messages praising self-control and assimilation." (2)

(1) Lees, <u>Exiles of Erin</u>, op.cit.
(2) Ibid., p.246.

A study of Highland settlement in Greenock by Lobban came to a very different

conclusion. (1)   Lobban, using census data for the period 1851-1891,

compared the relative socio-economic status and some aspects of the

socio-demographic status of the Highlanders in the town with other groups.

(2)   Relying mainly on   secondary material Lobban also investigated

the religious, educational, political, cultural and social activities

of the Highlanders. In terms of their socio-economic position, Lobban

concluded that the Highlanders, for the best part, followed the general

pattern of the whole population although he admitted that they showed

particular preference for particular occupations. (3) Similarly, although

he found evidence that Highlanders liked to be close to their fellow

country men, he found no strong reason to conclude that the Highlanders

were set apart physically in certain districts from the rest of the

population. (4) ``   In   living conditions and types of housing,

in general aspirations,   in religious and educational matters, and

in social, cultural and political activities a similar conclusion was

reached. He concludes,

> "So complete indeed was the assimilation of the Highland migrants,
>
> and so thoroughly did the children of the Highlanders become
>
> Lowlanders and abandon the Gaelic language and Highland ways, that
>
> it would appear that many of the Highlanders were deliberately
>
> rejecting their Highland background." (5)

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(1) Lobban, op.cit.
(2) Other groups investigated were the Greenock born, those born on the
county of Bute, those born in Renfrewshire (excluding Greenock), those
born in Lowland Scotland (excluding Renfrewshire), the Irish born and
immigrants born in countries other than Scotland or Ireland.
(3) Ibid., pp123-178
(4) Ibid., pp408-409
(5) Ibid., p.412

The picture provided here is of a group which had submerged its identity

completely into that of the host population. Although from Lobban's

work there is some evidence that primary group relationships were to a

certain extent ethnically based (for example, he found that Highlanders

were clustered together in certain occupations, that there was a fairly

high degree of internal marriages, and that separate Highland churches

and social organisations existed), these are dismissed as being of

insufficient importance to counter the prevailing assimilatory tendencies

or, in the case of the Highland churches and social institutions, to be

of insufficient relevance to the majority of Highlanders. Lobban's

portrayal of the Greenock Highlanders as a group which rapidly lost its

identity, however, fails to explain in a completely satisfactory manner

the continued existence up to the present day of identifiable Highland

institutions in the town.

Studies of Highland communities in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have

indicated a greater tenacity on the part of the Gaels to maintain their

separate Highland identity. (1) Indeed, so successful were the Highlanders

of Cape Breton Island in maintaining their culture that as late as 1941,

after nearly two hundred years of settlement, as many as 10,000 had Gaelic

as their first language. (2) In other respects, too, they had retained

the cultural peculiarities of their homeland. They were reputed to remain

'clannish', preferring "to settle among pioneers who had come from their

particular district in Scotland, who spoke their dialect" (3) and were also

indicted with the apathy and laziness with which many commentators

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(1) C.W.Dunn, Highland Settler (Toronto, 1968); Gordon Donaldson, The
Scots Overseas (London, 1966)
(2) Dunn, op.cit. p.viii
(3) Ibid., p.26

ascribed to the Scottish Gaels. (1) The Highlanders in that part of

the world, however, would appear to be neither lazy nor apathetic about

maintaining their distinctive culture and community. They formed

various Highland societies, Celtic societies and clan societies (2)

and were able to sustain from 1892 to 1904 MacTalla which has the

distinction of being the longest running Gaelic periodical.(3) According to

Dunn, the survival of the Gaelic tradition in Nova Scotia and Cape

Breton Island was a mark of the strong affinity with the culture:

> "That the language and traditions have been preserved for more than
>
> a hundred years and passed down through four, five, and even six
>
> generations is a remarkable token of the affection which those of
>
> Gaelic blood feel for their heritage." (4)

Since   this "remarkable token of affection" would not appear to have

been operating among those of Gaelic blood in Greenock, we may

perhaps   look for other reasons for the survival, or demise, of an

identifiable cultural grouping. It could be argued that the environment

into which the immigrants were transplanted was all important. In the

rural reaches of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island the Highlanders were

able to continue a life style similar to that which they had left.

Replicating the rural settlements of the Highlands, largely along with

kinsmen and women, their culture was not threatened by hostile external

forces. On the other hand, if Lobban's conclusions are correct,

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(1) Ibid. p. 109
(2) Donaldson, op.cit. pp 147-148.
(3) Dunn, op.cit. p.86
(4) Ibid., p.149.

it may be that Highland identity was incompatible with the urban

experience. This view, however, fails to explain why some ethnic

groups (such as the Irish in London) were able to forge an identity which

not only survived a period of urbanisation but also contributed towards

the survival of the immigrants in what was frequently a hostile

environment. (1)

One factor which may be of considerable importance is the number of

immigrants involved. At its highest the Highland population of Greenock

reached only 5,178 whereas, in 1861, London contained as many as

107,000 Irish. (2) Before viable ethnic organisations can be formed, a

sizeable community is required. As Lees argues, in London the Irish

"formed the critical mass for a complex set of cultural and political

institutions and ethnic neighbourhoods". (3) It is questionable whether

the Highlanders in Greenock were sufficiently numerous to form a viable

ethnic sub-society. (4)

Another factor which has been identified as contributing towards the

survival or otherwise of an ethnic minority is the size of the

receiving centre. Claude Fischer argues that the larger the city the

more easy it is for ethnic pluralism to flourish. (5) He cites as an

example a study carried out in Canada in 1970 by Borhek of two Ukranian

communities. Those who lived in the "larger, more heterogenous city,

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(1) Lees, Exiles of Erin, op.cit. p.250
(2) Lobban, op.cit. p.429 ;
Lees, op.cit. p.19
(3) Ibid
(4) C.Price, "The Study of Assimilation", op.cit. pp. 186-188 discusses
the various views on the relation of size of immigrant group and
assimilation.
(5) C.S.Fischer, "Towards a Subcultural Theory of Urbanism", American
Journal of Sociology 80, No. 6 (May 1975) pp.

of the two communities,   were the most resistant to assimilation". (1)
It is possible that Glasgow, with a population by the end of the
nineteenth century ten times that of Greenock and a Highland population
five times as numerous, was a more favourable environment for the
survival of the Highlanders as a separate and clearly identifiable
entity and for the flourishing of their institutions. Observations of
the Highland community in Glasgow today combined with the experience
of my own family through several generations, and of the social nexus in
which they operated, suggest at least the possibility that the Glasgow ex-
perience was indeed at variance with that described by Lobban for Greenock.

Born in Glasgow of Gaelic speaking parents, my earliest memories are of
a still extant Gaelic "community", with its Gaelic churches and its
social gatherings of Highland societies. It also seemed that there was
a specific pattern of employment among the Highland community of my
youth: the nurse, the policeman, the seaman, the teacher were the typical
figures, and it seemed   useful to enquire whether this pattern was
correct, and if so how it had emerged and why, and whether it was one
which had changed from the original employment pattern. Marriage
patterns were also significant. Like the Jewish families with whom we
shared "closes" in Queens Park, marriage seemed generally to take place
within the ethnic grouping. Certainly this had been the pattern with
my family, with, for example, my Skye father marrying my Glasgow Highland
mother, and both sets of grandparents finding Highland marriage partners
in the city. Again, were my family and their associates typical, and did
this continue a long-established tradition? It seemed to me that in this
period virtually all primary group relations were taking place inside
a close-knit Highland community.

(1) Ibid., p.1332

Moreover, there seemed to be a specific pattern in the relationship to

Glasgow of the Gaels I encountered. Both my parents were born in Glasgow,

yet spent most of their childhood in Skye, returning to Glasgow to

study and work as young adults and then returning to the Highlands again.

Their parents had been born in the Highlands, had come to Glasgow to work

and then returned to the Highlands. Even a generation further back my

great grandfather had left Skye to spend his early adult years in

Lanarkshire before returning to Skye. This episodic rather

than permanent connection with the city could be seen in

other relatives and acquaintances. Did this reflect a general pattern

of migration which viewed settlement in the city merely as a temporary

expedient?

The special relationship between Glasgow and the Highlands is one which

deserves some attention. Glasgow in the nineteenth century contained

(and still does today) the greatest concentration of Gaelic speakers in

the world. Indeed, so important was Glasgow to Gaeldom that it was

deemed appropriate at one point to call it the "Capital of the

Highlands". (1) In spite of this, however, to date no single work has

been devoted to the Glasgow Highland community.(2) It is the task, therefore,

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(1) Oban Times, 23.4.1887
(2) An article by C.W.J.Withers "Kirk, club and culture change: Gaelic
chapels, Highland societies and the urban Gaelic subculture in eighteenth
century Scotland" in Social History Vol.10, No.2, May 1985 includes
interesting material on the Gaelic chapels and clubs in Glasgow in the
eighteenth century.

of this thesis to examine Glasgow's Highland community in the nineteenth
century to determine whether it followed the path to assimilation
described by Lobban in his study of Highlanders in Greenock, or whether
the Glasgow Highlanders remained, to a significant extent, a separate
and clearly identifiable ethnic grouping.

The extent of the Highlanders' assimilation will be analysed with reference
to a variety of factors. In the light of the weight given to residential
segregation by Lieberson (quoted on page 3 above), as the determining
factor in the assimilation process, Chapter Three is devoted to
examining the residential distribution of Highlanders to determine
whether they were scattered throughout the city, and thus more open to
assimilatory influences, or were clustered in particular areas which
would encourage primary relations within the ethnic group.

The extent to which the Highland immigrants differed from other
ethnic groups in terms of their socio-economic status is dealt with in
Chapter Four. This chapter also considers whether the Highlanders
were concentrated in certain occupations or were distributed evenly
throughout the work force. If the former were the case, did the
occupations involve Highlanders working in close contact with other
Highlanders and thereby minimise contacts with the larger community?

Chapter Five deals with the Highlanders' age, sex and marital structure,
the composition of their households and their choice of marriage partners.

Apart from providing information on the general nature of the Highland community and the migratory process, the chapter also attempts to determine whether the Glasgow Gaels were subject to the disorganisation and alienating forces which Wirth and Park (1) saw as the result of the move from traditional cohesive societies into an impersonal urban world, or whether they maintained, as Lees suggests was the case with the London Irish, close-knit kinship relations. (2) An immigrant community comprised of close kinship based units, rather than fragmentised individuals, would be more likely to maintain its ethnic traditions and would be less open to external influences. An important factor in the process of assimilation can be the contraction of marriages outside the ethnic community. Chapter Five, therefore, investigates the extent to which such exogamic marriages were taking place among Highlanders.

Chapters Three, Four and Five, therefore, highlight the extent to which the Highlanders formed a distinct entity in terms of place of residence, occupation and socio-economic status and socio-demographic characteristics. If the Highlanders were evenly distributed residentially throughout the city in relation to their social status, if in terms of occupational choice and social class they followed the general pattern of the host population, if they followed the general trends of the urban dwellers in terms of age of marriage and family structure, and if their family units included to a significant extent non-Highlanders, then it would be evident that they were rapidly integrating into the general modes cf

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(1) See page 1 above.
(2) Lees, op.cit. pp. 130-139.

behaviour prevalent in their new environment. On the other hand, a
tendency to cluster in particular residential areas and in particular
occupations, and to maintain kinship relations within the ethnic group
would not only indicate that the Highlanders retained a strong group
identity and were still largely unaffected by the process of
assimilation, but would also effectively slow down that process by
ensuring that the greater part of primary relations (for example, with
neighbours, with work mates and within the family) took place within the
ethnic fold.

The final test of assimilation, or non-assimilation, was the extent to
which Highlanders developed their own institutional organisations.
Accordingly, Chapter Six examines the Gaelic Churches in Glasgow, their
role as agents of assimilation or non-assimilation as well as the nature
and level of their support. Chapters Seven and Eight respectively will
attempt a similar appraisal of Highland philanthropic and other socio-
cultural societies.

The formation of separate institutions and their survival is in itself
a measure of the degree to which an ethnic minority views itself as a
distinct entity apart from the larger community. A group which sets out
deliberately to slough off its ethnic origins, as Lobban suggests was the
case with the Greenock Highlanders (1), would have little need or, for
that matter, desire for separate institutions. In much the same way, a
group which is open to assimilatory forces and rapidly loses its identity

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(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.412., quoted on page 5 above.

would tend to withdraw its support from the ethnic bodies. A flourishing

network of ethnic organisations, therefore, presuposes the existence

of a viable sub-group which is   sufficiently separate from the general

population to desire, and maybe even require, to maintain its own

specific institutional forms. At the same time, the existence of such a

network ensures that the immigrants can, if they so desire, carry out most

of their primary and even some of their secondary relationships within

the ethnic fold. Attending a Gaelic church, having their children attend a

school organised specifically for children of Highlanders, receiving

charity from an organisation run by and for Highlanders, belonging to a

Highland cultural organisation, attending dances and other social events

organised exclusively by and for Highlanders, would tend to foster the

ethnic identity, close off the usual paths to assimilation by minimising

personal contacts with non-Highlanders and provide a viable sub-culture

capable of embracing the second generation.

SOURCES AND METHOD

An important preliminary task is to define what is meant by the term
Highland immigrant population in Glasgow. Unless otherwise stated, the
term "Highland immigrants" used in this thesis refers only to those
persons born in the Highlands and excludes all second generation
Highlanders (i.e. the children of Highland parents who had been born
outside the Highland area). The term "Highland community", however,
will include the second and maybe even further generations of Highlanders
as well as the Highland born.

More problematic is the definition of the Highland area. The geolog-
ical boundary, which follows the Highland fault line and runs from
Bowling on the Clyde to Stonehaven south of Aberdeen, includes within
Highland territory such areas as the lowlands of the Moray Firth from
Caithness to Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Kincardineshire, Perth, Stirling
and parts of the county of Dunbarton, areas which are, of course,
culturally part of Lowland Scotland. Historians of the Highlands have
long acknowledged this problem of definition but have often differed
in their choice of definition to adopt. Malcolm Gray, for instance,
recognises the problems involved in adopting the geological boundary,
and asserts that the coastal plain from Caithness to Kincardine is more
akin to the Lowlands both geographically and culturally. However, on
account of the similarity of agrarian organisation between this area
and what he terms the "true Highlands" (i.e. the hilly land mass to

the west of the fertile east coast zone), he includes within the Highland

area the coastal plain to the north of Inverness. (1) Gray's

definition, therefore, is an economic one which embraces within the

Highlands the county of Caithness even though, historically, this has

shared neither the culture nor the language of the rest of the Highlands.

The authors of Scottish Population History, on the other hand, opt for

a definition of a Highland region which includes only the counties of

Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland and Bute, though they

do recognize the pitfalls of such a definition:

"... too many counties straddle the natural boundaries of Scotland's

social and economic divisions. Perthshire, for example, extends

into areas that are unmistakably both Lowland and Highland, while

the three northern counties of Sutherland, Ross and Inverness

stride the country from east to west, embracing areas as socially

and economically different as the east coast plain and the west

coast crofting districts." (2)

Lobban, for his investigation into the Highland community in Greenock,

includes in the Highland area, as well as the counties of Argyll,

Inverness, Ross and Sutherland, those parishes within the counties of

Dunbarton, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, Aberdeen, Banff, Moray and Nairn

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(1) M. Gray, The Highland Economy, (Edinburgh, 1957), pp.3-4.
(2) M.W.Flinn (Ed.) Scottish Population History, (Cambridge, 1977) p.105.

which had retained a high percentage of Gaelic speakers till the late

eighteenth century. (1)

Lobban's use of the degree of Gaelic speaking as the determining factor

in establishing the Highland line was initially attractive to the

present writer. What gave the Highlands its specific nature in the

nineteenth century was its separate language and its distinctive

historical traditions rather than its geological features or even its

economic organisation. Since this thesis is concerned primarily with

the impact of urban life on the settlers from this distinct culture and

the degree to which they assimilated into an alien environment, then

the determining factor in defining the Highland area must also be the

strength of the Gaelic language. However, because the main source for

establishing the size of the Highland community in Glasgow is the

decennial Census Reports, and because those Reports provide information

on the various counties of birth rather than on the parishes of birth of

the inhabitants of Glasgow, the method of dissecting some of the

"border" counties used by Lobban was deemed to be unworkable. Instead,

it was the counties which were still Gaelic strongholds at the time of

the first Gaelic Census of 1881 (see Table 1.1) - Argyll, Inverness,

Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland - which were chosen as the Highland

area for the purpose of this thesis, and it is the immigrants born in,

or with family roots in, those area who will be the subject of research.

(1) Lobban, op.cit. pp. 16-19.

TABLE 1.1

GAELIC SPEAKING IN "HIGHLAND" AND "BORDER" COUNTIES IN 1881

"Highland" Counties	% Gaelic speakers
Argyll	60.8
Inverness	70.8
Ross and Cromarty	71.4
Sutherland	75.3

"Border" Counties	
Bute	21.1
Nairn	18.9
Perth	11.2
Caithness	8.8
Stirling	0.4
Dunbarton	1.8
Aberdeen	o.2
Banff	0.1
Moray	2.8
Forfar	0.2

SOURCE: 1881 Census Report

The main source for the study of residential patterns set out in Chapter Three is the published census material for 1881, 1891 and 1901. Although the published censuses from 1851 onwards provide information on the county of birth for all of Glasgow's inhabitants, the data are presented for the city as a whole and cannot, therefore, be used to plot the geography of Highland residence. Fortunately, for the censuses of 1881-1901 the number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow is listed for each of the city's administrative units. Using this information it is possible to gain a clear picture of the areas of Highland settlement during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Before 1881 census data on Gaelic speakers are not available and discussion of Highland settlement patterns in the city must rely on very much cruder evidence provided in comments by witnesses giving evidence to various parliamentary inquiries. From such information it was possible to draw a general picture of Highland settlement prior to 1881.

The data on occupations, age, sex, marital and household structures in Chapters Four and Five are based on material in the unpublished census enumerators' schedules. In 1851 these list name, address, relationship to head of household, marital status, age, sex, occupation and parish of birth of each inhabitant. In 1881 and 1891, in addition, they include information on rooms per household and ability to speak Gaelic. Because the extraction of this sort of information is extremely time consuming, not least because the occupational and socio-demographic characteristics of the Highlanders need to be compared with other groups, and because of the sheer size of Glasgow, it was

necessary to sample the Highland community. First of all it was decided
to concentrate on three main areas of Highland settlement - Broomielaw,
Kingston and Plantation - which had been revealed by the analysis in
Chapter Three. Broomielaw, an area which secondary sources indicated to
have been the traditional Highland "stronghold" in the city during the
first half of the nineteenth century and which, according to the
published Census Reports from 1881-1901, retained a sizeable Gaelic
speaking population into the twentieth century, was studied for the two
census years: 1851 because it is the earliest date at which the Highland
born can be identified; 1891 because it provides a comparative perspective
of a community over a reasonably long period of time and because it is,
in any case, the last year that the unpublished census schedules are
available to the public. Long before the end of the nineteenth century,
however, many of the Highland born had moved beyond Broomielaw into
other areas of the expanding city. By 1881 Gaelic speakers were already
common in Kingston and Plantation. Accordingly, the Highland communities
of Kingston and Plantation in 1881 and 1891 were also selected for
special treatment.

Even then the Highland population in each area remained too large for
detailed analysis and it was necessary to reduce the size of the working
area still further. This was done by concentrating solely on those
districts in each area in which the number and proportion of
Highland born and the number and proportion of Gaelic speakers
(the latter qualification did not apply to the Broomielaw in 1851

since the relevant information was not available) enumerated in each book

was calculated. These books which returned a proportion of both

Highland born and Gaelic speakers which was greater than the average

for the entire district were used as the basis of the empirical study.

Broomielaw in 1851, comprised of the quod sacra parishes of St Peter and

St George, provides an illustration of how the districts chosen for

detailed treatment were selected. The entire area is catalogued in the

enumeration districts 31-51 with a total population of 11,006. The

Highland born population accounted for 11.8% of the total and, using the

method outlined above, six books out of the twenty were chosen all of

which contained a proportion of Highland born greater than 11.8%. Thus,

the sample area in Broomielaw in 1851 consisted of 28%. of the total

population of Broomielaw, but 40.6% of its Highland born population.

(See Table 1.2 for the total population and the number and proportion of

Highland born in each sample area in the three chosen years.) In 1891,

in Broomielaw, five enumerators' books were chosen out of a total of

fourteen for the area, providing a sample area which contained 33% of the

total population, 47.6% of the Highland born and 48.5% of the Gaelic

speakers. In Kingston, in 1881, the sample area comprised 39.5% of the

total population, 56.7% of the Highland born and 64.8% of the Gaelic

speakers; in 1891, the proportions were 35.8%, 48.6% and 52.7%

respectively. In Plantation, in 1881, the sample area was made up of

39.6% of the total population, 44% of the Highland born and 56.2% of the

Gaelic speakers; in 1891, the proportions were 31%, 45% and 48%

respectively.

TABLE 1.2

HIGHLAND SAMPLE AREAS: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND PLANTATION

BROOMIELAW

Year	TOTAL POPULATION	HIGHLAND BORN	% HIGHLAND BORN	% GAELIC SPEAKERS
1851	3028	526	17.4	-
1891	1950	204	10.5	9.7

KINGSTON

1881	2540	251	9.9	7.2
1891	2513	287	11.42	11.3

PLANTATION

1881	3863	304	7.9	3.5
1891	3870	452	11.7	10

SOURCE: 1851 Census Enumeration Books, Glasgow, 538/ 32, 36; 539/ 34, 40; 540/ 45, 48.
1881 Census Enumeration Books, Glasgow, 644/13 27, 30, 32, 33, 41; 646/1 4, 5, 7.
1891 Census Enumeration Books, Glasgow, 644[7]/ 11, 16, 18, 20, 23; 644/13 24, 27, 28, 32, 24;   646/1 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17.

There were various reasons for choosing this particular method of achieving a sample for empirical data. Because the number of Highlanders was never extensive even in those areas chosen for their relative density, it was felt that an insufficient sample would have resulted from the more orthodox method of stratified sampling. (1) One possible method may have been to take every household headed by Highland born and every other tenth household. This was rejected because it would have excluded many of those households with non-Highland heads but with Highland marriage partners, lodgers and servants. Since one test of assimilation is the extent of marriages made outside the community, it was considered important not to exclude Highland spouses of non-Highland heads. And, since secondary sources suggested that lodgers and servants were a significant group within the Highland community, it was also considered necessary to adopt a method which embraced those elements.

Alternatively, an identical area could have been used for the sample for the two different census years, thus introducing the possibility of following the progress of Highland families after a ten year gap. Again, this method was rejected as unworkable. Even with only a ten year gap it is extremely difficult to trace families from the previous census. (2) Where there was overlap in the sample area individual families reappearing after ten years were rare. Various factors, death, removal to another area or street, return to the homeland, the change in street numbering, new buildings erected in "back lands" (i.e. the spaces between

(1) See R.S.Schofield, "Sampling in Historical Research" in Nineteenth Century Society, E.A.Wrigley, ed., (Cambridge, 1972).
(2) See discussion on this point in M.Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (London, 1971), pp. 41-42.

existing tenements), the destruction of residential property to make way

for industrial development all contributed to making the task of tracing

families or individuals extremely difficult.

The method used did have the advantage of providing a sample of Highlanders

living in closest proximity to other Highlanders; in essence, it allowed

the study of what, as far as could be ascertained, was a "Highland"

neighbourhood. This was an important consideration for the purpose of

my thesis. I was not setting out, as did Dr Lobban in his study of the

Highlanders of Greenock, to analyse the social and economic position of

the total sum of Highlanders in the city. Apart from the fact that

such a task would have been impossible in a city the size of Glasgow, the

central concern of the thesis - the extent of non-assimilation and the

problem of maintaining a cultural identity - could best be tested in those

areas where Highlanders were physically closest together.

Some problems, however, are posed by the sampling procedure. Since the

immigrants living in ethnic colonies are less likely to be integrated

than those who are geographically dispersed (1), the investigation will,

therefore, be weighted in favour of non-integration. Neither were the

Highlanders living within the "Highland" neighbourhood fully rep-

resentative of the complete socio-occupational mix of Highland immigrants.

Because the social composition of Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation was

working class (2), the wealthier, middle class Highlanders were excluded.

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(1) See the conclusion of S.Lieberson, op.cit., p.190 on the effect of
residential segregation on the assimilation process. Quoted on p.3 above.
(2) The socio-economic nature of the sample areas is discussed in Chapter
Three.

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that since the vast majority of Highlanders lived in the sample areas and those surrounding districts of a similar socio-economic nature, the study is concentrating on the typical Highlanders and his or her behaviour.

There were other problems which had to be faced when using the census enumerators' schedules. While many of the flaws of the first four censuses (1801-1831) had been ironed out and the ten yearly censuses had become fairly rigorous, researchers have to be wary of the pitfalls incurred in their use. (1) These pitfalls are even more acute when dealing with immigrants, many of whom would not only have been illiterate but would also have had an insufficient command of English. The task, therefore, of filling in the household schedule would have proved even more difficult for the monoglot Gael than for the native English speaking illiterate whose entries could have been assisted by the enumerator. Some of the problems encountered by this researcher when extracting information from the enumerators' books deserve comment. The difficult handwriting of some of the enumerators is a common complaint among researchers involved in collecting census data and, occasionally, enlightened guess work was required from the present writer. More seriously, inaccuracy was evident in some of the books: for example, in Plantation in 1881 the enumerator of District 3 omitted recording any speakers of Gaelic and, since there was a total of 110 persons born in the Highland counties it is to be assumed that the

(1) See P.M.Tillott, "Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses" in Nineteenth Century Society, op.cit.

omission was due to error. In that year there was confusion generally

about the information required on Gaelic speaking. There was no

separate column for the householder to record the Gaelic speaking members

and the question itself, asking for the number speaking Gaelic

"habitually", permitted differing interpretations. For immigrants in

particular, living in an English-speaking environment, the phrasing of

the question may have resulted in many Gaelic speakers omitting the

information. In the 1891 census the proportion of Gaelic speakers to

Highland born in the city rose (even though the language had begun its

slow decline in the Highlands) and may have been partly because the

householders' form permitted two responses - one for persons "who speak

Gaelic only", and one for persons "who speak Gaelic and English". (1)

Where the raw figures require comment to avoid errors of impression, this

is done.

For Chapter Six on the Gaelic churches the principal source was the

records of the Gaelic churches themselves. The records of the oldest

Gaelic church in the city, St Columba's (formerly Ingram Street Chapel),

dating back to the 1770s and the records of Hope Street Gaelic Church

(formerly West Gaelic) which go back to 1824 are still in the hands of

their present congregations and were made available to me. The records

of St Kiaran's Gaelic Church in Govan, established in 1884, are in the

Public Record Office in Edinburgh. Unfortunately, the records of the

other Gaelic churches which date back to the nineteenth century were

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(1) 1891 Census, Volume I, Table XX, Householder's Schedule. Another
reason for the increase in the proportion of Gaelic speakers may have been
the recent migration of Highlanders from the Gaelic strongholds in the
north west and Hebrides. This point is elaborated in Chapter Two.

not available. The records consulted provided a fund of valuable

information on church organisation and personnel. Such diverse matters

as church finances, regulations, extra-religious activities, church

disputes, election of ministers and, in certain periods, the names,

addresses and occasionally even the occupations of church leaders and

adherents appear in the bound volumes containing the minutes of the

meetings of the churches' managers and the kirk sessions. Although

there are periods during the nineteenth centutry when the records of

both St Columba's and Hope Street Gaelic are incomplete, for the most

part they serve to provide a satisfactory picture of the role of the

Gaelic church within the Highland community.

Another valuable source on the Gaelic churches was provided by the Royal

Commission organised ˉ by the Church of Scotland in 1835 with the purpose

of investigating the state of religious worship in Scotland. Uniquely in

their history the Gaelic churches in Glasgow co-operated in the

organisation of a census of the Highland population in Glasgow which they

then presented to the church commissioners. Unfortunately, the census

schedules drawn up by the Gaelic churches are lost. However, information

on the Highland community in general (such as numbers, occupations,

areas of settlement, church-going habits) based on this census is

summarised in the Second Report of the Church Commissioners. (1) Also in

the Second Report, which is devoted to religious life in Glasgow, is

information on the Gaelic churches (such as their finances, their

constitutions, the role of Gaelic, seat letting). The information

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(1) Second Report of the Commission of Religious Instruction with
appendices. (Edinburgh, 1837)

contained in this report, however, must be treated with some caution.

The Gaelic churches were anxious to secure from the Government additional

funds for further church buildings. As a result there was an undoubted

tendency to exaggerate the demand for church places from the Highland

immigrants. In spite of this, it remains a useful source on the Gaelic

churches in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Seven on the various philanthropic societies relied heavily on the

periodic reports of the most important of these societies - the

Glasgow Highland Society and the MacLachlan Free School. The reports of

the former contain such information as a complete list of members from

the society's inception in 1727 to the early twentieth century, the aims

of the society and some details concerning the society school such as

its curriculum, the number on its role and its rules and regulations.

Documents on the MacLachlan Free School comprised the aims of the school's

founder, rules and regulations along with periodic reports. The

material on both these societies is kept in the Glasgow Room of the

Mitchell Library Glasgow. Other sources were utilised including diverse

parliamentary reports, educational surveys and local histories. From

these it was possible to make an assessment of the role of philanthropy on the

Highland community and its impact on the process of assimilation.

For Chapter Eight on the social and cultural organisations of the Glasgow

Highlanders the records of three societies, all of which had their origins

in the late nineteenth century, were used. The Glasgow Skye Association,

the Glasgow Lewis and Harris Association and the Uist and Barra

Association, which are all still in existence today, provided access to

their Minute Books. The minutes included information on social occasions, on finance, on level of support, on charitable aid and on cultural activities. From time to time they also listed the names and addresses of their members and from these lists it was possible to gain a picture of the social composition of their support.

Valuable insight into the varied social life of the Glasgow Highland community was provided by the two Highland newspapers, The Highlander and The Oban Times, both of which followed the activities of the Glasgow Gaels with considerable interest. The former, which was printed in Inverness from 1873 to 1881, frequently printed reports of the activities of the various societies. The latter contained a regular "Glasgow letter", the purpose of which was to report on the Glasgow Highland scene. In the 1880s and 1890s the Glasgow correspondent, Henry Whyte, who wrote under the pseudonym "Fionn", was himself an active participant in the activities of a variety of Glasgow societies. From these newspapers, therefore, an impression on the social network of Highlanders in the city in the late nineteenth century was available.

Clearly a wealth of accessible sources were available from which an assessment of the structure of the Glasgow Highland community and its relation to the wider community could be made. Before, however, launching ourselves upon this inquiry it is necessary to provide a social and economic framework within which it may be located. Such can be provided first by an outline of the crisis within the Highland economy during the period in question, and second by examining the growth and development of Glasgow as an industrial centre and a reception centre for immigrants.

CHAPTER TWO.

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW: THE HIGHLANDS AND GLASGOW IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In order to tap the source of the Highland migration to Glasgow in the nineteenth century, it is necessary first to outline the permanent crisis of the Highland economy in that period. To do this, however, its origin in the major upheavals which shook the region in the century previous must be charted. The Highland area, geographically remote from the rest of Britain, had stubbornly remained unassimilated into the increasingly monolithic British state. Alien in terms of language (Gaelic), social organisation (the clan), religion (largely Catholic or Episcopalian) and politics (Jacobite), the Highlands posed a threat to the commercial and political order which had been established in the rest of Britain.

Traditionally, all social and economic activity in the Highlands evolved round the clan, the members of which claimed kinship with (1) and owed allegiance to the chief. For the chief, status was dependent on the number of fighting men to which he could lay claim, and the exploitation of the clan lands on an economic basis was of secondary importance. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the winds of change began to penetrate beyond the Highland line as some of the chiefs looked to the south and the life-style of the London court. But to become an adornment of the court it was necessary to introduce a commercial rationale to the organisation of the clan lands, which in turn led to conflict with the

(1) The word clan derives from the Gaelic "clann" meaning children.

conservative traditions of clanship, guarded by the tacksmen (the clan

gentry responsible for overseeing the economic, social and military life

of the clan) and the bards. The Duke of Argyll, historically the clan

chief most integrated into the political structure of the Scottish and

then the British state, initiated the process of re-organising the

traditional clan lands on a capitalist basis. (1) But it was with the

defeat of the Jacobite cause at Culloden in 1746, after which the basis

of the clan as a military unit could no longer be sustained, that this

process gathered pace. First to feel the effect of the new commercial

order were the tacksmen. The high rents now demanded from their chiefs

left them with the option of becoming capitalist farmers, a role for

which they had little preparation, or emigration. For many, such as

Flora MacDonald and her husband and the representatives of the strata

that Dr Johnson and Boswell met in Skye (2), emigration to the colonies

and the hope of re-establishing the Highland traditions in exile was the

more acceptable choice. (3) For others, such as tacksman's son George

MacIntosh, Glasgow and the towns of the south offered a world of

opportunity. (4)

Increasingly, the chiefs turned landlords became aware that the most

profitable use of their lands was to rent large tracks to sheep farmers.

The growth of the textile industry in the south provided a demand for

(1) E.Cregeen, "The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish
Highlands" in Phillipson and Mitchison (eds.) Scotland in the Age of
Improvement (Edinburgh, 1970)and "The Tacksmen and their Successors",
Scottish Studies XIII, 1969.
(2) J.Boswell, Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides Vol.I (London, 1908), pp.162-3.
(3) M.I.Adam, "The Highland Emigration of 1770" Scottish Historical
Review XVI, 1919.
(4) For bibliographical details about George MacIntosh, see pp. 282-3.

wool, and mutton was a useful source of food for the growing urban

population. First introduced into Perthshire in the 1760s, sheep farming

stretched over most parts of the Highlands south of the Great Glen by

1800, and in the following fifty~years~penetrated the far north and islands. (1)

Sheep farming in this period required, according to Malcolm Gray, three

necessary pre-requisites - capital, commercial sense and technical

expertise - all of which were in short supply in traditional society. (2)

The sheep farmers, therefore, were imported from the south paying to the

landlords high rents for large areas of land which were turned into

sheep walks. In the southern areas of the Highlands the standard sheep

farms contained between 1,000 and 2,000 sheep and cost about £200 annually

in rental. In the northern Highlands the units were generally larger.

In Sutherland, for example, the average farm contained 5,000 sheep and

cost about £1,000 in rent. (3) Inevitably, the Highland peasantry were

unable to participate although there were some notable exceptions to this

rule, such as the crofter's son from Lochaber who became the owner of

60,000 sheep. (4) For the majority of Highlanders whose holdings lay in

the way of the sheep walks, however, the process resulted in eviction

from the fertile straths and the movement either to the rocky western

seaboard, to "planned" enterprise towns such as Helmsdale or Ullapool,

migration to the south or emigration to the colonies. (5)

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(1) M.Gray, The Highland Economy 1750-1850 (Edinburgh, 1957) pp.87-88
(2) Ibid., p.91
(3) Ibid., p.93
(4) Ibid.
(5) For an account of evictions following the introduction of sheep
farming, see ibid. and E.Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances
(London, 1982).

It has been suggested that the land resources of the Highlands were already incapable of sustaining the population from the middle of the eighteenth century, even before the change of land use to large scale sheep farming had penetrated far beyond the Highland border. (1) The Highland population, however, continued to grow from this point, increasing each decade until a peak was reached in Argyll and Sutherland in 1831, Inverness-shire in 1841 and Ross-shire in 1841. (2) Until the period following the end of the war with France in 1815, however, a variety of factors combined to stave off any Malthusian type crisis.

Undoubtedly crucial in this period was the availability of employment in the Lowlands which was able to soak up some of the redundant population in the accessible border regions of the Highlands. That the pressure of population was relieved in those areas either contiguous with or on an easy transport nexus to the south is reflected in the uneven rates of population growth in the Highlands. The most dramatic increase in the population in the second half of the eighteenth century took place along the western seaboard from Morven to Cape Wrath while only a moderate increase occured in the eastern Highlands and southern mainland Argyll. This trend continued into the first half of the nineteenth century although northern Argyll and parts of western mainland Inverness-shire began to share the features of the south and east. (3)

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(1) M.Flinn, (Ed.) Scottish Population History (Cambridge, 1977) p.30.
(2) Gray, op.cit., p.58.
(3) Ibid., pp59-60. Gray shows that in the period from 1755 to the 1790s 41 of the 68 parishes in the eastern zone failed to increase their population, while in the west 32 out of 43 parishes sustained a population growth of more than 25%. R.Hildebrandt, Migration and Economic Change in the Northern Highlands During the Nineteenth Century (Glasgow University Ph.D. thesis, 1982) chapter 2, demonstrates that it was the accessible eastern and neighbouring parishes in the vicinity of the Great Glen which produced the greatest number of out-migrants.

The population which remained was sustained for a while by a combination of favourable economic circumstances. From the middle of the eighteenth century until 1815 the movement of prices of agricultural goods operated in favour of the Highland peasantry: the main export product - black cattle - rose in value while the price of the main import - meal - remained stable. The price for three year old cattle (i.e. those of saleable age) rose from under £1 per head in the 1740s to about £2 in the 1770s, about £3 in the 1790s and about £8 in 1810. (1) Since the trade in black cattle was the mainstay of the Highland peasantry, the rise in their price provided a valuable money income at a time when the arable land which had previously been cultivated to provide subsistence food supplies was being lost to the sheep farmers.

Another factor temporarily operating in the favour of the Highland tenantry was the dramatic but short-lived expansion in the kelp industry. Kelp, an alkaline seaweed extract used in soap and glass manufacture, was first introduced to the western seaboard and islands in the middle of the eighteenth century. The demand for the product grew steadily and then dramatically after 1790 when imports of Spanish barilla, an alternative source of industrial alkali, were cut off by the French. As a result, west coast and island production increased from about 2,000 tons annually in the 1770s to about 5,000 tons in the 1790s and 7,000 tons at the peak of production in 1810. (2) Prices were also to rise dramatically, from about £2 a ton in the middle of the eighteenth century to £8 in the 1770s,

(1) Gray, op.cit., pp. 142, 183.
(2) Ibid., pp. 125-126.

£10 in 1800 and £20 in 1810. (1) Such a boom naturally had its effect

on the economy of the western Highlands. The industry, although

requiring little in capital investment, was labour intensive and during

the peak of production involved as many as 10,000 families. (2) As long

as vast profits were being accrued by the landlords on whose estates the

kelp was gathered (3) sub-division of the land and population increase

was actively encouraged. Because of this the work force made little

profit from the kelp boom, their wages bearing scant relationship to the

price of the product. Wages averaged between £1 and £3 a ton and

remained substantially unaffected by the rise in prices after 1790. Even

when kelp was selling at £20 a ton Hebridean kelpers were receiving on

average £2 a ton. (4) The kelp boom, therefore, did little to improve

the precarious nature of existence of the west Highland tenantry, the

wages they received being insufficient to improve on their holdings for

which they were now being asked increased rentals. Rather it sustained,

for a relatively short period, an increased population at subsistence

level and in so doing sowed the seeds of future disaster.

Fishing was a further source of money income which was being developed

in the Highlands at this time. Traditionally fishing had been yet

another aspect of the subsistence economy, providing extra food for

the family whose main interest was agriculture. Many factors militated

against the development of a native fishing industry which would serve as

a valid source of employment. Apart from the distance from markets and

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(1) Ibid., pp.127-128.
(2) J.Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community (Edinburgh, 1976), p.17
(3) Ibid., p.16. Profits by the Hebridean landlords were estimated at
£70,000 a year during the peak years of the industry.
(4) Ibid., p.18.

the absence of the necessary infra-structure such as transport, centres
for supplies and merchants, the capital required to fit out a boat,
estimated at £10-£15 (1), was beyond the resources of most of the
Highland peasantry. Usually, a boat was shared between three or four
families, thus ensuring that any profit made, even if buyers were
available, would be minimal. The rich supplies of herring known to exist
in the Highland lochs, however, seemed too promising a resource not to be
exploited and, accordingly, the government encouraged the development of
a herring industry which, it was hoped, would rival that of the Dutch.
The participation of private enterprise was encouraged by offering a
payment of "bounty" on a tonnage basis to the herring busses, the large
specially equipped vessels which operated from the Clyde. Initially,
this provided little help to the crofter-fishermen of the north west and,
indeed, according to Adam Smith, even discouraged the native industry:

> "But the great discouragement which a bounty of thirty shillings the
> ton gives to the buss fishing, is necessarily a discouragement to
> the boat fishing: which, having no such bounty, cannot bring its
> cured fish to market upon the same terms as the buss fishing." (2)

However, after 1787 local small boats were allowed to sell their catch to
the busses and bounty was made available on each barrel of herring sold. In
1788 a total of 22,815 barrels of fish were landed in boats rather than
busses, and of those 21,566 were landed at west coast ports. (3)

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(1) Gray, op.cit. p.108.
(2) Quoted in A.J.Youngson, After the Forty-Five (Edinburgh, 1973), p.106.
(3) Gray, op.cit., p.122.

Undoubtedly, such catches provided a valuable source of income during

good years but the unpredictable nature of the herring shoals made the

Highlanders reluctant to forsake their interest in agriculture for fishing

as a full time occupation. Inspite of efforts made by the British

Fisheries Soicety, a philanthropic organisation established in 1786 to

develop the Highland fishing industry through the establishment of

fishing villages, the fishing industry failed to transform the basic

subsistence nature of the Highland economy. While the west coast was

receiving a fillip from kelp and fishing the central and eastern

Highlands in the late eighteenth century enjoyed a minor expansion of the

linen trade. The yarn spun in this cottage industry fed the Lowland

looms and the increased production of linen in late eighteenth century

Scotland provided a rise in earnings for the mainly female work force.

Such earnings, however, with an estimated total annual income of £2 per

spinner, merely provided a supplement to the subsistence family economy. (1)

One other factor appeared to be operating in the favour of the Highland

peasantry - the discovery of the seemingly miraculous productive

capacity of the potato. The potato was first introduced into the Outer

Isles in the 1740s. By the end of the eighteenth century it had already

become the staple diet food of the majority of the crofting and cottar

population. With a yield three or four times that of oats, the

traditional food crop grown in Scotland, the potato could not only sustain

the growing population but also encourage its expansion. In his General

View of the Hebrides written in 1811, James MacDonald wrote,

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(1) Ibid., p.141.

".. .the produce of potatoes...promises, by tolerable management, to

triple the number of inhabitants every 75 years without burdening

the country." (1)

In the late eighteenth and the first decade of the nineteenth century,

the Highland peasantry were able to sustain a much increased population

at a time when rents were doubling (2) and land was being lost to the

sheep farmers. This was due to extending the possibilities of their

subsistence life-style through a set of fortuitous circumstances, such as

the increased price of cattle, kelp and, to a lesser extent, fishing

and linen, as well as the greater yield from their holdings awarded by

the potato. However, participation in the wider capitalist economy,

which had appeared as a solution to their problems, had made the

Highlanders vulnerable to the cyclical nature of that crisis prone economy.

After 1815, and the end of the war with France, the circumstances which

had combined to increase the means of subsistence no longer favoured the

Highlands. Most dramatic in its effect was the collapse of the kelp

industry. The lowering of import duties after 1815 and the abolition of

salt excise duty in 1825 caused a drastic decrease in the price of kelp.

After reaching its peak in 1810, when it fetched about £20 a ton, the

price then dropped to £10 the following year at which it remained until

the early 1820s. Thereafter it continued its downward slide.

By 1834 the highest grade fetched only £3 a ton. (3) In the islands,

where dependency on the industry was greatest, landlords responded by

(1) Quoted in Flinn, op.cit., p.427.
(2) Gray, op.cit., shows that receipts of estate rentals increased
dramatically in the period and the increase was shared by the small
tenants as well as the large sheep farmers. (pp.146-148)

transferring their source of income to rentals from sheep farming. For
the evicted tenantry, the choice was between emigration/migration (an
option most actively encouraged by the landlords) or a precariously over-
crowded existence on what was often no better than waste land. (1) On
Skye in the late 1840s, for instance, 6,000 of the 16,000 arable acres
were converted into pasture for 30 sheep farmers; the remaining 10,000
acres of arable land had to support over 4,000 families. (2)

The drop in income of the Highland peasantry caused by the collapse of
the kelp industry was compounded by other factors. The price of black
cattle fell at the end of the war, and failed to recover until the middle
of the century: a three year old animal which in 1810 fetched £6 sold for
about £3.10/- in the 1830s. (3) Unable to compete with competition
from the Baltic or the more productive factories of the Lowlands, from
the opening of the nineteenth century the Highland linen industry, too,
went into terminal decline. (4)

Notwithstanding the efforts to stimulate the economy of the region
through improvements in the infra-structure, such as an ambitious road
and canal building programme (5), by the fourth decade of the century the
western Highlands and Hebrides were facing what an economic historian
has described as "the reality of a Malthusian crisis". (6) A tenantry
crowded into less land, with a considerably reduced money income and
burdened with debts, became ever more reliant on the potato.

(1) See Hunter, op.cit. chapter 3 for an account of the evictions on the
kelping estates.
(2) Flinn, op.cit. p.34.
(3) Gray, op.cit. p.182.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., pp171-174.
(6) Flinn, op.cit. p.34.

A warning of future disaster was sounded in 1836 when the potato crop

failed and only widescale relief from the south prevented starvation.

In the following season the potato crop was again satisfactory, but this

respite was not to last long. Ten years later the fungus <u>phytophthora</u>

<u>infestans</u> once more blighted the Highland potato crop. By the end of

1846 at least three quarters of the crofting population of the western

Highlands and islands were estimated to be without food. (1) As a

member of a visiting Free Church deputation to Skye reported:

> "We found the condition of very many of them miserable in the
>
> extreme, and every day, as they said, getting worse. Their houses -
>
> or rather their hovels - and persons the very pictures of
>
> destitution and hopeless suffering. (2)

This time the disaster was not mitigated by a successful crop the

following season, blight-ridden potato crops continuing until the end of

the decade. Only massive relief operations, sponsored by government and

Free Church agencies, saved the Highlands from the scale of famine-induced

mortality which beset Ireland. (3) No longer could the crofting

population depend on the potato for its survival.

The famine was to have a significant long-term demographic impact:

> "For almost a century, but above all in the half-century before 1846,
>
> the potato effectively held back the tide of emigration. But it

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(1) Hunter, op.cit. p.54

(2) Qu. ibid.

(3) It has been estimated that c. 80,000 Highlanders would have died during
the famine of 1836-7 had it not been for external relief; the number would
have been very much greater 1846-9. See Flinn, op.cit. p.36

allowed the population to build up to the point at which the sheer
weight of numbers finally broke the dam, releasing the flood-waters
of renewed emigration. The dam was not rebuilt, and the outflow of
Highlanders, the only known safety valve in the Highland socio-
economic system, continued unhindered." (1)

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century the Highlands
experienced the effects of the expansion taking place in the wider
British economy. Once again the market for Highland black cattle became
buoyant: the price for three-year olds, which in the 1830s had fallen to
just over £3 had risen to £14 by the early 1880s. (2) More successful, too,
was the west coast fishing industry, boosted by the introduction of
steamer services from the clyde to the western Highlands and islands
which made markets more accessible. The number of boats engaged in the
winter white fishing from Lewis, for instance, doubled between the 1850s
and the 1880s. In Lewis by the 1870s the crofter/fishermen could clear
£15-20 a winter from fishing, as well as provide the family with food for
consumption. (3) In the same period the west coast herring industry also
expanded with the number of barrels cured at west coast ports rising
from 80,000 in 1844-53 to over 180,000 in 1874-84. (4)

But it was the booming fishing industry on the east coast which provided
the most spectacular boost to earned income for west Highlanders during
the third quarter of the century, a source of income on which increasing
numbers of seasonal migrants became dependent:

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(1) Ibid., p.438
(2) Hunter, op.cit. p.108
(3) Ibid., p.109
(4) Ibid., p.110.

. "Since 1854 the annual migration from the Lews to the east-coast

   fishing has been steadily increasing till latterly, and for a

   number of years back, every man and woman who was without regular

   employment went." (1)

With growing opportunities for seasonal labour went rising incomes.

During the boom period of the 1860s to early 1880s, average earnings in the

east coast herring industry grew from just over £3 to at least £12. (2)

At this time, too, there were other openings for seasonal labour outwith

the Highlands which enabled the economically backward region to support

its population. The harvest in the Lowlands, particularly on the east

coast, was an important source of seasonal employment for Highland women.

Other Highlanders relied on short-term employment on road and railway

construction and seasonal labouring jobs to supplement their families'

income. (3) Even the temporary or permanent immigrants in the south

played their part in sustaining the family holding in the Highlands. The

Rev. Norman MacLeod, chaplain of a Gaelic chapel in Glasgow, told the

Select Committee on Emigration that "young men labouring in Glasgow, and

young women in service, send a great portion of their wages home to the

Highlands to assist their aged parents". (4) This evidence was echoed

. by a witness to the Commission on Children's Employment in 1843 who stated

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(1) Statement of the Fishery Officer for Stornoway, 1887. Qu. in T.M.
Devine, "Temporary Migration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth
Century", Economic History Review, XXXII (1979), p.354
(2) Hunter, op.cit. p.110
(3) Devine, op.cit. provides an excellent account of the pattern of
seasonal Highland labour.
(4) Minutes of Evidence,First Report, qu. 1213, p.115

that more than half of the women employed at a bleachfield in Paisley

sent home from 15 shillings to £1 a year to their parents. (1)

It is clear that although the Highland economy stabilised in the period

from the 1850s to the early 1880s, and benefitted from the upturn in the

wider economy which resulted in higher prices for the main Highland

exports, the survival of much of the crofting population was ultimately

dependent on income earned outside the Highlands. It was suggested by

Sir John MacNeill in 1851 that between one-half and two-thirds of the

"means of living" of the people of Skye was earned from employment outwith

the Highlands. (2) There is no evidence to suggest that the rest of the

population of the north west coast and Hebrides was much less dependent

on external sources of income or that the extent of the' dependence had

declined by the 1880s. (3) Over dependence on thé income of casual migrant

labour potentially made the population more vulnerable to down-turns in

the trade cycle, casual seasonal labour being the section of the work

force most easy to dismiss.

Such a down-turn occurred in the years 1883-9 and once again plunged the

Highland population into crisis. Poor harvests and blighted potato crops

in the early years of the decade caused problems at home for the crofters

which were compounded by low cattle prices. (4) To make matters worse

some of the outlets for seasonal employment outside the Highlands were

closed off. A glut in the herring market led to a price collapse

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(1)P.P. 1843 (432) XV (Irish University Press, Children's Employment, 11)
Appendix to the 2nd Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of
Children, part II, i, 26.
(2) Devine, op.cit. p.348.
(3) Devine, ibid, p.355, suggests that temporary migration involved at
least one member from the majority of families in the Highland region.
(4) Hunter, op.cit. pp. 131-132.

which resulted in unemployment among the hired hands of the east coast

fishing and curing industry. (1) At the same time opportunities for

casual urban employment were reduced owing to the industrial depression

in the Lowlands. (2) The crisis of the 1880s, which exposed the

fragility of the "recovery" of the previous three decades, made substantial

sections of the Highland population once again dependent on outside aid

to prevent starvation. (3)

By 1890 the worst of the crisis was over and the period up to the First

World War was one of relative economic stability for the Highlands. The

east coast fishing industry recovered and with the recovery came further

employment opportunities for the Highlanders. (4) Furthermore, the

collapse of grain prices as a result of the import of cheap grain from

the United States favoured the Highlanders who no longer produced their

own. (5) There was also in this period a modest improvement in

employment opportunities within the Highlands as a result of Government

sponsored projects to extend the Highland rail network and to build

harbours, piers and boat slips. (6) Moreover, the Crofters' Holding

Act of 1886 had provided the undoubted benefits of security of tenure and

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(1) Devine, op.cit. p.358.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Hunter, op.cit. p.132.
(4) M.Gray, "Crofting and Fishing in the North-West Highlands, 1890-1914"
Northern Scotland, I, 1972-73, demonstrates how there was only a very
limited development of a native fishing industry in the Highlands in this
period.
(5) Hunter, op.cit. p.178, demonstrates how the price of a boll of imported
meal fell in the Highlands from 50s in 1880 to 12s 6d in the early 1900s.
(6) M.Gray, "Crofting and Fishing", op.cit. p.90

a fixed rent for the crofting population although it did not address the
fundamental problem - land hunger - of the crofters and cottars. (1)
Further government sponsored assistance came to the Highlands with the
setting up of the Congested Districts Board in 1897, the object of which
was to give assistance to areas whose industrial resources were
"insufficient to provide for the needs of its population". (2) As a
result 56 parishes came under the auspices of the Board which had the
right to purchase land for redistribution, sponsor fencing and draining,
construct roads and piers and give assistance to inshore fishing and the
Harris tweed industry. By 1912 the Board had created a total of 640
new holdings and enlarged the holdings of a further 1,138 crofters. (3)
Hunter's assessment of the Board's achievement is that in the fifteen
years of its existence it "laid the basis of much of the comparative
prosperity of modern crofting life". (4)

The 1890-1914 period was also a time when many of the opportunities for
seasonal employment outwith the Highlands were declining. Seasonal
movement of labour generally in the United Kingdom peaked during the
third quarter of the nineteenth century, thereafter falling to "negligible
levels by the early twentieth". (5) In the 1890s, one of the main sources
of seasonal employment for Highlanders, the harvests in the Lowlands, was
drying up with the increased use of mechanical reaper-binders. (6)

(1) For a critique of the Crofters' Holding Act, see A. MacInnes, "The
Crofters' Holding Act of 1886: A Hundred Year Sentence? Radical Scotland
25, February/March 1987.
(2) J.P.Day, Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland
(London, 1918), p.207
(3) Ibid., pp. 207-212
(4) Hunter, op.cit. p.185
(5) N.Tranter, Population and Society 1750-1940 (London 1985) p.145
(6) Devine, op.cit. p. 349.

The effect that the mechanisation of the harvest had on the casual labour

force is evident from the fact that at a feeing market in Aberdeenshire

in 1891 "there was hardly such a thing as scythemen, binders and

gatherers required". (1)

Although after 1890 the Highland economy was relatively stable de-

population continued. (2) The conclusion one must draw is that the

demographic impact of the reduction of opportunities for seasonal

employment far out-weighed the positive improvements in the domestic

economy.

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(1) Quoted in I.Carter, Farm Life in North East Scotland 1840-1914
(Edinburgh, 1979) p.87.
(2) Between 1881 and 1931 the population of the crofting parishes declined
by 30%. Figure from A.Collier, The Crofting Problem (Cambridge, 1953)
p.64.

NINETEENTH CENTURY GLASGOW.

In the course of the nineteenth century Glasgow became the second city

of the British Empire with a population which grew from 77, 385 in 1801

to over three quarters of a million by 1901. By the end of the century

the city had not only been transformed in terms of population size, but

also in its economic structure.

At the start of the century Glasgow was essentially a textiles town.

Exploiting the natural resources in the vicinity and capitalising on the

existence of a work force with a tradition of skilled weaving, the

Glasgow merchants soon dominated the nascent Scottish cotton industry.

In the 1790s, of the 39 Scottish mills in operation all but a few were

within a twenty five mile radius of Glasgow; and this domination of the

Scottish industry was still apparent in the 1830s with three quarters of

the country's mills within the same area. (1) By the 1830s, however,

the Scottish cotton industry had already reached its zenith and, in its

inability to keep abreast with technological change, or to compete with

its overseas competitors, failed ultimately to challenge the dominance of

Manchester as the cotton capital of the world. The cotton producers

responded to the challenge by relying increasingly on cheap labour,

plentiful in this period of mass immigration. (2) The decline in the

(1) A.Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland (London, 1975), p.93;
R.H.Campbell, Scotland Since 1707 (Oxford, 1965), pp.104-111.
(2) K.Burgess, "Workshop of the World: Client Capitalism at its Zenith,
1830-1870" in Dickson (ed.) Scottish Capitalism (London, 1980) p.186,
shows   that average weekly earnings among factory operatives in
Scotland were generally 20% lower than in Lancashire.

industry was, for a time in the 1840s and 1850s, stemmed by a return to

the less competitive production of quality products upon which the

industry in Scotland had initially been built. This move, however,

depended on credit and the financial crisis which followed the collapse

of the Western Bank in 1857 was a severe blow, highlighting and

exacerbating "the speculative and unstable nature of much recent expansion

in the cotton industry". (1) A further blow to the ailing industry was

to come in the following decade when the American Civil War caused the

disruption of the essential supplies of raw materials. Thereafter the

industry contracted, the smaller and less efficient units going out of

business. Other branches of the textiles industry, however, - thread

making, carpet weaving, calico printing and turkey red dyeing - remained

buoyant throughout the period.

Although the textiles industry did not disappear from the city, it was

superseded in importance by the expanding heavy industries which were to

make the city in the second half of the century a world leader. In mid

century John Strang was to predict that the shipbuilding industry was

"destined to become one of the great sources of employment and wages in

the West of Scotland". (2) A combination of favourable factors were to

prove him correct. Happily for the shipbuilding on the Clyde, and

particularly in Glasgow, rich sources of raw materials - coal and iron -

lay in the immediate hinterland. Along with this good luck was the

innovative flair of the shipbuilders themselves. They were quick to

(1) R.H.Campbell, The Rise and Fall of Scottish Industry (Edinburgh, 1980),
p.58.
(2) J.Strang, The Progress, Extent and Value of Steamboat Building and
Marine Engineering on the Clyde (Glasgow, 1852), p.10

adopt steam ship production so that by 1850 66% of Britain's steam

tonnage was built on the Clyde. The adoption of iron ships to replace

the traditional wooden constructions was again spearheaded on the Clyde

with over 70% of all iron tonnage launched in Britain in the period

1851-1871 coming from this area. Other methods adopted by the ship

builders which were to strengthen their domination of the industry in

Britain were the screw propeller in place of paddles, and the marine

engine, innovations which increased power and speed and allowed fuel

savings. Again, the Clyde yards were to lead the way in the construction

of steel ships. In 1877 the first steamers built with steel were

launched by John Elder at his Govan yard; only seven years later 45% of

Clyde launchings were steel built while at the same time only 15% of all

the ships on Lloyd's Register were made from steel. By 1889 97% of Clyde

launchings were steel built. (1)

Although shipbuilding and marine engineering dominated the city other

branches of engineering were also prominent. Machinery for the textiles

industry and for the sugar industry, tool making and the production of

locomotive engines were all carried out in Glasgow. Indeed, so

diverse was the spectrum of manufacturing in the city that in the last

decade of the century it was claimed that "no other city in the United

Kingdom presents such a variety of manufacturing interests". (2)

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(1) The information conrained in this paragraph comes from Slaven, op.cit.
pp. 125-134, 178-182.
(2) Nicol, Vital Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow (Glasgow,
1891) p.307.

Glasgow was not only a world leader in manufacturing in the second half

of the century, it was also an important commercial centre and port which

exported its produce throughout the world. This role was only attained,

however, after extensive improvements to the Clyde's navigational

potential. Between 1840 and 1870 the river was deepened to allow ships

of up to 3,000 tons into the heart of the city, a feat which was to

eclipse Greenock and Port Glasgow, the city's rivals as a port.

Extensive work was also carried out to improve the harborage facilities.

By 1870 the city had a total of 6,000 yards of quayage and docks were

built - Kingston Dock in 1867, Queen's Dock in 1870, Princes Dock in 1892 -

to provide berthage space. These improvements to the river and the port

were rewarded by a spectacular growth in trade. In 1828 700,000 tons

tons of shipping came into the city. By 1867 this had increased to

1,800,000 tons and by 1900 to 4,400,000 tons. And the volume of goods

handled had risen from 1,600,000 tons in 1867 to 7,300,000 in 1900. (1)

While the Clyde exported the region's products to markets at home and

abroad, a railway network, of which the city was an epicentre, and

canals transported the raw materials of coal and iron to the city's

factories.

Allied to the growth of the city and its importance as an industrial

and commercial centre was the burgeoning tertiary sector. Although

unable to overtake Edinburgh as the banking capital of Scotland, and

despite the collapse of two local banks - the Western Bank in 1857 and

the city of Glasgow Bank in 1878 - Glasgow remained an important banking

Third Statistical Account

(1) W.C.Galbraith, "Transport and Communication" in Glasgow, J.Cunnison
and J.B.S.Gilfillan (eds.) (Glasgow, 1958) p.313

centre. The growth of population and the slum clearance and redevelopment programmes, combined with a civic pride which demanded ornate public buildings ensured the expansion of the building industry, although this was subject to constant fluctuations. Retailing was also a growth industry, benefitting from the population expansion and the increased spending power of the city's bourgeoisie. Domestic service was another area which expanded along with the growing wealth of the middle classes. Further employment opportunities which were created in the century's final decades were for teachers, clerks, police and sundry administrators, all of which were essential for the modern corporate city.

From this brief survey of the economic development of nineteenth century Glasgow it is evident that the city witnessed a fundamental transformation in its economic and occupational structure. In the first half of the century the city was primarily a centre for the textiles industry. (1) This industry, however, went into slow decline, becoming an outlet for low-paid female labour. By the end of the century it had contracted considerably (2), and had been superceded in importance by heavy industry. From the second half of the century a wide variety of engineering works dominated, making the city a world leader in manufacturing. And alongside such an important industrial centre there grew up a tertiary sector, embracing banking and commerce, building, retailing, and domestic service.

(1) Burgess, op.cit., p.185, cites the calculation made by James Cleland in 1831 that just under a third of the city's occupied population were engaged in textiles.
(2) In 1891 textiles involved 9.1% of the city's workforce. Information from I.G.C.Hutchison, Politics and Society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow 1846-1886 (Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1975), Appendix 2, p.588

The transformation of the city's economy demanded an expanding and

diverse workforce. The heavy industries which were overtaking the

female dominated textiles trade required skilled labour. Skilled workers

dominated the engineering industry in particular. Only 400 out of

6,000 employees at Fairfield's shipyard, for example, were unskilled. (1)

But there was also a growing demand for semi and unskilled labour in

above all the building industry, in public utilities, tailoring and in

the docks. (2)   15,047 males (7.3% of the total male workforce) were

employed in labouring and general manual work, an increase of 49% since

1861. There was also a substantial increase in the number engaged as

porters and dockers - 11,042 in 1891, an increase of 88% since 1861.

At the same as openings for semi/unskilled female labour in textiles

were contracting (25,273 women were in volved in the industry in 1861,

20,733 in 1891), the growing demand for domestic servants provided a

major alternative source of employment, so much so that by 1891 25,334

women (a quarter of the total female workforce and an increase of 31%

since 1861) were employed in domestic service. (3)

There was also a considerable number of openings in those occupations

favoured by the lower middle classes. By 1891 as many as 30,721 (10%

of the total workforce) were employed in retail and distribution, an

increase of 71% since 1861. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act had

extended the opportunities for teachers which was reflected in the

the increase in 1891 in the number of women in professional occupations,

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(1) Ibid. p.37.
(2) J.H.Treble, "The Market for Unskilled Male Labour in Glasgow, 1891-
1914", Essays in Scottish Labour History, I.MacDougall, ed. (Edinburgh, 1978)
(3) Figures from Hutchison,op.cit. Appendix II, Tables 1 and 2, pp. 587,588.

in all 2,929, an increase of just under 300% since 1861. Opportunities

had similarly increased in clerical work which employed a total of 18,011

men and women in 1891, an increase of 295% in the forty years since

1861. (1)

Although the labour market in Glasgow was expanding it was subject to the

effects of cyclical crises. Commercial depression and potato crop

failures in the 1840s caused widespread unemployment and hardship which

earned the decade the title of the "hungry forties". A longer period of

crisis was during the "Great Depression" which lasted from about 1873

to 1896. Although this period was characterised by short recoveries,

there were three periods of severe depression in Glasgow's heavy

industries - 1873-79, 1883-86 and 1890-94. During these periods wages

fell and unemployment in shipbuilding, engineering and related industries

rose from just over 2% to about 15%. (2) Crises in these core industries

of the city's economy tended to have a spin-off effect on the wider casual

labour market since the "demand for casual labour was heavily dependent

on consumer demand, which was itself linked to the fortunes of heavy

industry. Any depression in these staple industries therefore had a

downward multiplier effect on the demand for casual labour, and also

increased the labour pool, thereby intensifying the problems". (3)

It was to this varied, and at times troubled, employment market that the

Highland migrants came in increasing numbers in the nineteenth century.

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(1) Ibid.
(2) T.J.Byres, The Scottish Economy During the Great Depression 1873-96,
(Glasgow University B.Litt thesis, 1963) pp. 478-481.
(3) T.Dickson, "From Client to Supplicant: Capital and Labour in Scotland,
1870-1945", Scottish Capitalism, op.cit., p.264.

The question is, where did they fit in? The Highlanders came from a

society with a low division of labour, retarded technical development,

and largely "bottom heavy" class structure, with only a few individuals

between the landowner, his agent and the vast mass of crofters and

cottars:

> ".. the social pattern remained everywhere the same - that of a
>
> smallholding mass in which each man engaged in the combination
>
> of activities which happened to be characteristic of the
>
> particular locality; the peasantry did not here split its ranks
>
> either to provide an upper layer of larger farmers or to throw off
>
> a specialised industrial working class." (1)

Thus, as participants in the immigrant labour market, the vast majority

of Highlanders were without marketable skills or training and also without

capital. When to this is added the initial mono-linguism of a good

proportion of Gaels, their disadvantage in the market-place as compared

to the Lowland Scot was obvious. The latter, with no cultural barrier

to climb, was far more likely to have some modicum of skill gained from

the much more complex class and technical structure of Lowland rural

Scotland. The nature of the Glasgow labour force itself led to problems

in assimilating the Gael. In the initial period of the industrialisation

process, based largely on the textiles industry, there was an

opportunity for Highland women in particular, with domestic skills

appropriate to this industry, to find factory employment. Later these

(1) Gray, <u>Highland Economy</u>, op.cit. p.144

skills could be used in domestic service. The latter stage of the
industrial transformation, however, with its emphasis on engineering
and a skilled workforce, coupled with the Highland males' renowned
disinclination for factory discipline (1), meant that there was -
initially - no obvious gap in the Glasgow labour market which could be
filled by Highland males. The Lowland migrant could adapt his skills
as a wright or hammerman to the urban world, the Irish peasant could
perform the heavy and dirty work, and the Jewish immigrants could settle
in to the expanding petty bourgeois sectors of the economy. A
comfortable niche for the Highlander is less apparent. Whether this
means that, in the later nineteenth century, Highland migration to Glasgow
was predominantly motivated by "push" factors which expelled the Gael
from the glens and that it had less to do with the "pull" attractions
of the city, is a problem which deserves some consideration.

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(1) The shortcoming of the Highlanders as an industrial workforce are
elaborated in Chapter Four, pages

THE PATTERN OF MIGRATION AND PUSH/PULL FACTORS.

An impressive body of research has begun to document the movement of

Highlanders into the industrial belt of Lowland Scotland (1), a movement

of such importance to the demographic history of Scotland that one

historian has written that the most important loss of population from

the Highlands was not from,

"the dramatic and affecting departures by emigrant ship... but in

the silent and steady and unplanned shifting, mainly of the border

population, towards the more attractive openings of the Lowlands." (2)

Recent research has emphasised that the movement out of the Highlands

was not even but followed a regional pattern. A demographic

distinction is made between the north-west Highlands and Hebrides with

a subsistence land-based population on the one hand and the southern,

central and eastern Highlands which had become more integrated into the

Lowland economy on the other. (3) Devine argues that the inhabitants of

the north-west and Hebrides, with their fierce attachment to their native

heath, were more reluctant to abandon their traditional life-style

whereas the Highlanders from the "border" areas of the south and east

had, through the modest development of a capitalist economic structure,

severed their attachment to the land and had become more assimilable

into the Lowland economy:

(1) See Gray, Highland Economy, op.cit., Lobban, op.cit.; Hildebrandt, op. cit.; C.W.J.Withers, "Highland Migration to Dundee, Perth and Stirling, 1753-1891" Journal of Historical Geography 11, 4 (1985) pp.395-418
T.M.Devine, "Highland Migration 1760-1860", Scottish Historical Review 62, (1983) pp.137-149
(2) Gray, op.cit. p.64
(3) Devine, "Highland Migration", op.cit. p.138

"The southern and eastern Highland areas had developed in a way

which facilitated and encouraged permanent out-migration. This

was not the case with the crofting counties to the north and

west." (1)

Instead of migrating to the south, Devine argues, the inhabitants of the

north and west managed to continue their traditional lifestyle by

supplementing their low level of subsistence with earnings from seasonal

employment outwith the Highlands. (2) Devine further suggests that the

population of the north west and Hebrides preferred emigration to

migration to the Lowland towns, offering the explanation that in emigration

to a rural environment the emigrants could reconstruct their entire

society and "perpetuate a familiar style of life in better surroundings".

(3) It is, however, likely that the population from these areas emigrated

because of the landlords' initiative in shipping them off rather than as

a result of an exercise in free will. (4) A move to the Lowlands, on the

other hand, was more likely to have been the result of a conscious

decision and may even have involved the more literate. (5) There was

no organised passage to the Lowlands and the move depended on private

iniative and the existence of a network of family and friends. Moreover,

migration to the Lowlands, rather than emigration abroad, held out the

option of returning to the Highlands, an option of which Highland

landlords were only too well aware:

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(1) Ibid., p.144.
(2) Ibid., p.141; see also "Temporary Migration", op.cit.
(3) "Highland Migration", p.143
(4) This point is demonstrated by Hunter, op.cit. pp.73-87
(5) Rev. Norman MacLeod claimed that "emigration removes the better
educated of the younger population to manufacturing towns and districts
leaving the uneducated parties at home" Select Committee on Emigration,
Minutes of Evidence, op.cit., Qu. 1262, p.119

"As it is plainly the desire of those who press for a reduction of

numbers that the emigrant.... should not have the power of returning,

their indisposition to promote that form of removal which gives him

the option leaves room to doubt the entire disinterestedness of

the motive." (1)

Gray, Lobban and Withers agree substantially with Devine that the main

body of migrants originated from the border areas of the Highlands,

although they tend to emphasise the greater accessibility of these areas.

Gray, for instance, argues that "the rate of emigration seems to have

been most affected by the degree of propinquity to the centres likely

to attract labour". (2) Lobban's detailed study of Highland migration

to Greenock tends to support this view. He shows that the great

majority of Highlanders in Greenock originated from parishes in southern

Argyll, although by the end of the nineteenth century the proportion

migrating from the more distant counties of Inverness-shire and Ross-

shire had increased. (3) From his research into Highland migration into

Dundee, Perth and Stirling, Withers concludes that the "majority of

Highlanders moved only relatively short distances". (4)

The migratory pattern of Highlanders into Glasgow was tested first by

looking at the county of birth of all Highland born in the city between

1851 and 1911, and second. by tracing the parish of birth of the Highland

(1) Sir Edward Pine Coffin quoted in Hunter, op.cit. pp.73-74.
(2) Gray, Highland Economy, op.cit. p.65
(3) Lobban, op.cit. pp.
(4) Withers, "Highland Migration", op.cit. p.412

TABLE 2.1

COUNTY OF ORIGIN OF HIGHLAND BORN RESIDENTS IN GLASGOW, 1851-1911.

Year	Argyll		Inverness		Ross and Cromarty		Sutherland		Total	
	No.	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	N=	%
1851	11,919	76	2,434	16	815	5	447	3	15,615	100
1861	12,380	75	2,687	16	1,047	7	362	2	16,503	100
1871	12,685	67	3,893	20	1,828	10	639	3	19,045	100
1881	10,651	61	4,097	23	2,143	12	619	4	17,510	100
1891	12,161	55	5,766	26	3,210	15	939	4	22,076	100
1901	11,587	48	7,122	30	4,187	17	1,049	4	23,945	100
1911	10,177	47	6,985	32	3,663	17	893	4	21,718	100

SOURCE: Census Reports 1851-1911

TABLE 2.2

REGION OF ORIGIN OF HIGHLAND BORN IN SAMPLE AREAS (1): 1851 and 1891.

	1851		1891	
	No.	%	No.	%
North west and Hebrides	210	37	545	58
Southern, central & eastern Highlands	295	52	369	39
unspecified	67	12	22	2
total	572	100	936	100

Source: 1851 Census Enumeration Books, Glasgow, 538/ 32, 36; 539/ 34, 40; 540/ 45, 48.
1891 Census Enumeration Books, Glasgow, 644-7/ 11, 16, 18, 20, 23; 644/13 24, 27, 28, 32, 24; 646/1 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17.
(1) Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation.

born in the three sample areas (1) in 1851 and 1891. In order to
determine whether the migrants originated from the southern and eastern
Highlands rather than the north and west as Devine et al suggest, the
number and percentage of Highland born from each of the two zones (see
Figure 2.1 for the boundaries of these two zones) was calculated. The
county of birth is demonstrated in Table 2.1 and the zone of origin in
Table 2.2

In 1851 and 1861 three quarters of all the Highland born in the city
were from Argyll. Although still accounting for nearly half of all
Highland born in 1911, the proportion of Highland immigrants born in
Argyll declined steadily from 1861 onwards. By contrast, between 1861
and 1911, the proportion from Inverness-shire doubled while, even more
dramatically, that from Ross-shire more than tripled. The numbers from
Sutherland remained small and constant.

The large proportion of Glasgow Highlanders from Argyll in mid century
masks, to a certain extent, the considerable number from that county
which originated from the more distant and least assimilated parishes
(i.e. from Morven, Ardnamurchan, the islands of Mull, Iona, Tiree, Islay,
Coll, Jura, Colonsay, Lismore). (2) As Table 2.2 demonstrates, even in 1851
a sizeable proportion of Highlanders (37%) in the Broomielaw sample
area originated from the north west and islands. By 1891 the sample areas
were attracting Highlanders mainly from the north west and islands

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(1) Broomielaw in 1851, Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation in 1891.
(2) In 1851, 134 (34%) of the Argyll born were from these parishes.

FIGURE 2.1

SKETCH MAP SHOWING TWO DEMOGRAPHIC ZONES IN HIGHLANDS
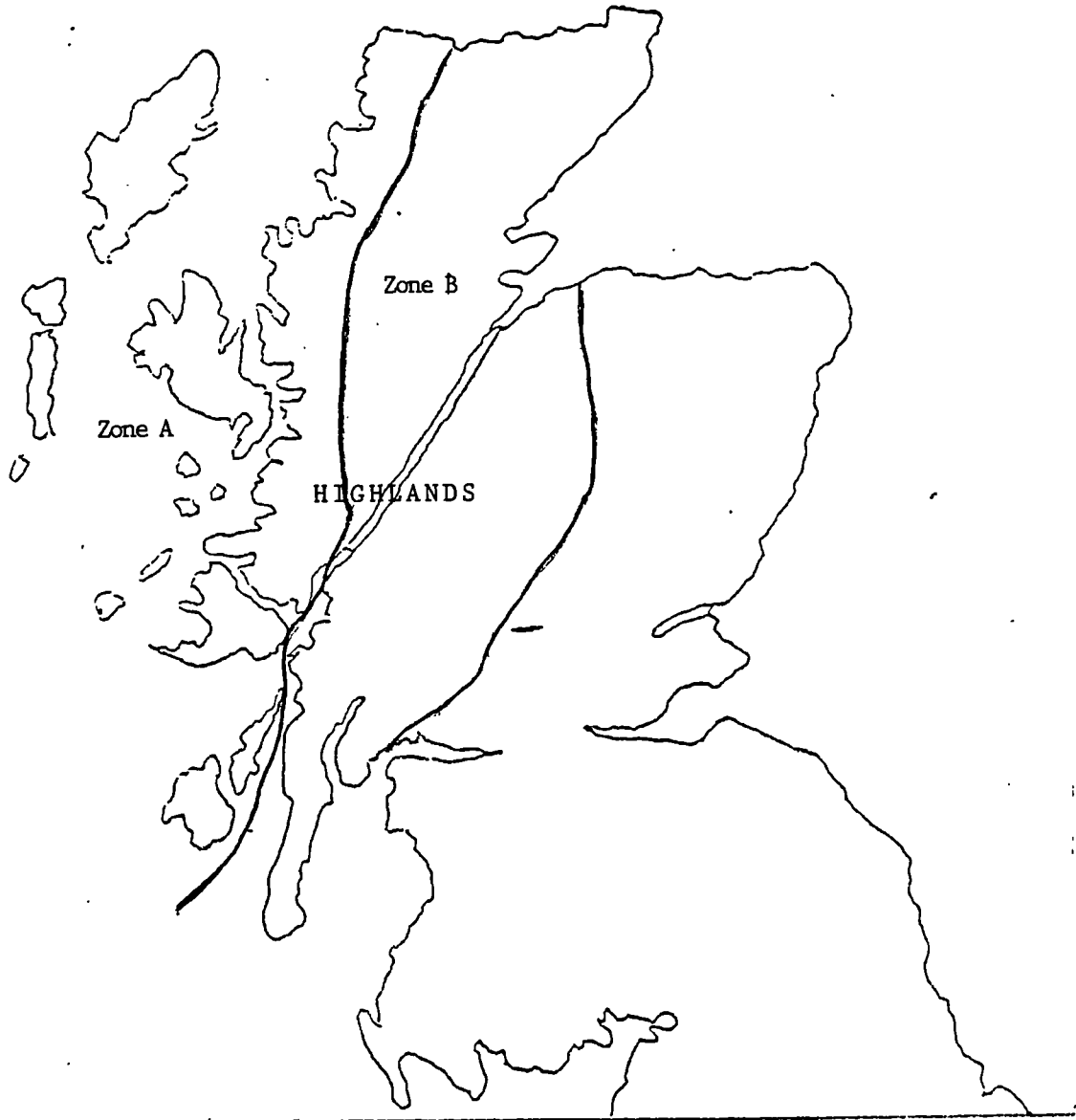
KEY: Zone A   The North West
       Zone B   The south and East.

with those from the southern, central and eastern Highlands in the minority.

By the end of the century a variety of factors were contributing to the increased numbers migrating to Glasgow from the north west and Hebrides. First of all, Argyll,and in particular its southern parishes, was drying up as a source of population. The county had reached its maximum population as early as 1831, thereafter suffering a decline. At the same time other factors were ensuring that Glasgow would serve as a magnet for migrants from the more distant reaches of the Highlands. For example, the extension of the steam packets, first established in the 1840s, connecting Glasgow with the north west Highlands and Hebrides, made those areas even more accessible. The 1872 Education Act must also indirectly have played its part by overcoming Gaelic mono-linguism, one of the perceived obstacles to migration. (1) At the same time as some of the main obstacles to emigration were being overcome, economic elements also played their part. And it is the question of the relative importance of the "push" of economic misfortune in the Highlands and the "pull" of the Glasgow labour market which must now be addressed.

The motivation for migration is a subject which has engaged the attention of historians, and much interest in the subject of Highland migration has centred round the relative importance of "push/pull" factors - i.e. whether migration was primarily the result of economic

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(1) Hildebrandt, op.cit. p.310, demonstrates that a "propensity to migrate was...dependent to some extent on a knowledge of English".

factors in the Highlands or whether movement out of the Highlands was

encouraged more by the lure of employment opportunities in the Lowlands.

Lobban in his study of Highland migration into Greenock stresses the

attraction of Greenock as a social centre as well as a town providing

opportunities for employment and social advancement. Rather than the

image of a pathetic character looking sadly back to the Highland hills,

he writes, a more appropriate image would be of the "eager Highlander

hurrying towards the bright lights of Greenock and Glasgow, his eyes

fixed unblinkingly on some rosy dream of the future". (1) Gray claims

that the positive attraction of the urban areas as sources of employment

was a more important factor than a compulsory migration through clearance

or destitution. (2) According to Hildebrandt, poverty and destitution

may have acted "as a deterrent rather than as a stimulus to emigration". (3)

She sees the regional variations in out-migration as evidence against

the notion that migration was forced upon Highlanders as a result of

unfavourable economic circumstances. The areas which suffered most from

destitution , the north west and Hebrides, she argues, were the areas

least likely to send migrants to the Lowland towns. (4)

As Table 2.2 demonstrates, however, the sample areas of Glasgow were

attracting a high proportion of migrants from the areas where poverty

and destitution were at their greatest. A closer look at the decadal

variations, therefore,in the rate of increase of Glasgow residents born

in the four Highland counties is necessary to provide further insight

(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.343
(2) Gray, "Highland Economy", op.cit. p.65
(3) Hildebrandt, op.cit. p.101
(4) Ibid.

into the pattern of Highland migration into Glasgow and its motivation.
Table 2.3 shows the proportional increase of migrants born in each of
the Highland counties from 1851 to 1911. There were substantial
increases in the number of Glasgow residents born in Inverness-shire
and Ross-shire in the two decades following the 1845-50 crisis in the
Highlands and, although there was a reduction in the numbers coming from
Sutherlandshire in the 1850s, their numbers increased dramatically in
the 1860s. By contrast, the numbers from Argyll increased by only a
modest 6% in the twenty years following 1851. During the 1870s, the
percentage of Argyll and Sutherland born living in the city actually
declined while the percentage born in Inverness-shire and Ross-shire
increased relatively slowly by comparison with the 1860s and even 1850s.
This trend of decline was reversed in the 1880s with substantial
increases in the number of migrants from Inverness-shire, Ross-shire
and Sutherlandshire (of 40%, 50% and 52% respectively) and a more modest
increase of 14% in the number of migrants from Argyll. In the twenty
years 1891-1911 the number of Argyll born in the city declined once
again. The percentage of Inverness-shire, Ross-shire and Sutherlandshire
born continued to rise in the 1890s, though less rapidly than in the 1880s.
By the first decade of the twentieth century, however, as in the case of
Argyll born, so the number of Glasgow residents born in the other
Highland counties also declined.

The fluctuating numbers of Highland born residents and their variations
between each of the Highland counties suggests that migration was
sensitive to both push and pull of economic circumstances. The substantial
increases in the number of Glasgow residents born in Inverness-shire and

Table 2.3

PROPORTIONAL INCREASE OF GLASGOW RESIDENT BORN IN THE HIGHLAND COUNTIES PER DECADE, 1851-1911

DECADE	Argyll born	Inverness born	Ross-shire born	Sutherlandshire born
1851-61	+4%	+10%	+32%	-11%
1861-71	+2%	+45%	+70%	+77%
1871-81	-16%	+5%	+17%	-3%
1881-91	+14%	+40%	+50%	+52
1891-1901	-5%	+24%	+46%	+12%
1901-11	-12%	-2%	-13%	-15%

SOURCE: Census Reports 1851-1911

Ross-shire, and to a lesser extent, in Sutherlandshire in the 1850s and 1860s exposes the partial and ephemeral nature of the recovery of the Highland economy after 1851, a recovery which relied heavily on both seasonal and longer term migration. At the same time the more modest increases in the number of migrants from Argyll may have reflected the partial success of the fishing industry in the lochs of south Argyll as well as the declining population of that county. It would be erroneous, however, to ignore the pull of employment opportunities for casual labour in Glasgow in this period. The 1860s in particular was a decade which saw the building of docks (Kingston Dock 1867, Queen's Dock 1870) as well as the extension of harbours and quays. This is the sort of work which could have served to attract casual Highland labour.

The fall in the numbers from Argyll and Sutherland, and the considerably smaller rate of increase in those from Inverness-shire and Ross-shire during the 1870s, was most likely in response to the depression in the Glasgow economy at that time. With high unemployment in the city during much of the 1870s, Glasgow was not an attractive market for unskilled migrant labour. At the same time opportunities were plentiful elsewhere for seasonal labour in fishing and agriculture. However, inspite of continued depression in Glasgow in the 1880s and 1890s (particularly in 1883-1886, 1890-94), Highlanders entered the city in considerable numbers. Why were they entering a depressed labour market? The answer must lie in the severity of the crisis in the Highlands in the 1880s and the reduced opportunities from the 1890s for employment as seasonal agricultural labourers. The first decade of the twentieth century was

also one characterised by periods of depression in the city, particularly

during the years 1903-5 and 1907-10. (1) In the decade or so prior to

World War I the depressed state of the Glasgow labour market did little

to attract Highlanders in the city. It may have been that the crisis

in Glasgow in the early 20th century was more severe than that of the

1880s and 1890s. It is also possible that circumstances at home had

improved to the extent that migration, at least into a depressed

labour market, was no longer an attractive option. The Congested Districts

Board was satisfying the demand of some of the cottar population for

land and had found that in spite of exhortations to do so there was a very

marked "unwillingness of the people to migrate". (2) The measures of

the Board, although hardly extensive, may have been sufficient to tilt

the balance in this period away from migration.

In the period under survey there was a flow of Highland migrants into

Glasgow which peaked at certain points. A crisis of exceptional severity

in the Highland economy such as that of the 1880s gave a marked impetus

to the exodus and the attraction declined relatively in periods of

economic depression in the city such as the 1870s and the early twentieth

century. With Glasgow the push/pull picture appears complex. The view

which sees the impetus to migration as primarily the pull of opportunity

for Highlanders mainly from the more integrated areas of the south and

east is only partly true. The study of the origins of the Highland

residents in the sample areas demonstrated that, although in the initial

stages migration was mainly from the southern reaches of Argyll, the

pattern from the middle of the century onwards was of an ever increasing

proportion of new migrants coming from the more distant Gaelic periphery

characterised by extreme poverty and over-population.

(1) Treble, op.cit. p.118   (2) Day, op.cit. pp. 209-210

CHAPTER THREE.

THE PATTERN OF HIGHLAND SETTLEMENT.

"It is always with unwillingness that the Highlander quits his

deserts, and at this early period it was like tearing a pine from

its rock, to plant him elsewhere. Yet even then the mountain

glens were over-peopled, although thinned occasionally by

famine or by the sword, and many of their inhabitants strayed

down to Glasgow - there formed settlements - there sought and

found employment, although different, indeed, from that of their

native hills. This supply of a hardy and useful population was

of consequence to the prosperity of the place, furnished the means

of carrying on the few manufactures which the town already

boasted, and laid the foundation of its future prosperity." (1)

Thus Walter Scott in 1817 revealed a consciousness of the existence of a

Highland community in Glasgow which stretched back to at least the middle

of the previous century. Other contemporary evidence supports this view.

While individuals of Highland origin were present in the city from early

on in its history (2), the first indicator of a Gaelic speaking community

was the establishment of Gaelic language religious services around the

middle of the eighteenth century:

"Prior to and for some years after the Rebellion in 1745, it appears

·that there were a number of Highlanders in this city who could

(1) Walter Scott, Rob Roy (Edinburgh, 1890), p.228.
(2) For instance, scions of prominent Highland families such as Campbell
of Shawfield and Campbell of Blythswood. See also Donald Gillies, "The
Gaels in Glasgow", Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow, 1934.

not receive religious instruction in the English language. For
several years previous to 1754, the celebrated John MacLaurin,
minister of the North West Church preached to the Highlanders in
the evenings of week days in his own church. (1)

By 1777 the Highland community was sufficiently large, organised and
self confident to petition the Established Church authorities for
permission to form Ingram Street Gaelic Chapel, a petition which was
successful. In the early 1790s there was a Catholic priest in the city
whose congregation was almost entirely Highland (2), and by 1798 a
further Gaelic Established Church congregation was formed in Duke Street.
This growth continued into the next century with the establishment of
Gaelic congregations in Gorbals in 1813 and Hope Street in 1824. (3)
The existence of these churches suggests that in the early nineteenth
century there was already a substantial and growing Highland community
in the city.

Some idea of the size of this community is indicated in the periodic
attempts of the ministers and managers of the Gaelic churches to record
the numbers of Highlanders in the city. In their petition to the
Presbytery of Glasgow in March 1823 for the establishment of a new
Gaelic chapel, the managers of the proposed Hope Street Gaelic Chapel
stated that "at a moderate computation the numbers of inhabitants in
Glasgow and suburbs, who were born in the Highlands, is not less than

(1)Minute Book 1823-32 Hope Street Gaelic Chapel
(2) Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain,
P.P.1836, xxxiv, app. G, p.101
(3) The further increase in the number of Gaelic churches is dealt with
in Chapter 6.

thirty thousand". (1) It is possible, however, that this figure is

inflated since· the petitioners were anxious to secure the support of

the presbytery in their venture and thus had a vested interest in

stressing the numbers of Highlanders requiring Gaelic language worship,

and since they gave no evidence as to how they arrived at their

estimate. The opposition of two of the existing Gaelic chapels

(Duke Street and Gorbals Gaelic) to the setting up of another Gaelic

church seems to confirm this view. (2)

Writing of the 1830s, John Tait, editor of The Liberator, estimated

the Highland population to be one-fifth of the city's total, on a par

with that of the Irish.(3) This implies a Highland population of

around 50,000 and is almost certainly a considerable over-estimate,

reflecting a natural tendency for observers in all cultures and at all

times to unwittingly exaggerate the number of "aliens" in their midst.

A more plausible estimate is to be found in the census of the Highland

community carried out in 1835 by a committee headed by Dr. Norman

Macleod of St. Columba's Gaelic Church (formerly Ingram Street Gaelic

Chapel), representing all the Gaelic churches. This suggests that

"resident within three or four miles of the city 22,509 persons were

able to speak the Gaelic language". (4) Although, in his censuses of

Glasgow of 1821 and 1831, Cleland found the Highland community of

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(1) Minute Book, Hope Street Gaelic Chapel, entry for March 1823.
(2) Ibid.
(3) S.C. on State of the Irish Poor, op.cit. p.118
(4) Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, op.cit.App. 3,
p.183. The enumerators included in their census those born in Glasgow
who were Gaelic speakers, while excluding non-Gaelic speaking spouses
and children.

insufficient interest to treat as a separate entity (unlike the Irish),
it seems reasonable to conclude that by the 1840s there existed in the
city a Highland population large enough to have its own organised places
of worship and institutional "traditions", and, with its alien language
and customs, large enough to have impinged itself on the consciousness
of the city's Lowland-born residents.

From 1851, by using the decennial census reports, it is possible to
pinpoint the county of birth of all the residents of the city in each
census year. A more accurate picture of the Highland born in the city
is thus possible. Table 3.1 sets out the total population of the city
of Glasgow, and the total number and percentage of Highland born from
1851-1931. In 1851, the first year that a definite statement may be
made about the numbers born in the four crofting counties resident in
Glasgow, the absolute number of Highland born is relatively modest,
considerably less than the figure given by John Tait for 1836 (1), and
less than the figure quoted by the Gaelic churches in 1835. The
possibility, however, that in the intervening years there was an
emigration of Highlanders from the city may be discounted. In the
absence of contemporary commentaries on such a movement, it is unlikely
that any such movement would have been more than marginal. The
Highland born total referred to in the census reports, however, excludes
Gaelic speaking off-spring of Highland parents born in Glasgow and also
excludes those from the Highland "pockets" in counties bordering the
Highland area. These exclusions might account for at least some

(1) See page 71

TABLE 3.1

HIGHLAND BORN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF GLASGOW,

1851-1931. (1)

Year	Population of Glasgow	Highland born population	Highland born as % total population
1851	329,097	15,615	4.7
1861	394,884	16,503	4.2
1871	477,156	19,045	4
1881	511,415	17,510	3.4
1891	658,198	22,076	3.4
1901	761,709	23,945	3.1
1911	784,496	21,718	2.8
1921	1,034,174	26,942	2.6
1931	980,517	24,473	2.5

SOURCE: Census Reports 1851-1931

(1) Between 1851 and 1871 the figures for the population of Glasgow
refer to the parliamentary burgh, thereafter to the municipal burgh.
In 1881 the population of the parliamentary burgh was 487,985 and in
1891 it was 565,839.

of the discrepancy between the 1851 total and the figure of 22,509

Gaelic speakers given in the churches' census of 1835.

Except between 1871 and 1881, 1901 and 1911 and again during the 1920s

the absolute number of Highland born residents of Glasgow increased

fairly steadily, though not dramatically, from 1851 onwards. Their

increase was particularly noticeable in the decades 1861-70, 1881-90

and 1911-20. Part of the reason for the modest increase in the number

of Highland born reflected in the 1901 census and the relatively sharp

increase in the 1910s may be attributed to boundary changes. In

November 1891, after the 1891 census was carried out, six independent

police burghs, Govanhill, Crosshill, Pollokshields, Hillhead and Maryhill

as well as the suburban areas of Mount Florida, Langside, Shawlands,

Kelvinside, Possilpark and Springburn were included within the boundary.

In 1905 the burgh of Kinning Park, and in 1912 the burgh of Govan and

Partick were added to the city. Otherwise, the ebb and flow in the

size of the Highland born population of Glasgow can only be explained

by variations in the level of Highland immigration, variations which

reflected the push and pull of economic conditions in the Highland and

Glasgow regions. (1)

The extent to which changes in the size of the Highland born population

were brought about by boundary alterations or migrant flows has

important implications for the question of assimilation. The more the

changes are determined by migrant flows, the more likely it is that

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(1) The economic conditions in the Highlands and Glasgow are discussed in
Chapter Two.

cultural links with the homeland will be maintained and even

strengthened, and the less likely it will be for immigrants to become

completely assimilated into their new homes.

Unfortunately, it is not possible from the published census returns

to assess the numbers of Highland born added by boundary changes alone.

Some idea of the extent to which new migrants entered the city, however,

may be deduced from variations in the percentage of the Highland born

population aged under 20. (See Table 3.2.) The highest proportion of

Highlanders in the under-20 age group was in 1851. Thereafter, the

proportion declined gradually, with the exception of 1891 when there was

a slight increase. If we can assume that a high proportion of under-20

year olds indicates recent immigration (1), then it would appear, from

the evidence of Table 3.2, that the main influx of Highlanders was in

the years before the 1851 census. Although the new immigrants thereafter

declined as a proportion of the Highland born population, they remained

a significant element within the community throughout our period.

The temporary increase in the percentage of Highland born under 20 in

1891 was probably due to an increase in migration in the wake of

Highland economic problems in the early 1880s. Part of the reason for

the increase in the absolute size of Glasgow's Highland born population

between 1911 and 1921 may have been due to an influx of Highlanders to

the city during the war when there were employment opportunities in the

war industries, and partly due to the decision of many Highland soldiers

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(1) For instance, the 1851 census, which followed in the wake of the Irish
famine and the large scale Irish immigration into Glasgow, revealed that
28% of the Irish born in the city were under 20. In 1861 this percentage
had dropped to 18, thereafter declining until it reached 9% in 1911.

TABLE 3.2

HIGHLAND BORN UNDER 20 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL HIGHLAND BORN

POPULATION IN GLASGOW 1851-1921.

Year	Under-20s as a % of total Highland born population
1851	18
1861	17
1871	15
1881	13
1891	14
1901	13
1911	10
1921	10

SOURCE: Census Reports 1851-1921

to remain in the city after demobilisation. Most of these, however, would have been aged over 20.

Concluding this section on the size of the Glasgow Highland community, we can say that it increased in absolute terms in our period to just under 27,000 in 1921 (giving a wider community of about twice that size if we include second and subsequent generations), even although it did not expand as rapidly as the city's population as a whole. However, it is important to note the absolute increase in Highland born at a time of static or declining population in the Highlands. If anything, Glasgow became increasingly important as an economic prop to Gaeldom with the passing of time, even if the Gael possibly became of a declining importance to Glasgow's labour force.

AREAS OF SETTLEMENT.

As is evident from the preceding pages, the percentage of Highland born in the city from 1851-1921, although significant, was smaller than that of the Irish born. (1) However, weight of number alone need not necessarily determine the extent to which a separate cultural identity is retained. By far large the largest number of immigrants into Glasgow in the period were Lowland Scots, who merged anonymously into the native born population. The Jewish community, on the other hand, which numbered just 4,000 in 1897 (2) guarded jealously its own cultural identity, still maintained today, with its own clubs, societies, theatre groups, religious institutions and newspaper. (3)

(1) In 1851 the Irish born comprised 18% of the total population of the city; by 1921 this proportion had fallen to 8.9%.
(2) Cunnison and Gilfillan, Glasgow, op.cit. p.744
(3) See A.Levy, The Origins of Glasgow Jewry, op.cit. and Hutt and Kaplan A Scottish Shtetl: Jewish Life in the Gorbals 1880-1974 (Glasgow, no date)

One way that identity is maintained is by settling in areas with high

concentrations of the same ethnic group. The Irish, for example,

tended to congregate in certain districts, particularly, Bridgegate,

Cowcaddens, Gorbals, Maryhill, Anderston and parts of the East End. (1)

One area of Calton in the East End had such a density of Irish that

it became known popularly as "Connacht Square". (2) A similar

residential segregation existed within the Jewish community. The new

Jewish immigrants, arriving mainly pennyless, "ghettoised" in Gorbals,

and, as the community prospered, together moved out to the south side

suburbs. (3) An important task in the study of the Highland community

must be to establish the spatial distribution of the Highland born

population.

In 1835, Dr. Norman MacLeod of St. Columba Gaelic Church was asked

whether there were any areas in the city where Highlanders congregated.

Norman MacLeod was a man with an intimate knowledge of the Highland

community. A Highlander and Gaelic speaker himself, he became a self-

appointed spokesman for the Highland migrants, giving evidence on the

condition of the Glasgow Highlanders to various Parliamentary enquiries.

His concern for the plight of the impoverished Highlanders (he was known

as "Caraid nan Gaidheal" or "friend of the Gael") was probably genuine

even though the solution he put forward - that of assisted emigration

(1) I.G. Hutchison, "Politics and Society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow 1846-
1886", op.cit. p.484.
(2) J.Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit. p.228
(3) A.Levy, op.cit.; Hutt and Kaplan, op. cit.

schemes - was not one which best assisted the culture to which he was professedly devoted. He was nonetheless indefatigable in the affairs of the Glasgow Highlanders, being both a pastor to the community and a member of, and chaplain to, the Glasgow Highland Society. As the overseer of the census of the Highland community in Glasgow in 1835 (see page 71), he was probably the person best qualified to comment on the condition and habits of that community. His reply to the question of Highland areas of settlement confirmed that there did exist within the city certain "Highland" areas:

> "The Broomielaw and a few streets that branch off from the
> Broomielaw... I find about 300 in that locality. Towards Tennants
> works, and the public works at Bridgeton, they are found
> assembled in great numbers." (1)

In this period the Broomielaw was the main port of Glasgow. Thus many Highlanders may have disembarked there from the ships which linked much of the south west Highlands with the city to find lodgings in the numerous lodging houses in the vicinity. The Highland presence in the Bridgeton area may have had a direct link with the existence in that part of town of employers who looked favourably upon Highland labour. David Dale, who as a member of the Glasgow Highland Society was proud to claim Highland descent, and Highland-born George MacIntosh were at one time partners at the Barrowfield works which were in the vicinity of Bridgeton, and had been involved in a move to direct Highland labour towards their factories:

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(1) Commission of Religious Instruction, op.cit. App. III, p.181

"At that time (1791) the spirit for emigration from the North

Highlands to America was such as to drain the country of many of

its best labourers. The services of these hardy Northlanders

being required at home, Messrs. George MacIntosh, David Dale,

Robert Dalglish and other extensive manufacturers invited them

to this city." (1)

A similar link can be found to explain the presence of Highlanders

"towards Tennants works". George MacIntosh's son, Charles, was at one

time a partner in Tennant's Chemicals Works at St. Rollox in the Townhead/

Port Dundas are in the north of the city. Charles MacIntosh was the only Glas-

gow employer to state a preference for Highland labour in his evidence

to the parliamentary Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor. (2)

It would appear, then, that in the early decades of the nineteenth

century Highland immigrants already tended to congregate in certain

areas. For the period 1881-1901 it is possible to pinpoint with greater

accuracy the residential patterns of the Highlanders. From 1881 onwards

a question on Gaelic speaking was added to the decennial census. In

the Census Reports of 1881, 1891 and 1901 (3) the number of Gaelic speakers

are recorded, not only for the city as a whole, but also for each of its

administrative units: in 1881 for each of the 58 ecclesiastical parishes;

in 1891 for the sixteen and in 1901 for the twenty five municipal

wards. Highland birth, of course, is not always synonymous with Gaelic

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(1) The New Statistical Account of Scotland Vol.VI (Edinburgh, 1845), p.466
(2) Select Committee on State of .the Irish Poor, op.cit. App.G, p.115-6
(3) In the later censuses the number of Gaelic speakers is given only for
the city as a whole.

speaking. By the late nineteenth century Gaelic was already in decline

in the Highland counties, as Table 3.3 shows. The county which contained

the lowest proportion of Gaelic speakers in all three censuses, Argyll,

was also the county which exported the greatest proportion of Highland

migrants to Glasgow: in 1881, 61%, in 1891, 55% and 1901 48% of the

Highland born in Glasgow were born in Argyll. But even though the

proportion of Highlanders from Argyll was declining, by 1901 that county

still accounted for nearly half the Highland immigrants in Glasgow.

By that year only 50% of all those persons born in Argyll (as opposed to

resident in) were Gaelic speakers and so a considerable number of

immigrants in Glasgow from the Highland counties may not have been

Gaelic speakers. However, the principal concern of this thesis is the

maintenance of Highland cultural identity within the immigrant community,

and since Highland culture is inseparable from the Gaelic tradition, then

those areas containing Gaelic speakers, rather than other areas which

may have contained a high proportion of non-Gaelic speaking Highlanders,

were the object of research.

One other problem is encountered in using the distribution of Gaelic

speakers as an indication of the geographic distribution of the

Highland born population in the city. The Gaelic speakers enumerated

may also have included speakers of Irish Gaelic. However, it is

unlikely that the number of Irish Gaelic speakers would have been

sufficiently high to have altered the picture in any significant way:

in the 1911 census speakers of Irish Gaelic were enumerated separately

and were found to amount to only 6% of all Gaelic speakers in the city.

As a rough guide to the location of Highland born residents the data

on Gaelic speakers will suffice.

TABLE 3.3

GAELIC SPEAKERS RESIDENT IN THE HIGHLAND COUNTIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION 1881-1901.

	Year		
County	1881	1891	1901
Argyll	61	57	45
Inverness	71	69	60
Ross and Cromarty	71	72	61
Sutherland	75	73	59

SOURCE: Census Reports 1881, 1891, 1901.

The proportion of Gaelic speakers in each parish or ward was calculated for each of the census years 1881, 1891 and 1901 and compared with the percentage of Gaelic speakers in the city as a whole. The results are set out in Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6. The tables arrange parishes or wards into groups according to the extent to which the percentage of Gaelic speakers they contained varied from the average for Glasgow as a whole. Thus, in 1881, the ecclesiastical parish of Barrowfield had a percentage of Gaelic speakers 100% less than the average for the city; the percentage in Gorbals was slightly greater and that for Bellahouston was in excess of 100% greater than the city as a whole. (See Table 3.4.)

In 1881 2% of Glasgow's population were Gaelic speakers. Of the 58 ecclesiastical parishes in the Galsgow area, 36 contained a proportion of Gaelic speakers lower and 22 a proportion higher than the city as a whole. Certain parishes contained surprisingly few Gaelic speakers (e.g. Bridgegate 0.03%, Chalmers Church 0.04%, Bridgeton 0.2%, Blackfriars 0.2%), while others contained a relatively high density (Blythswood 4%, Kingston 4.7%, St Vincent 4.7%). Figure 3.1 provides an illusration of the distribution of Gaelic speakers in 1881.

In 1891 (see Table 3.5) the proportion of Gaelic speakers is provided for each of the sixteen municipal wards, seven of which contained a proportion of Gaelic speakers less, and nine a proportion greater than that for the city as a whole. As few as 0.8% of the residents of Ward 1 were Gaelic speakers (see Figure 3.2), 0.9% of Ward 2 and 1.3% of Ward 4. At the other end of the spectrum, 6% of the population of Ward 16 were Gaelic speakers, 6.2% of Ward 9 and, in the Plantation area of Govan (outwith the city boundary in this period), 5.6% of the population were Gaelic speakers.

TABLE 3.4

DISTRIBUTION OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL PARISHES, BY DIVERGENCE FROM THE AVERAGE FOR GLASGOW, 1881.

Parishes below average				Parishes above average			
-100% - 75%	-75% - 50%	-50% - 25%	-25% - 0	+0 - 25%	+25% - 50%	+ 50% - 75%	+75%
Strathbungo	Townhead	Springburn	Wellpark	Abbotsford	Martyrs	Kinning Park	Bellahouston
Tron	Robertson	Inner High	Govan	Anderston	Port Dundas	Maxwell	Kelvinhaugh
Blackfriars	St James	Outer High	MacLeod	Barony	St George	St Peter	St Matthew
Bluevale	St John	Milton	Maryhill	Laurieston	Sandyford	St Stephen	Blythswood
Bridgegate	St Luke	St Bernard	St Enoch	Plantation			Dean Park
Bridgeton	Shettleston	St David	St Mary	St Mark			Kingston
Calton	St Georges in the Fields	St Georges in Whiteinch	Partick	Gorbals			St Vincent
Chalmers Church							
Greenhead							
Hutchesontown							
Newhead							
Newlands							
Parkhead							
St Andrew							
Barrowfield							

SOURCE: Census Report 1881

TABLE 3.5

DISTRIBUTION OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN THE MUNICIPAL WARDS, BY DIVERGENCE FROM THE AVERAGE FOR GLASGOW, 1891 (1)

Wards below average					Wards above average				
100%-75%	75%-50%	50%-25%	25%-0		0-25%	25%-50%	50-75%	75+	Plantation (in Govan) (2)
	1	3	5		7	8	13	9	
	2	6			10	11			12
	4	14			15				16

(1) The municipal wards were not named until 1896 when ten new wards were added to the city.
(2) In this period Plantation was outside the city boundary and part of the independent Police Burgh of Govan.

SOURCE: Census Report 1891

TABLE 3.6

DISTRIBUTION OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN THE MUNICIPAL WARDS, BY DIVERGENCE FROM THE AVERAGE FOR GLASGOW, 1901.

	Wards below average				Wards above average			
	100%-75%	75%-50%	50%-25%	25%-0	0-25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	75%-100%
	Mile-End	Dalmarnock	Dennistoun	Govanhill	Townhead	Cowcaddens	Anderston	Blythswood
		Calton	Springburn	Langside	Exchange	Pollokshields	Sandyford	
		Whitevale	Cowlairs		Maryhill		Park	
		Hutchesontown	Blackfriars		Woodside		Kingston	
					Gorbals		Broomielaw	
							Kelvinside	
							Plantation (Govan) (1)	

SOURCE: Census Report 1901

(1) In this period Plantation was outside the city boundary and a ward of the independent Police Burgh of Govan

Eleven wards in 1901 (see table 3.6) had a proportion of Gaelic speakers

lower and sixteen a proportion higher than the city average of 2.4%. (1)

Once again, there are extremes at both ends of the spectrum: Mile-End

had a return of 0.6, Dalmarnock 0.8 and Calton 1% of Gaelic speakers

while in Kelvinside the 1,045 Gaelic speakers comprised 6.4% and

Kingston's 1,722 Gaelic speakers comprised 5% of these wards populations.

Two striking features emerge from Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6. First,

they confirm that the Gaelic speaking population was not thinly spread

out, but instead concentrated in certain areas. However, most striking

of all is the absence in all three census years of Gaelic speakers from

the area of the city east of High Street. In 1881, 1891 and 1901 all

the east end areas   contained a percentage of Gaelic speakers lower

than the city's average and those areas   which returned the lowest

proportion of Gaelic speakers in each census year (i.e. the parishes

which had a percentage of Gaelic speakers 100% less than the city average)

were for the most part in the east end. (2) On the other hand, the areas

which contained the highest percentage and numbers of Gaelic speakers

were those to the west of the city centre: on the north bank of the

Clyde from Broomielaw to Partick and on the south bank from Kingston to

Govan. This peculiar distribution of the Highland born population is

demonstrated in Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

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(1)Included in this Table is Plantation which in this period was part of
the separate burgh of Govan.
(2) The exceptions were, in 1881, Bridgegate and Tron in the city centre
and Strathbungo and Hutchesontown in the south side.

FIGURE 3.1

DISTRIBUTION OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL PARISHES, BY DIVERGENCE FROM THE AVERAGE FOR GLASGOW, 1881.

KEY

Up to 50% below
average

over 50% below
average

up to 50% above
average

over 50% above
average

Plantation

Kingston

Broomielaw
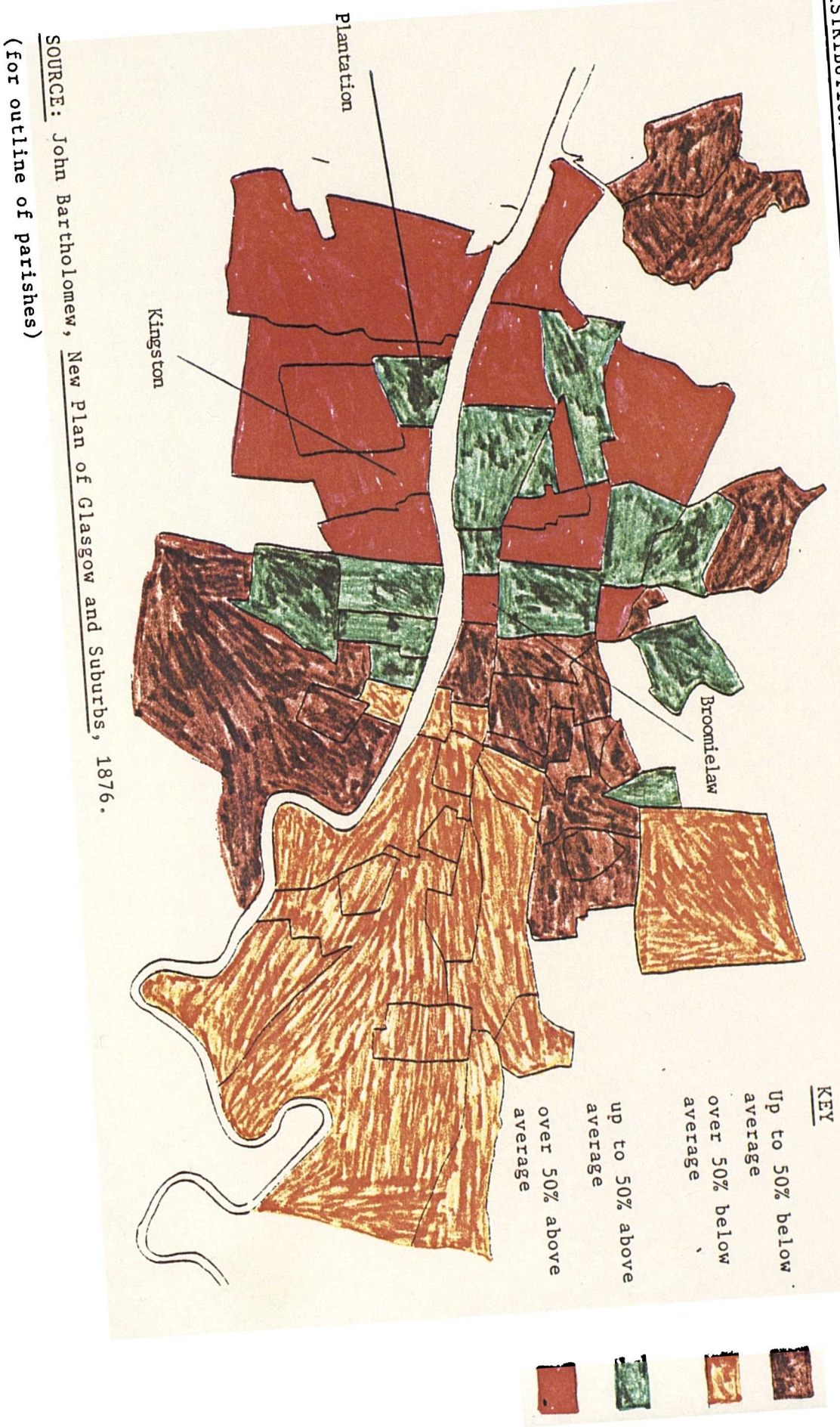
SOURCE: John Bartholomew, New Plan of Glasgow and Suburbs, 1876.

(for outline of parishes)

FIGURE 3.2

DISTRIBUTION OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN THE MUNICIPAL WARDS, BY DIVERGENCE FROM THE AVERAGE FOR GLASGOW, 1891.

Broomielaw

Plantation

Kingston

13

12

11

10

9

8

7

6

5

16

15

14

4

1

2

3
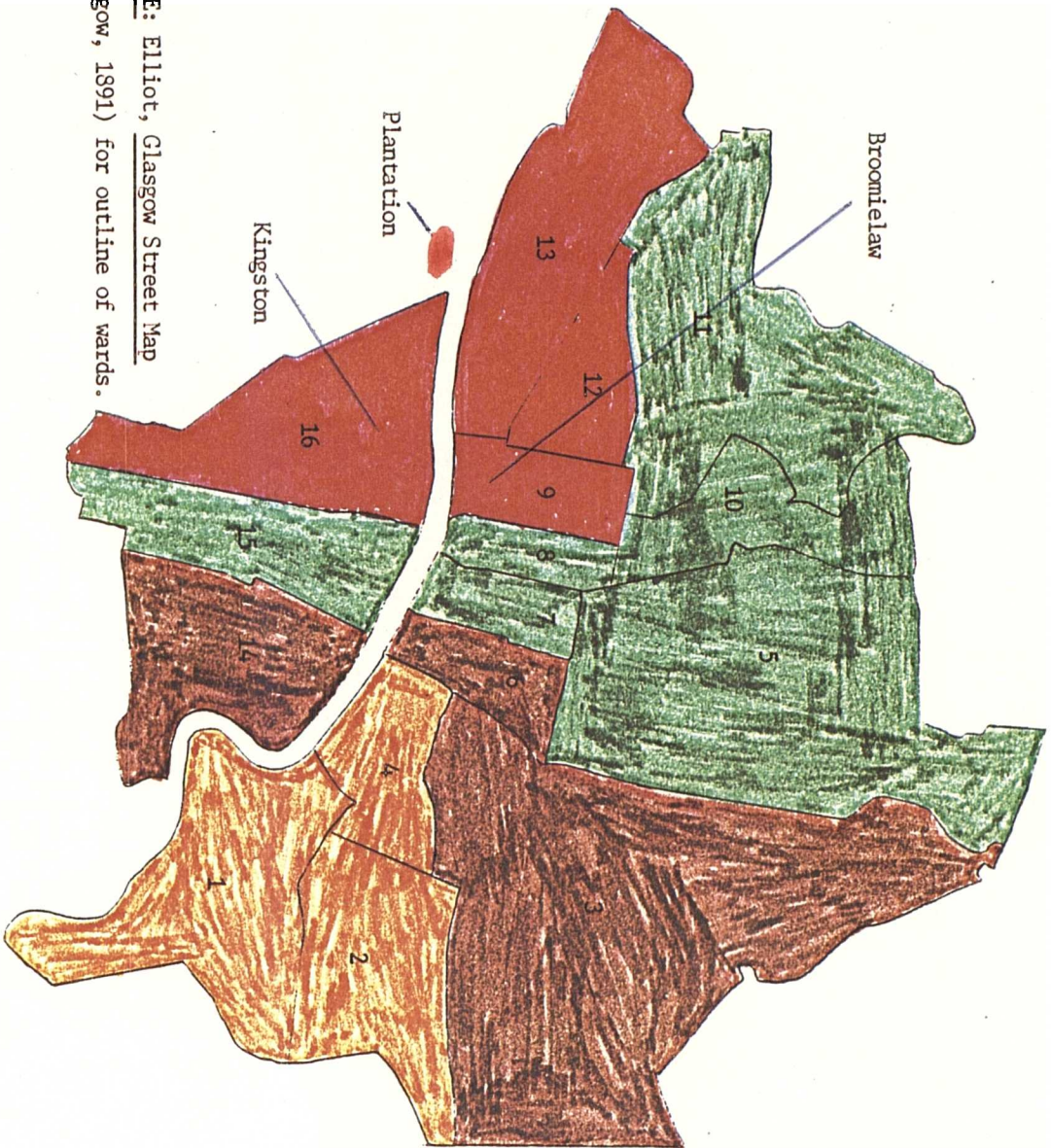
SOURCE: Elliot, Glasgow Street Map (Glasgow, 1891) for outline of wards.

KEY

Up to 50% below average

Over 50% below average

Up to 50% above average

Over 50% above average

The sixteen municipal wards are numbered in black.

FIGURE 3.3

DISTRIBUTION OF GAELIC SPEAKERS IN THE MUNICIPAL WARDS, BY DIVERGENCE FROM THE AVERAGE FOR GLASGOW, 1901

Broomielaw

Plantation

Kingston

KEY

up to 50% below average

over 50% below average

up to 50% above average

over 50% above average

WARDS.

1	Dalmarnock	11	Blythswood
2	Calton	12	Broomielaw
3	Mile-End	13	Anderston
4	Whitevale	14	Sandyford
5	Dennistoun	15	Park
6	Springburn	16	Cowcaddens
7	Cowlairs	17	Woodside
8	Townhead	18	Hutchesontown
9	Blackfriars	19	Gorbals
10	Exchange	20	Kingston
		21	Govanhill
		22	Langside
		23	Pollokshields
		24	Kelvinside
		25	Maryhill
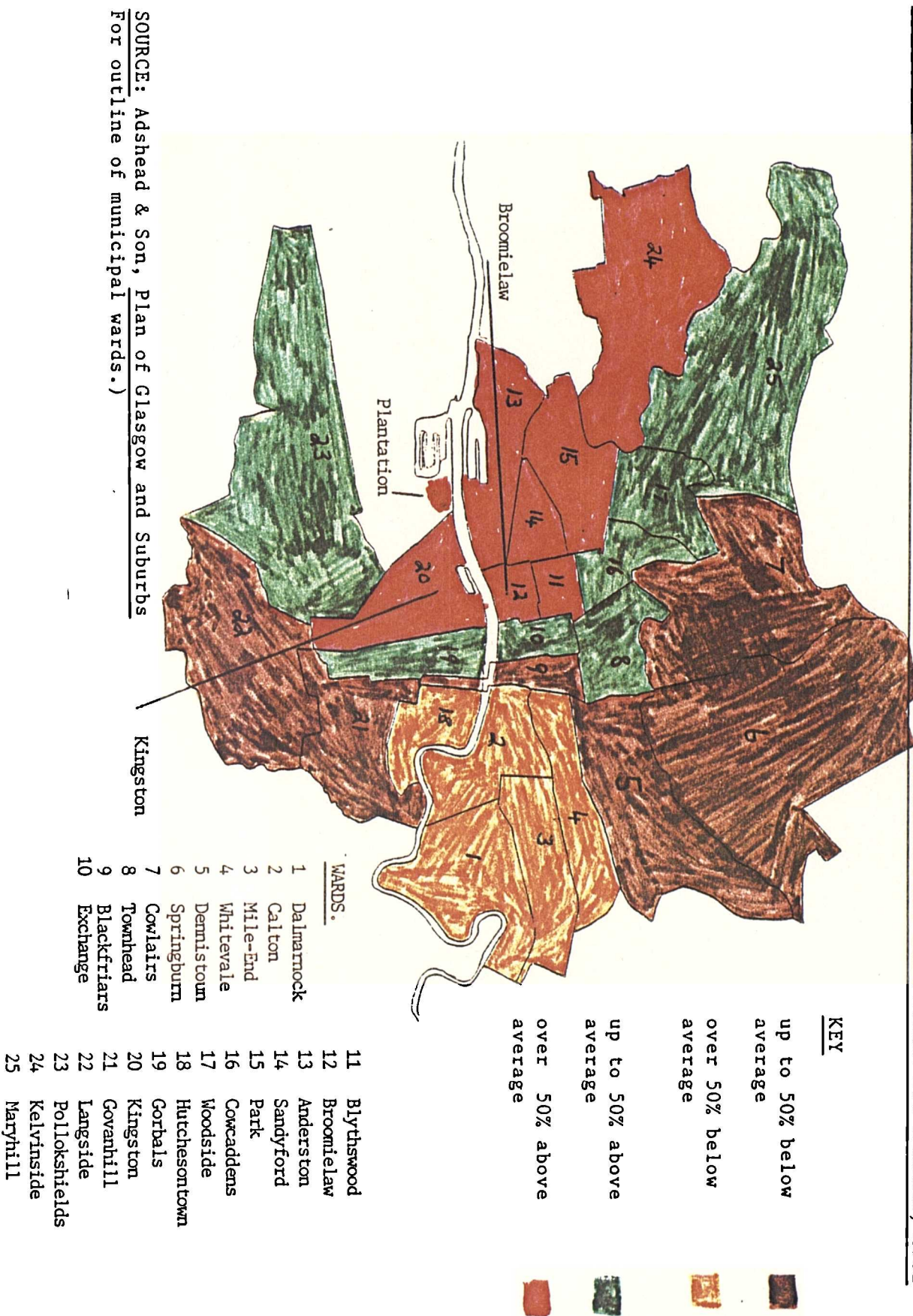
SOURCE: Adshead & Son, Plan of Glasgow and Suburbs
For outline of municipal wards.)

According to the 1881-1901 censuses, Highlanders were still to be found
fairly heavily concentrated in two of the areas - Broomielaw and the area
close to the St Rollox chemical works - mentioned as "Highland" settlement
areas by Norman Macleod in the 1830s. In 1881 the Broomielaw area (see
Figure 3.1) fell within two ecclesiastical parishes, St Peter's and St
George's. St George's parish was divided into three parts: one part
situated within the Broomielaw, the second comprising the commercial centre
of the city to the east of Broomielaw, and the third an area to the north
of the city. Because of the irregularity of the parish boundaries it is
difficult to calculate the exact number of Gaelic speakers in the entire
Broomielaw area. In 1881, St Peter's contained 47 Gaelic speakers (3.2%
of the total population) and St George's 669 (2.9%). In 1891 the
Broomielaw district was contained mainly in Ward 9 which contained 853
Gaelic speakers, 6.2% of the ward's population. In 1901, the newly
drawn up ward of Broomielaw had a Gaelic speaking population of 552, 5%
of the ward's total population. (1)

The area around St Rollox lies to the north of the city and in 1881 fell
within the boundaries of the parishes of Martyrs, Townhead and Port Dundas.
There were 179 Gaelic speakers in Martyrs (2.8% of the population), 63 in
Townhead (0.5%) and 119 in Port Dundas (2.5%). In 1891 the same area fell
within wards 5 and 10, the former containing 1549 Gaelic speakers (2.9%
of the ward's population) and the latter 1,197 (3.2%). In 1901 the area

(1) The long standing presence of Highlanders in Broomielaw left its mark
on local tradition: the Argyle Street Railway Bridge, at the east end of
the Broomielaw area, was popularly known as the "Hielan' Man's Umbrella",
taking its name from its use as the meeting place for Highland exiles.

was contained within the two wards of Cowcaddens and Townhead. The number of

Gaelic speakers in Cowcaddens was 1,297 (3% of the total population) and

the number in Townhead was 1,048 (2.5%). Both the Broomielaw and St

Rollox, therefore, were districts which had contained a significant

Highland born presence throughout the second half of the nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries.

The Broomielaw and the St Rollox districts were also areas of similar

social and economic structure. The Broomielaw, with its numerous

warehouses servicing the traffic on the Clyde,   shared much in common

with the area around St Rollox which, because of the Forth and Clyde

Canal and the important Port Dundas, was another major centre for barges,

tugs and warehousing. Heavy industry, in the form of the giant St

Rollox chemicals works, was another feature of this north end of the

city. While these two areas had been a part of the city since its

inception as a modern industrial centre, not so the other areas where

Highlanders settled in the later nineteenth century.

These other areas may be separated into two distinct groups: those

following the northern and southern banks of the Clyde from the city

centre towards Govan and Partick, which were of mixed industrial/

residential composition; and those lying in the middle class suburbs of

the city, which were mainly residential in character. In the first

group were the parishes of St Mark's, Anderston, St Vincent, Kelvinhaugh and

Partick   on the north bank of the river and Kingston, Plantation,

Kinning Park and St Kiaran (Govan) on the south side. (In 1891, wards 9,

13. and 16 and Plantation in Govan; in 1901 the wards of Broomielaw, Anderston,

Kingston and Plantation in Govan.) In the second group were, in 1881, the

parishes of Dean Park, Maxwell, Park Church, Bellahouston, Blythswood,

Sandyford, Park and Kelvinside. (In 1891, wards 11 and 12 and in 1901 the wards of Pollokshields, Blythswood, Sandyford, Park and Kelvinside.)

The attractions of the former districts for the Highland born were two fold. First, there was the growing opportunity for employment which came with the growth of the shipbuilding industry and the construction of new quays and commercial activities arising from the heavy volume of trade shipped in and out of the Clyde. Kingston, for instance, in 1901, had within its boundary four quays and Kingston Dock, a goods and mineral station, a rope and sail works, a subway power station, an iron works, a saw mill, a coal depot, two foundries, a chemicals works, a slaughter house, gas works and the corporation tramway station. (1) Govan in the same period was also diversified in its employment opportunities:

"... we find five shipbuilding yards, four of which will rank with the largest in the world; and in addition, the numerous public works embrace nearly every branch of the iron and metal trades, including bridge girder building, bolt, rivet, tube, and boiler making, iron and brass founding, lead pipe and sheet making, copper smithing, crane building, the production of railway plant and railway appliances of various kinds, chain making, and steel making. The following trades and manufactures are also carried on, and provide work for thousands: Flour milling, bread making, starch making, the spinning and weaving of silk and wool, manufacture of hair, cabinet and chair making, match making, file cutting, saw

(1) Census Map of Glasgow 1901

milling, block making, manufacture of nautical instruments, boat building and tarpaulin making." (1)

Second, was the work of slum clearance in the old city centre, begun by the City Improvement Trust in the 1860s, and the construction of new housing for the working class. Kingston was one of the areas cited by Dr James Russell, the city's Medical Officer of Health from 1872 to 1892, as an example of the recently erected "good working class tenements". (2) Plantation, another area of Highland concentration, was also of recent construction, and was described by a writer for the North British Daily Mail in November 1870 as having "houses of a superior description". (3) While the housing in these "new" areas of the city was originally an improvement on the overcrowded, infested wynds and closes of the old city centre, as industry expanded so too did the pressure on the existing housing stock. Sub-letting, multiple occupancy and the building of back lands (tenements built in the narrow space between two existing lines of tenements) became features of the working class areas of the west. It does, however, seem that there was less overcrowding in areas which contained relatively large numbers of Highland born residents than in other working class districts of Glasgow. As Table 3.7 shows, the numbers of persons per room in the working class "Highland" areas of Kingston, Broomielaw, Anderston, Cowcaddens and Plantation was lower than in the more densely populated

(1) T.C.F. Brotchie, History of Govan (Glasgow 1905)p. 183
(2) J.B.Russell, Vital Statistics of the City of Glasgow, Part II, (Glasgow, 1886), p.21
(3) Writers of Eminence, The History of Glasgow - from the earliest period to the present time (Glasgow, 1872), p.1172

TABLE 3.7

PERSONS PER ROOM IN "HIGHLAND-BORN" AND "NON-HIGHLAND BORN" DISTRICTS, 1901.

Districts	Persons per room
Mile-End	2.6
Dalmarnock	2.6
Calton	2.3
Whitevale	2.4
Hutchesontown	2.6
Kingston	2.0
Broomielaw	2.0
Anderston	2.2
Cowcaddens	2.2
Plantation	2.2

SOURCE: 1901 Census Report

districts of the city. On the other hand, areas with significant

numbers of Highland born residents had considerably higher average

numbers of persons per room than Glasgow as a whole (1.86 in 1901),

and the Glasgow figure was itself well above that for other Scottish

cities. According to the 1911 census, the density of persons per acre

was 61.9 in Glasgow, 34.2 in Dundee, 29.4 in Edinburgh and 25.9 in

Aberdeen. (1) Districts such as Kingston and Plantation may have been

slightly less overcrowded than Mile-End or Dalmarnock, but they were

still far from being areas of proletarian privilege. Certainly,

Highland born working class areas were far from being healthy. Between

1903 and 1909, eight wards had annual death rates in excess of the city

average - Broomielaw, Cowcaddens, Calton, Blackfriars, Mile-End,

Hutchesontown, Dalmarnock and Whitevale. Of these, the two with the

highest death rates were the "Highland" working class areas of Broomielaw

and Cowcaddens. Seven further wards had an annual death rate which

occasionally exceeded that for the city as a whole. Six of those were

wards which, according to the 1901 census, had a greater than average

percentage of Gaelic speakers - Anderston, Townhead, Kingston, Sandyford,

Gorbals and Exchange. Broomielaw and Kingston were especially

notorious for their insanitary housing standards, with a high incidence

of "backlands". (2)

There was, however, also a strong Gaelic presence in some of the

wealthier middle class wards - Pollokshields, Blythswood, Park, Sandyford

(3) and Kelvinside. The probable reason for the large Gaelic element in

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(1) 1911 Census Report
(2) Corporation of Glasgow, "Report on Insanitary and Obstructive Buildings
in Congested Areas in Glasgow" 1910
(3) Sandyford was less homogenous than the other wards, and included
working class housing and industry. See Russell, Vital Statistics, op.cit.
p.15. By 1901, the area had further deteriorated.

these districts was the need of middle class Glaswegians for Highland

servant girls. (1) The changing geography of the city's Gaelic churches

offers some support for this explanation as shall be demonstrated below.

The movement of Highland migrants from the east end westwards is to some

extent reflected in the siting of the Gaelic churches.   One of the

earliest of the Gaelic congregations was Duke Street Gaelic in the east

end parish of St John's.   This church, together with the Gorbals Gaelic

church, lost its premises in a legal battle with the Established Church

following the Disruption of 1843.   It is probably not co-incidental that

both congregations abandoned their areas and moved westwards.   In 1847,

the Gorbals Gaelic congregation moved to Oswald Street in Broomielaw.   In

1893, they moved again, this time back across the river to Kingston to

become known as Tradeston Gaelic Free Church.   In the 1850s, the Duke

Street congregation opened new premises in Main Street, also in Broomielaw.

While the loss of legal status for their churches after the Disruption

was probably the initial reason for the movement of both churches, in

the long term residential patterns of their congregations was also a

significant factor.

The other Gaelic churches were located in the city centre: Ingram Street

Chapel (later St Columba's) in St David's parish and Hope Street Gaelic

just on the edge of the Broomielaw district.   Besides attracting their

congregations from nearby streets, they also drew Highlanders from more

(1) As much as 17% of the population of the middle class suburb of Hillhead
in 1890 were domestic servants. See M.Simpson, "Middle Class Housing and
the Growth of Suburban Communities in the West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914"
(unp. Glasgow University M.Litt. thesis, 1970) p.216

outlying areas. As the number of Highlanders in those outlying areas grew, the existing Gaelic churches began to promote the establishment of missions. The siting of these missions is yet another indication of the changing geography of Highland settlement in the city.

In the 1860s, in the response to the growth of the Highland born community in the area, St Columba's established a mission in Govan, later to become the St Kiaran Church of Scotland. (1) To meet the needs of the growing number of Highlanders in the Cowcaddens, Port Dundas and Townhead areas both St Columba's and the Hope Street Gaelic church set up missions in Cowcaddens in the 1860s, the Hope Street mission becoming the MacDonald Free Church in 1861. The establishment of Gaelic missions in the 1860s coincided with the substantial increase in the number of Highland born residents in Glasgow which occurred during that decade (see Table 3.1). There was no further expansion of Gaelic church missions until the 1890s, following a further increase in the number of Highlanders in the city in the 1880s. In 1890, Hope Street Church set up a mission in Anderston which became the Highlanders' Memorial Free Church. In December of the same year, after rejecting plans to set up missions in Calton and Townhead districts, it opened another mission in Plantation, where the number of Gaelic speakers was larger. (2) In the first two

(1)By 1901, Govan Burgh contained a total of 3,377 Gaelic speakers.
(2)"... after considerable correspondence with several ministers, the Gaelic speaking people in the Calton and Townhead districts... were not so numerous as to warrant an outlay of pecuniary means, compared to other districts in the city. He (convener of the Home Mission Committee) brought the Partick Gaelic Mission before the Session as deserving of a favourable consideration; he also referred to the large numbers of Gaelic speaking people in the Paisley Road district and was of opinion that a mission set down there would be productive of great good among Highlanders" Hope Street, Minutes, 26 November 1890.

decades of the 20th century the Gaelic churches expanded even further

with another Free Church and Established Church of Scotland in Partick.

Where they provide the names and addresses of the congregation the

records of the Gaelic churches can also be used to establish the principal

areas of Highland settlement in the city. Both St Kiaran's in Govan and

Hope Street Free Church in the Broomielaw area provide such information

in their records. The residential location of the St Kiaran's

congregation was relatively restricted: of the 390 names on the communion

roll in 1907, 90% lived in the burgh of Govan. Hope Street, being in the

city centre, and longer established, attracted Highlanders from a much

wider area of the city. Its records give the names and addresses of all

new communicants intermittently from 1851 to 1907. (1) From these lists

it is possible to trace the areas from which members of the congregation

resided in the years 1851, 1866-1870 and 1881 to 1907. There are, of

course, dangers in placing too much weight on this evidence. For 1851

in particular the sample is too small to permit any worthwhile

generalisation. For the later years the figures may under-represent

areas which had their own Gaelic churches or missions. A further problem

is posed by the decline in church attendance. Some historians have

shown that in the Victorian period the church, in particular the

Protestant church, was increasingly failing to attract the working

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(1) 1851 the records provide a total of 20 names and addresses.
    1852-1865 no names or addresses provided
    1866-1870 lists complete providing 100 names and addresses
    1871-1880 names only provided
    1881-1907 lists complete providing 413 names and addresses

classes. (1) The sample of Highlanders from the church records could therefore be socially unrepresentative of the wider Highland community.

For the purpose of analysis, the addresses of all new communicants of the Hope Street church were arranged into four broad areas : the east end (the districts of Mile-End, Dalmarnock, Calton, Whitevale, Dennistoun, Blackfriars); working class districts known to contain disproportionately large numbers of Gaelic speakers (Townhead, Cowcaddens, Anderston, Kingston, Broomielaw, Plantation, Govan and Partick); the predominantly middle class areas with a sizeable Gaelic speaking community (Woodside, Pollokshields, Blythswood, Sandyford, Park, Kelvinside); and all other areas (Gorbals, Hutchesontown, Springburn, Cowlairs, and areas outwith the city). Table 3.8 illustrates the areas of residence of the new Hope Street communicants for the years 1851, 1865-70, 1881-90, 1891-1900 and 1901-1907.

Little weight can be placed on the 1851 figures which represent only 20 names, though the number of new Hope Street communicants living in middle class areas was already substantial. Between 1865 and 1870 and during the 1880s a majority of new communicants came from middle class districts. After 1890 the proportion coming from the middle class areas started to decline. The greatest percentage of new communicants now came from the "Highland" working class areas. Significantly, throughout the period, the proportion of new communicants coming from the east end, an area cited by Norman MacLeod in 1835 as being one where Highlanders were numerous (2), was low. It would seem, therefore, that a high proportion

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(1) See, for instance, A.Maclaren, Religion and Social Class, (London 1974). The religious affiliations of the Highland working class is investigated in Chapter 6.
(2) See page 79

TABLE 3.8

AREA OF RESIDENCE OF HOPE STREET NEW COMMUNICANTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IN 1851, 1865-70, 1881-1890, 1891-1900 and 1901-1907.

Area of residence	1851	1865-70	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-1907
"Highland" working class	25	30	44	46	56
Middle class	25	51	45	43	26
East end	15	3	6	4	14
elsewhere	35	16	5	7	4
Total new communicants	20	100	197	141	75

SOURCE: Hope Street Session Minute Books, 1851-1907.

of Hope Street's new communicants was middle class, residing in the most prestigious and fashionable areas. None of the areas into which Highland born residents have been arranged, of course, were socially homogenous. Some middle class wards contained streets, especially towards their periphery, which were working class. Sandyford, for example, although frequently cited as middle class in the late nineteenth century, contained many streets bordering on working class Anderston which shared the latter area's social characteristics. (1) Were the new communicants from the middle class areas themselves middle class? Or were they working class people who just happened to live and work in middle class districts? To answer this question I subdivided the middle class area into working class and obviously middle class streets. I also assumed that where a communicant was a single woman (described, for example, as Mary MacDonald rather than Mrs MacDonald) and her residence was a prestigious middle class address, she could safely be presumed to have been a servant. This assumption was usually supported by the appearance of a different name at that address in the Post office Directories.

In 1851, five names were from middle class addresses. All five were single girls and possibly servants. In the period 1865-70, 51 new communicants came from middle class districts . Of these, 78% were single girls from middle class addresses and presumably servants, 15% males from working class enclaves and 7% males from middle class addresses. Between 1891 and 1900, 50% were single girls, 20% were men and married women who

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(1) See p.96, footnote 3.

resided at middle class addresses, and 30% lived in working class streets. Between 1900 and 1907, 50% were single girls and a further 50% (men and women) lived at middle class addresses. From this evidence it would seem that the great majority of those Highlanders who lived in the fashionable suburbs were servants.

From the data contained in the census reports and church records, it is quite clear that Highland born residents in Glasgow congregated disproportionately in specific areas of the city - namely, the working class area to the north of the city which bordered the Forth and Clyde Canal and which fell within the municipal wards of Townhead and Cowcaddens; the working class districts of Broomielaw and Anderston on the north bank of the Clyde and Kingston, Plantation and Govan on the south bank; and the mainly middle class districts of Sandyford, Park, Blythswood, Kelvinside and Pollokshields. Excluding the east end, an original area of Highland concentration, which by the time empirical data became reliable was only residually an area of Highland settlement, and excluding the middle class districts, the Highland born residents of which were mainly unmarried female servants, this thesis will concentrate on three areas of Highland settlement: Broomielaw, which had a long tradition of Highland settlement, and two of the more recent working class districts of Highland residence; Kingston,and Plantation in Govan. These areas, all with a Gaelic speaking population among the highest in the city, offer evidence of definite geographical clustering of Highland immigrants. What remains to be investigated is whether these clusters were held together by communal and cultural bonds.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE HIGHLAND COMMUNITY:

BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND PLANTATION, 1851-1891.

Central to any inquiry in to the Highland immigrant population and the

extent to which it assimilated into the resident community of Glasgow is

an analysis of the Highlanders' choice of occupation. For the period

before 1851, when detailed census occupational data first became

available, this cannot be done with any precision.

Most of such evidence as exists for the first half of the nineteenth

century, however, suggests that the majority of Highland immigrants to

the city worked on unskilled, labouring and service occupations. The

new labour-intensive cotton mills, which had difficulty in attracting

local labour, depended to some extent on labour from the north with

employers offering such inducements to the Highlanders as accommodation.

David Dale looked to the Highlands and Islands for hands to man his mill

at New Lanark (1) and, along with Glasgow manufacturers Robert Dalglish

and George MacIntosh, encouraged a group of Catholics from Glengarry

to settle in the city and labour in their factories rather than emigrate

to Canada. (2) Further evidence of the extent of Highland labour used

in the cotton industry in the early years of the nineteenth century is

to be found in the testimony of cotton manufacturer Henry Houldsworth

that the hands employed in the Glasgow mills in the early years of the

industry were "principally Highlandmen". (3)

(1) The Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VII, (Wakefield, 1973), p.466
(2) The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VI, ((Edinburgh, 1845) p.194
(3) P.P. 1833   Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee
on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping, qu. 5288, p.314

Witnesses to the Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor in

Great Britain indicated that Highlanders were employed in a variety of

unskilled labouring occupations: in the gas works, the building trade,

the chemicals industry, in Turkey red dyeing and in the docks; the

women were said to be employed mainly as servants and in the bleach-

fields. (1) The Report to the Commissioners on the Employment of

Children gives further evidence of the role of Highland women in the

bleaching industry, stating that bleaching "is almost monopolised by

girls from certain spots in the Highlands". (2) Norman MacLeod, a

witness called by the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, stated

that "...the great proportion (of Highland immigrants in Glasgow) .. are

persons attending public works as labourers... many are porters and

connected with the police..." (3)

There is some evidence to suggest that not all Highlanders were unskilled.

Four years after giving evidence to the Commissioners of Religious

Instruction, Norman MacLeod was to appear as a witness before the

Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland. He argued that many of the

Highlanders in Glasgow had arrived in the city with some education, and

were employed in a variety of occupations:

"...education removes the better educated of the younger population

to manufacturing towns and districts, leaving the uneducated

---

(1) P.P.1836 XXXIV, Appendix G. Evidence of James B. Neilson, manager of
the gas works (p.116); Alexander Brown, builder and mason (p.116);
Charles MacIntosh of Tennants works (p.116); J.G.Hamilton of Henry
Monteith and CO. (p.107); the Harbour Master of Glasgow (p.117); James
Hutchison (p.111).
(2) Employment of Children, op.cit.i, I 25
(3) Religious Instruction, op.cit., App. 3, p.182

parties at home.... There are very few works in Glasgow in which

Highlanders are not found: the classes who have received the

benefit of education are employed in warehouses; they are

employed as clerks, and so on; the other classes, the uneducated,

are employed at various public works." (1)

Some evidence suggests that in this period there were fewer employment

opportunities in Glasgow for the unskilled Highlanders in those areas in

which they had shown strength of numbers in the early years of the century

since they were facing competition, both from the Irish and the local

born.   This point, for instance, is made by witnesses to the Select

Committee on the State of the Irish Poor (2), and in Henry Houldworth's

cotton mill in 1833 the hands which had been mainly Highland at the

start of the century were now "principally Irish". (3) ' A report on the

bleaching industry in 1857 noted that, while there was a continued

Highland presence in the bleachfields in the Glasgow area, the virtual   ·

Highland monopoly of 1843 had been lost with an increase in local and

Irish labour. (4) Chapter 3 noted the curious absence of Highland born

residents in the east end of Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth

century, an absence more notable because evidence had pointed to the

presence of Highland settlement areas in Bridgeton in the early decades

of the century. The move out of the east end could be explained by the

discontinuation of employment opportunities in the cotton industry

(1) Select Committee on Emigration, op.cit. Minutes of Evidence, pp. 119-120
(2) op.cit. J.G. Hamilton made the point that the predominance of the
Highlanders in the dyeing industry was being lost to the local population,
and Alexander Brown stated that the Irish were replacing the Highlanders
in the building trade, pp. 107-8
(3) S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping, op.cit., qu. 5233, p.311
(4) Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Establishments, P.P. 1857
XI, First Report, p.166

which was centred in the Bridgeton area. Whether the Highland

immigrants were "pushed" out of the cotton industry by the influx of

Irish immigrants or were attracted by the new employment opportunities

in the west of the city is not entirely clear. Some historians have

taken the view that Highlanders were displaced in the Lowland industrial

market by Irish immigrants. D.F.MacDonald, for instance, claims that

"one of the most striking features of the Irish immigration was their

(i.e. the Highlanders') gradual displacement in the industrial scheme of

things" (1) Despite the lack of empirical evidence, and the reliance

on the comments of contemporaries which were, at times, impressionistic,

the evidence does seem to suggest an initial industrial

presence which, by mid century, had eroded at least in the traditional

industries.

After 1851, the census data makes the task of analysing the

Highlanders' employment patterns much easier. For the purpose of this

study, the analysis of Highland immigrant social and occupational

characteristics is based on data from the census enumerators' books for

1851, 1881 and 1891, and deals solely with the Highland sample areas

of Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation. (2) This poses one

obvious problem. Because the sample areas tended to be working class,

the findings on occupational structure will be weighted in favour

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(1) D.F. MacDonald, _Scotland's Shifting Population_ (Glasgow, 1937), p.80
(2) These areas were chosen because they contained high concentrations
of Highland born and Gaelic speaking residents. See Chapter Three, pp. 83-93.

of working class occupations. Moreover, it is difficult to measure

social mobility because the more successful elements would be more likely

to move out to middle class areas. (1)

The theoretical and methodological problems involved in using census

data are well known and have been amply documented. (2) However, while

recognising these problems, the census remains an indispensable source

for analysing employment patterns. In order to minimise the methodol-

ogical problems as much as possible the method used to classify the

information on occupation and to construct a social classification of

the sample areas is the one recommended by W.A.Armstrong. (3) Armstrong

argues that the Registrar General's social classification scheme best

fulfills the requirements of the historian dealing with nineteenth

century occupational data, being "not too refined for the data, and

carrying with it published lists of occupations for easy allocation and

comparability of classification". (4) After weighing up the comparative

merits of the classification schemes drawn up in 1911, 1921 and 1951, he

finally chose that of 1951, and it is this which is used in the present

study. (5) The 1951 classification groups occupations into 981

occupational categories which in turn were coded by social class. (6)

(1) The conclusions drawn by Lobban, op.cit. in his study of Highlanders
in Greenock, where the size of the town permitted a study of the entire
Highland community, will be referred to later in this chapter.
(2) See E.A.Wrigley, Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the use of
Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data, Cambridge, 1972
(3) W.A.Armstrong, "The Use of Information about Occupation" in Nineteenth
Century Society, op.cit.
(4) ibid., p.202
(5) Classification of Occupations, 1950 (HMSO, 1951)
(6) Social class 1   professional occupations
     Social class 11 intermediate occupations
     Social class 111 skilled occupations
     Social class 1V partly skilled occupations
     social class V   unskilled occupations
(Armstrong, op.cit. p.205)

Armstrong suggests only minor adjustments to the Registrar General's

scheme. All those described as dealers and merchants and those in

retail shopkeeping trades, innkeepers, restaurant keepers etc are placed

in class III rather than class II. (1) Employers of 25 or more persons

(excluding domestics) are put in class I, drivers of vehicles (horse

drawn or self-propelled) in class III and employers of one or more

persons (other than members of the immediate family) in class II. For

those entries which the Registrar General did not classify, Armstrong

suggests the following classifications: "private means", "house prop-

rietor" etc in class I; "annuitant", class II; "pauper", class V; and

apprentices, in the occupation for which they were training; "spinster",

"housewife" and other cases where the occupational statement was unclear

or incomplete, in a residual class X. (2)

While accepting these adjustments to the Registrar General's classif-

ication, one or two further clarifications were felt to be necessary to

take account of the particular nature of the Highland community in

Glasgow. The Registrar General placed sea-going sailors in social class

III, and those engaged in river traffic in class IV. In nineteenth

century Glasgow, with its numerous ferry-boats, barges, tugs, cargo

vessels and ocean-going liners, it is sometimes difficult to make the

necessary distinction since the small cargo boats often went down river

into the wider Firth of Clyde and even further afield to service the

west coast towns and islands. The problem is perhaps best illustrated

---

(1) Armstrong, op.cit. p.209-210
(2) ibid., p.211

by reference to Neil Munro's fictional account of the Highland crew of

the Vital Spark. (1) According to the Registrar General's classification,

when the Vital Spark was delivering cargo to Aran, Para Handy, the

skipper, would be in social class II, Dan MacPhail, the engineer, in

class III, and Happy Jim, the cabin boy, in class IV. When plying

between Broomielaw and Bowling all would be in class IV. For the sake of

convenience, therefore, I have placed all those described as "seamen",

"mariners", "sailors", in class III and those specifically stated to be

"bargemen" or "ferrymen" in class IV. It is as well, however, to bear

in mind that many of the mariners included in social class III, intended

for skilled workers, would have been semi-skilled workers on the numerous

cargo boats and small steamers operating on the Clyde coast rather than

seamen from the ocean-going liners.

Another problem of classification relates to the social status of

crofters. According to the Registrar General, they belong in class II

along with farmers. Armstrong recommends that all farmers except those

with less than five acres remain in this class. Unfortunately, generally

there is no information on acreage in the enumerators' returns, and since

most west coast crofters would not have had much more than five acres of

reasonable arable land, this is not very helpful. Putting crofters in

class II would mean that the Highland migrants in this category were

downwardly mobile since, on arrival in the city, most of them were in

classes III, IV or V.   For that reason I have classified the few

recorded in this category in social class V.

(1) Neil Munro, Para Handy's Tales (Edinburgh, 1931)

The social classification of female workers posed a further problem. For a variety of reasons much female employment is not recorded in the census enumeration rolls. (1) Frequently, a woman's occupation is listed as "wife of..." giving the occupation of husband. Armstrong recommends assigning the woman, where the husband is absent, to the social class appropriate to the husband's occupation. In spite of the shortcomings, this method was used in the present study for three reasons: first, the objective was to establish the class structure of the Highland community and this seemed the best means where the husband was absent; second, a more accurate picture of female employment patterns could be obtained by looking at selected occupations; and, finally, the numbers are small enough not to alter the picture of female social class significantly. For instance, among the 126 Highland born women in Broomielaw in 1851 whose social class is classified (in Table 1), only nine are classified under their husbands' occupations.

On the basis of this slightly amended Armstrong classification, the occupational data contained in the census enumerators' books for the Highland sample areas are used in this chapter to analyse the social status of the Highland born immigrants for selected years between 1851 and 1891, and to compare their social distribution with that of other groups in the community (the Irish, those born in Glasgow and Govan and those born elsewhere in Scotland) and with the total working population of each sample area. The results, discussed separately for each sample

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(1) For an account of the gender bias in the census, see E. Gordon, "Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland",chapter one, unp. Glasgow University Ph.D thesis, 1985.

area, are summarised in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.5, 4.6, 4.9 and 4.10. Tables 4.3, 4.4, 4.7, 4.8, 4.11 and 4.12, which examine selected occupations in more detail, give additional insight into the social status of Highland and other residents in the sample areas.

BROOMIELAW, 1851, 1891.

In mid century the Broomielaw sample area   was predominantly skilled working class. As Table 4.1 demonstrates, 68.4 males and 45.5 females were in social class III, for skilled workers. About a quarter of the males and half the females were in social classes IV and V for semi and unskilled workers and just under 6% of the males were in the top two social classes. By 1891 the social composition of the sample area had significantly altered with a decline in the percentage of males in social classes I, II and III and an increase in the percentage in social classes IV and V. Although there had been a slight increase in the percentage of females in social class I and II, their proportion fell in social classes III and IV and doubled in class V.

Broomielaw was one of the older settlements of the city out of which the more prosperous elements had moved to the new working class suburbs. Areas such as Broomielaw contained by the end of the century "the greatest concentration of comparatively disadvantaged working class groups in the city, the only local job opportunitites available being

TABLE 4.1

SOCIAL STATUS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, BROOMIELAW, 1851. %

	SOCIAL CLASSS						
PLACE OF BIRTH	1	2	3	4	5	Total	N=
MALES							
Highlands	0	4.2	56	9.2	29.7	100	239
Ireland	0	1.9	50.4	10.3	35.5	100	107
Glasgow and Govan	2.9	2.9	70.2	8	15.5	100	238
Rest of Scotland	1.2	4.5	78	7	8.7	100	401
Total population	1.2	4.5	68.4	7.6	17.7	100	1031
FEMALES							
Highlands	0	2.4	27.9	61.9	6.3	100	126 (1
Ireland	0	1.7	27.6	51.7	15.5	100	58 (1
Glasgow and Govan	0.6	0.6	56.6	33.1	8.4	100	166 (1
Rest of Scotland	1.1	2.7	52.7	37.9	4.4	100	182 (1
Total population	0.5	2.2	45.5	43.4	7.1	100	549

SOURCE: 1851 Census Enumeration Books 32, 36 (Parish No. 538), 39, 40

(Parish 539), 45, 48 (Parish 540)

(1) Two Highland born women, two Irish born, one local born and two women born in the rest of Scotland were in a residual class X.

in the very small manufacturing concerns, warehouse and quay employment

and unskilled service work". (1) Most of the 1891 sample area (2) fell

within the registration district of Brownfield, a district described by

the city's medical officer of health in 1886 as being one of the "worst

districts of Glasgow, both morally and physically". (3)

The social position of the Highland immigrants showed some variations

from that of the population as a whole. In 1851, although the Highland

born males had no representatives in social class I (a tiny group

anyway in this predominantly working class area), there did exist a   -

Highland "petty bourgeoisie" of small business men represented in class

II. There was, for example, in the area a flesher who had nine employees,

a slate merchant employing five, a shoemaker and two tailors each employing

three workers and two hotel keepers. (4) Although the majority of Highland

males were in social class III for skilled workers, their proportion in

this class was well below that of the total male workforce. A further

divergence from the pattern of the total male working population is

evident in the two bottom social categories for semi and unskilled

workers: a slightly greater percentage of Highland born males were in

class IV, and a significantly greater proportion were in class V. Nearly

a third of the Highland born male workforce were in the bottom social

class.

(1) D.W.Lamont, "Population, Migration and Social Area Change in Central
Glasgow, 1871-1891", unp. Glasgow University Ph.D thesis 1976, p.4?
(2) 57% of the population of the sample area fell within Brownfield, the
rest in the St Enoch Square registration district.
(3) J.B.Russell, op.cit. p.75
(4) 1851 Census Enumeration Books 538/32, 36; 539/ 34, 40

The social position of the other ethnic groupings reveal some

interesting comparisons with that of the Highland born. The Irish males,

like the Highlanders, had no representatives in class I, but had a

much lower percentage in class 11. While half of the Irish male

workforce were in class III, their proportion in this class was lower

than that of the Highland males and considerably lower than that of

the total male workforce. The less favourable position of the Irish in

1851 is further demonstrated by the large proportion in the two bottom

social classes, with just under half (46%) the Irish male workforce in

semi and unskilled occupations.

Both the local born male workers and those born elsewhere in Scotland

fared significantly more favourably that either the Highlanders or the

.Irish. The twelve members of social class I in the sample area were

either born locally (seven were born in Glasgow and Govan) or elsewhere

in Scotland. Both groups were relatively well represented in class II,

were well represented in class III and, in comparison with the total

male workforce, were under-represented in the two bottom social

categories. In a particularly favoured position were the immigrants

from elsewhere in Scotland who had 83% of their total male workforce in

the three top social classes.

The divergence from the pattern for the population as a whole was even

more marked among Highland females. While no Highland born woman was in

class I, three (a captain's wife and two lodging house keepers each

employing a servant) qualified for social class II. The Highland born,

in comparison with the total female workforce, were significantly under-

represented in class III and over-represented in class IV with over 62%
in that category. In class V their representation was only slightly
below that for the population as a whole.

The Irish born women had no representatives in class I, were under-
represented in class II and, like the Highland women, had a significantly
low proportion in class III. The greatest proportion (just over half)
were in social class IV and a percentage double that for the total
working population were in class V. The local born women had a small
representation in the two top social classes, were well represented
in class III with 56.6% in that category, had a proportion considerably
below that of the total female workforce in class IV and slightly above
in class V. The women from the rest of Scotland had the highest pro-
portion of all groups in classes I and II, had over half their numbers
in class III and a percentage below that of the total female workforce
in classes IV and V.

It is evident that in 1851 the social status of both the Highland born
and the Irish born, men and women, was significantly different from the
local born and the immigrants born elsewhere in Scotland. Both the
Highlanders and the Irish had a considerably lower percentage of their
workforce in the skilled categories and a greater proportion filled the
semi or unskilled occupations.

In 1891 there was an apparent amelioration in the social position of the
Highland born (see Table 4.2). The declining social status of the total
workforce (see page 112) had not affected the Highland born males.

TABLE 4.2

SOCIAL STATUS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, BROOMIELAW, 1891. %

	SOCIAL CLASS						
	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL	N=
PLACE OF BIRTH							
			MALES				
Highlands	0	0	61.8	14.7	23.5	100	102
Ireland	0.6	2.5	42.8	13	50	100	161
Glasgow and Govan	1.4	1.4	56.6	12.9	18.6	100	210
Rest of Scotland	0	5.5	66	11.8	17.4	100	144
Total population	0.6	2.4	59.4	11.7	25.8	100	712
			FEMALES				
Highlands	3.4	0	27.6	55.2	13.8	100	29
Ireland	0	5	53.3	28.3	13.3	100	60
Glasgow and Govan	0	3.1	39.6	40.2	16.5	100	127
Rest of Scotland	1.9	5.5	29.6	44.4	14.8	100	54 (1)
Total population	0.3	4.8	38.7	40.8	14.7	0.7	292

SOURCE 1891 Census Enumeration Books 11, 16, 18, 20, 23 (Parish 644/7)

(1) Two women born in the rest of Scotland were in residual class X

While the "petty bourgeois" element noted in 1851 seemed to have dis-
appeared with no Highland representatives in classes I or II, in terms
of representation in class III the Highland males had surpassed both the
Irish and the local born. Their representation in class IV was, at
14.7%, the highest of the four ethnic groups surveyed and, although
their percentage in class V was slightly below that for the entire male
workforce, their percentage in that class surpassed both the local born
and the other Scottish immigrants.

The Irish born males, as in 1851, had the lowest proportion in class III
of all the ethnic groups. After the Highlanders they had the largest
proportion in class IV but, in terms of representation in the bottom
social category, with half their workforce in class V, the Irish were by
far the most disadvantaged. While there had been an apparent improvement
in the relative position of the Highland males, the Irish had remained
at the bottom of the social ladder.

While the gap between the Highlanders and the Irish in the Broomielaw
sample area had widened by 1891, that between the Highland males and both
the local born and those born in the rest of Scotland would appear to
have narrowed. Indeed, the local born had a lower percentage than the
Highland males in class III. In the bottom two social classes, however,
the local born fared better. Once again the male immigrants from the
rest of Scotland enjoyed the most favourable social position with the
highest percentage in classes II and III and the lowest percentage in
classes IV and V.

The social status of the Highland born women was more difficult to measure for 1891 since the total sample of 29 Highland born women was too small to permit any worthwhile generalisation. The apparent over-representation of Highland women in class I, for instance, was achieved by one woman described as "living on private means". There were, however, some features of the social status of the Highland women which were similar to those of 1851. The Highland women still had the lowest proportion in class III and the highest proportion in class IV. However, while their representation in class V remained slightly below the norm for the total female workforce, it had doubled since 1851.

The Irish women displayed a social pattern at odds with their male compatriots with the highest proportion of all groups in class III and the lowest in classes IV and V. The local born women had a percentage in classes III and IV which was closest to that for the total female work-force. They also had the highest percentage of all the groups in class V. The relative position of the women from the rest of Scotland had deteriorated since 1851. While they were best represented in the top two social classes, only the Highland born fared worse in terms of under representation in class III and over representation in class IV. And in terms of over-representation in class V they were second to the local born.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 revealed certain interesting features of the social status of the Highland immigrants in the Broomielaw sample areas. In 1851, the Highland males were in a considerably worse position than any

group apart from the Irish. The Highland women were also in an unfavour-
able situation, particularly in comparison with the women born in
Glasgow and Govan and those born in the rest of Scotland. In 1891 there
was a significant shift in the relative position of Highland born males.
While the area as a whole was losing its predominance of skilled workers
and increasing its share of semi and unskilled, the Highland males
appeared to have improved their status. However, this improvement was
most marked only in relation to the Irish. While the Highland males
had increased their proportion in class III, and even surpassed the
percentage of local born in that class,. they still had a considerably
greater proportion in the bottom two social classes than either the
local born or those born in the rest of Scotland. The Highland women
did not share the slightly improved status of their male compatriots.
The low status which they suffered in 1851 was still apparent in 1891.

In order to throw additional light on the position of Highlanders the
occupational choices made by the various ethnic groups in the Broomielaw
sample area are set out in.Tables 4.3 and 4.4. The occupations selected
for this analysis were those which would give further insight into the
social status of the Highland immigrants. For instance, ascertaining
the percentage in professional occupations which would have required
education and training and the percentage owning businesses which
employed labour and would have demanded entrepeneurial skills throws
further light on the nature of the community and on the information
provided in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 on the percentage in social classes I and
II. Social class III also encompasses a variety of different types of
occupations demanding a variety of skills and attributes. The tables

showing the choice of selected occupations, therefore, attempt to

differentiate some of the occupational categories falling within this

large social class. The occupations selected were those which would

highlight any preference for the industrial or service sectors and those

occupations which traditionally Highlanders were viewed as favouring or for

which initial work on the census data had indicated a preference.

The occupations chosen which the Registrar General incorporated in class

III are shop work, clerical work, the police, marine and the skilled trades

for the male, and shop work, lodging house keeping and skilled trades for the

female workforce.For the male workforce all semi and unskilled occupations

are lumped together; for the female workforce, because a greater

percentage of Highland born women were in the two bottom social classes,

the distinction is made between domestic servants,washerwomen and

unskilled factory workers. The tables show the percentage of Highland

born, Irish born, local born and those born elsewhere in Scotland in

each of the selected occupations and the total number in each of these

occupations in the sample areas. The percentage of the entire labour

force of each group in the total working population of the sample area

is also provided. A significant difference between the percentage of

the total Highland born workforce within the total working population

and their percentage in a particular occupation would suggest that they

were either opting for or avoiding this occupation.

Table 4.3 shows that Highland males were most prominent in the semi

and unskilled occupations in Broomielaw in 1851. Indeed, it was in this

category which the greatest number of Highland males were employed. One

of the three policemen in the area was Highland, and Highland males were

TABLE 4.3

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND ALL OCCUPATIONS, BROOMIELAW 1851. %

	PLACE OF BIRTH				
OCCUPATIONS	Highlands	Ireland	Glasgow & Govan	Rest of Scotland	N=
			MALES		
Professions (1)	6	0	28	50	18
Business (2)	27	8	27	35	26
Shop work (3)	22	3	17	57	65
Clerks	27	0	27	46	26
Police	33	33	0	33	3
Mariners (4)	16	14	13	37	108
Skilled trades (5)	18	7	30	42	425
Semi & unskilled	34	19	22	24	252
All occupations	23	10	23-	39	1031
			FEMALES		
Business (6)	23	8	15	38	13
Shop work	0	13	38	38	8
Lodging house keepers (7)	46	0	7	43	28
Skilled trades	12	7	39	38	130
Servants	34	13	26	23	163
Washerwomen	31	13	11	41	39
Factory work	15	11	37	32	81
All occupations	23	10	23	39	549

SOURCE: See Table 4.1

(1) Customs, law, medicine, teaching, the church, harbour masters etc.
(2) Employers of labour only
(3) Described as shop keepers, assistants, merchants (employing no labour)
(4) River as well as ocean going
(5) Joiners, smiths, wrights, turners etc
(6) Including lodging house keepers employing staff other than family
(7) Not employing staff other than immediate family

fairly well represented in business and clerical occupations. They

took up employment roughly in proportion to their numbers in the total

male workforce as shopkeepers while they tended to be much less in

evidence in the skilled trades and as mariners. In the professions the

Highlanders fared poorly with a harbour master as their only represent-

ative.

The Irish were over-represented in the semi and unskilled occupations,

as mariners and one of the sample areas's three policemen was Irish.

They were under-represented in business and in shopkeeping and were

totally absent from the professions and from clerical work. The local

born were well represented in the professions, in business, in clerical

positions and in the skilled trades. Their numbers corresponded closely

with their position in the total workforce for the semi and unskilled

occupations and they were under represented as mariners. The migrants

born in the rest of Scotland were particularly prominent in the pro-

fessions and in shopkeeping. They were also fairly numerous as clerks

and in the skilled trades. They were slightly under-represented as

mariners and in business and were well under-represented in the semi

and unskilled occupations.

Table 4.3 suggests that the various ethnic groups had their own individual

pattern of employment. The Highlanders and Irish fared less well in the

occupations, particularly the professions and skilled trades, which

required previous education or training. (1) These occupations were

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(1) The relatively high proportion of Highlanders in clerical positions
does not invalidate this hypothesis since the number only amounted to seven.

dominated by the local born and the immigrants from the rest of Lowland

Scotland. Conversely, the Highlanders tended to be more prominent in

the occupations for which a specialised training or education was not

nesessary, such as semi and unskilled work, in business where the

essential ingredient was probably entrepeneurial flair, in the police,

and to a lesser extent in shop work.

The women of each ethnic group also tended to display preferences for

particular occupations. The Highland born women were considerably

over-represented as lodging house keepers, as domestic servants and as

washerwomen. Three Highland women fell into the business category, all

as lodging house keepers who employed labour. They were under-

represented in shop-work, in the skilled trades and in factory work.

The Irish women were more evenly spread out among a variety of

occupations, although they were slightly under-represented in the

skilled trades and had no representatives as lodging house keepers.

The women born in Glasgow and Govan showed a clear preference for

employment in shops, in the skilled trades, in factories and, to a lesser

extent, in domestic service. They were less likely to take up

employment in business, as lodging house keepers and as washerwomen.

The women from the rest of Scotland, like the Irish, were more evenly

distributed throughout a variety of occupations. Only in domestic service

and, to a lesser extent in factory work, were they under-represented.

A similar pattern of occupational choice to their male counterparts is

evident from this survey of female occupations in 1851. The Highland

women, like the Highland males were under-represented in these occupations
which demanded training. This was demonstrated by their lack of
prominence in the skilled trades. Their low profile in factory
employment, inspite of this being largely unskilled work, may have been
due to their lack of experience of factory discipline, a discipline
which in this period was acquired at an early age. On the other hand,
the Highland women displayed a clear preference for the occupations
(lodging house keepers, servants, washerwomen) which either required
no previous training or for which skills acquired in the Highlands
could have been utilised. These occupations in which the Highland
women were under-represented, the skilled trades and factory work, were
the ones which were dominated by the local born, the other group of
women which displayed a clear preference for certain occupations.

Certain changes in the occupational choices of the Highland males had
occurred by 1891. While they remained poorly represented in the skilled
trades, and were still well-represented in clerical positions (although
the importance of the two Highland members of this category should not be
exaggerated) and the police, the proportion of their workforce in the
semi and unskilled occupations had substantially declined. This latter
category, while still occupying a large number of Highland males, had
been superseded by the mariners category as the occupation employing the
greatest number of Highland males.

The Irish males were well spread out among the various occupations with the
exception of the police and mariners. While they had a large proportion
in the semi and unskilled categories, they also had a respectable

TABLE 4.4

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND ALL OCCUPATIONS, BROOMIELAW, 1891. %

	PLACE OF BIRTH				
OCCUPATIONS	Highlands	Ireland	Glasgow & Govan	Rest of Scotland	N=
			MALES		
Professions	0	29	43	29	7
Business	0	23	23	38	13
Shop work	11	22	33	38	19
Clerks	18	36	36	0	11
Police	80	0	0	20	5
Mariners	25	10	9	25	169
Skilled trades	5	21	41	24	194
Semi & unskilled	15	30	32	16	250
All occupations	14	23	30	20	712
			FEMALES		
Business	0	25	38	38	8
Shop work	0	18	53	29	17
Lodging house Keepers	50	17	33	0	6
Clerks	33	0	67	0	3
Skilled trades	4	31	45	13	78
Servants	13	20	39	20	61
Washerwomen	27	18	24	24	33
Factory work	2	11	64	16	56
All occupations	10	21	44	18	549

SOURCE: See Table 4.2

representation in the professions and clerical positions (although the
overall numbers for these categories in the sample area were small), and
were in accordance with their proportion in the total workforce in
business, in shopkeeping and in the skilled trades. The local born,
like the Irish, were well distributed throughout all the occupations
with the exception of   police and mariners. They had a particularly
high profile in the professions, as clerks and in the skilled trades.
The males from the rest of Scotland were well-represented in the pro-
fessions, in business, in shop work, as mariners, in the skilled trades
and, to a lesser extent, in the police. Only in the semi and unskilled
occupations were they under-represented.

It would appear that the Highlanders, more than any other group, were
showing clear preferences for or against certain occupations. While
there had been a shift in the occupational structure since 1851, the
Highland males still had a tendency to opt for occupations which did not
require any previous training or, as was demonstrated with their
propensity to gain employment as mariners, to seek employment in areas
where skills learned at home could be utilised. Moreover, from the
evidence of the Broomielaw sample areas in 1851 and 1891, it would appear
that the Highland males, more than any other group, were favouring the
service rather than the industrial sector.

The occupations chosen by the Highland women in 1891 had not changed
substantially since mid century. While there were no longer any Highland
women in business, they remained well represented among the area's
lodging house keepers, as washerwomen and, to a lesser extent as

servants. As in 1851, they were under-represented in factory work
and the skilled trades. In 1891 three female clerks were recorded in
the sample area and one was Highland.

Once again the Irish women were to be found in a variety of occupations.
They were well-represented in business (although the total numbers were
small) and had improved their representation considerably in the skilled
trades. As shop workers, servants and washerwomen they were in accordance
with their position in the total labour force and, like the Highland
women, they were much less in evidence in factory work. The local born
women were to be found represented in all the occupations analysed.
Apart from providing two of the area's three female clerks, they were
also prominent in factory work and shopkeeping. They were represented
in accordance with their numbers in business, in the skilled trades
and in domestic service, and showed less preference for work as washer-
women. The women from the rest of Scotland showed a preference for
business and shop keeping, but were also evident in some numbers
in domestic service and factory work. Like the Highland women, they
were less prominent in the skilled trades.

The occupational preferences which the Highland women displayed in 1851
(i.e. for occupations which required no specialist training) were still
apparent in Broomielaw in 1891. However, since the survey was   small,
further investigation of the other sample areas of Kingston and Plantation
is necessary before we can conclude that such preferences were general
in the city wide community.

TABLE 4.5

SOCIAL STATUS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, KINGSTON, 1881. %

	SOCIAL CLASS						
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	No=
PLACE OF BIRTH							
MALES							
Highlands	0.8	2.5	73.9	8.4	14.3	100	119
Ireland	1.7	6.7	60	11.7	18.3	100	60
Glasgow and Govan	1.1	7.1	81.6	4.2	6	100	283
Rest of Scotland	1.1	5.9	78.5	8.5	5.6	100	354
Total population	1.1	6.4	77.7	7.1	7.8	100	833
FEMALES							
Highlands	0	2.6	44.8	47.4	5.3	100	38
Ireland	0	8	56	32	4	100	25
Glasgow and Govan	0	4.5	59	27.6	7.5	100	134 (1)
Rest of Scotland	1	1.9	56.3	30.1	8.7	100	103 (1)
Total Population	0.3	3.9	55.2	31.3	7.1	100	310

SOURCE: 1881 Census Enumeration Books 27,30, 32, 33, 41 (Parish 644/13)

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(1) Two local born women and three women born in the rest of Scotland were in class X

TABLE 4.6

SOCIAL STATUS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, KINGSTON 1891. %

	SOCIAL CLASS						
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	No=
PLACE OF BIRTH							
			MALES				
Highlands	0	2.1	61.6	16.4	19.2	100	146 (1)
Ireland	0	4.5	69.7	16.7	12.1	100	66
Glasgow and Govan	1.7	5.6	79	6.3	7	100	286
Rest of Scotland	1	4.7	74.4	13.1	6.7	100	297
Total population	1.1	4.8	73.4	11.1	9.5	100	834
			FEMALES				
Highlands	0	2.2	48.9	44.4	4.4	100	45
Ireland	0	6.7	53.3	40	0	100	15
Glasgow and Govan	0	3	62.9	32.9	1.2	100	167
Rest of Scotland	1.8	2.7	60.2	27.4	6.2	100	113 (1)
Total population	0.6	3.4	58.9	33	3.6	100	358

SOURCE: 1891 Census Enumeration Books 24,27, 28, 32, 34 (Parish 644/13)

(1) One Highland born male and two women born in the rest of Scotland were
in class X

KINGSTON, 1881, 1891.

Kingston was one of the new working class suburbs described by James

Russell in 1886 as containing the "recently erected industrial

tenements". (1) The social structure of the area indicates that it

was more prosperous than Broomielaw had become by the end of the

century. In 1881 Kingston was overwhelmingly skilled working class,

with 77.7% of its male workforce in social class III, and only 15% in

the bottom two social classes. (See Table 4.5) By 1891 this favourable

position had declined slightly with a   reduction in the proportion

of males in classes II and III and an increase in the percentage in

classes IV and V. (See Table 4.6) The social structure of the female

workforce was slightly different. While the majority of women in both

years were in class III, as much as one third of the female workforce

was in class IV. Paradoxically, the social structure of the female

workforce improved slightly in 1891 with an increased percentage in

class III and a reduced percentage in class V.

The social structure of the Highland males was significantly different

from that of the total working population. As Tables 4.5 and 4.6

demonstrate, in 1881 and 1891, the Highland males had a lower percentage

of their workforce in social classes I, II and III and a higher percentage

in social classes IV and V than did the male working population as a

whole. Moreover, the decline in percentage of skilled workers and the

concomitant increase in the semi and unskilled sections which was a

feature of Kingston in 1891, was more marked in the Highland male workforce.

(1) J.B.Russell, op.cit. pp 74-75.

The Irish, a small group in Kingston, followed a social pattern closest
to the Highland males. In both years they, too, had a smaller
percentage of their male workforce in class III and a greater percentage
in classes IV and V than did the total male working population.
Paradoxically, however, the Irish enjoyed a slight improvement in their
position in 1891 by increasing their representation in class III and
decreasing their representation in class V. The males from Glasgow
and Govan and from the rest of Scotland tended to conform fairly closely
in both years to the pattern of the total population. They did, however,
have a greater proportion of their numbers in class III and a lower
proportion in the bottom social class.

The position of the Highland females was also less favourable than that
of the total female workforce. In 1881 and 1891 they had the lowest
proportion of all the groups in class III and the highest proportion
in class IV. In 1891 the Highland women slightly improved their status
along with the total female workforce and contrary to the pattern of the
Highland males.

The sample of Irish born women is too small to allow generalisation but
the figures do point to the pattern outlined for Broomielaw in 1891 - i.e.
that they were better represented in class III than were the Highland
women. The local born and the women from the rest of Scotland both had
a high proportion of their workforce in class III, a position which was
improved for both groups in 1891. Their representation in class IV was
below that for the total female working population in both years. Both
groups had a greater proportion than was the norm in class V in 1881 but

in 1891 the percentage of local born in this class dropped.

The analysis of the data on   the Highlanders in Kingston suggests

that they enjoyed a less favourable status than the population as a

whole, thus supporting the evidence of Broomielaw. To see whether the

occupational choices of the Highlanders followed a similar pattern in

this superior working class suburb we must turn to Tables 4.7 and 4.8. (1)

It is evident that in this more prosperous working class area the

pattern of male employment shared many of the features of Broomielaw.

Apart from their prominence in the semi and unskilled work (and by 1891

the Highlanders were occupying nearly a third of all these jobs in the

area), the Highlanders were also prominent in sea-going occupations

with over a half of the area's mariners from the Highlands in 1891,

and in the police with Highlanders comprising half the sample area's

resident policemen. The poor representation of Highland males in the

skilled trades which was noted in Broomielaw was also evident in Kingston.

In accordance with the general deterioration of their status, their

proportion in this category fell in 1891, as did their representation

in the professions, in business and in clerical work.

The Irish increased their proportion in the skilled trades in the ten

year period while at the same time reducing their proportion in semi

and unskilled work. In 1881 they showed some preference for the

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(1)The occupational categories chosen for analysis are similar to those
chosen for Broomielaw with two exceptions. Because of the existence in
Kingston of some women whose employment fell into the professional category,
that category was included. And because very few women were described as
"lodging house keepers" (although a considerable number of households did
keep lodgers), this occupation has been excluded.

TABLE 4.7

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND ALL OCCUPATIONS, KINGSTON, 1881. %

	PLACE OF BIRTH				
OCCUPATIONS	Highlands	Ireland	Glasgow & Govan	Rest of Scotland	N=
			MALES		
Professions	11	9	37	40	35
Business	15	8	23	38	26
Shop work	7	13	39	40	62
Clerks	8	2	53	35	60
Police	56	6	0	38	16
Mariners	33	8	26	33	39
Skilled trades	13	4	36	46	416
Semi & unskilled	19	15	23	43	120
All occupations	14	7	34	42	833
			FEMALES		
Professions	11	22	44	11	9
Business	0	0	100	0	2
Shop work	4	8	46	42	24
Clerks	0	0	100	0	2
Skilled trades	6	8	48	36	131
Servants	28	5	26	33	39
Washerwomen	33	0	17	50	12
Factory work	5	12	53	32	60
All occupations	12	8	43	33	310

SOURCE: See Table 4.5

TABLE 4.8

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND ALL OCCUPATIONS, KINGSTON, 1891. %

	PLACE OF BIRTH				
OCCUPATIONS	Highlands	Ireland	Glasgow & Govan	Rest of Scotland	N=
			MALES		
Professions	7	7	50	27	30
Business	5	5	32	47	19
Shop work	7	2	45	38	58
Clerks	5	9	49	32	57
Police	50	33	0	17	6
Mariners	57	21	9	7	44
Skilled trades	10	7	41	38	402
Semi & unskilled	31	11	22	34	169
All occupations	18	8	34	36	834
			FEMALES		
Professions	10	10	40	30	10
Business	0	0	50	50	2
Shop work	4	2	65	27	52
Clerks	0	0	60	40	5
Skilled trades	12	5	65	27	52
Servants	36	7	13	35	32
Washerwomen	0	0	60	40	5
Factory work	2	5	61	26	88
All Occupation	13	4	47	32	358

SOURCE: See Table 4.6

professions, business and shopkeeping; in 1891 they were more prominent

in clerical occupations, in the police and in sea-going occupations.

The local born were prominent in 1881 and 1891 in the professions, in

shopkeeping, in clerical work and in the skilled trades. They were less

prominent in business and were under-represented as mariners and

policemen. The males from the rest of Scotland were distributed in 1881

throughout most of the categories although less prominent as mariners.

In 1891 their proportion of the area's mariners had declined further.

The occupational pattern of the Highland males in Kingston bore many of

the features of Highland occupational preference in Broomielaw. They

were less prominent in those occupations which either required formal

education or training - in Kingston in both years they performed badly

in the professions, in clerical occupations and in the skilled trades -

and were opting instead for occupations such as the police, sea-going

occupations and semi and unskilled work which either required no

specialised training or which required skills learned in the

homeland. Evident also from the analysis of the Kingston sample areas

was the strengthening of this tendency in 1891 with the Highlanders

increasing their representation in the semi and unskilled occupations

and as mariners and performing less well in the professions,

in clerical work and in the skilled trades.

The Highland women in Kingston showed the clear preference in both years

for employment as domestic servants. They had one representative in both

years, a teacher, in the professions, had no representatives in business

or clerical work and were under-represented in shop work and factory

work. In 1881 they were under-represented in the skilled trades and

their apparent improvement in this category in 1891 was, with six

representatives, a statistical illusion.

The small group of Irish women were represented in all the categories

with the exception of those occupations which employed only a small

number of women in the area - business, clerical work and work as

washerwomen. The local born women were prominent in all categories

with the exception of domestic service and were particularly numerous

in shop work, in the skilled trades and factory work. The women from

the rest of Scotland were well represented in 1881 in shop work, in the

skilled trades and as washerwomen and, to a lesser extent as servants

and in factory work. They had one representative in the professions

and none in business or clerical occupations. In 1891 three of the

area's ten representatives in the professions were from the rest of

Scotland as was one of the two women in the business category, two of

the clerks and two of the washerwomen. They were slightly over-

represented in domestic service and slightly under-represented in the

skilled trades and in factory work.

The evidence of the occupational choice of Highland women in Kingston

in 1881 and 1891 supports the view that Highland women were displaying

a clearer preference for domestic service than was any other group.

Just as in Broomielaw they were under-represented in the industrial

sector with a lower percentage than any other group in the skilled

trades and factory work.

TABLE 4.9

SOCIAL STATUS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, PLANTATION, 1881. %

			SOCIAL CLASS				
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	No=
PLACE OF BIRTH							
			MALES				
Highlands	0.8	2.4	78.9	7.3	9.8	100	123 (1)
Ireland	0	2.6	32.3	6.3	58.7	100	189
Glasgow and Govan	1.4	1.9	77.9	6.6	11.7	100	213 (1)
Rest of Scotland	1.5	4.2	75.2	6	10.6	100	452 (1)
Total Population	1.1	3	69.3	6.4	19.8	100	1050
			FEMALES				
Highlands	0	1.8	45.4	41.8	7.3	100	55 (1)
Ireland	0	4.8	48.2	40.5	4.8	100	38 (1)
Glasgow and Govan	0	1.8	54.5	26.8	16.1	100	112 (1)
Rest of Scotland	0	4.5	58	29.5	6.3	100	112 (1)
Total population	0	3.6	54.3	31.5	9.5	100	337

SOURCE: 1881 Census Enumeration Books 4, 5, 7 (Parish 646/1)

(1)One Highland born male, one·male born in the rest of Scotland, one male born in Glasgow and Govan were in class X; two Highland born, two Irish born, one local born and two women born in the rest of Scotland were in class X.

TABLE 4.10

SOCIAL STATUS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, PLANTATION, 1891. %

			SOCIAL CLASS				
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	No=
PLACE OF BIRTH							
			MALES				
Highlands	0.5	0.5	63.4	7.5	28.2	100	213
Ireland	1.7	6.1	32.9	15	44.4	100	180
Glasgow and Govan	2.2	4.1	72.6	8.2	12.9	100	317
Rest of Scotland	2.4	6.3	66.6	8.8	15.9	100	410
Total population	1.8	4.9	62.3	9.2	21.6	100	1193
			FEMALES				
Highlands	0	5.1	41	48.7	2.5	100	39 (1)
Ireland	0	5	35	52.5	5	100	40 (1)
Glasgow and Govan	0	1.2	55.5	29.6	10.5	100	162 (1)
Rest of Scotland	0	9.9	52.3	28.8	3.6	100	111 (1)
Total population	0	5.1	52.2	33.9	6.4	100	375

SOURCE: 1891 Census Enumeration Books 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17.
(Parish 646/1)

(1)One Highland born woman, one Irish born, one local born and six women born in the rest of Scotland were in class X.

PLANTATION, 1881, 1891.

As late as 1870 Plantation was a newly laid out suburb intended for the middle classes. The industrial growth of the area, however, had quickly transformed its character and by the time of the 1881 census it was predominantly working class with just under 70% of its male workforce in class III and a further quarter in the bottom two social classes. (See Table 4.9) The decline in the social status of the sample area in 1891 which was noted in Kingston was also evident in Plantation: by 1891 the proportion of males in class III had declined to 62% and the proportion in the two bottom social classs had increased to just under a third of the total male workforce. The social status of the female workforce had, however, remained more stable with just over a half in class III and about one third in class IV in both years. With a greater semi and unskilled element that in Kingston, the Plantation sample area in 1891 was closer in social class structure to Broomielaw in the same period.

A surprising feature of the social status of the Highland males in the Plantation sample area in 1881 was their relatively favourable position: although they had a slightly lower proportion than the total population in classes I and II, they had a considerably higher percentage in class III, were close to the proportion for the total population in class IV, and had a proportion considerably less for class V. Ten years later the relative social status of the Highland males had declined. As Table 4.10

indicates, their representation had been reduced from just over 3% to 1% in the top two social classes, from 80% to 63% in class III, had remained static in class IV and had risen from 10% to 28% in class V.

The position of the Irish born males was considerably different. In 1881 over half were in class V (58.7%) and only a third were in class III. However, there was a slight amelioration of their position in 1891: while their representation in class III had remained unchanged, their proportion in class V had been reduced to 44%. With an increased representation in class IV it would appear that the Irish males were moving from the unskilled to the semi-skilled occupations. The other indication of improvement in their social status was their increased representation in class II which, at 6%, was higher than that for the population as a whole.

The males from Glasgow and Govan and from the rest of Scotland both contained over three quarters of their workforce in class III and just over 10% in class V in 1881. By 1891, their social status, like that of the Highland born males, had undergone a deterioration with a reduction of the percentage in class III and a slight increase in class IV and V. However, contrary to this trend of decline, both groups, like the Irish, increased their representation in the top two social categories.

It is evident that in 1881 the Highland born males enjoyed an enviable social status in the Plantation sample area, enjoying the highest representation in class III and the lowest in class V. While their

status was largely undifferentiated from that of the local born and the
immigrants from the rest of Scotland, it was in stark contrast with that
of the Irish who were clearly occupying the unskilled , low status
positions. In 1891 the position of the Highland males had changed.
While, in common with the males from Glasgow and Govan and the rest of
Scotland, their proportion of skilled workers had decreased and unskilled
had increased, this trend was more marked with the Highlanders.

The social status of the Highland born women was somewhat at variance
with their male counterparts. In 1881 and 1891 their percentage in class
III was lower and in social class IV higher than that for the population
as a whole although in 1891 their representation had fallen in class
III and risen in class IV. The decline in their social status, however,
was not as dramatic as that suffered by the Highland males and in 1891 they
increased their representation in class II and decreased their
representation in class V.

The Irish women also had a lower proportion of their workforce.in_class
III and a higher proportion in class IV than the population as a whole
in 1881 and 1891. And in 1891 the increase in the percentage in class
IV was mainly as a result of a decrease in the proportion in class III.
Both the women born in Glasgow and Govan and the rest of Scotland
followed a close pattern in the two census years, maintaining the
majority of their workforce in skilled occupations. The local born
women had a surprisingly high proportion of their workforce in class V
(16% in 1881), although this dropped to 10% in 1891. The women from
the rest of Scotland diverged from the total female population only in
their representation in class II which, in 1891, was as high as 10%

The Highland women in Plantation followed the pattern which emerged

in both Broomielaw and Kingston. In 1881 and 1891 they were more

likely than the population as a whole to occupy the semi skilled positions

of class IV and less likely to hold the skilled occupations of class

III. In Planation their social status was clearly divergent from the

women born in Glasgow and Govan or the rest of Scotland and closely

resembled that of the Irish.

The results of the investigation into the occupational choice of the ·

various ethnic groups in Plantation in 1881 and 1891,.   set out in

Tables 4.11 and 4.12, further illuminates the social status of the

Highlanders. As Table 4.11 demonstrates, in 1881 the Highland males

were clearly favouring or avoiding certain occupations. They were

under-represented in the professions, in clerical positions, in the skilled

trades and in semi and unskilled occupations. They were, however, over-

represented in shop work, in business and, more spectacularly, as

mariners. In 1891 (see Table 4.12) they remained under-represented

in the professions (and with only 2% of this category Highland born

     were clearly under-achieving), in clerical work and in the skilled

trades. However, they no longer had any representatives among the .35

strong business community and they substantially increased their

proportion of shop workers, of mariners (with Highlanders comprising

just under a half of the areas total) and of semi and unskilled

workers. And in this year the sample area's two policemen were Highland.

TABLE 4.11

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND ALL OCCUPATIONS, PLANTATION, 1881. %

	PLACE OF BIRTH				
OCCUPATIONS	Highlands	Ireland	Glasgow & Govan	Rest of Scotland	N=
MALES					
Professions	8	8	19	58	36
Business	14	29	0	57	7
Shop work	17	7	34	37	41
Clerks	10	12	19	50	42
Police	0	0	0	0	0
Mariners	38	9	7	28	93
Skilled trades	9	8	25	51	536
Semi & unskilled	7	48	14	24	245
All occupations	12	18	20	43	1050
FEMALES					
Professions	10	20	20	30	10
Business	0	0	0	100	1
Shop work	10	5	28	44	39
Clerks	100	0	0	0	1
Skilled trades	6	14	42	32	110
Servants	37	14	19	30	43
Washerwomen	11	17	33	33	18
Factory work	10	9	47	29	68
All occupations	16	11	33	33	337

Source: See Table 9

TABLE 4.12

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND ALL OCCUPATIONS, PLANTATION, 1891. %

| OCCUPATIONS | PLACE OF BIRTH | | | | |
	Highlands	Ireland	Glasgow & Govan	Rest of Scotland	N=
			MALES		
Professions	2	14	30	37	43
Business	0	23	17	54	35
Shop work	29	6	29	43	69
Clerical	15	5	37	39	62
Police	100	0	0	0	2
Mariners	46	9	14	20	98
Skilled trades	14	8	34	39	498
Semi & unskilled	19	30	19	28	355
All occupations	16	14	31	34	1193
			FEMALES		
Professions	29	0	14	57	7
Business	0	0	0	100	1
Shop work	5	5	50	30	60
Clerical	0	0	60	40	5
Skilled trades	10	9	45	28	130
Servants	36	8	40	16	25
Washerwomen	33	27	13	8	15
Factory work	5	15	49	27	104
All Occupations	10	11	43	30	346

SOURCE: See Table 4.10

The Irish males dominated the semi and unskilled occupations in 1881 and 1891, were well represented in business and, in 1891, achieved a percentage in the professions in accordance with their numbers in the community. The local born were well represented in shopwork and the skilled trades and, to a lesser extent, in the professions and clerical occupations in 1881. They were under-represented in business, as mariners and the semi and unskilled occupations. In 1891, they were over-represented in the skilled trades and in clerical work and performed fairly well in the professions and in shop work. They remained under-represented as mariners, in business and in semi and unskilled work. The males from the rest of Scotland were over-represented in the professions, in business, in clerical work, in the skilled trades and, in 1891, in shop work. They were under-represented only as mariners, in the police and in semi and unskilled work.

It is clear from Tables 4.11 and 4.12 that, inspite of some differences in the social status of the Highland males in Plantation in 1881, the broad trends of the occupational choices which had been identified in Broomielaw and Kingston operated in this third sample area. Certain types of occupations clearly attracted Highland males - most of the jobs in the police, most of the sea-faring occupations were going to Highlanders and a disproportionate amount of the semi and unskilled work. On the other hand, the occupations which required a specialist training or education such as the professions and the skilled trades we:e the ones in which the Highlanders were poorly represented. In turn these categories were dominated by the local born and the immigrants from the rest of Scotland.

Among the small group of Highland female workers again certain
occupational preferences are discernible. In 1881 and 1891 the clear
preference was for domestic service and, in 1891, the allied domestic
employment as washerwomen. In other occupations their representation
tended to fall well below their relative position in the total female
workforce with the exception of the clerical sector in 1881 and the
professions in 1891, exceptions which were the result of the one female
clerk in the sample area in 1881 and a nurse and a music teacher in 1891
being of Highland birth. Factory work was unpopular with the Highland
women in 1881 and 1891, just as it had been in the other sample areas.
The skilled trades, however, while having a low Highland representation
in 1881, employed 13 Highland women in 1891 - a number in proportion
to their position in the total workforce.

The Irish women in 1881 were over-represented in the professions, in the
skilled trades, as domestic servants and washerwomen. They were under-
represented in shop and factory work and had no representatives in
business or clerical work. In 1891 they increased their representation
among the factory workers and the washerwomen, while decreasing their
representation in the other categories. The local born women showed
some preference for the skilled trades and factory work and, in 1891, they
also had a high representation in shop work and as clerical workers.
The women from the rest of Scotland, engaged in a variety of occup-
ations were only under-represented as clerks in 1881 and as servants and
as washerwomen in 1891.

OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL ASSIMILATION.

The data for the three sample areas in the period 1851-1891 point to certain distinct trends in Highland immigrant employment in the city, trends which marked Highlanders as a group distinctive from the rest of the population.

In all three sample areas the Highlanders tended to perform poorly in the top two social classes. And when specific occupations were analysed it was verified that they also fared badly in the professional and business categories. Contrary to the twentieth century image of the well educated Highlander arriving in the city to take up professional occupations, in the nineteenth century the Highland immigrants, for the best part, arrived badly educated and linguistically disadvantaged, disadvantages which militated against professional employment. (1)

The Highland performance in social class III, the class incorporating the skilled working class, also differentiated them from the population as a whole. Generally, a lower proportion of Highlanders attained class III than did any other group apart from the Irish. And when the various occupational categories within class III were examined it was found that the Highlanders displayed their own peculiar occupational preferences. The Highland men tended to dominate the sea-faring occupations and the police, the women dominated domestic service, and both men and women tended to be at a disadvantage in the skilled trades.

(1) The performance of the Highlanders in the top two social classes compared surprisingly adversely with that of the Irish who frequently matched or surpassed the performance of the population as a whole.

In social classes IV and V, for semi and unskilled workers, again there

was a tendency for Highland men to come closest to the position of the

Irish. While not reaching the high percentage in these classes as did

the Irish, the Highlanders were at a comparative disadvantage with the

rest of the population. Highland women tended to dominate social class

IV mainly because of their propensity to seek employment in domestic

categories. Even those Highland women in Kingston and Plantation in 1891

who were occupied in the skilled trades were skilled in those occupations

such as dressmaking and tailoring which may have been domestic based

labour. Factory employment was certainly not favoured by the Highland

women; whether because they shunned its harsh realities or whether its

higher wages attracted the more competitive local born remains a subject

of surmise. In their preference for work as mariners, their prominence

in the police, their relatively poor performance in the skilled trades

and even the types of semi and unskilled occupations they engaged in

(work which tended to be of a casual nature such as carters, porters,

watchmen) the Highland males revealed a similar disinclination to take

up occupations involving the discipline of the factory.

FACTORS INVOLVED IN CHOICE OF OCCUPATION.

Dr. Lobban, in his study of the Highland immigrants in Greenock, addressed

the problem of the factors involved in occupational choice. While

recognising that there were various factors involved - such as economic

necessity, the possessions of skills acquired in the Highlands which were

required in the Lowland economy, patronage, qualities of character and a

disposition unsuited to rigid industrial discipline - the crucial element

for Dr Lobban was the favourable position of the Highlanders in Greenock,

achieved through a long history of Highland influence in the town, which

allowed them to select and reject occupations:

"...large numbers of Highlanders were able to exercise their

preference through the influence and occupational dominance their

predecessors had achieved, while other less fortunate migrants like

the Irish were forced to take up the less attractive occupations." (1)

While Lobban based this argument on the tendency of Highlanders in

Greenock in the nineteenth century to continue the occupational traditions

established by their compatriots in the preceding century, in Glasgow

the problem remains that there was a shift of emphasis in Highland

employment patterns away from the textiles mills and bleachfields, which

evidence seems to suggest characterised Highland employment in the early

years of the nineteenth century, towards the service sector.

Many of the factors identified in the Greenock study were also apparent

in Glasgow. In Glasgow, just as in Greenock, unfavourable economic

circumstances frequently denied any possibility of exercising

occupational preference and necessitated employment in unskilled, casual

labour. The periods, for instance, when economic circumstances in the

Highlands were most severe also co-incided with an increase in the number

of Highlanders in class IV and V occupations in the sample areas. (2)

(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.151
(2) See pp. 131, 141   above for data on the increase in unskilled workers
in 1891. See Chapter Two on the crisis in the Highland economy in the
1880s

Patronage was another factor operating. Just as in Greenock, Highlanders already in the city often operated in favour of new arrivals from the north:

"...the Highlanders find it more easy to get respectable employment than the Irish; the Highlanders have many friends in Glasgow to whom they apply; there are very few days in which we do not recieve letters of recommendation on behalf of poor Highlanders coming to Glasgow; they come with letters of recommendation to countrymen and clansmen who are in comfortable circumstances; we are very clannish; and those who come from one Island do it for the men from that Island who have to get employment - the Macdonalds for the Macdonalds and the Macleods for the Macleods, and so on, so that they find little difficulty in getting work..." (1)

There existed in the city men of wealth and power, who claimed Highland connections, and who were prepared to operate in favour of Highland employees. The move by George MacIntosh, David Dale and Robert Dalglish to provide employment in their factories for displaced Highlanders has already been documented in a previous chapter (2) and, while undoubtedly, this provided these employers with cheap labour, it is another good example of patronage in practice. George MacIntosh employed mainly Highland labour at his cudbear works in Dennistoun where the roll-call every morning was in Gaelic.(3) This tradition of patronage seemed to be carried on into the second generation of Highlanders in the city: George MacIntosh's son, Charles, was the only Glasgow employer giving

(1) Report of Select Committee on Emigration, Minutes of Evidence, qu. 1250, p.118
(2) See Chapter Three, pp. 79-80.
(3) R.Bain, "A Highland Industrial pioneer" in The Active Gael, Glasgow, 1934

evidence to the Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor who
stated a preference for Highland rather than Irish labour inspite of
admitting that they were "frequently much lazier". (1)

A form of patronage also existed on a less exalted level whereby
immigrants in a position of some authority would seek to ensure employment
for incomers from the home area. One 86 year old Lewis woman, interviewed
by the present researcher, spoke of how her first occupation in Glasgow
as a fourteen year old kitchen maid had been secured by an aunt, already
employed in the same establishment. Later, another younger sister joined
the household which included three other maids from the same island. (2)
A similar unofficial network was undoubtedly at work in the 1930s on the
Highland estate of Sir Stirling Maxwell of Pollok when the foreman
recruited a large team of workers all from his own parish on the Isle of
Skye. (3) Such practices were obviously common and were further
documented by Lobban. (4)

Undoubtedly, the possession of marketable skills acquired in the Highlands
was an important factor in the choice of occupation. In the course of
the nineteenth century, with the development of a fishing industry and
the advent of steamer connections between the west coast and Hebrides
and the Clyde, a sea-faring tradition was nurtured in the Highlands.
These skills were in turn used by the immigrants in Glasgow to secure
employment on the Clyde ferries, on the cargo boats and canal barges

(1) Op. cit., Appendix G, p.115
(2) Taped interview with Mrs Rachel MacDiarmid, 10.19.81
(3) For this information I am indebted to the late Mr Calum MacKenzie of
Uig, Skye.
(4) Lobban, op.cit. pp148-149

and on the ocean going liners. Lobban shows how skills acquired working

in the Highland whisky industry were useful in securing employment in

distilleries and brewers in Greenock. (1) And it is possible that

Highland techniques of dyeing were put to use at the beginning of the

century when Highland labour dominated that industry in the Lowlands.

However, a more satisfactory explanation must be sought for the absence

of the Highlanders from heavy industry - an absence exemplified by their

settlement patterns (i.e. away from the main sites of heavy industry in

the east end of the city - (2)) and their apparent preference for the

service sector or more casual labouring employment which has been

documented in this chapter. Lobban recognised a similar trend in

Greenock and concluded that this demonstrated the Highlanders ability to

reject undesirable occupations:

"There is... a clear indication... that the Highland migrants were

not particularly anxious to take up employment in factories, mills

or sugar refineries where there would be a strict regime and rigid

industrial discipline, and that they apparently preferred

occupations such as that of policeman, carter, transport and rail-

way worker, sailor and mariner, porter and shopkeeper which did

not involve adhering to a strict routine throughout every minute

of the day." (3)

While it is probably true that Highlanders were tempermentally unsuited

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(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.143
(2) See Chapter Three
(3) Lobban, op.cit. 149-150

to the rigours of industrial discipline (1), it is also more than likely

that. as labourers they were rejected by employers for the same reasons.

Evidence suggests that the big industrial employers found Highland

labour undesirable. William Dixon, proprietor of collieries and iron

works in the city, and as such probably one of the largest employers of

heavy industry, declared:

"A great majority of the West Highland hands are quite useless;

they are deficient in the aptitude to learn, and they do not work

so heartily; in general, they are a lazy, idle set; we decidedly.

prefer the Irish to these Highlanders." (2)

The problem of training the Highlanders, used to a subsistence life-style

far removed from the rigours of nascent industrial capitalism, for

factory discipline was outlined in 1833 by William Houldsworth, one of

the leading textiles employers in the city:

"... all the attempt that were made to induce these men (Highlanders)

to work hard and live better were of no avail... they would rather

live upon meal and potatoes than exert themselves." (3)

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(1) Historians have recorded the problems of disciplining Highlanders to
a work routine in development projects in the Highlands, such as canal
and road building, fishing and linen. See, for instance, Gray, The
Highland Economy op.cit. and A.J.Youngson, After the Forty-Five, op.cit.
(2)S.C. on the State of the Irish Poor op.cit. p. 114
(3) Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on Manufactures,
Commerce and Shipping. op.cit. Qu.5288, p.314

It is possible, then, that the absence of Highlanders from heavy industrial employment was not simply a question of them exercising their preference away from this category. The fact that, as will be demonstrated on pages 160 - 163 below, the Lowland born daughters of Highlanders showed a greater propensity for factory employment than did their mothers indicates that this sort of employment was not, as Lobban suggests, subject to "a fairly strong family pressure to keep the girls out of a type of work that was not considered desirable". (1)

Operating against the Highlanders also was their frequent lack of fluency in English, or, as one employer declared, "...what operates powerfully against the Highlanders on their first arrival is their imperfect knowledge of the language". (2) Undoubtedly, the strangeness of the language would have militated more against their integration into the work discipline of a factory than into the kitchen or below deck.

Competition with the Irish who were, as some of the evidence would seem to suggest, a more disciplined workforce, as well as their own inate unsuitability for factory discipline, ensured that the Highlanders would instead play an important role in the expanding service sector. To meet the growing demands from the city's prosperous bourgeoisie for domestic labour, to man the city's police, to labour as porters and carters in the expanded docks and to operate the various vessels on the river and canals, the Highlanders were eminently suited. Lobban writes of qualities of character, acknowledging that "most probably many of the Highlanders

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(1) Lobban, op.cit. pp 148-49
(2) S.C. on the State of the Irish Poor, op.cit. appendix G, p.587

did conform in fact to that type of steady, reliable dependable person legend had delighted in depicting". (1) The Lewis woman quoted on page 152 above gave her own views on this subject. She stated that she had entered domestic service because she had not been trained for anything else and felt that servants were poorly paid compared with other occupations, including factory work. Asked why she thought employers sought Highland girls, she replied, "we were supposed to be the best workers, but I don't know if that was true. Likely we were just soft and simple". (2)

The popular image of the Highlanders in the city has tended to visualise them in certain non-factory occupations - the women in domestic service, burly Highland men in the police (and their physique must have made them more suited to this occupation than the sons of the urban proletariat), and manning the city river traffic (3). This study has tended to confirm this popular image as being close to reality. The pattern of employment in the sample areas demonstrated a preference for employment in the service sector outwith the discipline of the factory system with the Highlanders opting for employment in domestic service, in sea-faring occupations, in river and canal transport, in the police, as carters, watchmen and dock labourers.

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(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.145
(2) See footnote 2, p. 152
(3) Gaelic tended to be the principal language heard on the Clyde ferries crossing from Finnieston and Partick to Govan until their closure in the early 1980s.

Another popular image of the Highland immigrants is of a group which was

rapidly upwardly mobile, moving from semi-skilled work via education

to the professions in the second generation. (1) In the working class

sample areas this process was not evident, with the Highlanders tending

to retain their predominantly working class social status. However, it

would be incorrct to conclude from their poor performance in social

classes I and II in the sample areas that a Highland business and pro-

fessional strata was absent from the city as a whole since it is possible

that social mobility resulted in a move out of the "Highland ghetto"

into a middle class suburb. The study Dr Lobban made of the Highland

population in Greenock concluded that a Highland professional strata did

indeed exist, and that in the nineteenth century "it was still relatively

easy for men from the Highlands to make their way into the middle and

upper ranks of Greenock society". (2) As proof of Highland upward

mobility , Lobban found that by 1891 Highland migrants in Greenock were

better represented in the professional and managerial grades than they

had been in 1851. (3) It would be safe to assume that in Glasgow the

Highlanders were also achieving professional/managerial status but were

moving out of the areas of Highland settlement. Superficially, it might

appear that the lack of a professional strata in the sample areas was an ind-

ication of their exodus from these areas and absorption into the wider

community. However, further chapters of this thesis will demonstrate

that lack of residence in "Highland" areas of the city did not necessarily

indicate a lack of commitment to the Highland community. (4)

(1) As typified in the case of prominent Scottish socialist leader John
MacLean. The son of impoverished Highlanders who settled to the south of
the city, he achieved a university degree and became a school teacher.
See Nan Milton, John MacLean, Bristol, 1973.
(2) Lobban, op.cit. p.162
(3) ibid, p.
(4) Chapters Six, Seven and Eight on the Highland institutions in the city
identifies a number of Highlanders from this strata.

The nature of the Highlanders' occupational preferences may have had a cohesive effect on their community. Highland seamen working on the cargo vessels on the Clyde (1) along with other Highlanders would have been less ready to assimilate the culture of the new environment than would the labourer entering the factory. And in the same way the Highland maids in the kitchen were more likely to retain their language and culture than would mill hands in a textiles factory. By following occupations which brought them into contact mainly with other small groups of Highlanders, they were sufficiently isolated to ensure the insulation of their culture.

The statistical data on employment structures in the three areas of density of Highland settlement clearly suggests that the Highland immigrants were a group distinctive in character. This view is at odds with the conclusions Lobban made in his survey of Greenock when he wrote, "... there were never any really serious or significant deviations from the norm, and, taken together, the results for the two years (1851 and 1891) would indicate that the Highland migrants were spreading themselves throughout the various occupational grades roughly in proportion to their numbers in the total male population". (2)

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(1) The Highland hands on the Clyde cargo vessels, fictionalised by Neil Munro in Para Handy's Tales (op.cit.), were no doubt a popular stereotype of the day. The tradition of Highlanders seeking employment on the river continued to the recent past with the fleet of the Clyde Port Authority (formerly Clyde Navigation Trust) popularly known as the "Skye Navy".
(2) Lobban, op.cit. p.162

TABLE 4.13

SOCIAL CLASS OF NON HIGHLAND BORN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF TWO HIGHLAND PARENTS

IN KINGSTON AND PLANTATION 1881, 1891. %

SOCIAL CLASS

	I and II	III	IV and V	Total	N=
Kingston 1881					
Sons	0	100	0	100	13
Daughters	14	43	14	100	7
Kingston 1891					
Sons	0	100	0	100	8
Daughters	0	63	38	100	16
Plantation 1881					
Sons	0	91	9	100	11
Daughters	0	60	40	100	15
Plantation 1891					
Sons	6	67	28	100	18
Daughters	0	54	46	100	26

SOURCE: See Tables 4.5, 4.6, 4.9, 4.10.

TABLE 4.14

SOCIAL CLASS OF NON-HIGHLAND BORN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ONE HIGHLAND

PARENT IN KINGSTON AND PLANTATION, 1881,1891. %

	SOCIAL CLASS				
	I and II	III	IV and V	Total	N=
Kingston 1881					
Sons	15	85	0	100	13
Daughters	0	33	67	100	9
Kingston 1891					
Sons	0	88	12	100	16
Daughters	0	60	40	100	10
Plantation 1881					
Sons	0	88	12	100	16
Daughters	7	57	36	100	14
Plantation 1891					
Sons	0	71	29	100	24
Daughters	0	54	46	100	26

SOURCE: See Tables 4.5, 4.6, 4.9, 4.10.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

In studies of migrant communities upward social mobility is sometimes seen as a test of assimilation. Jackson, in his study of the Irish immigrants in Britain, saw this as a crucial factor in their non-integration and maintained that "the majority ...remained in unskilled jobs and to some extent established a tradition which is still followed by their grandchildren and great-grandchildren today". (1)

While the method used in this study of looking at certain areas of density of Highland settlement rather than carrying out a sample of the entire Highland born population rendered problematic the measuring of social mobility, it was possible to analyse the social status of the Lowland born children of Highland parents. Unfortunately, the number of employed offspring residing with their parents tended to be low, but, in the two areas where the numbers were greatest, Kingston and Plantation, a survey of their social status was carried out. In order to compensate for the limited data the social class of the offspring of only one Highland parent was also investigated. (2) The results are summarised in Table 4.13 for the offspring of two Highland parents and Table 4.14 for the offspring of one Highland parent.

Table 4.13 suggests that the Highlanders' sons were less likely to end up in semi and unskilled occupations than were their fathers. In Kingston, for example, all the sons were in social class III and in Plantation the proportion in classes IV and V was considerably lower than that of the Highland born males. There did not, however, seem to

(1) J.A. Jackson, The Irish in Britain, London, 1963, p.84
(2) Many of those parents were widows or wives of seamen who were absent from home at the time of the census, a good proportion of whom were likely to have been Highland.

be any marked improvement on their parents' performance in classes I and

II, with only one representative, a teacher, in Plantation in 1891.

The position of the daughters was also more favourable than that of the

Highland born women with a slight decrease in both areas and in the two

census years (1881 and 1891) in the proportion in classes IV and V.

While caution must be exercised in the conclusions one draws from such

limited data, there does seem to be a suggestion of a slight upward

mobility on the part of the Highlanders' children, a suggestion which

is supported by the evidence of Table 4.14 which reveals a broadly similar

pattern. (1)

Another feature of the employment pattern of the Highlanders' children

was their tendency to follow a divergent occupational path from the rest

of the Highland community. For instance, the Lowland born sons were

more likely to gain employment as clerks and in the skilled trades, and

they showed no preference in sea-faring occupations. Neither did the

daughters reveal the propensity of their mothers for domestic service;

they were instead more likely to be. employed in the skilled trades and,

interestingly, in factories. (2) In their occupational preference

the children of the Highland immigrants would appear to have merged into

the general pattern of employment, a view which tends to echo that taken

by Dr Lobban:

"... the percentage figures for the sons of Highlanders and the sons

of Irishmen in the various categories tended in general to be closer

to the norm figures than those of their fathers." (3)

(1) The high percentage of females in class I/II in Kingston in 1881 was
the result of one woman, a dairy keeper, who employed one worker.
(2) Some were described as factory workers, packers, mill hands and
machine feeders
(3) Lobban, op cit, pp 125-126

Although the social and occupational structure of the Highland born
indicates a fairly unique, inward-looking group which in many respects
was isolated from the larger urban culture, the employment patterns of
the second generation, admittedly based on extremely limited data,
suggests a degree of integration, in occupational terms at least.

CHAPTER FIVE.

AGE, SEX, MARITAL AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND

PLANTATION, 1851-1891.

The study of the socio-demographic features of an immigrant community

can provide many insights into its general nature. This chapter,

however, will focus on the implications of the age, sex, marital and

household structures of the Highlanders in the sample areas of Broomielaw,

Kingston and Plantation for the process of assimilation.

The demographic structure of an immigrant population tends to differ

from the total population in age distribution. Demographic studies

have shown that migration takes place chiefly in the younger adult age

groups. (1)   Obviously, it is very much easier to embark on the

frequently precarious quest for employment and accommodation on one's

own. Remaining in an area beyond a certain age also implies that one

has already some form of income and occupation. Barring catastrophe,

therefore, movement is less likely. When migration takes place in older

age groups this has tended to be associated with extreme economic

hardship,as was evident in mid-nineteenth century Preston:

(1)   Michael Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century
Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971), p.39; T.Dillon, in his study of the
Irish in Leeds in 1851 found that 70% were 30 years or younger. See "The
Irish in Leeds, 1851-1861" in The Thoresby Society LIV part I, p.23.
In Dundee in 1851 over 50% of the Irish were aged between 9 and 30.
See Brenda Collins, Aspects of Irish Immigration into Two Scottish
Towns (Dundee and Paisley) during the mid-Nineteenth Century, Edinburgh
University unpublished M.Phil Thesis, 1979, p.69.

".....most of those who did migrate later in life did so because

    they had to. Particularly to be noticed are the Irish, distressed

    hand-loom weavers, and also probably widows." (1)

In the years immediately following a large-scale migration one would

expect, therefore, a concentration of the immigrant population in the

younger adult age groups. If migration took place after marriage and the

birth of offspring then this would be reflected in the number under

fourteen years.

Over time the age distribution of the immigrant population should come to

resemble more closely the host population with a greater spread through

the older age groups and a resultant "ageing" of the immigrant

community. However, several factors could intervene to upset this hypo-

thetical pattern. A continued high rate of migration, for example,

would ensure that a sizeable proportion of the community will be in

the younger adult age groups. Rapid upward social mobility and the move

out to middle class areas (2), emigration or the return to the homeland

(3) could result in the continued dearth of the older age groups from

the sample areas.

(1) Anderson, op.cit. p.40
(2) Such as the pattern of Jewish immigrant communities in America outlined
by Louis Wirth in The Ghetto (Chicago, 1928). As the Jewish immigrants
prospered they moved out of the "ghettoes", thus making way for the new
Jewish immigrants.
(3)The propensity of some migrants to return to their homeland has been
commented on by many demographers. Ravenstein, wrote that one of the
"laws" of migration was that "Each main current of migration produces a
compensating counter-current". "The Laws of Migration", Journal of the
Royal Statistical Society, 48 (June, 1885)p.199

The period of the life cycle in which migration takes place carries

several implications for the assimilation, or non-assimilation, of the

immigrant community. It would be simpler, for instance, for the young,

single migrants to return to the homeland after a few years residence

in the city than it would for the married migrants with families. These

temporary residents in the city, whose main aim would have been to work

until they had saved sufficient to enable them to set up home in the

Highlands, would have been less likely to assimilate into the local

culture and would have had the strongest emotional ties with the

homeland. Paradoxically, however, single migration could also have had

the opposite effect of enforcing assimilation: migration before

marriage has taken place increases the chance of an "external" marriage

(to a partner of different ethnic origin) which in turn brings the

immigrant into the wider community. This point will be discussed more

fully below.

An "ageing" immigrant community which is not receiving fresh inflows of

new migrants is also more likely to assimilate, at least in the long-

term. (1) The continual arrival of new immigrants from the Highlands

would not only help to strengthen and support the separate institutions,

but would also make the existing immigrant community more viable by

providing potential marriage partners for the second or even third

generation Highlanders in the city. (2)

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(1) Although the continued existence of close-knit Jewish communities in
Britain today inspite of little new immigration since the beginning of
the century tends to challenge this assumption.
(2) Many of my relatives and acquaintances in Glasgow who are "second
generation" Highland immigrants have married Highlanders new to the city.

Indications that longer term immigrants were absent from the sample
areas (identified by a continued low proportion of the older age groups
throughout the period) also holds out implications for the assimilation
process. Any large scale out-movements from the areas of Highland
density to the suburbs by the upwardly mobile, or further migration or
emigration to another area would tend to have a fragmentary effect on the
community and perhaps also signify its lack of cohesion. However, if
the absence of the older age groups was the result of the Highland
immigrants' propensity to return to the Highlands, then this would tend
to denote a special relationship between the Highlanders and the city
where the concept of complete assimilation becomes irrelevant. These
problems, of course, cannot be resolved by an analysis of the age
structure alone. Only by reference to other socio-demographic features
can the most likely hypothesis be drawn.

Migration has tended to have a vital effect on the balance of the sexes.
While the sexes are not conceived in equal proportions, and there exists
differing rates of mortality, these inherent imbalances have been
exacerbated in certain areas and in certain periods by the divergent
migratory patterns of men and women. Migration theory has detected a
tendency for women to "predominate among short-journey migrants" [1]
and men to undertake the longer distance emigrations. Work on the sex
ratio of Scottish emigrants in the nineteenth century has confirmed the
disproportionate number of males. [2] Thus, in Scotland generally in

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[1] Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration", Journal of the Royal Statistical
Society, 52 (June, 1889), p.288.
[2] Flinn, op.cit. pp450-452. In the late 1870s nearly twice the number
of males than females emigrated. Ibid.

the nineteenth century women outnumbered men with the disparity in the

Highland counties more pronounced   in 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1891

and 1901. (1) Moreover, the imbalance was made more serious by the

greater disparity in the most marriageable age groups as the result of

the fact that "it was not so much men who migrated rather than women,

as young men rather than young women". (2) In the Western Lowlands,

however, where industry attracted male labour, there was greater equity

between the sexes. (3)

The ratio of the sexes inside the immigrant community is an important

determinant in that community's social behaviour and, ultimately, its

movement towards assimilation. If men and women migrated in roughly

equal numbers then the chances of finding marriage partners from inside

the community would have been very much greater. On the other hand,

the predominance of one sex may have increased the probability of the

formation of exogamic marriages. Even if the sexes were roughly equal,

if there was a serious imbalance in the marriageable age groups then this

could either   have affected the possibility of finding a marriage partner

from inside the group   or could have resulted in postponed marriages

and limited the period of fertility. However, the overwhelming

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(1) For example, there were 92.8 males per 100 females in Scotland as a
whole in 1851 and 86.4 in the Highland counties. By 1901 the disparity
had narrowed with 96.4 males in Scotland and 92.9 in the Highland
counties per 100 females. Figures from Flinn, op.cit. Tables 5.2.1 and
5.2.2.
(2) Ibid., p.319. The most marriageable age group is defined by Flinn
as 25-29. In the Highland counties in 1861, while there were 88.7 males
per 100 females, in the 25-29 age group the ratio was 76.2. (Table 5.2.2)
(3) Ibid. In 1901 the ratio, at 101, was in favour of men.

predominance of one sex may have been the result of a form of migration which was a short term expedient, in much the same way that seasonal migration was, in which some capital was raised before returning home to marry and continue the traditional lifestyle.

The marital pattern of the immigrant community (i.e the extent to which they married or remained single, the stage in the life cycle when marriages occurred) also has implications for the process of assimilation. Evidence suggests that by the middle of the nineteenth century fewer marriages in the Highlands were contracted and those that were were late:

"....women (in the Highlands) tended to marry late and less. The men, too, inspite of the imbalanced sex ratio, tended to delay marriage." (1)

In the period 1861-1931 fewer than three quarters of the women under 55 were ever married. In the 20-24 age group the proportion of women married ranged from 12-15% while the national average fluctuated between 21 and 27%. The men in the Highland counties also married late and less: in 1901 55% of the males in the 30-34 age group were still single compared with a Scottish proportion of 34%; in the 50-54 age group the proportions were 23.4 and 14% respectively. (2) It is clear that the reasons for the reluctance to marry were not simply the imbalance of the sexes.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Highlands had an acute excess of population and the limited land available to the Highland masses had

(1) Flinn, op.cit. p.37
(2) Ibid., pp 324-327

already been sub-divided beyond its economic capacity. Landowners were

anxious to avoid further increases in   population and, as a result, put

considerable pressure on their tenantry to postpone marriage. This

pressure ranged from the moral:

"Early marriages have been greatly discountenanced by the resident

factors, by clergymen, and influential gentlemen." (1)

to the more coercive:

"On estates it has been distinctly intimated to partners....'you

may marry when you please, but if you marry without having a

holding upon my property, you must quit the estate next term, with

your wife.' That has tended to discourage early marriages." (2)

And even where there was no pressure from the landowner, there was

frequently the requirement to postpone marriage until the family small-

holding was inherited or economic circumstances were favourable.

The marital pattern, however, in urban areas was different with more

people marrying, and marrying earlier than was the national average.

For instance, in 1901, only 12.5% of women and 12.7% of men in the

Western Lowlands were still single in the 50-54 age group. In the 20-

24 age group, in the same year 72% of the women were single compared with

a Scottish proportion of 76.4 and a Highland proportion of 88%. The

proportions for the men in the same age group were 85.9, 87.4 and 95.9

(1) Select Committee on Emigration, op.cit., Minutes of Evidence, qu. 848, p.73
(2) Ibid., Qu. 34, p.34

respectively. (1) Higher marriage rates in industrial areas, while not unconnected with the greater parity between the sexes, may also have had an economic foundation. Michael Anderson, for instance, in his study of mid-nineteenth century Lancashire found that urban employment based on wage labour led to early independence:

"This early independence, coupled with the fact that subsequent expectations were likely to be of a fall rather than any much greater rise of wages seems to have persuaded most that it was safe and even best to marry young... the proportion of the population of Preston ever married at any given age was consistently higher than the proportion for the rural areas." (2)

The only substantial work to date on Highlanders in an urban environment, the thesis by Dr. Lobban on the Highlanders in Greenock, suggests that this group did not conform to this pattern. There was a tendency, more marked with the women, for the Greenock Highlanders to marry later than the general population. This tendency was in contrast to the practice of the Irish in the town who married at a much earlier age. (3)

If Highlanders in Glasgow were conforming to an urban pattern of earlier marriages this provides some evidence of the group adopting the customs of the host population. And conversely a pattern of late marriages would tend to indicate a group which was insulated from the dominant

(1) Flinn, op.cit. pp 324-327 (Tables 5.2.5 and 5.2.6)
(2) Anderson, op.cit. p.132
(3) Lobban, op.cit. p.283

ethos. It would also tend to suggest that marriages were postponed
either because the support of the home in the Highlands was seen as a
priority, or because marriage was planned to take place when the migrant
returned home after a period spent in the city. Either supposition
would provide evidence of a group with strong emotional ties with the
homeland which had yet to be severed.

Late marriages inevitably shorten the period of fertility which in turn
could have an adverse effect on the future viability of the community.
If the community is not reproducing itself it will inevitably wither
unless, of course, there is a constant flow of new immigrants.
The smaller family units, however, of late marriages may also have
promoted an economic stability which in turn would tend to enable upward
mobility.

The choice of marriage partner is a crucial factor in the process of
assimilation. An exogamic marriage (i.e. one made outside the ethnic
group) introduces into the home the values and the influences of the
outside world. Sociologists have tended to emphasise the central role
of inter-marriage, or marital assimilation, in the wider assimilation
process. Milton Gordon, for instance, asserts that when marital
assimilation takes place "the minority group loses its ethnic identity
in the larger host or core society, and identificational assimilation
takes place". (1) Marital assimilation, however, is as much the product
of the process of assimilation as it is the instigator. Gordon, for
instance, sees it as the inevitable outcome of what he terms structural
assimilation:

(1) M.M.Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, op.cit. p.80

"(There is an) indissoluble connection, in the time order indicated,
between structural assimilation and marital assimilation. That is,
entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and
institutions of the core society at the primary level inevitable
will lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage." (1)

Rather than establish the cause and effect, it might be more useful to
view the relationship between exogamic marriages and assimilation as a
dialectical process.

Another important factor in the assimilation process is the influence of
the family. Migration, by its very nature, often involves the break up
of families. Indeed, some sociologists and historians have identified a
conscious attempt to cut loose from unbearable family pressures as a
motor force for migration. (2) Others, however, have suggested that
family ties were not only continued but were also strengthened as a result
of migration and urbanisation. (3) Contrary to the pattern described by
Laslett, who argued that the nuclear family unit predominated in England
from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century (4), complex households
containing kin other than the immediate nuclear family (man, wife and
offspring) were found in increasing numbers in the middle of the nineteenth
century. (5) Although migration frequently involved the young adult leaving
the family home, it was not necessarily undertaken by atomised individuals.

(1) Gordon, op.cit. p.80
(2) For instance, M.Banton, West African City (Oxford, 1957), p.48, found
that a major attraction which the town held for its young immigrants was the
freedom from the older generations. A similar motive is outlined by
Lobban, op.cit., p.314 for the migration of some young Highlanders into
Greenock.
(3) Lees, op.cit., pp.130-139
(4) P.Laslett, "The Size and Structure of the Household in England over
Three Centuries", Population Studies, Vol. XXIII, no.2, 1969, p.200
(5) M.Anderson, op.cit. pp43-67

Instead, the migrant was often part of a network of relatives and friends who had already paved the way in terms of providing employment and accommodation.

Whether the immigrant households were predominantly comprised of the smaller nuclear units described by Laslett, or the larger more complex units identified by Anderson, bears some relation to the probability of assimilation. The family unit is an important vehicle for maintaining and passing on traditional values. The immigrant, therefore, residing with kin would be more insulated from outside influences. The presence of resident kin would also help to reinforce the cultural values of the family unit which would help to counter-act the pressure from outside to which the urban born offspring would be more susceptible. The composition of resident kin is another important factor. For instance, the presence of siblings, nieces or nephews from the homeland would be more likely to have a positive effect on the cultural bonds of the family than would married offspring and their children who had been born and brought up in the host area. Some households contained lodgers and their role in the assimilation or non-assimilation process could be as crucial as that of kin. While the presence of lodgers from outside the ethnic group would have promoted assimilation, those from inside would have strengthened non-assimilation. The extent to which immigrants lodged rather than established their own household units is another important aspect. A transitory population intent on returning to the homeland are less likely to form their own households. And,

conversely, the establishment of a household indicates the recognition that length of residence will be more long term.

This chapter will therefore examine from the census data each of these inter-related aspects of the socio-demographic characteristics of the Highland immigrants to test their contribution to, and the extent to which they were influenced by, the assimilation or non-assimilation process. And in order to gauge the extent to which the Highlanders differed from other groups in the community, comparisons will be made with the local born, the immigrants born in Ireland, and the immigrants born elsewhere in Scotland.

AGE STRUCTURE.

For each of the Highland Sample Areas Tables 5.1 and 5.2 summarize the age structure of the Highland born by four broad age groups representing childhood (0-14), early adult (15-44), late adult (45-64) and old age (65+). The age structure of the Highland born is compared with that of three other groups in the community - the Irish born, those born in Glasgow and Govan and the other Scottish migrants. (1) Table 5.3 further sub-divides the proportion of Highland born men and women in the most productive age group 20-59 into four sub-groups (20-29, 30-39, 40-49 and 50-59).

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(1) Immigrants born elsewhere in Scotland but outside the four Highland counties and Glasgow and Govan

TABLE 5.1

AGE STRUCTURE OF MALES BY PLACE OF BIRTH: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND
PLANTATION, 1851-1891. (%)

	BROOMIELAW		KINGSTON		PLANTATION	
	1851	1891	1881	1891	1881	1891
Highland born						
0 - 14	9	6	5	8	13	11
15 - 44	76	72	73	71	67	69
45 - 64	13	19	18	17	18	18
65 +	3	2	4	4	3	3
All Ages	262	109	125	159	141	236
Irish born						
0 - 14	19	11	16	16	14	10
15 - 44	66	65	61	65	70	65
45 - 64	22	22	18	14	22	22
65+	2	2	1	1	2	2
All Ages	124	185	79	79	238	205
Other Scottish migrants						
0 - 14	17	13	13	16	22	19
15 - 44	67	59	64	63	64	57
45 - 64	13	26	18	19	13	22
65 +	3	2	5	2	1	2
All Ages	472	174	418	426	591	533
Glasgow & Govan						
0 - 14	63	50	57	60	73	66
15 - 44	33	43	38	35	24	30
45 - 64	4	5	4	5	3	4
65+	1	1	1	0.3	0	0.3
All Ages	562	411	636	676	803	888

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

TABLE 5.2

AGE STRUCTURE OF FEMALES BY PLACE OF BIRTH: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND
PLANTATION, 1851-1891. (%)

	BROOMIELAW		KINGSTON		PLANTATION	
	1851	1891	1881	1891	1881	1891
Highland born						
0 - 14	11	13	5	9	7	12
15 - 44	69	52	63	61	69	61
45 - 64	17	31	25	21	20	23
65 +	4	4	7	9	4	4
All Ages	264	95	126	128	163	216
Irish born						
0 - 14	19	7	9	11	16	11
15 - 44	67	61	72	70	65	60
45 - 64	11	30	16	19	16	23
65 +	3	2	5	2	3	6
All Ages	129	158	74	53	193	184
Other Scottish migrants						
0 - 14	14	16	18	14	18	21
15 - 44	66	55	53	58	66	55
45 - 64	16	22	22	22	14	21
65+	4	6	8	5	2	3
All Ages	469	158	393	439	589	499
Glasgow & Govan						
0 - 14	56	53	55	53	67	63
15 - 44	39	40	39	41	29	33
45 - 64	4	7	6	5	3	3
65 +	1	1	1	1	0	1
All Ages	591	474	602	622	890	930

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveal some interesting general features of the

demographic structure of the sample areas. The vast majority of the

immigrants (born in the Highland counties, Ireland and the rest of

Lowland Scotland excluding Glasgow and Govan) were in the 15 - 44 age

group, that of the most economically active sector of the community. (1)

The age structure of the Glasgow and Govan born, however, was

radically different with the largest proportion (ranging from 50%

to 73%) in the youngest age group, and as little as 3% - 8% aged over

45. The extreme youth of the local born reflects the fact that the

majority of the residents in the sample areas were either immigrants or

their Glasgow/Govan born offspring.

Of the three immigrant groups the Highland born males had the lowest

proportion of their number aged under 15 years. In most instances the

divergence between the Highlanders on the one hand and the Irish and

the other Scottish migrants on the other was substantial. For instance,

in Broomielaw in 1851, 9% of Highland males were aged under 15, compared

with 19% of Irish and 17% of other Scottish migrants. In Broomielaw in

1891 and in Kingston in 1881 and 1891 there was a similar divergence.

Only in Plantation in 1891 was the Irish proportion smaller - 10% to the

Highland 11%.

In the early adult age group a divergence between the Highland males and

the other immigrants was also evident. In each area, with the exception

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(1) The proportion of immigrants in this age group (in most instances over
60%) was considerably higher than the percentage in Scotland as a whole
which in the period 1841-1921 ranged between 44% and 47% (Source
Tranter, Population and Society 1750-1940, op.cit. Table 10, p.179)

of Plantation in 1881 (where the Irish had a slightly greater percentage), the proportion of Highland born males aged 15 - 44 was greater than that of either the Irish or the males from the rest of Scotland. Furthermore, there was no significant decline in the proportion of Highland males in this age group over the forty year period: in the three sample areas in 1891 the percentage had only declined by between 3 and 7% since 1851.

The divergence between the pattern of the immigrants was not so clear cut in the older adult age group. For example, in Broomielaw in 1851, 13% of all immigrants were aged between 45 and 64. However, only in Plantation in 1881 did the proportion of Highlanders in this age group exceed that of either the Irish or the migrants from the rest of Scotland, and in Broomielaw and Plantation in 1891 it was significantly lower. Just as the decline in the proportion of Highland males in the younger adult age group was inconsiderable in the 1851-1891 period, so too was the increase in the older adult age group. In 1851, 13% of Highland males were in this age group, the percentages were 19, 17 and 18 in Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation in 1891 respectively.

The proportion of males in the oldest age group did not differ substantially among the three immigrant groups. The proportion of Highland born males over 65 varied between 2 and 4%, that of the Irish between 1 and 2% and the migrants from the rest of Scotland between 1 and 5%. Neither was there any evidence of change over the forty year period: in 1851, 3% of the Highland born males were over 65, in 1891 the percentage was 2, 4 and 3 in Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation respectively.

The age structure of the Highland born women reveals a slightly

different pattern from their male compatriots. They, too, had a low

proportion of their number under 15 (although in Broomielaw and

Plantation in 1891 the proportion of Irish in this age group was lower).

However, they did not share the Highland males' predominance in the early

adult age group, being exceeded by the other two immigrant groups in

Broomielaw in 1891 and by the Irish in Kingston in 1881 and 1891.

In the older adult age group, on the other hand, their proportion

exceeded that of the other immigrants in the majority of instances.

There was, as with the males, less of a discernible pattern in the 65 +

age group although the Highland women had a greater predominance than the

Irish.

Table 5.3 highlights the diverging age structure of the Highland men and

women. For both sexes, the ages 20-39   predominated. This predominance,

however, was less obvious among the women, more of whom were aged 40-49

For males, the age group 20-29   dominated that of 30-39. Except for

Broomielaw, this was not the case for females.

The evidence suggests that the Highlanders were subject to a different

pattern of migration and settlement from the other groups of immigrants.

Because of the low proportion of Highland born children it would be

reasonable to surmise that, for the most part, Highlanders migrated

before the birth of their children, and most likely before their marriage.

This would perhaps suggest that the extreme economic motivation which,

according to Anderson (1), promoted the migration of family units, was

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(1) Anderson's view is quoted on p.165   above.

TABLE 5.3

HIGHLAND BORN IN FOUR SELECTED AGE GROUPS, EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL HIGHLAND BORN: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND PLANTATION, 1851-1891.

	BROOMIELAW		KINGSTON		PLANTATION	
	1851	1891	1881	1891	1881	1891
Males						
20 - 29	40	35	32	36	23	23
30 - 39	21	17	32	23	30	23
40 - 49	13	24	14	16	14	19
50 - 59	4	7	10	8	8	8
Total no. (all ages)	262	109	125	159	141	236
Females						
20 - 29	28	19	25	18	19	17
30 - 39	24	17	26	23	34	26
40 - 49	9	25	15	21	20	23
50 - 59	8	14	13	9	6	11
Total no. (all ages)	264	95	126	128	163	216

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

absent. However, the high proportion of children among the immigrants

from Lowland Scotland makes a too rigid correlation between such a

migration and extreme economic hardhip difficult to support. This group

was found, in Chapter Four, to enjoy, relatively, the most favourable

socio-economic circumstances. For the skilled worker, probably assured

of steady employment, migration need not have caused unnecessary

hardship to the family unit.

The Highland males, in comparison with the other immigrants, were over-

represented in the younger and under represented in the older adult age groups.

The predominance of the younger adult age groups, maintained throughout the

period, points to two important features of Highland male migration and

settlement. First, new, young migrants were continually entering the

sample areas. And, second,

a substantial proportion of Highland males must have been moving out,

either to the suburbs, or overseas or elsewhere in the United Kingdom,

or back to the Highlands.

A variety of factors could have contributed to the divergent age structure

of Highland men and women. It is possible that Highland women followed

the migratory pattern outlined by Flinn (1) and moved away from the

Highlands later in the life cycle. However, I would hypothesize that

the women predominated in the 30-39 age group because the sample areas,

which offered little opportunities for the employment preferences of

Highland women (2), were weighted in favour of married women. It is

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(1) Quoted on page 167 above.
(2) Chapter Four identified a preference of Highland women for domestic service.

most likely that when Highland women entered the city they first worked

as servants in the middle class areas, and only entered the working

class areas of Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation after (possibly a

late) marriage, or after they had saved enough capital to set up their

own establishments as lodging house keepers. While, undoubtedly, women's

greater longetivity would partly explain their predominance over the

Highland males in the older age groups, a further explanation may be

found in the imbalance of the sexes in the Highland counties which would

have rendered more unlikely the possibility of finding a husband there

and may have reduced the desire to return.

SEX RATIO.

Table 5.4 summarizes the sex structure of the Highland born in the city

as a whole and in the three sample areas;   Table 5.5 shows the sex

ratio in three selected age groups: 20-29, 30-39 and 40-49.

As Table 5.4 shows, in Glasgow as a whole the number of Highland born

women considerably exceeded the number of Highland born men: in 1861 there

were · fewer than   three Highland men for every four Highland women,

in 1891 fewer than four for every five. In the areas of main Highland

settlement, however, the picture was different. There the balance between

the sexes was more equal and in 1891, in all three areas, the number of

Highland born males actually far exceeded that of Highland born females.

Table 5.5 demonstrates that the greatest disparity was in the 20-29 age

group with the men in some instances outnumbering the women by more than

TABLE 5.4

HIGHLANL BORN MALES PER 100 HIGHLAND BORN FEMALES: GLASGOW, BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND PLANTATION 1851-1891.

YEAR	GLASGOW (1)	BROOMIELAW	KINGSTON	PLANTATION
1851	-	99.2		
1861	73.4			
1881	82.4		99.2	86.5
1891	79.2	114.7	124.2	109.3

TABLE 5.5

AGE SPECIFIC SEX RATIO IN THREE DECENNIAL AGE GROUPS. HIGHLAND BORN MALES PER 100 HIGHLAND BORN FEMALES.

	BROOMIELAW			KINGSTON			PLANTATION		
	20-29	30-39	40-49	20-29	30-39	40-49	20-29	30-39	40-49
YEAR									
1851	139	89	136						
1881				129	121	95	107	76	61
1891	211	119	108	252	123	96	149	97	92

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

(1) Figures not available for the city as a whole in 1851.

two to one. In Kingston and Plantation the sex balance had swung in the

opposite direction in the 40-49 age group with the women outnumbering the

men. The pattern was not identical in all three areas. In Broomielaw,

for example, the males predominated with the single exception of the 30-39

age group in 1851. And in Plantation the women were only outnumbered by

the men in the 20-29 age group.

The predominance of Highland women in Glasgow over their male compatriots

tends to lend support to the view that women were more likely to migrate

and men to emigrate. Thus, the extremely low proportion of Highland males

in Glasgow in 1861 may have been the result of what has been described as

the "heavily male-biased emigration of the 1850s". (1) However, the low

proportion of Highland born males in the city is especially surprising

since areas of heavy industry tended to attract male labour and, as a

result, enjoyed a more equal balance of the sexes. (2) It would appear

that, in the expanding demand for domestic servants, the city provided

more employment opportunities for Highland women, whereas there was not

the same employment opportunities in the non-industrial service sector

which was favoured by the Highland males. (3) The greater predominance

of Highland males in the sample areas was the outcome of the occupational

structure of these areas which provided more opportunities for male

labour. The greater excess of Highland males in 1891, particularly in

the 20-29 age group, was undoubtedly related to a recent wave of

migration from the Highlands in the wake of the economic crisis there in

the 1880s. The increased number of women in the older age groups supports

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(1) Flinn, op.cit. p.317
(2) Ibid., pp317-319
(3) Chapter Four identified a clear Highland preference for the non-industrial service sector.

the view that they entered the sample areas after marriage. Since the greater preponderance of younger women in Plantation in 1881 was not due to more employment opportunities there for Highland women (1), the explanation must lie in the nature of the area in this period as predominantly skilled working class. The higher socio-economic status enjoyed there by the Highland born (2) may have allowed earlier marriages. This point, however, will have to be verified with reference to marital structure.

MARITAL STRUCTURE.

For each of the Highland sample areas Tables 5.6 and 5.7 summarize the percentage of Highland born men and women single in four broad age groups (20-24, 25-29, 30-39 and 40+). The marital structure of the Highlanders is compared with that of the Glasgow and Govan born, the Irish and the immigrants from elsewhere in Scotland.

An analysis of Table 5.6 shows that a greater proportion of Highland males were still single than were the Irish, the Glasgow and Govan born and the other Scottish migrants. In the 20-24 age group the Highland males had the greatest proportion single in each sample area and in each survey year. And in the 25-29 and 30-39 age groups, in the majority of instances, the Highland males were still more likely to be single than were the other men in these age groups. In Plantation in

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(1) Chapter Four indicated a low proportion of Highland women on the workforce.
(2) Chapter Four confirmed that a higher proportion of the Highland community were in social class III for skilled workers, and fewer were in classes IV and V for the semi and unskilled.

TABLE 5.6

SELECTED MALE AGE GROUPS SINGLE, BY PLACE OF BIRTH: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND PLANTATION, 1851-1891. %

	BROOMIELAW		KINGSTON		PLANTATION	
	1851	1891	1881	1891	1881	1891
Highland born						
20 - 24	98	94	100	100	86	92
25 - 29	70	62	68	74	58	84
30 - 39	25	53	45	35	12	33
40 +	9	33	8	11	5	6
Irish born						
20 - 24	81	76	86	91	83	56
25 - 29	39	46	40	80	28	40
30 - 39	17	24	31	36	17	20
40 +	4	17	7	16	10	12
Other Scottish migrants	81	92	94	81	66	83
20 - 24	81	92	94	81	66	83
25 - 29	48	59	49	57	31	52
30 - 39	21	28	24	27	9	16
40+	10	18	7	10	6	6
Glasgow & Govan						
20 - 24	79	86	90	91	63	86
25 - 29	56	66	65	63	31	53
30 - 39	18	27	31	36	12	20
40+	11	22	12	8	11	6

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

TABLE 5.7

SELECTED FEMALE AGE GROUPS SINGLE, BY PLACE OF BIRTH: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON

AND PLANTATION, 1851-1891. %

	BROOMIELAW		KINGSTON		PLANTATION	
	1851	1891	1881	1891	1881	1891
Highland born						
20 - 24	88	50	83	90	71	75
25 - 29	19	42	32	31	29	20
30 - 39	14	6	15	7	9	5
40 +	10	9	14	7	11	1
Irish born						
20 - 24	54	44	64	50	42	50
25 - 29	22	24	33	38	13	12
30 - 39	19	10	11	7	2	7
40 +	7	9	10	13	0	7
Other Scottish migrants						
20 - 24	68	54	72	67	45	69
25 - 29	22	36	24	37	12	32
30 - 39	18	15	16	16	3	5
40 +	8	9	7	8	4	4
Glasgow & Govan						
20 - 24	59	63	79	77	46	63
25 - 29	31	26	48	46	18	26
30 - 39	20	8	24	26	14	12
40 +	12	10	11	9	6	6

1881, although their marriages were still later than those of the rest

of the population, Highland men were marrying at a younger age.

There is no conclusive evidence to suggest that Highland males were

failing to marry at all. In the 40+ age group, with the exception of

Broomielaw in 1891, the proportion of single Highlanders did not differ

radically from the rest of the population. It would seem, therefore,

that Highland men were marrying, but fewer of them were marrying in

the younger age ranges.

The Highland women were also marrying later than the rest of the

population. In the 20-24 age group the Highland women showed the

greatest propensity to remain single. With the exception of the anomalous

Broomielaw in 1891 (1), the proportion married ranged from just over a

quarter to one tenth. This compares rather dramatically with the marital

pattern of the Irish women, about a half of whom were married in this

age group. However, there is no evidence to suggest that, in comparison

with the other women in these areas, the Highlanders were more prone to

delay marriage after 25. Neither was there any significant difference

in the percentage remaining single beyond the age of 40.

The evidence of marriage patterns shows once again that the Highlanders,

the males to a greater, the women to a lesser extent, were out of step

with the social practices of the rest of the population. Interestingly,

the marital pattern of the Highlanders in the Glasgow sample areas

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(1) With a total of only six Highland women in the 20-24 age group, the
figure of 50% married is subject to some distortion.

was in contrast to the pattern, described by Dr. Lobban, in Greenock where the divergence was sharper among the women and the males conformed more closely with the rest of the population. This apparent disparity, however, is probably best explained by the peculiar nature of the sample areas which has already been manifested in the age and sex structures. The marital pattern of the Highland women tends to confirm the view that Highland women entered the sample areas, not as new migrants, but as wives. A greater proportion of the Highland women over 25 in the sample areas were married, therefore, because these areas were "weighted" in favour of married women.

Why were the marriages of the Highland migrants substantially later than those of the rest of the population? Dr Lobban suggests that late age of marriage might be a consequence of the occupations followed, and refers in particular to the propensity of Highland women for domestic service. Engaged in a "live-in" occupation, the argument goes, marriage would have entailed the forfeiting of a job. It is worth, however, considering that the reason so many Highland women became servants was because they did not see marriage as an immediate prospect. Neither does this explanation shed much light on the extraordinarily late marriages of the males.

Michael Anderson correlates occupation, socio-economic status and age of marriage, arguing that "marriage was earliest in these SEGs (socio-economic groups) with high incomes for younger men relative to their expected adult incomes, and later for those, including lower paid factory

workers, for whom this did not apply". (1) However, the relationship
between Highland late marriages and their socio-economic status is not
clear cut. For example, Chapter Four established that in terms of socio-
economic status the Highlanders were closest to the Irish with both
groups tending to have the lowest proportion of skilled workers and the
highest proportion of semi and unskilled. The marital pattern of the
Irish, however, diverged significantly from that of the Highlanders.
Indeed, Irish men and women were marrying, not only earlier than the
Highlanders, but also, in the majority of instances, earlier than the
rest of the population. Even where the socio-economic status of the
Highlanders was more favourable there was only a slight accompanying
alteration in the pattern of marriage. In Plantation in 1881, where the
Highlanders enjoyed a socio-economic status higher than in any of the
other sample areas (2), Highland men and women were marrying younger:
in each of the age groups there were fewer Highland males single than
in any of the other sample areas, and a lower proportion of the women
in the 20-24 age group were single. However, marriage was still taking
place significantly later than was general for the rest of the population.

It is evident that the Highlanders in the city were not sloughing off the
tradition of late marriages which had become established in the Highlands.
And it is in the immigrants'maintained relationship with the Highlands
that the most satisfactory explanations for the phenomenum of late
marriages are to be found. Undoubtedly, strong economic pressures

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(1) Anderson, op.cit. p.134
(2) The socio-economic status of the Highlanders in each of the sample
areas is analysed in Chapter Four.

to help maintain the home in the Highlands would have lessened the possibility of early marriages (1) as would the desire to return to the Highlands, perhaps to marry there. Cultural values, too, based on a calvinistic belief that marriage should come only after working and saving for a basis upon which to build a family, may have contributed towards deterring Highlanders from hasty marriages. And, if the influence of calvinism was a factor, then it helps to explain the contrasting marital habits of the Highlanders and the (largely Catholic) Irish.

HIGHLAND MARRIAGE PARTNERS.

Table 5.8 shows the percentage of Highland men and women marrying outside their community in the three sample areas. For comparison, the proportion of exogamic Irish marriages is also provided. Since it was not possible to identify all marriages, with the exception of those who were Gaelic speakers, contracted between first and second generation immigrants, the percentages given making intra-group marriages are possibly under-estimated.

The most surprising feature of Table 5.8 is the low proportion of Highland exogamic marriages, especially in comparison with the Irish, the group most commonly assumed to be the least integrated. With the exception of

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(1) For evidence of Highland labourers in the south maintaining the home in the Highlands, see Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland, op.cit. Qu. 1213, p. 115 and Reports to the Commissioners on the Employment of children , op.cit., i, 26

TABLE 5.8

EXOGAMIC MARRIAGES (1) CONTRACTED BY HIGHLAND AND IRISH BORN: BROOMIELAW,

KINGSTON AND PLANTATION, 1851-1891. %

	Highland males		Highland females	
	Exogamic marriages %	All marriages	Exogamic marriages %	All marriages
Broomielaw 1851	24	78	30	83
Broomielaw 1891	21	34	25	36
Kingston 1881	19	58	27	64
Kingston 1891	23	64	17	59
Plantation 1881	43	69	40	65
Plantation 1891	25	117	23	130

	Irish males		Irish females	
Broomielaw 1851	32	38	26	35
Broomielaw, Kingston & Plantation 1891	31	226	23	203

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

(1) Marriages to non-Highland born Gaelic speakers were judged to be endogamic.

Plantation in 1881, a quarter or less of Highland males and around a

quarter of Highland females were making outside marriages while the

proportion of Irish was about one third and one quarter respectively.

Furthermore, fewer Highland external marriages were taking place in the

Highland sample areas of Glasgow than had been the case in Greenock

during the same period. (1) This evidence suggests that where the

community was most cohesive, such as in the sample areas which were

chosen specifically because of their relatively high Highland density,

Highlanders were more likely to choose marital patterns from within

their group. This would explain the low proportion of Highland in-group

marriages recorded in Plantation in 1881, the area which, of all the

sample areas, returned the lowest proportion of Highland born and Gaelic

speakers. (2) Its Highland community was, as a result, less cohesive

and perhaps more open to the process of assimilation.

With in-marriage accounting for about three quarters of all Highland

marriages in the sample areas (excluding Plantation in 1881), a

surprising degree of cohesion is indicated. Inspite of the fact that

the vast majority of marriages were taking place after migration, and

inspite of the initial residential segregation of the sexes, Highlanders

were overwhelmingly choosing to marry other Highlanders. The

geographical separation of Highland men and women of marriageable age,

while not insurmountable, must have excluded to a certain extent the

'normal' basis for courtship. The indicators, therefore, point to the

importance of the specifically Highland institutions within the city

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(1) In Greenock the proportion of "external" marriages in 1851 and 1891
was 35% and 42% respectively. Lobban, op.cit. p.276
(2) See Table 1.2

as focal points for the young immigrants within which marriage partners

could be obtained. This point will be investigated in chapters seven

and eight below.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND STRUCTURE.

Data on the relative size and composition of households (1) headed by

Highland born and non-Highland born residents of Broomielaw, Kingston

and Plantation are set out in Tables 5.9-5.15.

The mean size of households headed by Highland born persons, in the three

sample areas differed   little from those headed by the Irish, the

other Scottish migrants or the local born. (See Table 5.9.) While the

household size of the Highland headed houses did not compare unfavourably

with the rest of the community, it was also relatively low in comparison

with other urban communities. For example, in Leeds in 1851 the mean

household size of Irish born headed households was 6.4 (2); in Bradford in

the same year Irish households averaged 7.9 compared with 5.5 for the

town as a whole(3).

In other matters of household composition the Highland households did

tend to diverge from those households headed by the rest of the

population. In most instances, for example, the Highland households had

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(1) The household is defined by P.Laslett as "that unit or block or persons
which was recognised to be distinct from other units or blocks of persons
when the inhabitants of a community were listed", Population Studies 23,
2, 1969, p.202
(2) T.Dillon, "The Irish in Leeds", The Thoresby Society, Vol.LIV, pt. ,
No.119, p. 18
(3) C.Richardson, "Irish Settlement in Nineteenth Century Bradford",
Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, XX, 1968, p.48

TABLE 5.9

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE BY PLACE OF BIRTH: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON AND PLANTATION

1851-1891.

BROOMIELAW 1851	Highland born	Irish born	other Scottish migrants	Glasgow & Govan born
Persons per household	4.7	4.8	4.7	4.4
Offspring per household	1.5	1.8	1.9	1.8
other kin per household	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3
non-related persons (1)	1.3	1	0.7	0.4
No. of households	147	63	278	117

BROOMIELAW 1891				
Persons per household	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.4
Offspring	2	1.8	1.9	2
Other kin	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1
non-related persons	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.6
No. of households	63	122	90	91

KINGSTON 1881				
Persons per household	4.7	5.3	4.8	4.8
Offspring	2.1	2.7	2.4	2.5
Other kin	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
Non-related persons	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3
No. of households	89	46	260	108

KINGSTON 1891				
Persons per household	4.7	4.8	4.7	4.9
Offspring	2	2.4	2.3	2.6
Other kin	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
Non-related persons	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.3
No. of households	102	44	227	118

PLANTATION 1881				
Persons per household	4.4	4.9	4.4	4
Offspring	2	2.5	2.2	1.8
Other kin	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2
Non-related persons	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
No. of households	120	152	387	144

PLANTATION 1891				
Persons per household	5.1	4.4	4.7	4.6
Offspring	2.6	2	2.5	2.3
Other kin	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3
Non-related persons	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3
No. of households	149	141	322	142

(1) All those described as 'lodgers', 'boarders', 'visitors'. Servants were not included in this table as there were very few in these working class districts.

fewer children. And, while all the households followed a roughly
similar pattern regarding the presence of kin, the Highland households
were the most likely to contain non-related persons such as lodgers or
visitors. In each of the sample areas the Highland households either
contained a proportion of lodgers greater than the other groups (as in
Broomielaw in 1851 and 1891, and Plantation and Kingston in 1891) or,
as was the case in Kingston and Plantation in 1891, along with the Irish
headed the league for non-related persons.

Table 5.10 demonstrates the importance of the complex household units
which comprised residents other than the immediate nuclear family.
While this tendency was most marked in the middle of the century, with
just over a quarter of Highland households conforming to the nuclear
familial form, the more complex unit still accounted for more than
half the total households (excluding Plantation in 1891) by the end of
the century.

This is a surprisingly high proportion of complex units, especially in
comparison with the results found in the major studies on household
structure. Laslett, for instance, emphasised the predominance of the
nuclear family in western Europe. (1) And Anderson, who concluded that
nuclearisation was not as extensive in industrial areas, only found
evidence of 27% of households which did not follow the nuclear pattern
in his study of Preston in mid-nineteenth century. (2) The complexity

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(1) P.Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in earlier Generations
(Cambridge, 1977), p.13

(2) Anderson, op.cit. p.44

TABLE 5.10

PERCENTAGE OF HIGHLAND HOUSEHOLDS COMPOSED SOLELY OF NUCLEAR FAMILY

Broomielaw	1851	28%
Broomielaw	1891	38%
Kingston	1881	44%
Kingston	1891	44%
Plantation	1881	49%
Plantation	1891	54%

TABLE 5.11

PERCENTAGE OF HIGHLAND HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING KIN

Broomielaw	1851	17%
Broomielaw	1891	14%
Kingston	1881	25%
Kingston	1891	22%
Plantation	1881	26%
Plantation	1891	15%

TABLE 5.12

PERCENTAGE OF HIGHLAND HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING NON-RELATED PERSONS

Broomielaw	1851	50%
Broomielaw	1891	41%
Kingston	1881	37%
Kingston	1891	40%
Plantation	1881	23%
Plantation	1891	36%

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

TABLE 5.13

RELATIONSHIP OF KIN TO HEAD OF HIGHLAND HOUSEHOLDS. %

	BROOMIELAW		KINGSTON		PLANTATION	
	1851	1891	1881	1891	1881	1891
Grandchild	14	15	20	25	11	11
Sibling/ Sibling in law	62	46	36	28	43	36
Nephew/ neice	19	15	16	16	26	26
Parent/ parent in law	6	7	3	12	15	14
Other	-	14	23	19	4	11
All: %	101	97	98	100	99	98
No	37	13	30	32	53	28

TABLE 5.14

HIGHLAND BORN LODGERS RESIDENT IN HIGHLAND HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: BROOMIELAW,

KINGSTON AND PLANTATION, 1851-1891. %

Broomielaw	1851	77
Broomielaw	1891	51
Kingston	1881	61
Kingston	1891	68
Plantation	1881	57
Plantation	1891	75

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

of the Highland households, however, was not due to the presence of unusually large numbers of resident kin. As Table 5.11 demonstrates, only in Plantation in 1881 were kin present in more than a quarter of the households, and in the majority of instances fell short of the mid-century Preston proportion of 23%. (1) It was rather due to the presence of larger numbers of residents (excluding servants) who were unrelated to the household head. While Anderson discovered that in Preston lodgers and visitors were found resident in 30% of households (2), in Broomielaw in the same year (1851) they were present in half the households. (See Table 5.12.) Even later in the century, although Plantation in 1881 proved yet again to be the exception, non-related persons remained a feature of over a third of Highland households. (3)

Data on the relationship of the kin to the head of household is presented in Table 5.13. This shows that by far the most frequent relationship among kin residents was that of sibling: in 1851 they accounted for well over half the resident kin, and in 1881 and 1891, they still accounted for between 28 and 41%. Next in importance came nephews and nieces and then grandchildren.

The pattern of kin relationships in Highland households is somewhat in contrast to that found in other studies. For instance, in Preston siblings (and siblings-in-law) accounted for 19% of kin, as did nephews

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid., p.46

(3) The Highland totals are closest to those found in studies of Irish immigrants. For example, 48% of Irish households in Leeds in 1851 and 42% in 1861 contained lodgers. T. Dillon, "The Irish in Leeds", op.cit. p.20.

and nieces. Grandchildren,on the other hand, accounted for 27%. (1)

Similarly, in rural Portpatrick in the 1851-1891 period grandchildren

were the most common relation, accounting for between 35 and 49% of

resident kin. Siblings accounted for between 19 and 28% and

nephews and nieces from between 14 and 15%.(2)

Table 5.14 shows the ethnic composition of the non-related residents in

the Highland households. The clear preference was undoubtedly for

fellow Highlanders. This was overwhelmingly the case in 1851 with

over three quarters of the lodgers and visitors to Highland households

coming from the Highlands, but the preference was still clear in Kingston

and Plantation in 1891 with 68% and 75% respectively of non-related

persons Highland born. And only in Broomielaw in 1891 and Plantation

in 1881 did the percentage fall below 60%.

The extent to which Highlanders lodged rather than set up their own

establishments may be measured from the information in Table 5.15. This

shows that lodging was most common in the middle of the century when

just under a third of the Highland population in Broomielaw were

lodgers. Towards the end of the century, however, inspite of the increase

in lodging in Kingston and Plantation in the ten years following 1881,

it was more common for Highlanders to become householders.

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(1) Anderson, op.cit. p.45
(2) N.Tranter, "Nineteenth Century Portpatrick: An Empirical Study of the
Relationship between Economic Change, Population Growth and Social
Structure" The Scottish Journal of Sociology, Vol 4, No 3, October 1980,
pp 276-277.

TABLE 5.15

PERCENTAGE OF HIGHLAND BORN POPULATION LODGING: BROOMIELAW, KINGSTON

AND PLANTATION: 1851-1891.

Broomielaw	1851	29
Broomielaw	1891	28
Kingston	1881	16
Kingston	1891	22
Plantation	1881	10
Plantation	1891	17

SOURCE: See Table 1.2

Many of the features of the Highland household can be attributed directly to the pattern of migration and the age and marital structure of the immigrant community. The largely young and single migrants came into the city as part of a network of friends and relatives, living initially in the households of their sisters, brothers, aunts or uncles. This pattern was most evident mid-century when nearly a third of the Highlanders in Broomielaw stayed in lodgings rather than their own households. And while there is evidence that the community was more settled in 1881 after a period of negative growth, the immigration which took place during the 1880s led to a further increase in the proportion of Highland lodgers in 1891. . The analysis of the age and marital structure pointed to the Highlanders moving out of the sample areas, perhaps back to the Highlands. This pattern of short-period settlement could explain the willingness to share households with relatives and lodgers: if the return to the Highlands was the priority, then the complex household would make the most economic sense. There is perhaps also a psychological element as well as the economic. If settlement was viewed as temporary, then rather than concentrating aspirations on the nuclear unit, more emotional energy was directed towards the relationship with Highland kin and acquaintances. Furthermore, a limited period of settlement along with the pattern of late marriages rendered more unlikely the presence of grandchildren. And the late marriages would have had a further effect on the household composition by making unnecessary the early formation of nuclear family units and, because of the inevitably smaller number of offspring, by leaving space for the non-conjugal family and non-related persons.

Some historians suggest a connection between household size, composition and socio-economic status. In particular, high density living, calculated by numbers of persons per household, has been seen as an indicator of low social status. (1) In the sample areas, however, there was no concrete proof that a direct correlation can be made between the mean household size and socio-economic status. The social status, for instance, of the Highlanders and the Irish was identified in Chapter Four to be considerably lower than either the local born or the immigrants from the rest of Scotland. However, this divergence did not translate into a clearly identifiable difference in mean household size. Perhaps household composition is a better indicator of social status. Anderson, for instance, suggests that the lower socio-economic groups were more likely to take in-lodgers (2), and that those engaged in trade, artisan and skilled factory occupations were more likely to take in kin. (3) Such a correlation could explain the greater propensity of the Highlanders, and to a slightly lesser extent the Irish, to take in lodgers, and why, in socially superior Plantation in 1881, the Highlanders were more likely to share their households with relatives.

A factor in the ethnic composition of the lodgers seems to have been the relative strength of the Highland community itself. Where the Highlanders were living in greatest density, such as in Broomielaw in 1851 and in Plantation and Kingston in 1891, they were more likely to share with other Highlanders. In Plantation in 1881, on the other hand, where the Highland and Gaelic content was weakest, more non-Highlanders were resident in the Highland households. (4)

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(1) See Dillon, "The Irish in Leeds", op.cit. p,20
(2) Anderson, op.cit. p.46
(3) Ibid., p.122
(4) The proportion of non-Highland lodgers in Broomielaw in 1891 was probably artificially high because of the number of lodging houses operating on a more commercial basis.

Implications for the Question of Assimilation.

The evidence of the socio-demographic characteristics of the Highlanders in the sample areas points to a community strongly bound up in itself with strong links with the homeland and little evidence of penetration from external forces. First of all, the age structure of the community, which remained concentrated in the younger adult age groups, and the reluctance to marry, indicates a high incidence of return to the homeland. Those migrants who intended the sojourn in the city to be temporary, and whose sole purpose may have been to maintain the Highland home, would be most likely to settle near other Highlanders and to maintain the strongest links with the Highland institutions. For them, especially those employed alongside other Highlanders (such as seamen and servants), the question of assimilation may have been irrelevant.

The very high degree of inter-marriage of those who remained in the city not only limited the possibility of integration through close involvement with other groups, but also provides evidence of the non-assimilation tendencies at work. The community was evidently sufficiently strong to be able to promote endogamic marriages.

The high linkage of the Highland lodger population to the Highland households also indicates the strength of ties which made such bonds desirable, and also ensured that influence from the outside world be kept at a minimum. Immigrant families are often introduced to the host community through their children who have the ability to act as "go-betweens". This potential link, however, with the outside was kept

to a minimum by the small number of children born to the Highland
immigrants. Instead of this assimilating tendency the Highland
households were being reinforced in their cultural allegiance by the
presence of Highland relatives and lodgers.

The empirical data on the socio-economic and the socio-demographic
features of the Highland immigrants in the areas of density point
strongly to a group which was in many ways being insulated from
assimilatory tendencies. However, before a group can maintain its
identity it must have its own specific institutions. And it
specifically Highland institutions in the city to which we must now
turn our attention.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GAELIC CHURCHES IN GLASGOW.

Today, a popular image of the Highlands is of an area closely associated

with religion, and in particular with the Free Church. It is a region

where "sabbatarianism" is still a live issue especially in those areas

(the Western Isleas and the north west coast) where Gaelic culture has

remained strongest. The Highlands, however, were not always noted for

religious enthusiasm. Eighteenth century commentators of the Highland

scene tended to stress the strong pagan element in religious worship

and a general lack of religious zealotry. (1) Towards the end of the

eighteenth century, however, religious revivalism began to make inroads

into many Highland parishes, a revivalism which gathered pace in the

early decades of the nineteenth century, and ensured that after 1843 the

Highland area would become a stronghold of the Free Church. That

religious awakening should have occured at a time of acute social dis-

location following the break-up of the clans was not co-incidental, as has

been demonstrated by historians of the Highlands. (2) At the time of

the Disruption in 1843 the adherents of the newly established Free

Church in the Highlands were on the whole the small-holders and the

landless cotters who looked to the church for leadership in the conflict

with the landlords. It was, indeed, the perceived anti-landlordism

(1) See, Martin Martin, A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland (London, 1884) and Dr Johnson, Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland (Oxford, 1924)
(2) See, J.MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland 1688-1800 (Aberdeen, 1951) and J.Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community op.cit.

of many of the evangelical preachers which ensured the overwhelming

support given to them. (1)

Beyond the Highlands, however, the pattern of church going was assuming

a different direction. While there has been some debate between

historians as to the extent of involvement of the working class in the

nineteenth century church, the prevailing view, based mainly on the 1851

Census of Religious Worship and Education, is that significant numbers of the

urban proletariat were estranged therefrom. (2) Neither did the Free Church

in the Lowlands share the social basis of its counterpart in the

Highlands. Research into the social composition of the urban Free Church

after 1843 has tended to indicate a domination of middle class membership.

A study of religion in Aberdeen in the Disruption years, for example,

concluded that the Free Church in the city was dominated by self-made

lower middle class elements and the financial structure of the church

"made working class participation in the affairs of the kirk session

impracticable". (3) Furthermore, a study of Presbyterianism in Glasgow

in the same period suggests that the Free Church attracted fewer lower

working class adherents than did the Established church. (4)

(1) J. Hunter, op.cit. pp 103-104, describes the Disruption in the
Highlands in terms of class conflict.
(2) K.S.Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England
(London, 1963); E.R.Wickham, Churches and People in an Industrial City
(London, 1957); A.Drummond and J.Bulloch, The Church in Victorian
Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh 1975) and The Church in Late Victorian
Scotland 1874-1900 (Edinburgh, 1978).
(3) A.A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in
Aberdeen (London, 1974), p. 126
(4) P.L.M.Hillis, Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth
Century Glasgow. A Study of Nine Churches (Glasgow University Ph.D Thesis,
1978)

The experience, however, of working class (mainly Irish) Catholics seems
to have been different. There is evidence to suggest that religious
affiliations remained stronger among the Catholic working class. (1)

Thus, while in the Highlands the response of the most oppressed to the
crisis in the social order was often dramatic religious enthusiasm, in
the cities the non-Catholic working class remained largely indifferent.
It will be the purpose of this chapter to establish whether the Highland
working class immigrants conformed to the general pattern of the urban
proletariat of estrangement from the church, or whether the enthusiasm
for religion which had become a feature of life in the Highlands was
maintained in the urban environment. A retention of religiosity among
the Highland immigrants would mark to a certain extent a degree of
insulation from the prevailing influences towards secularisation. It
would also tend to prolong that sense of insulation by emphasising
the inherent differences between the Highlanders on one hand and the
bulk of the working class on the other. This tendency would be
considerably more acute if the Highlanders gravitated towards the Gaelic
churches which would help maintain a strong link with their native
language and their homeland.

Studies on the question of the assimilation of immigrants have tended to
see adherence to specific immigrant institutions as an important factor
in non-assimilation. Milton Gordon, for example, argues that the

(1) Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit. p.323
(2) Drummond and Bulloch (1978), op.cit. pp 147-148

immigrant organisations "permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships". (1) Furthermore, he sees "structural assimilation" (i.e. the entry of the immigrant group into the social clubs and institutions of the host society) as a first step in the assimilation process. (2)

However, in an article on the institutions of the urban Gaels in eighteenth century Scotland, C.W.J. Withers argues that the Gaelic churches and clubs were, in fact, tools of assimilation. (3) Although he acknowledges that the Gaelic chapels were "particularly important in maintaining community bonds through the use of Gaelic in worship and in providing financial assistance and kin-based support" (4), he also contends that through the relationship they promoted between the Gaelic masses and the Gaelic elite, an elite which was assimilated into the Lowland elite, they facilitated the process of assimilation of the Highlanders into the English speaking urban world.

This view coincides with that held by some historians on the role of the church in general in the nineteenth century. MacLaren, for instance, sees the church (and especially the Free Church in Scotland) as an important factor in integrating migrants into the industrial pattern, a devise by which the middle class imposed a "normative pattern of behaviour":

(1) Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, op.cit. p.34
(2) Ibid., p.81
(3) C.W.J. Withers, "Kirk, club and culture change: Gaelic chapels, Highland societies and the urban Gaelic subculture in eighteenth century Scotland" Social History Vol 10, No. 2, May 1985.
(4) Ibid., p. 192

"Substantial sections of the emergent working class - many of them

recent migrant from the countryside - found themselves confronted

by a web of institutions seeking to impose values and norms

having little immediate relevance to their former rural

experience and life styles." (1)

However, as this chapter will attempt to demonstrate, the Gaelic churches

in Glasgow had the opposite effect. They helped strongly towards

maintaining the link between the rural and urban experience, they

reinforced an awareness of "separateness", and contributed towards

providing a societal network which minimised contact with the outside

world.

THE LOCATION OF THE HIGHLAND CHURCHES IN GLASGOW.

Since Gaelic language places of worship have existed in Glasgow from

early on in the history of Highland settlement in the city, and are

still in existence today, a brief survey of their generation and

location must precede any discussion of their support and function.

A first indication of Gaelic language religious services in Glasgow

was as early as 1723, before any wide-scale migration had taken place,

(1) MacLaren, op.cit. p.162

when a Commission of the General Assembly appointed John Maclaurin of

Luss "to take charge of visiting and catechising such Highlanders as do

not understand the English language". (1) Almost fifty years later, in

1770, the first Gaelic chapel was opened in Back Cow lane (today Ingram

Street), initiated mainly by members of the Glasgow Highland Society. (2)

Between this date and 1835, the date of the instigation of a Royal

Commission on religious worship in Scotland which provided a wealth of

information on the Gaelic congregations in the city, six more separate

Highland chapels and missions came into existence: three belonging to the

Established Church - in Duke Street (1798), in Gorbals (1813) and in

West Gaelic (1824); a congregation of Highland Catholics in 1791 (3), an

Independent mission in Broomielaw in 1825 and an Episcopal mission in

1827. (4)

Although the Catholic, the Independent and the Episcopal missions failed

to maintain their specific Highland character beyond the first few

decades of the nineteenth century, the four Established Church con-

gregations continued as Gaelic churches for considerably longer. Ingram

Street Chapel (now known as St Columba's and sited on St Vincent Street)

has retained its Gaelic connection to the present day. The congregation of

Duke Street split at the time of the Disruption. The majority went over to the

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(1) St Columba Church of Scotland Bi-Centary Brochure (Glasgow 1970), p.6
(2) Ibid. p.8
(3) Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow
(Glasgow, 1831), p.23
(4) New Statistical Account, Vol. VI, p.194

Free Church and moved to Broomielaw, while the minority remained in

Duke Street until 1815 when debts and a dwindling congregation led them

to abandon their charge. The majority Free Church congregation, however,

now sited in Grant Street, is still in existence today and is still

holding Gaelic services. The Gaelic congregation in Gorbals, known as

the Kirkfield Church, shared the premises of Gorbals Parish Church in

Buchan Street. In 1847 the Gaelic section of the congregation formed a

Gaelic Free Church, known as the Argyll Church, in Oswald Street in

Broomielaw. In 1893 this congregation moved back across the river to

Kingston, now calling itself Tradeston Gaelic Free Church. In 1900 it

became United Free, in 1929 entered the Church of Scotland and in 1943

returned full circle to unite with Gorbals Parish Church. Gaelic services

continued until the 1960s. West Gaelic (now known as Hope Street) joined

the Free Church in 1843 and has continued as a Free Church with Highland

connections to the present day. Although Gaelic services were discontinued

in the 1970s, the present minister and the majority of the congregation

are Highland.

Both St Columba's Gaelic church of Scotland and Hope Street Free Church

established Gaelic preaching stations in those outlying areas with a

high density of Gaelic speakers. Where those missions were successful

in attracting a following separate churches were established. Thus, under

the initial auspices of St Columba's two further Gaelic Churches of

Scotland were established: St Kiaran in Govan in 1866 and Partick Gaelic

Church of Scotland in the 1870s. Hope Street was responsible for the

formation of the MacDonald Gaelic Free Church in Cowcaddens in 1861,

Partick Gaelic Free Church in 1887, St Columba Free Church in Govan and

the Highlanders Memorial Free Church in Anderston in the 1890s.

FIGURE ·6.1

HIGHLAND CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN GLASGOW : 1770-1900

INGRAM STREET
1770

ST. COLUMBA

Maryhill Mission
c. 1830s

Govan Mission
1860

Mission Maryhill 1872
Mission Partick 1872

ST KIARAN ESTABLISHED CHURCH 1844

PARTICK HIGHLAND ESTABLISHED CHURCH

DUKE STREET
1798

1843 Disruption

Majority Free → Broomielaw 1851 → Grant Street Free

Minority Gaelic Established Church → 1851 Abandoned

GORBALS

1847 Broomielaw → 1893 Tradeston Gaelic Free

WEST GAELIC
1824

HOPE STREET FREE GAELIC

Mission Cowcaddens → MACDONALD GAELIC FREE 1861
1860

Mission Kinning Park (1890s)
Mission Govan (1890s)
Mission Anderston (1890s)
Mission Partick (1890s)
Mission Townhead (1890s)
Mission Springburn (1890s)

GOVAN ST COLUMBA FREE GAELIC

HIGHLANDERS MEMORIAL FREE GAELIC

PARTICK FREE GAELIC

Highland Catholic Mission 1791

Independent Church Gaelic Mission 1825

Episcopal Gaelic Mission, 1827

KEY: Fully fledged churches in 1900

By the beginning of the twentieth century there existed a total of ten

Gaelic churches, three of which (St Columba's, Hope Street and Duke

Street (1)) were in the city centre, two in Govan, two in Partick, one

in Anderston, one in Kingston and one in Cowcaddens. (2)(Figure 6.1

charts the progress of the various Gaelic congregations from 1770 to 1900.)

It is clearly evident that the Glasgow Highland community was sufficiently

strong, organised and conscious of its identity not only to form its

own ecclesiastical institutions, but also to sustain them over a period

of up to two hundred years.

THE GAELIC CHURCHES AND SOCIAL CLASS.

The issue of social class raises two central, and related, problems:

First, did   the Highland working class in the city conform   with

the church going pattern of the majority of the working class and become

alienated from organised religion, or did they maintain their links with

the church in general, and with the Gaelic church in particular?

Second, did the Gaelic churches in the city follow the "urban" pattern

of a church life dominated by the middle classes, or did they assume the

"Highland" pattern of being led and supported by the lower

orders?   A high degree of support and involvement of the Highland

working class in the urban Gaelic churches would indicate a distinctly

different pattern from the working class in general and would add weight to

the argument of their non-assimilation into the wider culture.

(1)   Although by this period "Duke Street" was sited in Main Street the
congregation retained the original name.
(2)   The information on Gaelic churches in the second half of the nineteenth
century comes from Fasti of the Church of Scotland Vol. 3; Ewing, Annals of
the Free Church and information provided by Rev.T.M.Murchison.

It has already been shown that there existed in the city, from the late
eighteenth to the early twentieth century period, a growing number of
specifically Highland places of worship. In 1837 there was reported to
be 3,790 seats available in the Gaelic churches. (1) By the end of the
century, the ten Gaelic churches in Glasgow and Govan must have provided,
at a rough estimate about 10,000 seats. (2) While it would appear that
the Gaelic churches were growing along with the expanding Highland
population, a closer look at the proportion of churches to the Highland
population is necessary to determine the degree of involvement.
In 1837 the proportion of sittings in Gaelic churches in the city to the
Highland population was about 32%. (3) In 1851, after some increase in
the Highland population but without a concomitant increase in Gaelic
church building, the proportion had dropped to 24%. By the beginning
of the twentieth century, after a period of growth in the Highland
community and an increase in the number of Gaelic churches, the
proportion had risen to about 42%. Reference to the statistics for the
city, and country, as a whole helps to put these figures into perspective.
In 1837, the proportion of sittings in Glasgow to the population as a
whole was 38%, slightly higher than that for the Gaelic congregation in
the city, but considerably lower than that for other Scottish towns. (4)

(1) Second Report of the Commission of Religious Instruction in Scotland
(1837) op.cit. p.19, Table 14.
(2) This figure is arrived at by estimating that each church had seating
for about 1,000.
(3) This figure is based on the estimate that the Highland born
population at this time stood in the region of about 12,000. Excluded
from the estimate are those whom the Highland churches undoubtedly recruited
from the wider Highland community.
(4) In Edinburgh the proportion was 48.5, in Dundee 43.5, in Aberdeen 57.6
and in Greenock 58.6. These figures are taken from D.J. Withrington,
"The 1851 Census of Religious Worship and Education" in Records of the
Scottish Church History Society Vol.18, p.147

In 1851, the census of church attendance carried out by Horace Mann showed that in Scotland as a whole the proportion of sittings to population was 63.5%. The proportion, however, for Glasgow was considerably lower, with estimates varying from 22% to 34%. (1)

Although the accuracy of the religious censuses has been subject to debate, particularly on account of the degree of manipulation undertaken by the religious bodies (2), they do indicate that the Highland population, particularly in the first half of the century, was under-represented in terms of seatings in churches. When the wider Highland community is considered (i.e. the second and third generations) then it is clear that this under-representation was even more acute. The Highland churches provided their own estimate of the extent of church-going among the wider Highland community for the church commission of 1835-38. The church men claimed that 67% of the Glasgow Highlanders had no sittings in any church, 18% had sittings in Gaelic and 15% in English churches. (3)

The argument of the ministers and elders of the Gaelic churches was that shortage of church accommodation prevented the mass of Highlanders from attendance, and they called for state support for Gaelic institutions. However, the evidence does not entirely support their claim. Inspite of the comparatively low proportion of sittings available the existing

(1) Withrington, op.cit. estimates the proportion in Edinburgh 54.6, in Dundee 49.8, in Aberdeen 57.6 and in Greenock 59.9. p.147
(2) For a discussion of the shortcomings of the 1851 census in Scotland see ibid.
(3) Commission of Religious Instruction, Scotland, 1837. Second Report, Appendix III, p.181. The possible exaggeration of the size of the Highland community by the committee of Gaelic churchmen is discussed in Chapter Three.

Gaelic churches were not over-subscribed. The petition for the

establishment of West Gaelic Chapel (later known as Hope Street) in 1824

was opposed by both the Duke Street and Gorbals Chapels on the grounds

that the existing chapels had a surfeit of unlet seats. (1) Moreover,

from the returns made by the individual churches to the church

commissioners in the 1830s, it is evident that these churches were not

filled to capacity: Duke Street had a total of 67% of seats let, St

Columba 65% and West Gaelic 82%. (2) By the end of the century the

situation did not seem to have changed dramatically, with evidence that

the Gaelic churches were not always filled to capacity. For example, in

1904, at the ceremonial opening of new premises to serve the congregation

of St Columba's, a speaker denounced the "lapsing from church attendance

on the part of the Highlanders in Glasgow, saying that there were as

many Highlanders to be found under the Bridge in Argyll Street (3) on

Sundays as would provide four or five congregations". (4) The Free

Church appears to have been similarly affected: a scrutiny of the numbers

on the communion rolls reveals that between 1884 and 1900, a period

which witnessed an increase in the Highland born population of about 37%,

the numbers taking communion declined by 29%. (5)

While it might appear that the majority of urban Highlanders were outside

the formal church organisation, it would be incorrect to conclude that

(1) Minutes, West Gaelic Chapel, March, 1823
(2) 2nd Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, p.19 Table 14
(3) A popular meeting place for Highlanders during this period.
(4) MacGregor, History of St Columba (Glasgow, 1935) p.57
(5) 2nd Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, p.181

they were beyond the informal church sphere.   Many Highlanders, although

they were not formally attached to the churches, attended on a sporadic

basis. One Gaelic missionary in the 1830s claimed that although the

attendance at his mission varied from 20 to 30 a further 200 Highlanders

were occasional attenders. (1) A similar point about sporadic attendance

was made in 1860 by the minister of Hope Street Gaelic Church who claimed

that the Gaelic churches attracted a wider support for communions and

special occasions. (2) Moreover, as we shall see below, many Highlanders

occupied seats in the Gaelic churches which were unlet, being either

unwilling or unable to pay. Others seem to have booked one seat for

their entire family:

"There are a considerable number of labourers among the seatholders,

but they do not take a sufficient number of sittings for the

accommodation of their families, seldom renting more than one for

the husband and wife and several grown up children." (3)

Even those Highlanders who never attended the religious services were

drawn into the wider network of church activities. Norman MacLeod,

for instance, the minister of St Columba's, explained to the Poor Law

Commissioners the role of his church in providing assistance to the

wider Highland community:

(1) Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III
p. 192
(2) Rev. D.MacGregor, The Necessity of Applying the Territorial System to
the Gaelic Non-Church Goers of Glasgow (1860) Information from Lobban, op.
cit. p.201
(3) Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland) Part 1, op.cit. Report from Commissioners,
Question, 11,596, p.642

"For one of my own congregation that I have had application from,

I have had applications from ten who do not belong to it for advice

and assistance in getting relief for them from the different

charities." (1)

It is clear that the Gaelic churches had an influence on the Highland

community beyond their own membership.

The large proportion (45%) of church goers who, in 1837, attended the non-

Gaelic churches were largely "merchants and people of the wealthier

classes". (2) Superficially, this might indicate a desire by the

Highland elite for complete assimilation into the host culture. However,

the picture is not as simple as first appears. Participation in English

congregations did not necessarily indicate a severing of all links with

the Highland sub-culture. Some of the wealthier Highlanders, while

belonging to one of the fashionable non-Gaelic churches, also maintained

an interest in the Gaelic churches. (3) Furthermore, as will be elaborated

below, many members of the elite were fully committed to the Gaelic

church.

The lapsing from church attendance of the Highland working class was a

problem recognised by the churchmen and was seen as one of non- attendance

of any church rather than a movement away from the specifically Highland

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(1) Poor Law Inquiry, op.cit. Question 11,597, p.642
(2) Second Report Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, p.181
(3) MacGregor, History of St Columba, op.cit. p.22

institutions. Although the representatives of the Highland churches

stressed to the Church Commissioners in the 1830s that their congregations

were comprised mainly of the working class (1), they were at the same

time aware of their failure to recruit more widely from this class.

This failure, the churchmen indicated, was chiefly due to the practice

of charging for seat rents, a custom which was unknown in the Highlands.

While each church laid aside a number of seats free of charge for the

poor (Duke Street six, West Gaelic twenty, St Columba forty), it was

claimed that more were required: the minister of Duke Street stated that

400 further seats were required for the poor, the minister of West Gaelic

claimed that the "poor would require church accommodation to the extent

of several hundred seats", and the minister of St Columba added that the

forty sittings which his church set aside for the poor were always

crowded and that many Highlanders failed to attend because of their

inability to pay seat rents. (2)

The practice of charging for seats was necessitated by the financial

constraints within which the Gaelic chapels in the city operated. The

Gaelic churches were unendowed and, as a result, had to be maintained

by the revenue made from seat rents and door collections. In 1837 both

Duke Street and West Gaelic had the further problem of the re-payment of

debts incurred when their churches were built: Duke Street congregation

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(1)The congregation of St Columba's was said to be "almost all poor and
working class". The minister of the West Gaelic stated that among his
congregation were "tradesmen, labourers, shopkeepers - chiefly of the
operative classes". And the minister of Duke Street claimed that his con-
gregation comprised chiefly the "poor and working class".
Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, pp.101, 185, 533
(2) Ibid.

still had to pay off about half of the initial sum of £3,000 borrowed

to build the church and West Gaelic had to pay off £2,760 of the £4,826

its managers had borrowed in 1824. The financial state of St Columba's

was considerably happier. Its managers had sufficient business acumen

and good luck to have built the original church on ground which had

gained considerably in value with the westward movement of the city and

the concomitant increase in land prices. The building was sold in 1837

for £22,000, a sum which, as well as paying for a new church, also

provided an endowment. By 1837 it was debt free, which may have con-

tributed towards its more generous allocation of free seats. (1)

Table 6.1, setting out rates of seat rentals in the Gaelic churches in

1837, indicates the practice of charging seat rents on a falling scale.

St Columba's had the greatest number of seats let at the lower prices,

and the greatest number set aside at low priced lets. The two churches

with the greatest financial burden, Duke Street and West Gaelic, had a

greater proportion of seats for let at the higher prices. A striking

feature of the system of seat rentals was the high proportion of the seats

marked out for low rental which remained unlet. St Columba's, for

example, had 104 seats unlet at the lowest price of under 2/-, 61 unlet

in the 2/- to 3/- price range,   186 unlet in the 3/- to 5/- range and

only eight unlet seat priced over 5/-. A similar pattern was evident in

the letting system of Duke Street. None of the seats priced under 3/-

were let, while only twelve of the seats costing more than 7/- were unlet.

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(1) Information from Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction,
App. II. pp. 33, 61, 169
The Hope Street Story, (Glasgow, 1970)
MacGregor, History of St Columba's, op.cit., pp.10-14

TABLE 6.1

NUMBER OF SEATS LET AND UNLET ACCORDING TO PRICE IN THE GAELIC CHAPELS. (1)

Congregation	Total Seats	under 2/-		2-3/-		3-5/-		5-7/-		7-15/-		Highest rate
		let	unlet	let	unlet	let	unlet	let	unlet	let	unlet	
Duke Street	1261	-	-	-	24	149	234	621	150	71	12	10/-
St Columba	1038	26	104	49	64	362	186	189	8	50	0	10/-
West Gaelic	1402	-	-	1	11	101	71	878	187	168	5	10/-

(1) Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, 1837 page 22 Table 19

At West Gaelic 82 of the 184 seats costing under 5/- were unlet, but only

five of the 173 seats costing over 7/-.

This suggests that the Gaelic churches were mainly the preserve of the

better-off Highlanders who were willing and able to pay for the higher

priced seats. There did, however, seem to be resistance on the part of

the poorer Highlanders to the entire system of paying for seats. Indeed,

they were described as having an "extreme aversion to the system of seat

rents, to which they had not been accustomed before coming to Glasgow". (1)

Many preferred instead to occupy unlet seats without paying. Steps were

taken by the church managers to stamp out such practices. The managers

of West Gaelic, for example, agreed in December 1830 to persuade the

ministers "to address that part of the congregation who habitually

possess seats in the house without paying for them on the impropriety of

their conduct. If he declines to do so it was agreed that each manager

shall take a portion of the chapel in order to discover the parties so

situated and get them either removed or to pay regularly for their

seats". (2)

The problem of collecting revenue from seat rentals was still in evidence

later on in the century. The newly founded kirk session of St Kiaran's

set about tackling the problem by exhorting the elders to "visit those of

the congregation who are prevented from coming forward to take their seats

through inability to pay and to get their consent to put their names on

their pews, payment to be made when able". (3) It is to be assumed that

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(1) Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, p.186

(2) Minute Book of West Gaelic 1823-32.   Entry for December, 1830.
(3) Minute Book of St Kiaran. Entry of May 1886.

the tactic of persuasion was insufficient because a year later the

Board of Management decided:

"That in order to give an opportunity to all persons to enjoy the

ministrations of God's word without money... this court resolves

for at least 12 months from the 1st of April next to abolish seat

rents in this church, and to place all sittings free of charge." (1)

Some historians have viewed the dominance of the middle classes and the

prevailing middle class ethos as important factors in deterring potential

working class membership. (2) Certainly, the inquisitorial measures

taken by the managers of West Street (cited above) to ensure that the

poor did not occupy the more expensive seats and, indeed, the whole

system of charging for seats on a falling scale, thus clearly identifying

the poor, would have been sufficient to deter the faint-hearted. Moreover,

the social segregation implicit in the system of renting seats was

compounded by the middle class practice of parading fashionable clothes.

According to Norman MacLeod, in 1837, the working classes would be brought

with the fold if only "there were a church.... where there would be a

lower standard of fashion as to dress". (3)

However, while the working class may have been deterred by the social

stigma of occupying low-priced seats and the lack of "proper" clothes,

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(1) Minute Book of St Kiaran, March 1887
(2) For example, A.A.MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, op.cit. argues
that the working class members were alienated by the middle class
domination of Presbyterian churches.
(3) Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, p.186

the non-capacity attendance at the mission where the fashionable were absent and the seats were free (1) suggests that for many of the working class the church was not a relevant factor of urban life. Inspite of the claims by Gaelic churchmen in 1837 that their congregations were comprised mainly of the working class, the evidence of the unlet low-priced seats, the number of let seats in the upper price range as well as the presence of the fashionable middle class acknowledged by Norman MacLeod, suggests that this may not have been entirely the case. However, in order to obtain a more accurate picture of the social composition of the Gaelic congregations a closer look is required at the social class of the leaders and members.

THE LEADERSHIP OF-THE GAELIC CHURCHES.

The managers, who were responsible for the financial aspects of church administration, were generally required to be men of substantial socio-economic status. The constitution of Duke Street, for example, obliged its managers "to give a personal bond for the minister's stipend". (2) They were also held personally responsible for the repayment of the church debt. (3) One of the clauses in the constitution of St Columba's relating to the election of managers declared that:

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(1) For example, at the preaching mission in Maryhill set up by St Columba's the capacity attendance was 120, but the attendance was in the region of between 20 and 50. Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III , p.192
(2) Bond and Disposition in Security of a Loan for £1,200 from the Trades House of Glasgow. Strathclyde Regional Archives
(3) 'Sederunt Book, Glasgow Gaelic Chapel 1883

"....the power of electing managers shall be vested exclusively in

persons possessing the following qualifications, viz, persons who

have contributed the sum of one guinea sterling or upwards to the

funds of the church, and who have paid the same at least twelve

months previous to the day of election...." (1)

Whether such financial obligations ensured that the leadership of the

Gaelic churches rested in the hands of the wealthy was tested by

investigating the socio-economic status of as many of the church leaders

(managers/elders) as possible in the period. Names were extracted from

a variety of sources (2) and, where addresses were also stated, an

attempt made to provide biographical details from Post Office Directories

and census enumerators' returns.

Many problems were encountered in this venture which prevented many names

from being traced. Migrants frequently changed their place of residence,

perhaps from temporary lodgings to more permanent accommodation. The

continually changing geography of the city with the addition of more

buildings to existing streets and the changing of house numbering, as well

as the change in street names added to the problems. Since the poor and

the more recent migrants were the ones most likely to stay in temporary

lodgings, and since the more prosperous tended to be listed as householders

in the Post Office Directories, the ensuing analysis may be weighted in

favour of the long term and more affluent immigrant. (3) Where an

individual was successfully traced, biographical details are supplied in

Appendix I.

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(1) Ibid.
(2) For example, Session Minute Books, Church hisories and Reports of
Elders Associations.
(3) A.A.MacLaren, op.cit. p.96 makes the point that the fact that an
elder had not been positively identified, demonstrated his social insig-
nificance.

In some instances only the names and occupations of the church leaders
were available, and without further information (i.e.address) it is
difficult to be categorical about a social classification based on
information on occupation alone. For instance, a "merchant" was a term
used to describe both small shopkeepers as well as owners of substantial
businesses. A skilled tradesman, such as a cooper, may have been an
employer of labour and thus have enjoyed a social status and income
considerably higher than an employed man working on his trade. (1) In
such instances only broad generalities may be permitted.

The occupations of the managers of Ingram Street Chapel (later St
Columba), the men who were responsible for the establishment of the
church, were listed in the 1778 entry of the Minute Book and were stated
to be five merchants, one clerk and one cooper. In 1793, the majority
were still described as merchants (13 in all) and eight had artisanal
occupations. (2) In 1851, the managers of the same congregation
(now re-named St Columba) were stated to be a doctor of medicine, a bank
agent, a banker, a coachbuilder, a writer, two merchants and two spirit
dealers. (3) Further biographical details of seven of the eight managers
in 1851 were extracted through the Post Office Directories and the
unpublished census returns. The doctor of medicine, Robert MacGregor,
was a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and attached to Glasgow
University. The bank agent, Hugh MacLachlan, shared lodgings with three

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(1) The problems of social classification according to occupation are
discussed in Chapter Four.
(2) A watchmaker, saddler, gardener, shoemaker, druggist, wright,
tailor, cooper.
(3) MacGregor, op.cit. p., 25.

other men from the same Argyllshire parish. Charles Campbell, the

banker, lived with his wife and two daughters and a retinue of servants -

a lady's maid, a cook, a housemaid and a male house servant. Archibald

MacLellan, whose stated occupation was "coachbuilder", was better known

as an art collector who bequeathed his considerable collection and

Galleries to the city of Glasgow. His fortune was not made through his

father's coachbuilding firm, but rather through dabbling in property

development. He lived in considerable style, with a town house in

Glasgow and, for his country residence, Mugdock Castle. (1) John

Lamont, writer, resided in the new middle class suburb of Woodlands with

his wife, four children and two servants. James Drummond Robertson,

merchant, lived with his sister, neice and four servants in the

fashionable and wealthy suburb of Blythswood. Duncan Campbell, stationer

and bookbinder, employed nine men, seven women and twenty boys, and

lived in one of the middle class areas to the west of the city with his

daughter and servant. Samuel Dow, spirit merchant, resided in 1851

close to the city centre along with his two nephews and neice and

servant. By 1881 he was listed in the Post Office Directory as

residing in one of the large new villas in middle class Bellahouston,

and his business interests had extended to aerated water manufacturing.

His descendants continued his business (he died in the 1880s) which has

survived in the city to the present day in the form of a chain of

public houses.

All of these men, with perhaps the exception of Hugh MacLachlan, enjoyed

substantial means and were in the van of the movement of the middle

(1) Information on Archibald MacLellan from Glasgow Chamber of Commerce
Journal, Vol. 55, 1970.

classes to the new suburbs. St Columba's was the only Gaelic church in the city to remain within the Establishment in 1843. Its 1851 leadership conforms to the picture of secure financial and social position typical of the Established Church in this period. (1)

Further information on the eldership of St Columba was extracted from the Church of Scotland's Elders Association which lists the names and addresses of the representatives of each kirk session between 1883 and 1893. Nineteen elders represented St Columba's in that period, and of those, twelve were traced. Colin Campbell, residing at a presitigious west-end address, had two servants; Daniel Cowan, a shipbroker, lived in a eight roomed house; James Williamson, who also lived in the west-end, was a master butcher employing nine men and ten boys; James McKechnie, timber merchant, occupied a six room house; Hugh McCall, a master joiner, was an employer of labour; John McIntyre was a writer and lived in the middle class suburb of Pollokshields; Duncan Campbell was a customs official. Of lower status were Hector Brown a clerk living in working class Kinning Park, Allan MacDougall, a shopman, occupying a two roomed flat with his wife and child, James MacMillan, also a shopman, occupying three rooms with his wife and child and Duncan Mathieson, a storekeeper, occupying three rooms along with his wife and three children.

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(1) Such as that described by MacLaren, op.cit. Chapter Four.
Perhaps because St Columba was the first Gaelic church in the city, it was the one which was the most fashionable with the wealthy Highland merchant families. Dr Norman MacLeod, minister from 1835-62, was a favourite of Queen Victoria's and was on intimate terms with the "Mercantile community and ... representatives of honourable British merchants, such as the Stirlings, Campbell, Leckie-Ewings, Maxwells (Dalgarvel), Eccles, Dennistouns, Hamiltons, Dalglishes, and his good friend Robert Napier". MacGregor, op.cit. p. 22

Although it is likely that the elders not traced were of lower status,

the majority whose biographical details were identified were undoubtedly

of comfortable middle class status. Even those, such as MacMillan,

MacDougall, Mathieson and Brown, whose occupations and social

circumstances indicated a lower socio-economic status, were involved in

what was deemed socially "respectable" occupations. Not so the only

elder traced from St Kiaran's in working class Govan. As a ship's

blockmaker he was a representative of the industrial working class.

It is likely that some of the other elders from this church were of

similar social status.

Information on the occupations of the managers of Duke Street was

available for those serving in 1800, in 1829 and 1850. In 1800 a

banker, five manufacturers, two merchants, three spirit dealers, and three

who may have been artisans (a brewer, a coachbuilder and a hozier)

comprised the team of managers. Of this chapel's nineteen managers in

1829, the majority (fourteen) had skilled trades (1), two (an accountant

and a surgeon) represented the professions, one was a clerk, one a

manufacturer and one a spirit dealer. The next occasion when information

was available was 1850, when the remnant of the congregation which had

remained with the Establishment after the Disruption in 1843 petitioned

the General Assembly requesting the closure of the church because of

lack of funds and the difficulty in getting a Gaelic minister. Their

occupations were coalmaster, bootmaker, four tailors, herbalist, innkeeper,

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(1) Four tailors, two dyers, two slaters, one cotton spinner, plasterer,
saddler, vintner and warehouseman.

smith, writer, divinity student, clerk, calenderer, grinder, carver, porter, gate keeper, three spirit dealers and three labourers. (1)

Duke Street Chapel provides an example,in 1829 and to an even greater extent in 1850, of artisans and even labourers playing a leading role in church affairs. It is possible, however, that their lack of means was to contribute towards the eventual demise of the congregation in 1851 through inability to pay off the debt. Such were the realities of church finances in this period (as outlined above) that the financial support of the middle classes was necessary.

A similar attempt was made to trace the biographical details of the elders of Hope Street Free Church. Unfortunately, of the seventeen elders whose names and addresses were provided in the session books, only five could be positively identified. Of those, Alex Fletcher, who resided in a eight roomed house in middle class Pollokshields with his wife, mother and servant, and whose occupation was bank agent, enjoyed the greatest status. Dugald MacPhail, whose occupation was stated to be "elder", lived in a nine roomed house with his wife, seven children and servant. Donald Munro, a commercial agent, occupied three rooms with his wife, four children and brother in law. Roderick Campbell, a master bootmaker and employer of labour, occupied seven rooms with his wife, seven children and brother. Duncan Fletcher, a teacher of English, occupied five rooms with his wife, six children and lodger.

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(1) Information on managers of Duke Street 1800-1850 from Bond and Disposition, op.cit.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions on the Hope Street leadership when the number of those traced is so small. What is evident is that the working class was absent from those traced although it is possible that the twelve untraced were from a lower social strata. Some working class people did take part in the affairs of Hope Street. In 1886, for example, a committee was set up to select a new minister in co-operation with the office-bearers. Of the eight members of the committee whose occupation could be traced, one was a shoemaker, one a furnaceman, one a printer, one a shedman, one a shop assistant and two were clerks. (1)

This survey of the social class of the leadership of the Gaelic churches suggests that generally the affairs of the church were in the hands of the middle class, with a domination of commercial and business interests. Although some lower status people were involved in church affairs in the early period - with a cooper one of the founding managers of Ingram Street, eight artisans among the managers of that church in 1793 and fourteen of the nineteen managers of Duke Street being artisans - by the second half of the century they were unrepresented among those elders traced from Hope Street and St Columba's. It is possible that the working class was more involved in the affairs of the churches which were being established in the working class areas such as Govan, Cowcaddens, Anderston and Partick, and the one elder successfully traced from St Kiaran's tends to support this view. However, the lack of available records on the membership of these churches means that this must remain a tentative hypothesis.

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(1) Hope Street Minutes, March 1886

THE CONGREGATION OF THE GAELIC CHURCHES.

The earliest indication of the social class of the Gaelic congregations

is to be found in the Minutes of Ingram Street Gaelic Chapel for the

year 1793 where the names and, in the majority of instances, the

occupations of the church subscribers were listed. These subscribers,

however, may not be categorised as ordinary "rank and file" members of

the congregation. To become a subscriber a fee of one guinea had to be

paid for which the privilege of electing the church managers was granted.

Such a qualification, if it were strictly enforced, would most certainly ·

ruled out most members of the working class. (1) This subscribers list,

however, is useful to the extent that it provides some insight into the

active church members in the early period.

Of the 445 names on the list, 21% were described as "merchants", 4% as

"manufacturers" and 5% held professional occupations (such as writers,

accountants, excise officers and schoolmasters). While recognising

that without further information, such as place of residence and nature

of business, it is difficult to be categorical about the social status

of a "merchant", a term embracing a wide social spectrum, it is most

likely that at least one quarter of the subscribers were men of some

substance. A further 6% were described as shopkeepers, grocers and

spirit dealers. As many as 40% were artisans such as weavers, shoemakers,

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(1) The original subscription rate was 10/-, and had recently been raised
to one guinea. Many of the subscribers on the list may have been entered
at the lower rate. It is unclear whether a subscription was collected
annually.

coopers, tailors and, inspite of the one guinea qualification, a
surprisingly high proportion (7%) held unskilled occupations such as
"workmen" and "porter". The occupations of the remaining 17% were
unidentified.

At least in the early days of Ingram Street Chapel what would appear to
be a cross section of the Highland community were involved in church
affairs. Although commercial and business strata were strongly
represented, the most prominent single category were artisans. It would
be fair to surmise that the working class was even more strongly
represented among the non-subscribing members of the congregation.

The communicants lists of Hope Street Free Gaelic Church provided the
necessary information upon which to analyse the social basis of church
going in the later period. Sporadically, from the 1860s to the early
1900s, the Hope Street Minutes contained the names and addresses of
communicants. Using the census enumerators' returns for the years
1861-1891, an attempt was made to trace each communicant whose name and
address was available.

The sample, based on the communicants of a city centre church, was
perhaps not entirely representative of the vast majority of Gaelic church
goers. Although the communicants included ordinary "rank and file"
members as well as office bearers, as communicants they would have been
the most committed church attenders rather than those who had a more
casual church "connection". They were, moreover, probably a minority

of church attenders: although Hope Street had a total of 1435 sittings, the number of communicants in the 1870s was 550, 421 in 1891 and 358 in 1900. It is possible also that the sample was weighted in favour of the middle classes who would have been more likely to travel to the city centre from their suburbs than would the working classes who, by this period, had Gaelic churches in their own areas. These problems were compounded by the difficulties involved in tracing individuals through the census returns, difficulties which were made worse when the names were listed in the inter-census period. As a result only a minority of names on the communicants lists were traced, providing a limited sample of 95 names - 60 female and 35 male. (1) Because of the limited nature of the survey, from only one of the many Gaelic churches of this period, and encompassing what was probably a minority grouping within that congregation, and the possible middle class weighting, the conclusions drawn must be of a tentative nature.

In order to extend the sample, the co-resident members of the communicants' families were also included, since it is likely that they also attended the Gaelic church. This extended the sample by 48 - 35 males and 17 females. The information on occupations was classified according to the method recommended by W.A.Armstrong (2), and is summarised in Table 6.2.

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(1)Rather than in the greater piety of women, the female dominance is best explained by the geographical situation of the church. Hope Street, in the city centre, was close to areas such as Blythswood and Park where many Highland women were employed as servants.
(2) Armstrong's method is discussed in Chapter Four.

TABLE 6.2

SOCIAL STATUS OF HOPE STREET MALE COMMUNICANTS AND THEIR MALE RELATIVES,

1861-1891. %

| | SOCIAL CLASS | | | |
	1 and 2	3	4 and 5	Total No.
Male communicants	8	81	11	35
Male communicants + male relatives	5	85	11	66

SOCIAL STATUS OF HOPE STREET FEMALE COMMUNICANTS AND THEIR FEMALE

RELATIVES, 1861-1891. %

| | SOCIAL CLASS | | | |
	1 and 2	3	4 and 5	Total No.
Female communicants	10	29	69	60
Female communicants + female relatives	8	45	55	77

SOURCE

Minute Book of Hope Street Free Gaelic church.

The data indicates that the male communicants and their male relatives
overwhelmingly belonged to social class III, representing the skilled
working class.   The middle class, occupying professional and intermediate
occupations, and semi and unskilled workers were very much a minority.
The social status of the female communicants and their relatives displayed
a different pattern. Over two thirds of the female communicants were in
social classes IV and V representing semi and unskilled workers.   Just
under a third held skilled occupations and a further 10% professional and
intermediate. When their relatives,however, were included the proportion
in the skilled category increased to just under half while the semi and
unskiled decreased.

There is a degree of conformity with the socio-economic status of the
Highlanders in the sample areas. (1)   There, the males were also found
mainly in social class III and the females in social class IV.   However,
the proportion of the male communicants and their male relatives in
class III was   considerably greater and the percentage in classes IV
and V lower than was the case in the sample areas.   This suggests that
the church members were of a slightly superior social status than the
community as a whole.

The occupations chosen by the male communicants revealed a clear preference
for the skilled trades which involved sixteen. Six were engaged in shopwork,
two were seamen, one was in the police, three held professional   .
occupations and four were unskilled. Of their thirty male relatives, the

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(1)This is analysed in Chapter Four.

largest group,twelve, were in skilled trades, nine were clerks, three were shop assistants, two were seamen, one was in the police and three held semi-skilled occupations. Twenty four of the female communicants were seravnts, nine were involved in skilled needle trades, four were teachers, two were shop girls, one was a machinist and one a watress. Nine of their relatives were employed in skilled needle trades, four were servants, three were clerks, three were shop assistants and one was a teacher.

Many of the employment preferences of the Highlanders in the sample areas were also found among the communicants of Hope Street and their relatives. Although a slightly greater proportion of men and women were involved in the skilled trades, these categories which were re-current in the sample areas, such as domestic service, the police and sea-faring work were also represented among the.church goers. However, a clearer preference was apparent among the Hope Street sample for those occupations, such as teaching, clerical work and shop work, which bore the stamp of lower middle class "respectibility".

The data suggests that the Hope Street communicants and their families enjoyed a social status slightly higher than was general for the Highlanders in the sample areas, with more representatives of occupations which, at least in common perception, were lower middle class. However, the majority were working class and, since the churches in the working class areas would tend to be even more strongly represented by this class, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the bulk of the membership of the Gaelic churches in the city were working class.

THE GAELIC CHURCHES AND CULTURAL IDENTITY.

One of the reasons which attracted the present researcher to the question of the Highland community in Glasgow was the continued existence in the city today of specifically Highland churches whose congregations are comprised mainly of people with Highland connections. The very fact that the Glasgow Highlanders had their own specific places of worship, offering services in the Gaelic language and in the charge of Gaelic speaking ministers, seemed to suggest the existence of a community determined to perpetuate its own cultural identity. The role of the Gaelic churches as agents of assimilation or non-assimilation must, therefore, be considered more closely.

The original reason for the establishment of Gaelic churches in the Lowlands was to provide a religious service for those who could not understand English, and a vital part of their constitutions was that they should have a Gaelic speaking minister. (1) The function of the Gaelic churches, however, was more complex than the utilitarian provision of Gaelic services for the mono-lingual Gael. For the Highlanders in the city they provided a more direct link with the homeland. In 1823, for example, a group of Highlanders petitioned the Presbytery of Glasgow for permission to form another Gaelic chapel. Although the petitioners stated that there was a "want of accomodation (sic) for the Highland population generally", the real reason was probably more clannish:

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(1) This stipulation is causing problems in Gaelic churches in the city today; as incumbents retire, the Presbytery has difficulty replacing them with Gaelic speakers.

"... the natives of the western district of the Highlands suffer a

further disadvantage peculiar to themselves; inasmuch as the Gaelic

chapel in Duke Street and the Chapel of Ease in the Gorbals are

both occupied chiefly by sitters from the northern district of the

Highlands, who, as it is natural, have elected ministers from that

quarter. And thus the inhabitants of the West Highlands, though

forming a very large majority of the Highlanders residing in

Glasgow are subjected to an inconvenience which to a Highlander

is extreme and insuperable. For the differences between the

dialect of the west and north Highlands is so great, that the nat-

ives of the one frequently do not understand at all the

language spoken in the other." (1)

Here is an example of the Highlanders in the city using the Gaelic

churches as a means of maintaining emotional links with a particular

area of the Highlands, and with the people from that area. This

function of the Gaelic church in the city as a focal point for linking

up with ones homeland is still evident in the Highland churches in the

city today: St Columba's , for example, serves as a focal point for

Highlanders from Argyll, Grant Street Free Church is preferred by people

from the Isle of Skye and Partick Highland Free Church has strong links

with the Island of Lewis.

Inspite of the ostensible raison d'etre of the Gaelic churches being the

provision of Gaelic services for the non-English speaker, the status of

Gaelic often became secondary. By the late eighteenth century, English

(1) Minutes of West Gaelic Chapel, March 1823

had become for many socially mobile Highlanders a mark of social

advancement. (1) Many of the wealthier Highlanders, therefore, as well

as the non-Gaelic speaking second generation, preferred to attend the

English services provided in the Gaelic churches. (2) In 1837, the

attendance was said to be greater at the Gaelic sermons in both St

Columba and West Gaelic, but in Duke Street the greatest turn out was in

the afternoon when English was used. (3) By the end of the century, the

state of Gaelic at St Kiaran's did not look too promising: in 1881, 42

people attended communion in Gaelic and 113 in English, in 1902, 45 and

110 respectively and in 1906, 40 and 140. (4) The following incident

illustrates the perilous state of the language:

"The moderator having pointed out to him (the missionary) that the

meeting... was entered in his journal as a Gaelic meeting, whereas

three members of the session were ready to produce evidence that

the meeting was conducted in English, he (the moderator) asked hin

for an explanation. His reply was heated and emphatic, asserting

that "it was a Gaelic meeting". When the moderator refused to

accept this statement and cross questioned him, he replied that the

half of the said meeting was in Gaelic. On being cross questioned

further, he said the smaller half was in Gaelic, and having been

tackled still further as to this he admitted that only a very few

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(1) C.W.J.Withers in "Kirk, club and culture change", op.cit. writes of
the social position of Gaelic in the eighteenth century, "to be a Gaelic
speaker marked one as "outside and below" in terms of culture and class". p.181
(2) Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, p.60
(3) Ibid., pp. 32, 60, 168
(4) Information extracted from St Kiaran's Minute Book, 1881-1906

words were spoken in Gaelic: whereas two of those present at said
meeting testified that they did not hear him utter a word in
Gaelic." (1)

Superficially, it might appear that the Gaelic connection was losing
its importance. That, however, was not the case. Indeed, from time to
time, the Gaelic churches fought zealously to retain the language. The
amusing cross examination of the St Kiaran missionary itself indicates a
strong commitment to Gaelic, even when the congregation had become
either bi-lingual or monoglot English speakers. Evidence of the
willingness to defend the status of Gaelic was apparent in 1836 when one
of the managers of Duke Street brought evidence of an attack on the
language to the notice of the Presbytery:

"In 1831, some of these men   brought forward a candidate for
Anderston Chapel, where they did not muster a dozen votes on his
behalf; and notwithstanding this, they prevailed on the minister
of Duke Street Gaelic Church, who was in bad health, to accept of
this candidate as his colleague, under the pretence of filling a
thinly attended church, and they paid him L.120 out of the funds of
this church for three successive years by which time he had
preached the church almost empty. While the Presbytery overlooked,
1st, That this appointment was without their own concurrence, or
that of the congregation. 2nd, That the assistant could not preach
Gaelic. 3rd, That seats were let to Lowlanders. 4th, An attempt
was made by the same party on the resignation of Mr Clark in 1834,

(1) St Kiaran Minutes, December, 1896

after they had increased the debt several hundred pounds, to wrest

the chapel from the Highlanders altogether for said assistant, by

discontinuing the Gaelic; all of which proceedings are specifically

opposed to the constitution of this chapel.

On the resignation of Mr Clark, a number of independent and

public spirited Highlanders..... at considerable pecuniary

sacrifice, secured the ministrations of an eminent minister from

a Highland parish." (1)

Undoubtedly, this incident involved other elements such as the religious

politics of the period (2), but the important factor seemed to be that

the Highland and Gaelic connection should be continued. Indeed, this

connection was deemed to be so important that Duke Street had

stipulated in its constitution that seats should only be let to

Highlanders and Gaelic speakers. (3) Another example of the determination

to maintain the Gaelic connection was to be found in the struggle which

took place in Paisley in 1879 between the congregation of the Gaelic

church and the Presbytery when the latter tried to discontinue Gaelic

services. The congregation barred the church when the edict from the

Presbytery was read and, as a result, the minister had to scale the

churchyard wall to gain admission. The following Sunday, when the

English service started, the congregation walked out. The week after

they locked the church so that the minister could not get in. (4)

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(1) Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, Appendix III, p.107
(2) The document quoted above mentions the existence of "men holding
extreme views in religious matters". Ibid.
(3) Ibid., App. II, p.34
(4) Oban Times, 1.3.1879.

On another occasion the defence of Gaelic and Highland identity was invoked in a dispute, which had Jacobin overtones, between the congregation and managers of Ingram Street Chapel. A petition from the congregation stated:

> "...by the present mode of election, a minister may be chosen to the Gaelic Congregation contrary to the inclinations of the majority of the hearers. Because that by paying twenty one shillings sterling men are admitted to the right of voting for the minister, who have no knowledge of the Gaelic language, nor any connection with the Gaelic congregation, and consequently very hurtful to the unity and edification of said congregation........ each head of families of an unexceptionable moral character who are possessed of seats in the Gaelic Chapel at the time of the Election may henceforth have a vote for their minister...." (1)

This incident indicates that   there was a connection between popular consciousness and the Gaelic identity. There did, however, seem to be a paradoxical attitude to the position of Gaelic. On the one hand, English was gaining precedence, with the provision of English services, the use of English as the language of church business and as the language of Sunday school instruction. (2) On the other hand, there is evidence, outlined above, of a strong desire to maintain the Gaelic connection.

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(1) Minutes of Ingram Street Chapel, 28.2.1792. Although the managers rejected the petition, the election of the new minister in 1835 was carried out by all seat holders. Minutes , 1835 (no date)
(2) There were some exceptions to this trend of "anglicisation". The writer's mother, for example, attended a Gaelic Sunday school class attached to Grant Street Free Church in the 1920s.

Perhaps in the light of the low status of Gaelic in society generally as the language of an uneducated peasantry this ambivalent attitude is not altogether surprising. It may even have been a mark of the strength of Highland consciousness which invoked the desire, by the elite as well as the more lowly members of the Highland community, to maintain the language inspite of its humble status. Moreover, by extending the use of English the churches provided a place within the fold for non-Gaelic speaking second and later generations.

A measure of cultural assimilation may be assumed when the second generation (that is, the children of immigrants) lose the special identifying features of their parents such as their language and culture. Did the Gaelic churches manage to attract second and later generations, or were their congregations maintained by the influxes of new migrants who entered the city throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

According to Norman MacLeod in 1837, many of his congregation were Glasgow born and bred. In spite of this, he claimed, "they have been educated at firesides where the Gaelic only is spoken from morning to night; and some of them are the best speakers of Gaelic and the most zealous Highlanders". (1) Further evidence of the involvement of the second generation is to be found in a survey of the birth place of those church members who were successfully traced through the census

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(1) Second Report, Commission of Religious Instruction, App. III, p. 185

While the churches involved the second generation and undoubtedly
promoted internal marriages, what was their role in maintaining the
use of Gaelic beyond the first generation? To answer this, a survey of
Gaelic speaking among the Glasgow born church members is helpful. Of
the 90 Lowland born offspring connected with Hope Street Free Church,
only 28% in the 1881-1891 period were Gaelic speakers. This proportion
compares poorly with the extent of Gaelic speaking among the second
generation in the sample areas. (1) It is evident that membership of
Hope Street was not a positive factor in promoting the Gaelic language
beyond the first generation. However, the limited sample from St
Kiaran's and St Columba's (both of the Established Church) revealed a
better record. The one representative from St Kiaran's was a Glasgow
born Gaelic speaker and, of the six Glasgow born elders of St Columba's,
five were Gaelic speakers. Of those, John MacIntyre demonstrates
the continued use of Gaelic into the third generation. He shared his
household with his Argyllshire born widowed mother, his three Glasgow
born brothers, his two Glasgow born sisters-in-law and his two Glasgow
born nephews. The entire household was Gaelic speaking.

It is tempting to seek the reason for the poorer Gaelic record of Hope
Street in the inherent attitudes of the Free Church itself. Free Church
elders in this period have been described as men of rapid social mobility
ready to grasp their chances in the world of business. (2) Such a world

(1) In 1891, 36% of the offspring of Highland parents in Broomielaw,
53% in Kingston and 29% in Plantation were Gaelic speakers. Some of the
Hope Street offspring were traced in the 1881 census, the accuracy of
which regarding Gaelic speaking has already been questioned. See p. 26 above.
(2) A.A.MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, op.cit. chapter 4.

returns. All the elders of Hope Street who had been successfully traced were Highland born, but one of the younger members of the 1886 committee formed to elect a minister was Glasgow born. Of the 95 communicants from Hope Street who were traced, 20% were Glasgow born. The Glasgow born element was strong among the elders from St Columba: of the twelve elders traced, five were born in Glasgow and the only elder traced from St Kiaran was also Glasgow born. Here is an example of the second generation (or later generations) not only participating in but also organising the institutions. The Gaelic churches, therefore, managed to maintain the loyalty of many second generation Highlanders and must be seen as the institutions, not only of the migrants, but of the Highland community in its widest sense.

An analysis of the marriage partners of the church members reveals how the cohesion of the community was maintained through marriages contracted between first and later generations of Highlanders. Neil Darroch, for example, an elder at St Kiaran, and a Gaelic speaking Glaswegian, was married to an Argyllshire born woman as was Allan MacDougall, an elder of St Columba, and another Glasgow born Gaelic speaker. Hector Brown, St Columba elder, from the Island of Mull, had a Gaelic speaking Glasgow born wife. John McKechnie of St Columba's and his wife were both Glasgow born Gaelic speakers. The activities of these churches were so varied - apart from religious services, prayer meetings etc, there also took place church socials, dances, choir rehearsals, debates and various committees - that it is hardly surprising that they provided a fertile venue for courtship.

outlook would not have encouraged a desire to maintain the heritage of

a culture which was bound up with the values of the past and offered

little in the way of social advancement. (1) However, the Gaelic Free

Church in the city was more complex and there is evidence of a genuine

desire to promote Gaelic culture. At the annual meeting, for instance,

of the Partick Free Gaelic Mission the speaker addressed the audience

in Gaelic saying that "he did not see if they were a Gaelic meeting why

they should not have a portion of their proceedings in the "original"

language... He thought the social element .. might be developed and he

for his part could believe that good results would follow a good

Highland ceilidh... the congregation would be a rallying point for all

whose sypathies were truly Celtic". (2)

Social activities were not unusual in the Gaelic churches, much of

which centred round the specific cause of Gaelic culture. St Kiaran's,

for instance, ran courses of Gaelic lectures in the church hall for the

Highlanders in Govan. (3) Members of St Columba's organised a meeting in

1874 which was to result in the formation of the Comunn Gaidhealach

Ghlaschu, the purpose of which was two-fold: to help in obtaining

accommodation and employment for new immigrants, and to organise social

(1) A. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, 1, (Edinburgh, 1928), writes of the
Free Church's antipathy to Highland culture, quoting a Lewis woman on the
role of the"good ministers (who) did away with the songs and the stories,
the music and the dancing, the sports and the games.." p. xxvi
It would be erroneous, however, to see the Free Church as the "bete noir"
of Gaelic culture. In the Highlands the church provided Gaelic speaking
ministers and set up Gaelic schools. Moreover, in the use of traditional
Gaelic psalm singing, the Free Church in the Highlands made a positive
contribution towards maintaining and elaborating on an ethnic folk tradition.
(2) Oban Times, 2.5.1885
(3) Minutes, St Kiaran's, December, 1871.

events. In 1875 the St Columba Gaelic Choir was formed and, by

performing at the first Gaelic Mod, set a new trend for Gaelic choral

singing. The Gaelic Mod itself, inspite of criticisms made by its

disclaimers, has become the focal point of Gaelic culture, at least

in the eyes of the non-Gael. Its existence, and the existence of its

founding body, An Comunn Gaidhealach, owed much to the efforts of St

Columba's members. (1) The members of this church were further active

in the Gaelic cause when, in 1877, they formed a Gaelic Literary

Association. (2)

The churches' interest in Gaelic culture at times touched into the

political arena. The Comunn Gaighlig Eaglais Chaluim Chille (the St

Columba's Gaelic Society), for instance, was present at the formation

of the Federation of Celtic Societies, a body which was established

to unite the political and cultural aspirations of Gaeldom. (3)

Ewan Gordon, the minister of Duke Street Gaelic Church, was active in

support of the crofters engaged in the "land war". (4) He was a

prominent speaker at public meetings in support of the crofters and

was commended for "speaking out freely and fearlessly in condemnation

of the maltreatment of the Highland crofters". (5) When the Royal

Commission investigating the condition of crofters came to Glasgow he

(1) MacGregor, History of St Columba's, op.cit. pp. 49-50
Not all the activities were centred round Gaelic topics. Debates were held
on such topics as "Free Education", "Free Trade", "the Role of the Theatre".
In 1855 a Literary Association was formed with a syllabus which included
such asubjects as "The Mormons", "The Feudal System", "Roman Literature".
(2) The Highlander 13.10.1877
(3) Oban Times, 30.11.1878
(4) The role of Glasgow Highlanders in this struggle is discussed in
Chapter Eight.
(5) Oban Times, 16.12.1882

was appointed by the Glasgow Committee of the Federation of Celtic

Societies to provide evidence against the landlords. (1)

It is clear that the Gaelic churches served as a focal point for

community identity by providing a social network and by supporting, and

at times even leading, the cultural and political aspirations of that

community.

Important though the role of the churches as a focus for social, cultural

and political activity was, it would be a mistake to overlook the part

they played in supplying philanthropic care to the Highland poor in the city.

In 1795, for instance, the managers of Ingram Street Chapel ordered

the treasurer to pay out £20 to the poor "on account of the particular

severity of this season". (2) Furthermore, an annual subscription was

made by the chapel to the infirmary to provide medical treatment for

members of the congregation . (3) This chapel further took on the role

of a lending society providing loans of money to prominent members,

presumably to further their business interests. Malcolm McGilvra, for

instance, a chapel manager, and woolen and linen draper (4), was lent

£50 in 1791. (5) On another occasion, £200 was lent to the company of

MacCallum and Munro. (6)

(1) North British Daily Mail, 22.11.1883
(2) Sederunt Book of the Glasgow Gaelic Chapel, entry for 19.2.1795.
C.W.J.Withers in "Kirk, club and culture change", op.cit. p.185 describes
a similar role for Edinburgh Gaelic Chapel.
(3) Sederunt Book, Glasgow Gaelic Chapel, March 1812.
(4) C.W.J.Withers, op.cit. p.179
(5) Sederunt Book, Glasgow Gaelic Chapel, 21.12.1791
(6) Ibid. February, 1794

Duke Street Gaelic Chapel was also involved in offering social and financial support to the Highland poor. Under its auspices the Highland Strangers Society was set up, the object of which was "the temporary relief and transmission of poor Highlanders to their respective parishes, before they obtain a legal residence". (1) In its first five years this organisation was said to have "relieved 825 persons, of whom 492 were restored to health, and 194 transmitted to the Highlands, who, in all probability, but for this institution, would have become permanent paupers in Glasgow". (2)

By providing such care the churches ensured that new migrants would be brought within the framework of the Highland institutions and were not simply left to drift outside the orbit of the community. Furthermore, this charitable activity involved a wider section of the community than those who were the more committed church attenders. (3)

There were also close links between the Gaelic churches and the other Highland charitable institutions. Ingram Street Chapel, for instance, was established by members of the Glasgow Highland Society (4) and both organisations continued to operate in harmony. The pupils of the Highland Society School attended religious services at Ingram Street (and later at St Columba's) and the managers and elders of Ingram Street/ St Columba's also tended to be members of the Glasgow Highland Society. (5)

(1) J.Cleland, Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1829), p.217
(2) Ibid.
(3) See, for instance, claim by Norman MacLeod, quoted on p.220 above that he had ten applicants for aid from outside his congregation for every one from inside.
(4) MacGregor, History of St Columba's, p.8
(5) Ibid.
This point is also made by Withers, "Kirk, Club and Culture Change", op. cit. p.190

Prominent Gaelic churchmen were also involved in the Glasgow Celtic

Dispensary.   Among the directors for 1843 were the ministers of

St Columba's, Duke Street and Hope Street Gaelic Churches. Samuel Dow,

an elder of St Columba's was a director and treasurer,and another elder

of that church, Robert MacGregor, was the surgeon. (1)

It is clear that the Gaelic churches in the city were not confined to

the religious sphere only. Instead, they formed just part of an inter-

related web of Highland institutions operating in the city. (2) As

such, their role as guardians of the Highland community should not be

underestimated. Although there was evidence that the Highland working

class in the city were subject to the prevailing winds of secularisation,

the Gaelic churches were perhaps less typical of other non-Catholic

churches by enjoying considerable working class support.   Moreover,

many of those not formally involved with the Gaelic churches must have

come within their orbit because of the wider role they played in the

social, cultural and political life of the community. Any over-simplified

idea that the churches were largely organs of assimilation ignores the

fact that in Glasgow they played their part along with other Highland

institutions in maintaining a special position for the Highlander that

was far removed from a dynamic process of assimilation.

(1) Poor Law Inquiry, op.cit.p. 644
(2) The role of the Highland philanthropic institutions in the city is
analysed in Chapter Seven and cultural, social and political institutions
in Chapter Eight.

APPENDIX 6.1

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. Elders serving St Columba and St Kiaran Church of Scotland

Campbell, Charles Manager of St Columba, 1851. Manager of Bank of Scotland.
Born in Argyll. Married with two daughters (both in twenties). Wife
Edinburgh born, daughters Glasgow born. Four servants.

Campbell, Duncan A stationer and bookbinder with premises in Buchanan
Street. Employed 9 men , 7 boys and 20 girls. A manager of St Columba in
1851. Lived in Sandyford Place, at that time newly built prestige housing
in the West End, with daughter and servant. Glasgow born.

Dow, Samuel Manager of St Columba in 1851. A spirit merchant with premises
in 1851 in Maxwell Street and Saltmarket. By 1881 had premises in Mitchell
Street and Buchanan Street and factory for manufacturing aerated water in
Kingston. In 1851 lived close to city centre along with his neice and
two nephews (all from the same Highland parish) and a Highland born servant.
By 1881 had moved to villa in Bellahouston.

Lamont, John Manager of St Columba in 1851. Writer, residing in new West
End suburb. Edinburgh born wife, four children and two servants.

MacGregor, Robert Manager of St Columba in 1851. Argyll born. Unmarried,
living with unmarried sister and servant also from Argyll. A surgeon
attached to Glasgow University and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians
and surgeons.

Maclachlan,Hugh Manager of St Columba in 1851. An unmarried bank agent
from Argyll. Shared lodgings with three other men from same parish.

MacLellan, Archibald Manager of St Columba in 1851. Apprenticed as a
coachbuilder with his father's firm, but also studied Classics at Glasgow
University. Member of Town Council for 30 years. Speculated in property
development and built up considerable art collection which was valued at
£44,500 at the time of his death in 1854. Bequethed his collection to the
city, but because of his debts, the council had to pay for the collection
and the galleries which housed it. Had a city residence in middle class
Garnethill and a country residence at Mugdock castle.

Robertson, James Drummond Manager of St Columba in 1851. Merchant with
premises in Buchanan Street. Born in Morayshire. Unmarried and lived
with sister, neice and four servants in middle class suburb of Blythswood.

Brown, Hector Elder St Columba 1880s. Shipping clerk, living in Kinning Park. Born Argyll, wife from same parish. Both Gaelic speakers. Son Glasgow born measurer. 3 roomed flat.

Campbell, Colin. Elder St Columba 1880s. Drysalter, living in large west end house. Argyllshire born, Gaelic speaker. Two children Glasgow born. Two Highland servants (Gaelic speakers).

Campbell, Duncan. Elder St Columba 1880s. Customs Official. Unmarried. Glasgow born, Gaelic speaker.

Cowan, Daniel Elder St Columba 1890s. Shipbroker, living in large house in west end. Argyllshire born Gaelic speaker, as was wife. Eight children, oldest Gaelic speaker.

MacColl, Hugh Elder St. Columba 1890s. Master joiner, living in Pollokshields. Gaelic speaker from Argyll, as was wife.

MacDougall, Allan Elder St Columba 1880s. Grocer's shopman, living in two roomed flat in 'respectable' suburb of Pollokshields. Glasgow born Gaelic speaker, wife Argyll born Gaelic speaker. One child Glasgow born Gaelic speaker.

MacIntrye, John St Columba elder 1880s. Law agent living in middle class suburb of Pollokshields. Glasgow born Gaelic speaker, sharing household with widowed mother from Argyll (Gaelic speaker), three brothers, two sisters and two nephews - all Glasgow born Gaelic speakers.

McKechnie, John Elder St Columba, 1880s. Timber merchant living in large house in Paisley Road. Greenock born, wife and two children Glasgow born.

MacMillan, John Elder St Columba 1880s. Grocer's shopman, living with Gaelic speaking wife from Arran.

Mathieson, Duncan Elder St Columba 1880s. Storekeeper. Argyll born Gaelic speaker, as was wife. Three children Glasgow born.

Williamson, James Elder St Columba, 1880. Master butcher employing nine men and ten boys. Living in prestigious west-end street. Argyll born Gaelic speaker, two sons, Glasgow born

Darroch, Neil Elder St Kiaran 1890s. Ship's blockmaker, living in Govan. A Glasgow born Gaelic speaker married to Argyll born Gaelic speaker. Two co-residing adult sons: the eldest, a blockmaker, a Glasgow born Gaelic speaker; the youngest a Glasgow born draughtsman.

2. Elders serving Hope Street Free Gaelic Church.

Campbell, Roderick Master bootmaker, living in five roomed flat in Partick.
A Gaelic speaker from Rossshire wife Glasgow born. Seven children, all
Glasgow born. Brother, Gaelic speaker from Rossshire also resident.

Fletcher, Duncan Teacher of English, from Islay in Argyll, as was his wife.
Six children, all Glasgow born, two oldest sons draper and warehouseman.
One lodger also from Argyll. Living in 5 roomed flat in west end.

Fraser, Alex Bank agent, living in large house in Pollokshields. A Gaelic
speaker from Inverness shire, as was wife. Gaelic speaking mother also
resident. Gaelic speaking servant from Argyll.

McPhail, Dugald 'Elder' stated employment. Living in nine-roomed house in
west end. Argyll shire born, Gaelic speaker. Wife from Ayrshire. Seven
children, all Glasgow born. One servant from Argyll

Munro, Donald Commercial agent, living in three-roomed flat with Glasgow
born wife and four Glasgow born children, and Glasgow born brother-in-law.
One son a divinity student, another son a clerk. Gaelic speaker from Ross-
shire.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

PHILANTHROPY AND THE CLASGOW HIGHLAND COMMUNITY.

"There is probably no city in the world whose inhabitants generally

contribute so much time and money towards bettering the condition

or soothing the sorrows of their brethren, as those of Glasgow." (1)

The industrial revolution and the concomitant movement of population

from rural to urban areas, and the harsh living and working conditions

which ensued, rendered obsolete the old Scottish system of poor relief

which had originated in the pre-industrial period. In Scotland, before

1845 and the introduction of the new Poor Law (Amendment) Act, the

system of poor relief was traditionally voluntary. Funds for the poor

were obtained from church door collections and from voluntary donations

from the resident heritors of the parish. Under the old system there

was no provision for the able-bodied poor and no provision for dealing

with the problems of mass unemployment which occurred during industrial

slumps. In an attempt to address these problems a system of compulsory

assessment (i.e. a poor rate levied on taxable householders) had been

introduced in the major burghs, but the poor funds were still unable to

cope with much of the misery created by laissez faire capitalism. Indeed,

the misery of poverty was so acute in Glasgow that in 1842 the condition of

the population there was described as "the worst of any we had seen in

any part of Great Britain". (2)

(1) J.Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs (Glasgow, 1856) p.511
(2) Chadwick, Report on Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population
of Great Britain (London, 1842), p.25

For the immigrant population in the city, special difficulties were
encountered in obtaining relief. To qualify for poor relief prior to
1845, it was necessary to have been resident in the parish for a
minimum of three years. For the immigrants from the Highlands, Ireland
and other areas of Lowland Scotland who had not completed the residential
period, a crisis rendering them incapable of work (illness, industrial
accident, death of breadwinner, trade depression) forced them to seek
aid in the parish of origin. Bureaucratic formalities then had to be
faced, formalities with which many Highlanders in particular were poorly
equipped to deal:

> "I wish that the persons at the head of these institutions, instead
> of doing what they can to deny the domicile, would rather aid us in
> ascertaining what parish should sustain the burden and not throw
> the onus on the poor people themselves. These poor people cannot
> do it. They cannot speak English." (1)

Even when the parish legally obliged to provide aid had been ascertained,
the problems of the immigrants were not over. The majority of Highland
parishes still maintained the system of voluntary contributions and
their poor funds could not cope with their own poor, far less provide
for those who had already migrated. The difficulty Glasgow based
Highlanders faced in obtaining relief from their native parish was summed
up by a witness to the Poor Law Commissioners:

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(1) Poor Law Enquiry (Scotland) 1844, Part I, XX Evidence of Norman
MacLeod p. 645

"Many of these parishes have no subscriptions. Kilmuir in Skye

has a population of 2750 - and the collection for the poor amounts

to £3 a year. They have upwards of 80 upon the role, and they

say they ought to increase the number to 200. There is no resident

heritor. Their estates are under trustees who really have it not

in their power, if they were liberally disposed, to do anything.

So that it is difficult to get assistance from the heritors." (1)

Legislation in 1845 established a system of statutory poor relief under

a Board of Supervision based in Edinburgh with parochial boards

operating locally. While the new system of relief mitigated discrim-

ination against migrants in so much as they no longer had to fulfill

residential critéria, the spirit of the old Scottish Poor Law, with the

denial of aid to the able-bodied, was maintained.

For those who failed to qualify for aid from the poor funds for those

periods of crisis when the able-bodied poor were unentitled to relief,

and for those areas, such as medical care and education, for which the

poor fund did not provide, charity played a vital role. In the nineteenth

century in particular, in a period of rapid social change which rendered

the old welfare institutions obsolete and before the state organised a

welfare system to meet the requirements of industrial society, private

charity provided a necessary social crutch. Numerous historians have

emphasised the important social role played by charity in this period.

David Owen, for example, shows how philanthropy played at least some

part in relieving social tensions:

(1) Poor Law Enquiry, op.cit. p.647

"A principal weapon of the nation during the age of intermittent

crisis was private charity which attempted to grapple, sometimes

hopefully, sometimes desperately, with the evils of the new

industrial-urban society.... private individuals and groups did

finance hospitals, organise schools, arrange to visit the poor in

their homes, and found societies to practise an infinite, indeed

disconcerting, variety of good works. And in the course of it all,

philanthropy contributed something - in some instances a good deal -

towards relieving tension in English life." (1)

According to Brian Harrison, philanthropy was of such importance that

it served as a "means of re-distributing the national income without

disrupting existing institutions". (2) Olive Checkland points to the

particular importance of philanthropy in Scotland in shoring up the

inadequate system of poor relief:

> "The essence of the old Scottish poor relief system was its voluntary
>
> nature: compared with England this automatically elevated charity
>
> to a more important status." (3)

This chapter will investigate those philanthropic agencies which were

concerned specifically with the plight of the Highlanders who had

migrated to Glasgow. To what extent did the availability of philanthropic

services designed primarily for the Highland community influence the

level of Highland cultural assimilation as well as ameriorate its social

problems?

(1) D. Owen, English Philanthropy (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p.4
(2) B. Harrison, "Victorian Philanthropy" Victorian Studies IX, p.368
(3) O. Checkland, Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh 1980) p.13

The Highland philanthropic societies concerned themselves mainly with tackling what were popularly seen as the principal problems facing the Highland immigrants. Prior to the new Poor Law of 1845 destitution faced immigrants who had not completed the required three year residential period, and were therefore ineligible for relief from the poor fund. To meet this problem, Duke Street Gaelic Chapel established, in 1814, the Highland Strangers Society, tho object of which was "the temporary relief and transmission of poor Highlanders to their respective parishes before they obtain a legal residence". (1) This society was reported to have provided aid to 825 Highlanders during its first five years of existence. (2) There are no further records of this society's existence and it is to be assumed that it went out of business in the early 1830s. However, the role that it played was resumed in the late 1830s when, once again, the Gaelic churches were responsible for setting up the Highland Strangers' Fund:

> "Distress comes upon families sometimes suddenly by accident, by
> disease, by death before they have acquired a domicile in Glasgow.
> To meet such cases we have established a Highland Strangers' Fund
> Society; and I think within the past three years we have dis-
> tributed from £800 to £1,000 for the relief of Highland strangers
> in Glasgow." (3)

The fund, abandoned in 1843 through lack of funds, was short lived. How effective were these societies? The first, the Highland Strangers Society, provided assistance for an average of 165 Highlanders per annum. Although this would have accounted for, at the very most, 5% of the Highland

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(1) J.Cleland, Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, op.cit. p.217
(2) Ibid.
(3) Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland 1841, p.117.

community (1), it would have represented a substantially larger pro-

portion of the most recent immigrants who had been resident in the city

for less than three years. Moreover, it is significant that both societies

were in existence during periods when their need was greatest. The periods

from about 1814 to the 1820s and the the late 1830s were times of acute

crisis in the Highland economy and it is probable that there was an influx

into the city of impoverished Highlanders. (2) After 1845 and the Poor

Law Amendment Act, this type of charity was no longer necessary and, as we

shall see, the attention of the leaders of the Highland community was

directed to other areas. (3)

Another sphere for philanthropists interested specifically in the condition

of Highland immigrants was the provision of medical care. Disease and

fever, which thrived in the over-crowded and squalid conditions, were

rife in Glasgow. A succession of outbreaks of cholera and typhus in

the 1830s and 1840s resulted in high mortality rates in the city. (4)

The problem, according to a city statistician, was far greater in

Glasgow than in any of the English cities:

> "Many of the causes of the production and prolongation of fever
>
> must be ascribed to the habits of our population; to the total

---

(1) C.W.J.Withers, "Kirk, Club and Culture Change", op.cit. p.184 estimates
that the Highland population totalled about 3,000 at the end of the 18th
century. Although the Highland population had probably grown by 1814,
Withers' estimate has been used.
(2) See Chapter Two on the Highland economy.
(3) The generosity of philanthropists in Glasgow was also called upon to
provide aid for the destitute in the Highlands. In 1837 Norman MacLeod
raised £200,000 in Glasgow and London. Similar efforts were made on
behalf of victims of the potatoe "famine" in 1846-1847.
(4) Flinn, Scottish Population History, op.cit. pp 368-387. The public
health crisis reached its peak in Glasgow in 1847 when the number of
burials in the city doubled. Ibid., p.373

want of cleanliness among the lower orders of the community; to

the absence of ventilation in the more densely peopled districts;

and to the accumulation, for weeks or months together, of filth of

every description in our public and private dunghills; to the over-

crowded state of the lodging houses resorted to by the lowest

classes; and to many other circumstances unnecessary to mention." (1)

Many of the poorer Highland immigrants lived in just such conditions

desribed by Cowan. They were, as a witness to a parliamentary select

committee claimed, "peculiarly subject to disease from their mode of

life and their filthy habits". (2) The Highlanders were particularly

prone to small pox, probably through lack of inoculation in the home

parish. Out of ninety five small pox patients treated by Doctor Cowan

in 1840, seventy were from the Highlands. (3)

When the epidemics were at their worst in the 1830s and 1840s the city

administration had still not evolved methods of either preventing them

or of coping with the treatment of the sufferers. Indeed, much of the

involvement of municipal government only began as a result of the fever

epidemics. Following the Chadwick Sanitary Report of 1842 the cities

were forced to take some responsibility for public hygene, but it was not

until 1863 that the first Medical Officer of Health was appointed in

Glasgow, and the first purpose built municipal fever hospital did not

appear in the city until 1877.

(1) J.Cowan, "Vital Statistics of Glasgow", a paper read to the
Statistical Society of Glasgow in 1838
(2)Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee on Emigration, op.cit. p.51
(3) J.Cowan, Vital Statistics

For the poor, the philanthropic dispensaries, which were generally free and which treated the patients in their own homes, were the most common means of obtaining medical aid. The running costs of these dispensaries were low and a high turnover of patients was possible. (1) To deal with the specific problems of the Highlanders, a Celtic Dispensary was set up in 1837 "with the object of providing medical advice and medicine, and in urgent cases medical attendance in their own houses, for poor strangers coming from the Highlands in quest of employment but who have not yet acquired a settlement in Glasgow, and who therefore had no legal claim on the various charitable institutions in the city".(2) In 1842, the dispensary treated a total of 215 patients (117 females and 98 males). By 1846, however, it was struggling to survive with an expenditure greatly outstripping income. In 1845, for example, expenditure was £30 while the income from annual subscriptions ammounted to only £10. (3) At a rough estimate, this charity reached less than 2% of the Highland born population in any year. (4) However, the proportion of new immigrants, with whom it was most concerned, coming under the Dispensary's umbrella would have been considerably greater. While the Celtic Dispensary, like the other two societies which were concerned with the plight of immigrants who were ineligible for poor relief, was short-lived, its existence co-incided with some of the worst periods of disease in the city. The importance of these three charities in providing care for new immigrants before the change in the Poor law should not, therefore, be underestimated.

(1) T.Ferguson, <u>Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare</u> (Edinburgh, 1948) states that in Edinburgh 85,327 patients received treatment in a ten-year period. p.261
(2)Memorial from the Celtic Dispensary to the Board of Supervision in 1846, Quoted in Ferguson, op.cit. p.260
(3) Ferguson, op.cit. p.261
(4) Based on an estimate of a Highland born population of about 15,000. In 1851 the Highland born in the city numbered 15,615

From the beginning of the eighteenth century education, or rather the
lack of it, in the Highlands, was an object of Lowland intervention.
Alarmed by Jacobitism and the strength of the Catholic Church in the
north, the Scottish Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge
(SSPCK) was founded in 1709 with the purpose of establishing schools
primarily aimed at rooting out the Gaelic language. Since Gaelic culture
was seen to be the root cause of Highland disaffection, an English
education, it was argued, would be the answer to the problem. The
residual problem of Highland illiteracy, however, was not easily solved,
one of the reasons being that the language of instruction, English, was
foreign. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Gaelic Schools
Society of Edinburgh set out to overcome the problem by setting up
schools in the Highlands in which the native language would be the
language of instruction. Literacy in the native tongue, the society
maintained, would lead more easily to literacy in English.

Inspite of the efforts of this society a lack of fluency in English was
seen as a main barrier to Highland integration well in to the nineteenth
century. In 1844, for example, the Poor Law Commissioners reported:

> "Were we required to point out the cause which has had the principal
> effect in retarding the case of the labouring classes in the
> Highlands, the progress of improvement, we should, without
> hesitation, assign as that cause, their ignorance of the common
> langauge of Great Britain. By this ignorance they are prevented
> from bringing their labour to the general market...." (1)

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(1) Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1844, Part I, XX (xlix)

Another commissioner on the same report also stressed that lack of

education was a barrier to Highlanders participating in the labour

market in the Lowlands:

   "...one great cause of that permanent destitution so peculiar to

   the Highlands of Scotland, is to be associated to the want of any

   means of steady and industrious employment; and the principal

   cause may be traced to their almost total want of education, which

   unfits them for employment in more civilised parts of the

   country." (1)

The unsuitability of Highlanders for factory discipline was a common

complaint among employers. It was said of Highlanders employed at the

Catrine cotton mills at the beginning of the nineteenth century that

they "never sit at ease at a loom, it is like putting a deer in the

plough". (2) And many employers stated their preference for Irish

labour over Highland, their reasons being the Highlanders' lack of work

discipline and education. Joseph Browne, a Glasgow dyer, for example,

stated that "the Highlanders.are more difficult to manage (than the   ....

Irish).... What operates powerfully against the Highlanders on their

first arrival is their imperfect knowledge of the language". (3)

It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that education of the Glasgow

Highlanders was the object of much philanthropic energy. The Highland

Society of Glasgow, which was established in 1727, had as its aim the

(1) Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1844, Part I, XX (xlix)
(2) Quoted from T.C.Smout, A History of the Scottish People (Edinburgh
1970)
(3) Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor, op.cit. Appendix G, p.112

"educating and putting out to trades of boys born in the Highlands, or

descended from, and branches of Highlanders, whether in this city or

country, without distinction, and for other charitable and laudable

ends". (1) In the early years between 1727 and 1751 forty seven boys

were educated by the society. From 1751 to 1777 five to six boys were

educated annually, eight boys annually from 1777 to 1785 and ten boys

annually from 1785 to 1788. (2)

The impact this educational provision had on the Highland community in

this period was probably minimal. At the very most a mere 8% of the

sons of Highlanders in the city were educated by the Highland society. (3)

The education consisted of the provision of an apprenticeship (£4 per

annum was paid by the society to the master to whom the apprentice was

bound) and the boys attended evening school classes in the school nearest

their homes. After 1789, however, when the society founded its own

evening school teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, and book-

keeping "to such as showed superior genius" (4), the impact on the

community must have increased. In the following thirty years twenty

boys were educated annually in this way. The educational provision

for the children of Highlanders was further extended in 1807 when, in

conjunction with the SSPCK, the society opened a day school "at which 80

to 90 boys and girls, the children of poor Highlanders were regularly

instructed in reading". (5) Between the day and evening classes, at a

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(1) Summary of the Rise and Progress of the Glasgow Highland Society
(Glasgow, 1861) p.7
(2) Ibid.
(3) This figure is based on a Highland born population of c.3,000 (see
foot note 1 p. 262) and a proportion of school age children 8% of this
figure which was the proportion found in Broomielaw in 1851..
(4) Rise and progress of the Glasgow Highland Society, op.cit. p.7
(5) Ibid.

rough estimate, about half of the children of Highlanders in the city
may have had some education provided by the Highland Society. (1)

Further extensions to the educational provision of immigrant Highland
children were made in 1820 and 1827, and in 1831 a new "commodious and
elegant building" was opened. (2) By 1861 the society was educating
396 boys and 424 girls in the day school and putting out to apprentice-
ship a further 75 boys annually. (2) With a roll of this size, providing
an education for a total of 895 children, it is possible that about
two thirds of Highland immigrant children belonged to the school. (3)

In 1886 the society abandoned the school, the Education Act of 1872
having entrusted to the state the provision of elementary education. To
have continued the school beyond this date would have involved expenditure
in bringing the facilities up to the standard required by the Education
Act. This the society was not prepared to do and instead directed the
funds towards paying higher grade school fees for children "whom they
found eligible" , paying the fees for courses at technical colleges and
providing bursaries for students at Glasgow University. (4)

What sort of education did the Highland Society school provide? Basic
literacy and numeracy were emphasised, with needlework added to the
education of the girls in the girls "school of industry" to train them

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(1) Based on the calculation that there was about 240 children of Highland
parentage in the city at the beginning of the nineteenth century.
(2) Rise and Progress of the Glasgow Highland Society, op.cit. p.9
(3) Based on the assumption that Highland school age children in Glasgow
ammounted to c.8% of Highland born who, in 1861, numbered 16,503.
(4) Rise and Progress of the Glasgow Highland Society (Supplementary
Statement, January 1902) pp 33-37

for occupations in domestic service and the clothing industry. The

Highland Society day school had five separate departments - three for

English, one for writing and arithmetic, and the "school of industry"   .

for girls. According to the society's own statement:

> "A good and solid education is given, keeping pace with the
>
> requirements of the present day.... and the utmost attention is
>
> and has constantly been paid to the religious education and moral
>
> training of the children." (1)

Each department had one teacher plus two or three pupil teachers,

providing a ratio of one adult teacher to 164 pupils. (2) Outsiders

viewed the activities of the school favourably. Tancred, in his Report

to the Commission on the Employment of Children singled out the Highland

Society for special praise, seeing the practice of the school as

"confirmation of the soundness of such views as those upon which the

Factory Act and other legislative measures are founded". (3) Over

twenty years later a report on the state of education in Glasgow ranked

the Highland Society School along with the "best sessional schools in

Glasgow". (4)

The Glasgow Highland Society was not the only organisation involved in

providing education for Highland immigrant children in the city. The

Gaelic Schools Society was, for a short period, active in providing

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(1) Rise and Progress of the Glasgow Highland Society, op.cit. p.10
(2) Ibid., p.9. Staff/ pupil ratio estimate based on the number of pupils
on the school roll in 1861
(3) Employmnet of Children, op.cit. I, 13-14
(4) Education Commission Scotland. PP 1867   Report on the State
of Education In Glasgow, p.434

education for Highlanders in the Lowland towns as well as in the Highlands. In 1812 the Auxiliary Society of Glasgow for the Support of Gaelic Schools was founded, an offshoot of the Edinburgh Gaelic Schools Society formed in 1811. The Glasgow society was established to complement the work of the Edinburgh society by raising funds in the city to finance Gaelic schools in the Highlands. Unlike the parent society, however, the Glasgow society put more stress on the teaching of English once basic literacy in the native tongue had been achieved:

"... the object of this society, (is) first, to assist, by funds, advice, and exertion, the society instituted in Edinburgh, for teaching the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands to read the sacred Scriptures in their native tongue, by circulating schools: and in the next place, that when the most urgent objects of that society are attained, that they shall give encouragement and aid, by such means as shall seem to them most effectual, for the reading of English, Writing and Arithmetic, in those districts where only Gaelic is known." (1)

While the emphasis in Edinburgh was on an ability to read the Bible, in the industrial west a general English based education was the ultimate object. (2) The Glasgow society also directed its energies towards the Highland immigrants in the city and, in 1813, established two Gaelic schools. The Management Committee of the Society reported:

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(1) Auxiliary Society of Glasgow for the Support of Gaelic Schools, Rules and Regulations

(2) Instruction in Gaelic as a means to fluency in English was championed by many in this period who had no desire for the continuation of Gaelic culture. The Gaelic Schools Society adopted a pragmatic approach in attempting to overcome the Highland problem of illiteracy, which in turn posed problems for the integration of Highlanders into the industrial workforce.

"Having reason to believe that, in the extensive population of this
city and its suburbs, a considerable number of Highlanders were
unable to receive instruction in the English language, yet could
not read Gaelic, the only language which they properly understood,
the committee deemed it their duty to open two evening schools, one
in the High Street and one in the Gorbals." (1)

Two schoolmasters were appointed and school rooms provided, and, according
to the report, met an instant demand since a "considerable number of
persons of various ages immediately attended". (2) However, two years
later the classes were discontinued owing to irregular attendance.

From the early 1820s educational provision was also made avaliable to
the children of Highlanders in Glasgow at the MacLachlan Free School.
John MacLachlan of Calcutta died in 1822 leaving a trust for the
provision of a "good English education to as great a number as is
possible of both male and female children of poor Highlanders residing
in and about Glasgow". (3) The education offered at the MacLachlan Free
School was of a similar nature to that at the Highland Society's School.
The terms of John MacLachlan's will stipulated that besides "a
grammatical knowledge of the English language, the boys should be taught
writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping; the girls, besides a proper
knowledge of the English language, writing, and the first five common
rules of arithmetic, should be instructed in needlework and such other

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(1) Annual Report of the Auxiliary Society of Glasgow for the Support of
Gaelic Schools, 1813. p.4
(2) Third Annual Report of the Auxiliary Society for Support of Gaelic
Schools, 1815.
(3) Will of John MacLachlan of Calcutta, 1823. [STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL ARCHIVES]

useful employments as may enable them to gain an honest living after leaving school". (1) By 1836 the school had a roll of 105 girls and 112 boys and an evening class in bookkeeping and higher branches of Arithmmetic was provided for those aged between twelve and twenty. (2)

A major point of interest in an investigation into the philanthropic educational provision for Highlanders in Glasgow is the social and ethnic composition of the pupils. The founders of the Glasgow Highland Society stated that preference should be given to "the sons of such who were entered and received members of the Society, being Highlanders, or descended from Highlanders, be in the first place preferred, upon application, provided the father was a member four years before such application, and, failing of such, those born in the Highlands, or descended from, and branches of Highlanders". (3) The preference given to the children of the Society's members must have substantially reduced the chances of the children of the poorer migrants from gaining entry. When the society was first founded the entrance fee was an initial payment of ten shillings plus one shilling paid four times a year. The fee was then raised to a single payment of one guinea and from the beginning of the nineteenth century a single payment of two guineas. (4) It is possible that in the early days of the society, when the number educated annually was small, it operated almost like a friendly society

(1) Will of John MacLachlan of Calcutta, 1823 [Strathclyde Regional Archives]
(2) Ibid
(3) The General View of the Scheme of Erection of the Glasgow Highland Society (Glasgow, 1831) p.12
(4) Ibid.

by providing an apprenticeship for the sons of members. (1)   Despite

this, there is some evidence to suggest that in the nineteenth century

at least some of the children of the poor received an education at the

Highland Society school.   In 1844 Norman MacLeod, a member of and

chaplain to the society, claimed:

"...confining myself to children of the poorest class, I don't

think there is a child, whose parents are from the Highlands, in

Glasgow, that need want education. We are obliged to reject a

good number,but on the grounds that the parents can educate the

children themselves, and that we confine ourselves invariably to

the poorer classes." (2)

A statement made by the Society in 1849 stressed that the object of the

society was to "give education, clothing and trades to the children of

poor Highlanders". (3) The statement continued:

"The Highland population in Glasgow constitutes a very large and

valuable proportion of the working classes of the city and

neighbourhood. They are to be found in all the public works and

every department of labour. It becomes, therefore, a matter of

vast importance to the best interests of the community, that the

children of this numerous body be well trained and educated." (4)

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(1) The use of the Highland institutions as unofficial friendly societies
was demonstrated by the practice of Ingram Street Chapel of lending money
to prominent menmbers. See Chapter Six, p.
(2) Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, P.P. 1844, XX, part I, p.649
(3) Statement by the Highland Society of Glasgow (Glasgow, December, 1849)
p.1
(4) Ibid., pp25-26

Some confirmation of these claims is provided by the Education

Commission of 1867. Of 24 pupils of "respectable parentage" who attended

the Society school that year, eight were the children of widows, two

were the children of unemployed fathers, and the rest were the children

of porters, packers, shoemakers, masons. (1)

It must have been the case, however, that many of the poorer Highland

families were unable to take advantage of the opportunities which existed

for the free education of their children. The bureaucratic formalities

to be engaged in before the child would be accepted, for instance, may

often have acted as a deterrent, especially to immigrants who had an

imperfect knowledge of English. Thus, the Regulations of the MacLachlan

Free School, issued in 1828, insisted on the following procedure:

> "Parents or guardians who wish boys or girls to be enrolled for
>
> Education in this Institution, shall make application in writing
>
> to the Master or Mistress, or to any of the Directors, and that a
>
> sub-committee, to be termed the Education Committee.... shall fix
>
> whether such applicants shall be admitted or not. No boy or girl
>
> shall be admitted without a certificate from a regular surgeon that
>
> they are free from all contagious disease. And, as from the words
>
> of the Donor, it is obvious that his intention was to relieve the
>
> poor, none shall be admitted who do not produce certificates of
>
> their indigent circumstances, and it is recommended that such
>
> certificates shall be signed by the clergyman on whose Ministrations
>
> they attend....And the whole of the scholars, both male and female,

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(1) Education Commission, Scotland 1867. Report on the State of Education
in Glasgow. p.494

shall come to the school in a decent dress, their clothes clean, their faces and hands well washed, and their hair combed." (1)

In spite of such bureaucratic procedures the number of places in the two Highland schools approached 1,000 by the middle of the nineteenth century. The number of school age children in Broomielaw sample area in 1851 of Highland parentage (i.e. with one or both parents born in the Highlands) amounted to 8% of the Highland born population in that area. Assuming the proportion to be the same for the city as a whole, there must have been about 1,249 school age children of Highland parentage in Glasgow in the middle of the century. It is possible,therefore, that as many as 80% of these children were educated in one of the two Highland charity schools. A variety of determining factors could have operated in the choice of a Highland school: the attraction of a free education, the quality of education, or a sense of "kinship" which encouraged parents to send their children to a Highland institution.

The education at the two Highland schools was free, a policy which went against the prevailing philosophy of the period. Even the mission schools established for children of the most destitute charged fees. The payment of fees, however, was a fairly negligible factor and probably not the main reason for parents sending their children to a free school. Sessional schools and mission schools run by the church and attended by the working class, cost, at the lower end of the scale,

(1) Regulation of MacLachlan Free School (Glasgow, 1828) [Strathclyde Regional Archives]

about a penny a week, or ranged from between one shilling to about six

shillings a quarter. An added inducement for parents of children

attending the Highland Society School initially was the provision of

free clothing. The managers of the Society felt that this inducement

was so powerful that they withdrew this entitlement in 1846:

"The managers were led to recommend this alteration from a strong

conviction that many parties took advantage of the clothing

without any desires to obtain the benefit of the education afforded

by the society." (1)

Where the Highlanders in their free schools probably gained most was

in the fact that the quality of the education, at least in the Highland

Society School, approximated nearer to that received in the more expensive

sessional schools. (2)

How far did the education received by the Highland immigrant children

mark them off from the rest of the working class? In 1834 the Rev.

George Lewis published an account of the state of education in Scotland

in which he drew attention to the dearth of educational facilities. In

Glasgow, he reported, only one third of school age children attended

school. (3) In 1857 R.Somers published another survey into the state

of education in Glasgow and found "a paucity of school attendance without

a parallel in any town on Scotland". (4) More than half of the children

(1) Statement of the Highland Society of Glasgow , 1849, p.24
(2) As shown on p.269 the 1867 Report on the State of Education in Glasgow
ranked the quality of education at the Highland Society school equal to
the best sessional schools
(3) G.Lewis, Scotland, a half-educated nation (Edinburgh, 1834)
(4) R.Somers, The State of Schools and Education in Glasgow (Glasgow,
1857) p.4

between the age of five and ten were not at school at the time of his

inquiry. School attendance varied according to the social composition

of the district: in St Andrew's day scholars were in a proportion of

one in seven of the population; in Calton, the proportion was one in

thirty four. (1) The outstanding factor, in Somers' opinion, was the

duration of schooling:

"Some may have attended their year or year and a half; others will

yet attend for some short period; and the great majority, doubtless

will, one way or other, pick up some scrap of instruction." (2)

It was not the existence of school fees, claimed Somers, which kept

working class children away from school but the attraction of an

additional wage earner in the family in an area where there was ready

employment for children:

"The facility of finding work for children in a vast industrial

mart like Glasgow, especially under the emigration and commercial

progress of the last few years, is great and tempting. Every

branch of skilled labour, as well as our shops and warehouses offer

employment to little boys who can read and scrawl their names. For

a still less educated class, there are the factories, the bleach

fields, the tobacco-works, and a host of minor manufactures...

The temptation to withdraw children from school, and put them to

work is thus acting with intense force in Glasgow." (3)

(1) R.Somers, op.cit. p. 9
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.12

To establish whether the children attending the Highland schools were similarly subject to the pull of industry, as described by Somers, it is necessary to examine the average length of schooling. According to Somers, the average length of attendance ranged from one and a half years in the mission and free schools for the poor to four and a half years in the sessional schools attended by the children of the "middle and upper working classes". (1) The majority of children in Glasgow schools attended for less than three years. Of the Highland Society school, Somers states that "five sixth of the whole number of pupils have been under three years at school", (2) indicating that the record of attendance was lower than at the sessional schools. However, 12% of the pupils at the Highland Society school were aged over twelve, a proportion ranking alongside the better sessional schools. (3) Somers makes no special comment about MacLachlan Free School, but, the Committee of General management of the school commented in 1832 on the irregular attendance of the scholars. (4)

It is clear that economic pressures which forced working class families to withdraw their children from school at an early stage in their education operated on the Highland population in the city just as it did on the rest of the working class. However, it was also undoubtedly the case that the existence of these free schools provided greater educational opportunities for the Highland immigrants than were available for the poorer sections of the working class generally.

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(1) Somers, op.cit. p.5
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.10
(4) Notes as to the Incorporation of the MacLachlan Free School,(Glasgow, 1832) p. 17

Perhaps it was their existence which allowed the likes of Margaret

MacKinnon of Broomielaw in 1851, described as a "pauper", to maintain

a fourteen year old son and an eleven year old daughter at school. (1)

While the existence of free schools did not ensure a passport to

middle class occupations, the emphasis on training for a trade enabled

many boys from unskilled families to enter a trade, some even achieving

a degree of prosperity:

> "In the list of the members there are several Gentlemen who were
>
> originally under the charge of the Society, and who, by their
>
> diligence, and attention, now fill some of the highest situations
>
> in the different incorporated trades to which they belong." (2)

More than in their contribution to social mobility, the importance of

these schools must lie in their impact on the Highland community and

their effect on community consciousness. How important was it for the

self-consciousness of the Highland community that the majority of Highland

immigrant children were educated apart from the host community? Although

both the Highland Society School and the MacLachlan Free School aimed

at literacy in English and .   their objective may have been to train

the children of Highlanders to play their part in the industrial work

force, it would be a mistake to view the schools as setting out

deliberately to weaken Highland culture and to facilitate complete

assimilation. The managers of both schools were sufficiently conscious

(1) 1851 Census, Enumeration Books, Glasgow 538-48
(2) Statement of the Highland Society of Glasgow, 1849, p.23

of their identity to preserve the ethnic composition of the pupils. For

both schools Highland parentage or descent remained an essential entrance

requirement. In this respect the Highland schools in Glasgow differed

from the Highlanders Academy in Greenock. Shortly after its opening in

1835 it was made open to all the children in the area and soon lost its

specifically Highland character. (1) Even the all-English content of

the Glasgow Highland schools' curriculum was called into question.

Dr. Donald MacLeod, a director of the Highland Society's school in the

1870s advocated the institution of Gaelic teaching after he discovered

that the vast majority of the children at the school could not speak the

language. (2) There are no records to indicate whether MacLeod's request

was carried out. However, the fact of the request demonstrates the

existence of a desire to maintain the cultural heritage. The conscious-

ness of Highland identity was further forged by the links which bound

the schools to the other Highland institutions. For instance, attendance

at St Columba's Gaelic Church was compulsory for the scholars of the

Highland Society School.

It seems likely, therefore, that an education at a Highland school in

the city would have tended to strengthen the awareness of a Highland

identity which was shared by the peer group. This sense of identity

is illustrated in the biographical details of a former pupil of the

Highland Society School, Lachlan McNeill Weir. Weir, of Highland

parentage, was born in Glasgow and educated by the Highland Society.

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(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.215
(2) The Highlander, 23.2.1878. Report of speech of Donald MacLeod to
the annual gathering of the Ardnamurchan, Morven and Sunart Society.

He became active in the early years of the twentieth century in the

Labour movement in Glasgow, contributing to the socialist paper

Forward. He joined the Independent Labour Party and stood as

parliamentary candidate for the Highland county of Argyll. In this

venture he was unsuccessful, although he entered Parliament later as the

member for Stirling and Clackmannan. Inspite of representing a Lowland

constituency, it was said that Weir's chief motivation in politics was

"his profound interest in Highland affairs, particularly those of the

crofters and fishermen". (1) It is perhaps not over fanciful to conclude

that this interest in Highland affairs, which extended to playing

an active part in the Glasgow Highland community and the role of

Director of the Glasgow Islay Association (2), was nurtured during his

school days.

The Highland philanthropic agencies, whether providing medical aid, poor

relief or education, and irrespective of the motives of their founders,

by treating the Highland immigrants as a separate unit, helped to

minimise contact with the outside community. Although the agencies

providing aid for the sick and the indigent were perhaps too short-

lived and operated on too small a scale to have a major impact on

Highland consciousness, their existence co-incided with the period when

their need was greatest and as such their importance should not be

discounted. During some of the worst periods of disease in the city

the Highland immigrants had recourse to a Highland physician. (3)

(1) S.V.Bracker quoted in Scottish Labour Leaders (Edinburgh 1984) p. 270
Biographical details on L.M.Weir pp. 269-71
(2) Ibid., p. 270
(3) Robert MacGregor, the medical officer of the Celtic Dispensary, was
also a member of the Glasgow Highland Society and an elder of St Columba's.

During the periods when crises in the Highland economy forced a
movement of impoverished immigrants to the city where, before the Poor
Law Amendment Act of 1845, they were not entitled immediately to poor
relief, the Highland churches organised alternative relief for their
indigent kin. As we shall see in the following chapter on Highland
cultural and social organisations, the practice of Highlanders providing
aid to members of their community continued throughout the nineteenth
century after the specifically philanthropic societies had been
disbanded. By assuming such a charitable role the organised Highland
community was attempting to ensure that immigration did not lead to the
loosening of kinship bonds.

Although some doubts may be permitted as to the scale of relief for the
sick and indigent, not so the educational provision. The Highland
community was sufficiently organised to provide education for what
must have amounted to about three quarters of Highland immigrant
children. Even though the purpose of this education may have been
largely to ensure their economic assimilation into the workforce, in
practice, by educating the children apart and by forging links with
other Highland institutions, it is likely that the Highland schools were
factors in preventing total cultural assimilation.

THE PHILANTHROPISTS.

The availability of philanthropic assistance for Highland immigrants

in Glasgow owed much to the presence in the city of a section of the

wealthy middle class with Highland origins. During the eighteenth

century scions of the Highland landed families and representatives of

the tacksmen class settled in the city which offered opportunities in

trade and commerce for the more enterprising among them. One such was

George MacIntosh, the fourth son of a Ross-shire tacksman. He came to

Glasgow in the 1750s while in his teens, starting off his career as a

clerk with the Glasgow Tan Work Company. Within a few years he was

running his own business which employed five hundred men and, in 1785,

in partnership with David Dale, opened a Turkey-red dye works, the

first of its kind in Britain. (1) That the success of MacIntosh was

not exceptional in the city during this period is confirmed by a city

historian writing in the middle of the nineteenth century:

"... at the present time so many sons of the Gael are found among

    the ablest of our merchants and manufacturers.... it was not till

    some years after the last Rebellion in favour of the Stewarts that

    the scions of the Gael were found seated in the highest places of

    Glasgow society." (2)

(1) George MacIntosh, Biographical Memoir of the Late Charles Macintosh
(Glasgow, 1848) Appendix I of this book contains biographical details of
the life of George MacIntosh, the father of Charles.
(2) John Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs (Glasgow, 1856) pp 128-129

The existence of Highlanders in high places often worked to the advantage of the poorer immigrants. George MacIntosh is an example of a Highlander who, although a successful entrepeneur, maintained an interest in the condition of the Highlands and the plight of Highlanders. Not only was he a supporter of the Highland institutions in the city (he attended the Ingram Street Gaelic Chapel, was a director of the Glasgow Highland Society and a founder of the Gaelic Club of Gentlemen), but he also favoured Highland labour in his Glasgow factories (1), and directed some of his entrepeneurial energy to establishing industry in the Highlands. George MacIntosh was one of the prime movers in a venture to establish the linen industry in the Highlands, the ill-fated Spinningdale in Sutherland. (2) Undoubtedly the motives of MacIntosh included the philanthropic as well as the purely financial, since the Spinningdale venture lost him a fortune. (3) One of his partners, George Dempster, was aware of MacIntosh's interest in the Highlands:

"Among ourselves, I may say, there are only myself and George MacIntosh fit to improve the highlands (sic) and protect their inhabitants. I have planted the waste lands with people, you have fed those people and given them profitable employment. You have introduced arts and manufactures amongst them. Your operations have cost large sums of money - mine little more than a bare act of my will, and are daily improving my rental." (4)

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(1) At MacIntosh's cudbear works in Glasgow the roll-call every morning was in Gaelic. Information from R.Bain, "A Highland Industrial Pioneer" The Active Gael, (Glasgow, 1934).

(2) For an anlysis of the failure of Spinningdale, see A.J.Youngson, After the Forty Five (Edinburgh, 1973)

(3) MacIntosh sold the Turkey-red dye works in 1805, which may have been an attempt to recoup some of his losses.

(4) Letter from George Dempster to George MacIntosh, 14.5.1803, in George MacIntosh, Biographical Memoir, op.cit. p.125

Because MacIntosh's partiality for Highland labour was also shared by other wealthy Highlanders, there operated an informal "Highland network" which made it easier than might otherwise have been the case for Highland immigrants in Glasgow to find work:

> "I think the Highlanders find it more easy to get respectable employment than the Irish; the Highlanders here have friends in Glasgow; they come with letters of recommendation to countrymen and clansmen in comfortable circumstances; we are very clannish; and these who come from one island do it for the men from that island who have to get employment - the MacDonalds for the MacDonalds and the MacLeods for the MacLeods, and so on, so they find little difficulty in getting work." (1)

The wealthy strata could also be called upon to give financial aid to the Highland poor in the city. Norman MacLeod, the minister of St Columba Gaelic church and himself an indefatigable campaigner on behalf of the Highland immigrants (2), stated, "I never knew a Highland family in circumstances of great destitution that I did not know where to get some relief....I seldom knew the want of a pound for such a purpose". (3) However, only a few years after MacLeod made this statement, the Highland Strangers Friendly Society and the Celtic Dispensary were wound up through lack of funds, suggesting that perhaps the pool of wealthy Highlanders prepared to support their poorer kin was by this period limited.

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(1) Select Committee on Emigration, Minutes of Evidence, op.cit. p.118
(2) MacLeod organised distress committees for relief in the Highlands. By appearing before various Parliamentary Select Committees he was able to publicise the plight of Highlanders.
(3) Select Committee on Emigration, Minutes of Evidence, op.cit. p.119

A problem which faced the organisers of philanthropy for the Highland immigrants was the changing social composition of the immigration. In the nineteenth century Glasgow was no longer attracting the same proportion of immigrants from the Highland upper classes (1) Instead, the immigration from the Highlands was overwhelmingly a movement of the peasantry and tenantry.

Some idea of the social, economic and ethnic background of those individuals who contributed to Glasgow Highland philanthropic causes may be gleaned from the list, published in 1902, of the name and status of all those who joined the society since its inception. An analysis of the occupations of the members of this society in the years 1787, 1831 and 1861, carried out by Dr Withers (2),shows that only a small and decreasing proportion of the society's membership belonged to working class occupations. (3) On the reasonable assumption that those identified by Dr Withers as "occupation not given" were relatively substantial land and property owners (4), members of Highland landed families comprised 16.2% in 1787, 18.6% in 1831 and as much as 37.6% in 1861. Among them were members of the Scottish aristocracy, including

(1) J.O. Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays (Glasgow, 1905) writes that the influx of the landed classes into the city "came to an end before the end of the last century". pp 67-68
(2) C.W.J.Withers, Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981 Chapter Nine.
(3) Ibid. p.194. The working class comprised 31% of the membership in 1787 17% in 1831 and 13% in 1861
(4)These people are identified by their estate in the manner described by James Boswell, "The...other Highland gentlemen, of landed property are denominated by their estates, as Rasay, Boisdale...The tacksmen... by their farms, as Kingsburgh, Corrichatichan..." The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, op.cit. p.153. Thus, in the Highland Society membership list we find not only the Duke of Argyll but also the lesser Argyllshire gentry such as Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Campbell of Craignish, Campbell of Glenfalloch etc.

the Dukes of Argyll and Sutherland, the Earls of Errol, Glencairn,

Galloway and Hopetoun, and the Viscount Glenorchy. The majority of the

membership,however,in the three years surveyed belonged to managerial/

professional and intermediate non-manual groups. On the list are the

names of most of the leading industrialists in the city such as

Kirkman Finlay, Charles Tennant, David Dale, the Dennistouns, Glassford,

Monteith, Dixon of Dixon's iron works, George and Charles MacIntosh..

Some, such as Glassford, Monteith and Dixon had no obvious Highland

connection. For others only a tenuous connection with the Highlands

could be claimed. Kirkman Finlay, for example, had acquired a Highland

estate as had so·many Glasgow merchants and industrialists in the

nineteenth century. While the society was receiving support from wealthy

non-Highlanders, it was also supported by the leading members of the

Highland community in the city. As well as the Highland industrialists

George and Charles MacIntosh, the ministers of the Gaelic churches,

the managers and elders of St Columba's and many of the individuals

who were involved with other Highland activities such as Robert

MacLachlan, teacher at the Highland Society School and Magnus MacLean

of the Celtic Society and the Glasgow Skye Association, were all

members of the society.

It is clear that some members of the Glasgow Highland Society did not

necessarily have any particular interest in Highlanders or Highland

affairs. For a man of substance, donating towards charity was a mark of

prosperity, and it did not always matter what the object of the charity

was as long as the subscription list was respectable. One such was

Kirkman Finlay, merchant prince, one time Lord Provost of the city and a

Member of Parliament for GLASGOW. _ ~ John Strang wrote of him,

"with almost every one of the charitable and 'public institutions of

Glasgow, Mr Finlay was connected". (1)

Inspite of the society having on its subscription lists members of the

Scottish aristocracy and the haute bourgeoisie of the city, from

the middle of the nineteenth century it had difficulty attracting new

members. Figure 7.1 shows the number of new members joining the society

between 1727 and 1740 and at twenty year periods thereafter up to 1900.

In its early years it sustained . a healthy growth with a dip in

numbers joining between 1760 and 1780. In the forty years thereafter the

society underwent a spectacular increase in membership, reaching a peak

of over a thousand new members in the first two decades of the nineteenth

century. Then an equally spectacular decline set in until the last two

decades of the century when the society could only muster a new member-

ship of thirty five.

Some reasons must be sought for the waxing and waning of support for the

Society. At certain periods the Highlanders received a "good press" in

the south which resulted in a general degree of sympathy for them. Their

involvement in the American Revolution on the side of the British

government, the involvement of Highland regiments in the Napoleonic Wars and

the publicity given to the Highlanders in the early years

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(1) John Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs, op.cit. p.143 /__

FIGURE 7.1

MEMBERSHIP OF THE GLASGOW HIGHLAND SOCIETY 1727-1740, and at twenty year periods there up to 1900.

Number of persons becoming members
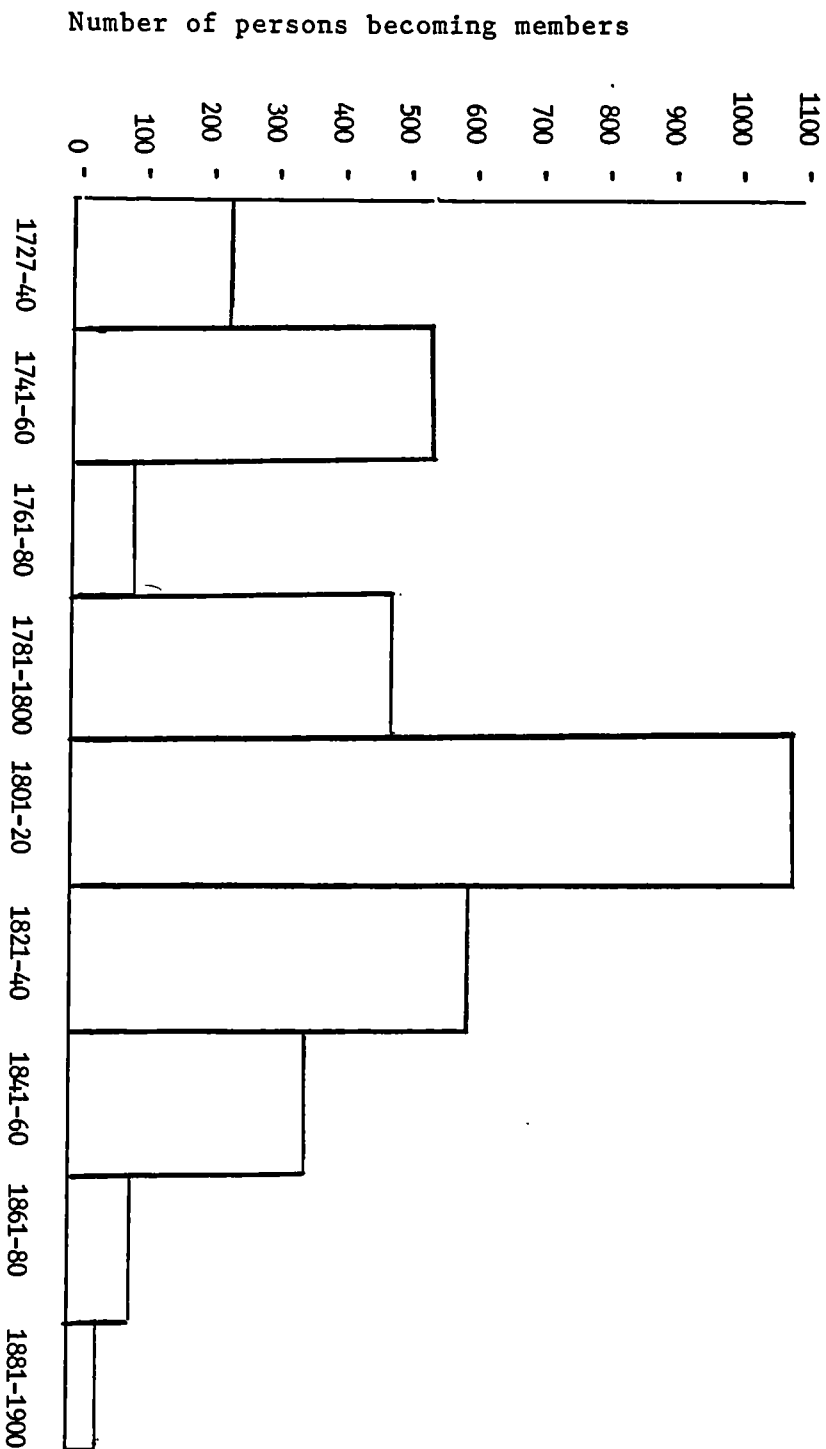
of the Sutherland Clearances all contributed to this goodwill.

Furthermore, Walter Scott, by portraying in the <u>Waverley Novels</u> a

romantic Highland past and by declaring sympathy for those Highlanders

who had been cleared from their homelands, also played a part in making

the Highland cause a fashionable one. This period of goodwill is

reflected in the membership of the Glasgow Highland Society which

increased its membership in the first two decades of the nineteenth

century, the period when the goodwill was probably at its greatest.

According to the society in 1849, one source of support it was losing was

from the Highland landed families:

"At a former period in the history of this society there were few

gentlemen of any standing or respectability in the Highlands whose

names are not to be found in the lists of its members.... it is

not so now." (1)

The directors of the society appealed to the sense of responsibility of

the Highland landowners to their former tenants:

"The Directors look especially for countenance and support to

Highland proprietors and gentlemen resident throughout the

Highlands, from whose estates and from the lands of whose fathers

very many poor people are at present removing to this city in

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(1) Statement of the Highland Society of Glasgow, 1849. p.26.
Although the proportion of members from Highland landed families had
increased, in absolute terms the numbers had decreased.

quest of employment, and whose families possess the most tender and powerful claim on their compassion and liberality." (1)

Perhaps by the middle of the nineteenth century the ties of clanship had been so loosened by a century of capitalist estate management that a sense of responsibility among Highland landowners for the plight of Highland immigrants was no longer so strong.

The post 1820 period, when the membership of the Highland Society started to decline, was the period which witnessed crises in the Highland economy in the wake of the collapse of the kelp industry (2), and the growth of an impoverished immigrant community in the city. Highland landlords were occupied with the prospect of bankruptcy of their own estates and, in some instances, the prospect of famine among their own tenantry. In the Lowlands, too, the Highland cause was losing much of its romantic appeal, especially with the closer proximity of impoverished Highland immigrants in the city. It is also possible that the advent of widescale Irish immigration made the training of the Highlanders as an industrial workforce no longer such a priority.

The changed social composition of the immigrants also adversely affected the number joining the society. The reduction in the number of immigrants from the upper strata of Highland society meant that the natural support for the society was being undermined. At the same time it was

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(1) Statement of the Highland Society of Glasgow, 1849. p.26
(2) See Chapter Three on the crisis in the Highland economy.

failing to attract support from the growing numbers of working class

Highlanders in the city for whom the entrance requirement of two

guineas was prohibitive. As the century progressed the Highland

working classes instead formed separate Highland societies which were

more bound up with the social and cultural life of the Highlands and

as such may have seemed more relevant to their needs. (The growth of

Highland cultural and social organisations in the second half of the

nineteenth century will be examined in the following chapter.)

The aims of the philanthropists were diverse. Undoubtedly, many were

themselves Highlanders who maintained a strong sense of looking after

their own kith and kin and for them philanthropy was merely an extension

of patronage. Some, for a period, had an interest in the plight of

Highlanders, perhaps through partly romantic, partly genuine reasons.

They all wanted to make the existence of the poorer Highlanders in the

urban environment easier; and many of them no doubt wanted to ensure that

by training the children the shortcomings of the adults as an industrial

workforce would be overcome. The historians quoted at the beginning

of this chapter all stressed the role of philanthropy in easing social

tensions and in providing a framework of welfare which helped ease

society over the first hurdles of industrialisation until the state was

able to organise a more efficient mechanism. The Highland

philanthropic societies looked at in this chapter played their own small

part in helping to ease a people from a pre-industrial society into the

very hub of laissez faire capitalism. However, by treating the Highlanders

as a separate entity, the Highlanders consciousness of themselves as a

separate entity was maintained.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE GLASGOW HIGHLANDERS.

Many theorists of the assimilation process regard the entrance of
immigrants into the primary groups of the host society as a key to
assimilation. (1) Milton Gordon, for instance, stresses that once
structural assimilation has taken place (i.e. entrance of the immigrants
into the clubs and social cliques of the host society) other types of
assimilation will follow. (2) Where there is a desire by ethnic
communities to maintain their identity, Gordon argues, substantial
effort is made to provide a network of social organisations which "tend
to confine their members in their primary relationships safely within
the ethnic fold". (3)

Given the importance of primary group relations in the assimilation
process it is not surprising that studies of immigrant communities have
tended to include an appraisal of their social, cultural and intellectual
activities. A study of the Irish in London, for example, demonstrates
how the Catholic church organised social activities with a strong Irish
flavour and how much of the political life of the immigrants was centred
round support for Irish nationalism. (4) The Irish immigrants in Scotland

(1) Charles Price in "The Study of Assimilation", J.A.Jackson (ed.)
Migration (Cambridge, 1969) pp 217-223 summarises the major works
propounding this view.
(2) M.Gordon, op.cit. pp 80-81
(3) Ibid. p.80
(4) L.H.Lees, Exiles of Erin, op.cit. chapters 7 and 8.

also founded a network of, frequently interlinked, social, political and
intellectual institutions which tended to be bound up with the Catholic
church and Irish nationalism. (1) The study, by Dr Lobban, of Highland
immigrants in Greenock noted that specific Highland societies were formed
in the town. A Greenock Highland Society was founded in the 1820s, a
Celtic Shinty Club in the 1840s, a Greenock Highland Rifle Corps in 1859
and, in 1873, a Greenock Highland Society which had the express purpose
of providing a focus for the immigrants' social life in the town and
assisting in the preservation of Highland culture. (2) However,
Lobban insists that the existence of these societies should not be seen
as an indication of the non-assimilation of the Greenock Gaels. He
argues that Highlanders had been settled in the town for a considerable
length of time before they bothered to establish their own social
institutions and he questions whether more than a small minority of
Highlanders were ever members. (3)

A study of immigrant communities in nineteenth century Boston found that
each ethnic group made some attempt to preserve its cultural heritage and
identity through forming their own specific institutions. (4) However,
only the Irish, the group found to be the least assimilated, were able to
sustain a "flourishing growth" of institutions. (5). For the Irish, it is
argued, the formation of a network of purely Irish institutions was a
response to their position as outside and below the mainstream of Boston

(1) Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit. Information on
institutions of the Irish in Scotland to be found in chapters 5, 7 and 9.
(2) Lobban, op.cit. p. 257
(3) Ibid., p. 258
(4) O.Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Cambridge, Mass.)
(5) Ibid., p.176

society. In turn, the erection of a society within a society served to further the estrangement of the Boston Irish who, "acting apart from other sections of the community, became intensely aware of (their) peculiar and exclusive identity". (1)

The extent to which immigrant groups formed their own institutions, therefore, can be assumed to be a valuable index of integration or non-integration with the indigenous community. As we saw in the two previous chapters, the Highlanders in Glasgow certainly formed their own churches, schools and charitable organisations. To what extent did a desire to preserve a separate identity also extend itself into the social, intellectual and political sphere?

Figure 8.1, which attempts to provide as comprehensive a list as possible of the various Glasgow Highland societies, indicates that in the city in the nineteenth century there was indeed a plethora of specifically Highland institutions. Unlike the Greenock Highlanders, the Glasgow Gaels set up their own institution, the Glasgow Highland Society, early on in the history of their settlement in the city. (2) Although the first specifically social club, the exclusive Gaelic Club of Gentlemen, was formed as early as 1780 (3), it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the social and cultural organisations of the Highlanders flourished. Altogether five Highland societies were formed in the first half of the nineteenth century - the Clan MacKay in 1806,

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(1) Ibid.
(2) The Glasgow Highland Society, founded in 1727, was primarily a philanthropic society and as such is examined in greater detail in chapter 7.
(3) J. Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs, op.cit. pp 128-151

FIGURE 8.1

HIGHLAND SOCIETIES IN GLASGOW AND THE PERIOD OF THEIR FORMATION

Prior to 1850	1850-1859	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89	1890-1899	1900-1919	Societies whose date of formation is unknown.
Glasgow Highland society (1727)	Argyllshire	Islay	Skye	Glasgow Highland Club	An Comunn Gaidhealach	Tiree	
Gaelic Club of Gentlemen (1780)	Celtic Society	Cowal	Ross & Cromarty	Gaelic society	Oban & Lorn	Clan MacRae	
Clan MacKay (1806)	Sutherland	Inverness-shire	Lochaber	Lewis & Harris	Uist & Barra	Clan MacFarlane	
Clan MacGregor (1822)		Coll	Mull & Iona	Clan Cameron	Highland Welcome Club	Gairloch & Lochbroom	
Kintyre Club (1825)		Appin	Comunn Gaidhealach Ghlaschu	St Rollox & Springburn High-land Association	Clan MacKinnon		
Glasgow University Ossianic society (1828)		Lochgilphead & Lochfyne	Fingal Lodge of Good Templars	Clan maclean			
Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society (1834)		Northern Counties	Ossian Lodge of Good Templars	Skye Vigilance Committee	Clan MacMillan		
			Comunn Tir nan Beann	Clan Donnachaidh			
			Gaelic Lodge of Free Masons	Glasgow Gaelic Musical Assoc.		Atholl & Breadalbane	
			Lewis	Clan MacDonald		Highland Girls Club	
			Caledonian Catholic Association	Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh		Mid-Argyll.	
			Tiree	Clan Lamont			
			Ardnamurchan, Morven & Sunart	Ceilidh nan Gaidheal			

SOURCES

J. Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs (Glasgow, 1856)

Glasgow Highland and Clan Association Directory 1919-1920. (Glasgow, 1920)

"Litir mu Ghaidheil Ghlaschu" in An Gaidheal, Summer, 1872, pp. 77-80

The Highlander 5.6.1875; 12.6.1875; 15.4.1876; 28.10.1876; 10.2.1877; 29.9.1877; 23.2.1878;

The Oban Times 30.11.1878; 21.5.1881; 25.12.1886; 4.5.1889; 29.11.1890

Clan MacGregor in 1822, Kintyre Club in 1825, Glasgow University Ossianic

Society in 1828 and the Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society in 1834.

The number of new societies formed grew steadily from 1850 to 1870, rising

from three in the 1850s to seven in the 1860s. As many as thirteen new

societies were formed in the 1870s. In the 1880s the new societies

being formed fell back to six before rising again to a peak of fourteen

in the 1890s. In the first two decades of the twentieth century only

four new societies were formed. In all, the number of new institutions

established during the second half of the nineteenth century was about

seven times greater than in the first half of the century. (1)

The increase in the foundation of Highland clubs in the second half of

the nineteenth century reflected to some extent the increase of 53% in

the number of Highlanders in the city between 1851 and 1901. The

decennial variations in the rate of establishment of new societies tended

to reflect variations in the pattern of Highland migration to the city

and in the size of the resident Highland community. Thus, the increase

in the number of new societies formed between the 1850s and the 1870s was

associated with an increase in the number of Highland born residents.

By 1881, however, the number of Highland born Glaswegians fell , as did

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(1) It is possible that the list of societies in Figure 8.1 is not
completely representative of societies formed in the earlier period.
The societies listed were gathered from sources in the second half of
the nineteenth and early twentieth century. There is a chance, therefore,
that clubs formed earlier had disappeared by this period.

the number of newly formed associations. A further upsurge in Highland

migration during the 1880s (as reflected in the greater number of

Highland born in the 1891 census) was followed by the dramatic increase

in new Highland institutions in the 1890s. On the other hand, the further

increase in the number of Highland born by 1901 was not reflected in the

number of new societies formed in the early years of the new century. By

this time, perhaps, a saturation point had been reached.

Some of the societies listed in Figure 8.1 failed to survive. The two

Highland temperance societies, the Fingal Lodge of Good Templars and the

Ossian lodge of Good Templars, the Gaelic Lodge of Free Masons, Comunn

Tir nam Beann, the Caledonian Catholic Association, the St Rollox and

Springburn Highland Association, the Skye Vigilance Committee, the

Ardnamurchan, Morven and Sunart Society, the Coll Association, the

Northern Counties Association, the Appin Association and the Lochgilphead

and Lochfyne Association were not listed in the 1919-1920 Glasgow Highland

and Clan Association Directory and it is to be assumed that they had

disappeared by that time. Other societies, such as the Lewis Association,

the Tiree Association and the Comunn Gaidhealach Ghlaschu disbanded in the

late 1870s or early 1880s to be revived shortly afterwards. Thus, in

1887 the Lewis Association was re-formed as the Lewis and Harris

Association, the Comunn Gaidhealach was re-formed in 1891 and the Tiree

Association in 1901. However, inspite of these failures, the vast

majority of societies (over 80%) were of sufficient viability to have

survived until 1919.

The Highland societies established in nineteenth century Glasgow were basically of four types: those centred round a particular interest or activity, territorial societies which were attached to a perticular area, clan societies and cultural organisations. The societies formed round a particular interest or activity (1), although indicating that the Highland immigrants were adopting some of the preoccupations of the host society, also reveal an anxiety to confine these activities to within the ethnic fold. The territorial societies (2) and the clan associations (3), reflect a desire to maintain sentimental and emotional links with a particular native heath or with a perceived kinship grouping. They were also a feature of the degree of "clannishness" which remained a mark of the Highland community in the city. (4) The cultural societies (5), formed particularly in the later decades of the century when Highlanders were starting to engage both in a struggle to maintain their language and culture (e.g. the fight for Gaelic education in Highland schools, a Celtic Chair at Edinburgh University and a Gaelic census), and in a political struggle for land reform, aimed at uniting the immigrants from all parts of the Highlands.

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(1) Including such societies as the Gaelic Lodge of Free Masons, the two Gaelic temperance societies, the Glasgow Gaelic Musical Association, Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh and Ceilidh nan Gaidheal
(2) Kintyre Club, Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society, the Argyllshire, Sutherland, Islay, Cowal, Ross and Cromarty, Skye, Lochaber, Mull and Iona, Lewis and Harris, Oban and Lorn, Mid Argyll, Coll,Lochgilphead and Lochfyne, Appin, Uist and Barra, Jura, Tiree, Gairloch and Lochbroom, Ardnamurchan, Morven and Sunart and the Atholl and Breadalbane Associations.
(3) Clans MacKay, Gregor, Cameron, MacKinnon, MacLean, MacMillan, Donnachaidh, MacDonald, Lamont and MacRae.
(4) This attachment to a particular area was also reflected in allegiance to particular Gaelic churches in the city. See pages 240-241
(5) Such as the Celtic Society, Glasgow Highland Club, Glasgow Gaelic Society, An Comunn Gaidhealach and Comunn Tir nam Beann

The period in which they were formed tended to be reflected in the aims

of the various societies. The territorial societies formed in the

first half of the century saw their purpose as being mainly benevolent.

The Argyllshire Society, for instance, formed in 1851, stated:

"The object of this society is to raise a capital fund - the free

annual proceeds of which shall be applied in affording pecuniary

relief in such a way as may be considered proper to deserving

persons connected with the county by birth, parentage, marriage or

residence." (1)

Charitable assistance was also the principal aim of the Glasgow

Perthshire Charitable Society (1836). The clan societies formed in this

period (Clan MacKay, 1806 and Clan Gregor, 1822) added the aims of

record preservation and the provision of educational awards to that of

providing aid for the necessitous. (2)

The territorial and clan societies formed after the middle of the

nineteenth century tended to have more wide ranging aims. The ambitious

nature of the majority of these associations is typified by the

Constitution of the Lewis and Harris Association formed in 1887.

"1st. The cultivation and promotion of social intercourse among

Lewismen and Harrismen resident in Glasgow and neighbourhood

desirous of cherishing their native attachments and of collecting

and preserving the history and traditions of the Island, and their

(1) Glasgow Highland and Clan Association Directory
(2) Ibid

mutual improvement by means of Essays, Debates and any other means that may be agreed on. 2nd. The investigation, and as far as possible, the relief of cases of hardship and necessity which may occur among Lewismen and Harrismen. 3rd. The establishment of Bursaries to assist in the education of deserving young men, natives of Lewis or Harris when the Association shall consider itself in a position to do so." (1)

The first object of the Lewis and Harris Association, the cultivation and promotion of social intercourse, was one shared by many of the associations formed after the middle of the century. The Atholl and Breadalbane, Gairloch and Lochbroom, Oban and Lorn, Ross and Cromarty, Skye, Sutherland, Jura, Mid Argyll, Mull and Iona, Uist and Barra and the Tiree associations and the clans Cameron, Donnachaidh, MacDonald, Lamont, MacFarlane, MacRae, MacLean and MacMillan all stated this to be one of their aims. (2)

The collection and preservation of history and traditions were also carried out by the majority of the societies established during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries - An Comunn Gaidhealach, Atholl and Breadalbane, Glasgow High School Gaelic Class Ceilidh, Ceilidh nan Gaidheal, Celtic Society, Glasgow Gaelic Society, Glasgow Highland Club, the Skye, Sutherland, Inverness-shire, Islay, Jura, Mid-Argyll and the Uist and Barra associations and the associations for the clans Cameron, MacDonald, MacFarlane, MacLean, MacMillan, MacRae. (3)

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(1) Constitution, Rules and Bye-laws of the Lewis and Harris Association (Glasgow, 1887) In hands of Secretary of Lewis and Harris Association.
(2) Highland and Clan Association Directory
(3) Ibid.

"Mutual improvement" was found among the aims of the Cowal, Gairloch

and Lochbroom, Oban and Lorn, Ross and Cromarty, Skye, Sutherland,

Inverness-shire, Mid-Argyll, Mull and Iona and Tiree associations. (1)

The provision of relief was on the statutes of the Argyllshire, Mull and

Iona, Cowal, Oban and Lorn, Ross and Cromarty, Skye, Sutherland,

Inverness-shire, Lochaber, Mid-Argyll, Kintyre and Uist and Barra

associations, the Highland Welcome Club and the associations of the clans

Cameron, Donnachaidh, MacDonald, Lamont, MacFarlane, MacKinnon, MacLean,

MacMillan and MacRae. (2)

Object 3 of the <u>Constitution</u> of the Lewis and Harris Association, the

provision of educational bursaries, was similarly a feature of other

societies. . The Atholl and Breadalbane, Skye Sutherland, Kintyre and

Lochaber associations, the Celtic Society and the associations of the

clans Cameron and MacKinnon all had an educational fund. The Lochaber

Association stated that its purpose was "to assist natives of the district

while learning a trade involving a term of apprenticeship". (3) Other

societies offered funds to help with university fees. (4)

The principal common concern of Highland societies of the cultural type

was to promote Highland culture and the Gaelic language. The longest

established of these societies, the Celtic Society formed in 1856, cited

its aims as being the promotion of language, literature and the antiquities

of the Highlander as well as the encouragement of the wearing of Highland

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(1) Ibid
(2) Ibid
(3) Ibid
(4) Ibid

dress. The society also provided educational grants for outstanding student. The Glasgow Gaelic Society, formed in 1887, aimed at the cultivation of Gaelic language, the development of Celtic philology, literature, music and antiquities, but also intended to foster "a Celtic spirit among the Highlanders of Glasgow", (1) An Comunn Gaidhealach (1891), which claimed to be a non-political and non-sectarian organisation, was principally concerned with promoting and popularising Gaelic literature and music. The Ceilidh nan Gaidheal, formed five years later, stated that its purpose was the study of the language, literature and history of the Gael, even going so far as to insist that all business and correspondence be conducted in Gaelic. (2)

Clearly, the aims of most of the Highland societies established in Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century were diverse and ambitious, the intention being to provide a full range of social, cultural, intellectual and charitable services to meet what were regarded as the special needs of the Highland immigrants to the city. Whether or not their activities worked to maintain a sense of Highland identity, and thus to inhibit the assimilation of the Highlanders into city life, depends of course on how widespread and distinct was their appeal to Highland residents and how adequately their objectives were fulfilled.

Largely on the basis of evidence contained in an article in the <u>Greenock Advertiser</u> on the class composition of members of the Greenock Highland

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.

Society during the first year of its existence, Lobban suggests that

".... the ordinary Highlanders in Greenock did not join the various

Highland societies in any considerable numbers. The impression

given is that these societies attracted the more prosperous

Highlanders in the town, and those of the ordinary Highlanders who

had strong ties and affiliations with their former homes, but that

the majority of the Highlanders did not join them or soon drifted

out of their orbit into one or other of the societies or

institutions supported by the general community." (1)

The earliest of the Highland societies in Glasgow, the Gaelic Club,

comes close to the model outlined by Lobban. Founded in 1780, with

George MacIntosh (2) as president, the club enjoyed support only from

the wealthiest of Highlanders. The club, in fact, was little more than

an exclusive drinking society - so exclusive that its membership declined

from 41 in 1800 to 30 in 1805. (3)

Chronologically, the next Highland society for which records exist is

the Glasgow Celtic Society, formed in 1857. Prospective members had to

be approved by the society:

"... any persons connected with, or feeling interested in, the

Highlands of Scotland, is eligible as a Member, on being

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(1) Lobban, op.cit. p.259
(2) For biographical details on George MacIntosh, see pp. 282-3
(3) J.Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs, op.cit. p.131

recommended by two Members, at a meeting of the Society or

Directors, and his admission be agreed to by a majority of the

Members or Office-Bearers present." (1)

Such a vetting process may have deterred the more humble immigrants, as

would, possibly, the admission fees which stood at five shillings

annually. Life membership could be obtained by a single payment of

three pounds or three payments of one guinea. (2)

The entrance requirements of the three territorial societies (the

Glasgow Skye Association formed in the 1870s, the Lewis and Harris

Association formed in 1887 and the Uist and Barra Association formed

in 1890) whose records were available to the present researcher (3)

suggest a desire to involve the less affluent immigrants. The three

fore-mentioned societies shared common entrance requirements: an

annual subscription of two shillings and sixpence, connection through

birth or parentage or residence with the area, and the recommendation

of two members. The annual subscriptions (50% of that for the Celtic

Society) should have put membership within the reach of the working

class. The third requirement, the recommendation by two members, lacked

the formality of the vetting process undertaken by the Celtic Society,

and need not have deterred working class participation. However, in

order to throw more light on the question of the social composition

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(1) Constitution and Rules of the Celtic Society (Glasgow, 1858) p.6

(2) Ibid
(3) The records of these societies are in the hands of the secretaries
of the societies which are still in existence today.

FIGURE 8.2

THE VARIOUS GLASGOW DISTRICTS CONTAINING MEMBERS OF THE GLASGOW SKYE
ASSOCIATION, LEWIS AND HARRIS ASSOCIATION AND UIST AND BARRA ASSOCIATION
1890-1919, ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

"Working class" districts	"Middle class" districts
Gorbals	Blythswood
Govan	Woodside
Anderston	Pollokshields
Milton	Cathcart
St Rollox	Dennistoun
Kinning Park	Hillhead
Maryhill	Kelvinside
Calton	Langside
Plantation	Bearsden
Tradeston	Broomhill
Broomielaw	Jordanhill
Govanhill	
Hutchesontown	
Blackfriars	
Bridgeton	
Yoker	
Springburn	
Whitevale	
Townhead	
Cowcaddens	

SOURCES

J.B.Russell, Vital Statistics of Glasgow

M.Simpson, Middle Class Housing and the Growth of Suburban Communities in
Glasgow, 1830-1914 (Glasgow University M.Litt. thesis, 1970)

of the membership of the societies, an investigation into the social

status of the members was carried out based on place of residence.

At intervals the records of the Lewis and Harris, the Skye, and the

Uist and Barra associations listed the names and addresses of office

bearers and ordinary members. The records of the Lewis and Harris

Association, for example, contained the names and addresses of the

thirteen office bearers during the 1892-1893 session, 44 members between

1887 and 1888 and 199 members for the session 1892-1893. Similarly, the

names and addresses of the 23 office bearers of the Uist and Barra

Association were listed for 1891, as were the 41 members of the Skye

Association for session 1890-1891, the 142 members for 1902-1903 and 211

members for 1918-1919.

The addresses listed were sorted into the various municipal wards

according to the Post Office directories for the given year. These wards

were then identified as either "middle class" or "working class". (See

Figure 8.2) This categorisation was achieved through reference to the

survey of the social conditions and composition of the various

registration districts of the city carried out by J.B.Russell, the

Medical Officer of Health for Glasgow, which was published in 1886. (1)

Unfortunately, this classification was not completely satisfactory since

the municipal wards were seldom completely homogenous. Further

elucidation was therefore necessary and was achieved through reference to

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(1) J.B.Russell, Vital Statistics of the City of Glasgow, op.cit., part II.

the study of the west end of Glasgow in the nineteenth century by Michael

Simpson. (1) Simpson drew up a map of the west of the city (north and

south of the Clyde) showing areas of upper middle, lower middle and

working class housing. (2) Where the class nature of tenements in

"border" areas was in doubt, Simpson adopted certain criteria (a tiled

common stairway; each apartment containing at least three rooms plus a

kitchen and bathroom; a resident in social class I or II) to identify

middle class as opposed to working class blocks. (3) Even with this

criteria Simpson admits that the boundaries separating the middle classes

from the working class were at times arbitrary. (4) While recognising,

therefore, that the procedure is somewhat fragile and may be subject to

some error, it ought to be sufficiently adequate to gain an impression

of the social status of the membership of the three societies from the

residential evidence.

The results of this survey of the addresses of the societies' members are

summarised in Table 8.1. The addresses of the office bearers of the

Uist and Barra and the Lewis and Harris associations and the membership

of all three societies suggest the involvement of people living in

working class districts. In each society and in each period surveyed

the vast majority of office bearers and members resided in working class

areas of the city, although the proportion of members of the Skye

Association living in middle class areas had increased by 1918-1919.

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(1) M. Simpson, Middle Classs Housing and the Growth of Suburban Com-
munities in the West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914 (Glasgow University M.
Litt. thesis, 1970)
(2) Ibid., Map 10 appended to back of thesis
(3) Ibid., p.4
(4) Ibid.

TABLE 8.1

THE PROPORTION OF MEMBERS AND OFFICE BEARERS OF THE LEWIS AND HARRIS
ASSOCIATION, THE UIST AND BARRA ASSOCIATION AND THE SKYE ASSOCIATION
RESIDING IN "MIDDLE CLASS" AREAS AND "WORKING CLASS AREAS, FOR SELECTED
YEARS FROM 1887-1919.

1. The Lewis and Harris Association

	AREA		TOTAL	N=
	"Middle class"	"Working class"		
Members (1887-88)	21	79	100	44
Members (1892-93)	16	84	100	199
Office bearers (1892-93)	15	85	100	13

2. The Uist and Barra

Members 1891	22	78	100	23

3. Skye Association

Members 1890-91	29	71	100	41
Members 1902-3	31	69	100	142
Members 1918-19	38	62	100	211

The evidence of the place of residence of the members of all three associations tends to suggest that the societies gained the bulk of their support from the working class. This view, admittedly based on a fairly crude exercise, is supported by other evidence. For instance, a report of the short-lived Lewis Association in 1879 claimed that its membership was comprised mainly of the working class who were victims of the unfavourable economic conditions of the period:

> "The last year has been an exceptionally severe one on the working classes, on whom the Society is mainly dependent. Consequently, a considerable number of the oldest and most useful Members had either to go home to Lewis or seek employment elsewhere. Even a good number of those residing in the city have been so situated as to be unable to pay the qualifying fee (1), and thus could not keep up their connection with the Society." (2)

The societies suffered similar loss of support during later periods of depression. In 1908 and 1909, for example, the Lewis and Harris Association was complaining of a falling off in interest in the society due to trade depression. (3) Again, in 1922, the secretary reported

> ".. the general depression in trade reacted adversely on the attendance (of the annual gathering)... A Spring Dance was held in

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(1) The annual subscription was two shillings and six pence, and one shilling for apprentices. Rules of the Lewis Association (The documents of the Lewis Association are held by the secretary of the Lewis and Harris Association.)
(2) Third Annnual Report of the Lewis Association (Glasgow 1879) p.5
(3) Lewis and Harris Association Annual Report 16th June, 1908; Annual Report 1st June, 1909

March... but the trouble in the shipbuilding industry came to a

head at this time, and this affected our members very closely,

*   and had an adverse influence on the attendance at the dance." (1)

The evidence of a membership so affected by economic depression in

general and so closely involved in the shipbuilding industry supports

the conclusion drawn from the survey of place of residence that the

societies drew the bulk of their support from the working class.

If the conclusions summarised above are correct, they suggest that the

social composition of Glasgow's Highland societies differed from that

normally prevailing in social institutions of the late nineteenth

century. Historical research on leisure activities has pointed to a

grouping on a class basis and the growth of a popular working class

culture divergent from the dominant culture of the middle class. Hugh

Cunningham, for instance, argues that although the concept of cultural

unity was one favoured by the middle class, in reality "the experience of

leisure, like that of work, served to re-inforce class distinction". (2)

Gareth Steadman Jones' study of the leisure activities of the working

class in London in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century lead

him to conclude that,

"This (working class) culture was clearly distinguished from the

culture of the middle class and had remained largely impervious

(1) Lewis and Harris Association Annual Report (May 1922)
(2) H.Cunningham, Leisure and the Industrial Revolution (London, 1980) p. 11

to middle class attempts to dictate its character or direction.

Its dominant cultural institutions were not the school, the evening

class, the library, the friendly society, the church or the chapel,

but the pub, the sporting paper, the race course and the music

hall." (1)

In the case of Glasgow Highland societies it would appear that the ties

of the homeland were stronger than the ties of class forged in the

workplace. The result was that the composition of their membership was

a good deal more intra-class than was perhaps true of social and

cultural institutions generally.

What proportion of Highland immigrants were associated with the activities

of Glasgow Highland societies? Table 8.2 shows the number of

members of the Glasgow Skye Association between 1892 and 1919 and of the

Lewis and Harris Association between 1888 and 1934. The Skye Association

steadily increased its membership throughout the period with only two

years, session 1896-97 and session 1899-1900, when the society

suffered a slight drop in membership. Other sessions witnessed more

dramatic increases, particularly session 1897-1898 and after the First

World War. The Lewis and Harris Association also grew steadily from an

initial membership of 47 to 500 nearly fifty years later.

Short term variations in membership totals reflected the influence

(1) Gareth Steadman Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working Class
Politics in London: Notes on the remaking of a working class" , Journal
of Social History, Vol. 7, no.4 (1973-74) pp. 478-79

TABLE 8.2

MEMBERSHIP OF GLASGOW SKYE ASSOCIATION (1892-1919) AND LEWIS AND HARRIS

ASSOCIATION (1888-1934).

GLASGOW SKE ASSOCIATION (1892-1919)

YEAR/SESSION	Number of members
1892	69
1893/1894	65
1894/1895	66
1895/1896	64
1896/1897	83
1897/1898	121
1898/1899	138
1899/1900	131
1900/1901	147
1907/1908	151
1909/1910	159
1918/1919	274

LEWIS AND HARRIS ASSOCIATION (1888-1934)

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEMBERS
1888	47
1892	53
1893	101
1900	136
1920	250
1922	320
1934	500

of recruitment drives and fluctuations in the economy. A successful

example of the former was the result of a decision taken by the Lewis

and Harris Association in 1892 to hold a meeting in Govan "the object

of which would be to secure the interest of natives of the Long Island

resident in that locality with a view to their enrolment as members of

the association". (1) As a result, the society's membership increased

by 91% the following session and 39 of the new members resided in Govan.

Periods of economic depression resulted in the societies having some

difficulties in maintaining and attracting support. This problem was

expressed in the minutes of the Lewis and Harris Association in 1908,

1909 and in 1922. (2) The economic depression of the period may also

have been the cause of the slight dip in membership of the Skye

Association in 1895-96.

Some idea of the extent of the support awarded to these societies by

the Highland immigrants may be achieved by a rough calculation of the

number of Skye and Lewis and Harris born in the city. Skye born

amounted to 5.3% of the total Highland born population in the three

sample areas of Broomielaw, Kingston and Plantation in 1891. By making

the reasonable assumption that Skye born also amounted to 5.3% of

Highland born immigrants in the city as a whole, the extent to which

they supported the Skye Association may be calculated. Since membership

was male only at the turn of the century, the calculation is based on

5.3% of the Highland male population. In 1901 there were 10,773 Highland

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(1) Lewis and Harris Association Minute Book, 6.9.1892
(2) See page 308 above.

born males in the city. (1) The number of Skyemen was therefore in the region of 570. If this calculation is correct then as much as a quarter may have been enrolled as members of the Skye Association. Based on a similar calculation, about one fifth of the natives of Lewis and Harris may have been members of the Lewis and Harris Association. (2) If, however, we make a calculation of the percentage of Lewis men and women involved in the society in the 1930s (the society was by this period non-sexist), then the proportion was as high as about one third. (3)

If this, admittedly rough, calculation is correct, the societies were clearly attracting a sizeable proportion of the Highland immigrants in the city. On many occasions, of course, the degree of popular support enjoyed by the various societies far exceeded their actual membership. Many Highlanders who were not paid up members of the associations attended their various, social functions. The Uist and Barra Association, for instance, catered for seven to eight hundred at their Annual Gatherings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (4) The numbers attending the annual gatherings of the Skye and Lewis and Harris associations were generally over eight hundred. (5) In 1875 The Highlander reported that the "ceilidhs" (informal concert/dances) held weekly by An Comunn Gaidhealach Ghlaschu had capacity audiences of 800 to 900. (6) Through the success and popularity of these social

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(1) 1901 Census
(2) Based on the calculation that the Lewis and Harris born comprised 6.6% of the Highland born population.
(3) Calculated on the assumption that the Lewis and Harris born comprised 6.6% of the Highland born population which in 1931 amounted to 24,473. (1931 Census)
(4) Minutes of the Uist and Barra Association 19th December, 1892
(5) Minutes of the Skye Association 1892-1919
Minutes of the Lewis and Harris Association 1887-1933
(6) The Highlander 16th October, 1875

occasions, which also included shinty matches (1), children's parties,
summer outings, debates, lectures, the societies were reaching to many
who were not formally enrolled as members.

Since there is no evidence of falling away of support other than in
periods of economic depression, it would appear that commitment to the
Highland societies and the Gaelic identity was maintained beyond the
period of immediate migration to the city. Strain on this commitment
seems to have been caused by economic depression and unemployment rather
than by a lessening of interest through assimilation into Lowland society.
The societies themselves, by keeping subscriptions low and by holding
meetings in working class areas, showed that they were committed to
maintaining the Highland identity among the mass of working class
immigrants.

How far did the desire of the societies to perpetuate the Gaelic identity
in exile extend to a policy of promoting a membership based on ethnic
"purity"? The Gaelic Club, when it was first formed in 1780 demanded
that prospective members should be Highland by birth or parentage, or
possess land in the Highlands or be an officer in a Highland regiment.
Initially the society also demanded the ability to speak Gaelic, a
condition which would have tended ipso facto to have excluded the non
Highlanders. (2) The exclusive ethnic composition of the club,
however, was soon eroded:

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(1) One of the most celebrated Gaelic poets of the period, Mary MacPherson,
dedicated the "Duilleag Bho Bhealach Nan Cabar" to the Glasgow Skye
Shinty Society
(2) J.Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs, op.cit. p.130

"...although the claim for membership was restricted to the applicant's ability to count kin with some Highland relative, the chance of his admission into what soon became a most aristocratic brotherhood, would depend more on his position in society, and on his connection with the leading members who governed it, than on anything peculiarly Celtic in himself." (1)

At a time when wealthy Glasgow merchants were extending their influence by purchasing Highland estates, Highland property owners were welcome whatever their ethnic origin. (2) It is clear that the club was soon used by its members as a means of socialising with, and thereby assimilating into the city elite.

The Celtic Society (formed in 1857) had a non-ethnic entrance policy. It stipulated that prospective members need only feel "interested in" the Highlands. However, the three territorial societies (the Skye, Uist and Barra, Lewis and Harris) formed later in the century all stipulated that their members should have a connection through birth or parentage or residence with the area. This demand for a concrete connection with the home area indicates a desire both to use the societies as a means of maintaining the bonds which linked the immigrants with the native heath, and also to bind these exiles together. It is perhaps not entirely co-incidental that the societies which had a recruiting policy which encouraged working class affiliation, were also the most interested in maintaining the ethnic characteristic of the organisation.

(1) Ibid., p.131
(2) For example, the Glasgow merchant and Member of Parliament, Kirkman Finlay, who had bought an estate in Argyll was a member of the society.

One of the main objectives of most of the societies was to provide

distressed Highland immigrants with charitable assistance. Whatever the

ambitions of the societies' members on this aspect of their work, the

reality of their financial situation prevented any charitable disburse-

ment on a grand scale. Despite the generosity of patrons, often land

lords in their local area, their memberships were not wealthy and income

from subscriptions was low. As a result, the amount of charitable aid

they provided was very modest.

In 1900 and 1901, for example, the Uist and Barra Association paid out

just £7. 12/- and £12. 3.6d respectively to distressed resident immig-

rants from the two islands. (1) The Lewis and Harris Association paid

out £7.2. 6d in 1891, less than a fifth of the annual income. (2) The

charitable donations of the Skye Association were slightly greater,

reflecting a combination of a wealthier membership, more generous

patrons and the fact that the association was longer established.

According to the Association's minute books, the amount spent on

charitable relief in 1884-1885 totalled just over £53, to 41 different

people. In 1902, when data are next provided, the total was £37; in

1911, 1912 and 1913, £50, £45 and £60 respectively. (3)

To give a clearer picture of the charitable work carried out by the

Highland societies, Figure 8.3 sets out the recipients of aid awarded by

the Skye Association in the session 1894-95, a year not noted in the

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(1) Uist and Barra Association Minutes Annual Report, 1900 and 1901
(2) Lewis and Harris Association Minutes, 28.4.1891
(3) Skye Association Minutes Sessions 1884-5 and 1901-2.

FIGURE 8.3

THE RECIPIENTS OF AID AWARDED BY THE GLASGOW SKYE ASSOCIATION 1894-95.

Margaret MacInnis - destitute - 10 shillings awarded.

Mrs Ferguson - deserted by husband - 10 shillings

Donald Nicolson - very old, feeble and unable to earn - pass to Skye and keep en route.

Ann MacLeod - widow - pass to Skye

Mrs MacLean - deserted by husband - pass to Skye

John Nicolson £2

Martin Robertson - unemployed for six months and with family of six - £1

Ann MacRae - widow, old and feeble - 17 shillings and six pence.

Murdo MacInnis - unemployed labourer, destitute - ten shillings

Mrs MacLeod - £1

Mrs Kate MacLean - widow, unemployed -£1

Mrs Mary Campbell - £1

Roderick Gillies - £1

Mrs MacKenzie - widow with family of five and destitute - £1

Mrs MacDonald - funeral expenses to Skye

Mrs MacLeod - destitute with large young family - £1

Mrs Nicolson - £1

Mrs Swan - £1

Malcolm Nicolson - ten shillings

Mrs Campbell - £2

Mrs MacPhee - £1

Donald Nicolson - unemployed - pass to Skye and keep on journey

Neil Ross - unemployed - pass to Skye and money for food

John MacLean - unemployed - pass to Skye

Kate MacLean - pass to Skye

Donald Ross - pass to Skye

SOURCE: Glasgow Skye Association Minutes 1894-95.

minutes of any of the three associations as being one which generated a particularly heavy request for aid. Of the 26 aided, as many as eight (just under a third) were provided with the means to return to Skye. A further two were provided with the funeral expenses of returning a dead body to Skye and the remaining sixteen were awarded a total of £16.17. 6d between them. It is obvious that the amount given to each individual case was small and only ever sufficient to stave off situations of extreme crisis. The £1 awarded to Martin Robertson, unemployed for six months and with a family of six, or to Mrs MacKenzie, a destitute widow with a family of five, would not have provided either with any long term security, although there are examples of aid given over a period of years to certain individuals. (1) What is most significant was the practice of providing help to the unemployed, the destitute and widows to return to the native heath. This along with the help provided to meet the expense of returning home dead bodies and the small amounts paid in relief would suggest that the Association was more interested in encouraging the maintenance of links with the homeland than using charity to ease integration in the city.

While the amount of aid given by each society tended to be small, there were several societies operating. For instance, if a MacLean from Uist was unable to obtain aid from the Uist and Barra Association through lack of funds, then it may have been possible to seek help from the Inverness-shire Association or the Clan MacLean Society. References are made in the minutes of the societies to individuals being referred from

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(1) For instance, on 29th April 1890 the Lewis and Harris Association agreed to make monthly payments of 5/- to one Malcolm MacDonald.

other societies. For instance, the Paisley Highlanders sought aid from

the Skye Association for a Skye woman who was destitute, and occasionally

applications were made on behalf of individuals from the Glasgow

Highland churches. (1) A network of protection did seem to exist within

the Glasgow Highland community.

The Glasgow societies also organised funds from time to time to alleviate

special cases of distress in the homeland. The Lewis and Harris

Association, for example, formed relief funds in 1888 to

provide aid for victims of destitution in the island; (2) the Skye

Association sent contributions to the families of victims of a fishing

disaster; (3) and the Uist and Barra sent contributions to the widows of

seamen drowned off Uist and Barra in 1891 and contributed towards a

fund raised to alleviate distress among crofters and cottars. (4)

The societies accepted that they had a limited role to play in the

homeland as well as in the city. Only in the urban centres was there a

concentration of middle class Highlanders with the financial means to

help cushion the blow of the periodic economic disasters which befell

the Highlands. However, the funds of the societies frequently veered

towards the insolvent and the members had a difficult enough time

"putting their own house in order". Frequently the claims upon the

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(1) Skye Association Minutes, 1885
(2) Lewis and Harris Association Minutes, 10.1.1888
(3) Skye Association Minutes, 1889
(4) Uist and Barra Association Minutes, 7.10.1891, 19.4.1892

societies were unrealistic, such as the one made by the secretary of

An Comunn Gaidhealach that "the Highland societies of Glasgow alone

could in three days subscribe all the capital necessary to make The

Highlander independent and irrestistable". (1)

What most of the societies, the territorial as well as the purely

cultural, saw as important was the safeguarding and developing of their

linguistic and literary heritage. The Gaelic language and culture had

been subjected to a campaign designed to extirpate it since the after-

math of Culloden. Tinged by Jacobitism, it seemed to threaten the

homogeneity of the British state. The passing of the Education Acts of

the 1870s appeared to be the final nail in the linguistic coffin,

especially after the failure of the campaign during this decade to have

Gaelic taught in Highland schools. Current educational thinking was

that the Gaelic heritage had no intellectual value and the aim of

educationalists in the Highlands should be the replacement of the

language with English. Gaelic, however, attained a new respectability

when J.S.Blackie, Professor of Classics at Edinburgh University, became

interested in the language's antiquity. Blackie sought academic status

for Gaelic, claiming that it was "one of the oldest and least mongrel

types of the great Aryan family of speech" (2), and spearheaded a

campaign for a Celtic Chair at Edinburgh University.

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(1) The Highlander, 26.1.1878. A radical anti-landlord organ, The
Highlander was facing financial liquidation as a result of a law suit.
(2) J.S.Blackie, Language and Literature, (Edinburgh, 1876) p.11

The result of over a century of cultural repression was a lack of

pride in that culture and an unwillingness to use the language. This

lack of self-respect, said the editor of The Highlander, was the result

of a man being convinced that "his language was a barbarism, his lore as

filthy rags". (1) The Glasgow Highland societies were also aware of the

problem of lack of cultural self-respect. A speaker at the Tiree

Association in 1877 exhorted the audience to maintain their native

language in the city and told the story of two girls who came from his

island determined to lose all trace of their origins:

> "After they came to Glasgow they were to meet at Glasgow Bridge
>
> next day... but it was agreed they were not to talk Gaelic because
>
> the people would see they were Highland. When they met, the one
>
> said to the other 'How was you today' 'Och,' said Jean, 'she's
>
> very, she's very.'" (2)

Twelve years later a member of the Lewis and Harris Association gave an

address on a similar theme:

> "He also spoke of the deterioration which often took place in the
>
> character of young Highlanders after coming to Glasgow, a
>
> deterioration manifesting itself in an affected ignorance of and
>
> contempt for the customs and language of their country." (3)

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(1) Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Commission of Inquiry into the
conditions of the crofters and cottars of the Highlands and Islands of
Scotland. PP 1884, xxxii-xxxvi, Q 44463
(2) The Highlander 10.2.1877
(3) Minutes, Lewis and Harris Association, January 1889.

While the Glasgow societies were aware of the problem, how successful

were they in overcoming it? There is evidence that they were themselves

guilty of allowing English to take precedence. At their meetings,

lectures and debates English was the medium most frequently used. In

1915 a motion that every second meeting of the Skye Association should

be conducted in Gaelic was defeated. (1) Murdoch, in the pages of The

Highlander, was severely critical of the shortage of Gaelic at societies'

gatherings. (2) Too often the societies would make speeches about

the importance of preserving Gaelic...in English! It was not that the

use of English ensured more popular support. Indeed, the contrary seems

to have been the case. The Highlander in the 1870s reported packed halls

for those societies which provided monolingual (i.e. Gaelic) entertainment,

such as Comunn Tir nam Beann and the Fingal Lodge of Good Templars. (3)

The Lewis and Harris Association also achieved its greatest popular

support in the 1930s when a deliberate policy of more genuinely ethnic

Gaelic entertainment was embarked upon. (4) Although the widespread use of

English may have been a means of involving the second and third

generation immigrants, it is also possible that the members of the

societies were themselves victims of the deeply ingrained awareness of

cultural inferiority, especially in the presence of guests who were often

city dignitaries or non-Gaelic speaking Highland landowners. Moreover,

Gaelic speakers had not been educated in their native language and there

was a widespread fear that their colloqial use of the language may have

been grammatically unacceptable.

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(1) Minutes, Skye Association, May, 1915.
(2) The Highlander, 9.12.1876
(3) Ibid., 5.6.1875, 28.10.1876
(4) Minutes, Lewis and Harris Association, June, 1934

The Gaelic tradition had been mainly an oral one and the late nineteenth century was a period when this oral tradition was being collected and published. (1) The Glasgow societies sought to contribute to this field of Celtic scholarship by collecting the literature and history of their own areas. While the work carried out by each society may have been modest, if the work of all the societies is considered as a whole, then the task of publishing little known Gaelic poets and story tellers, collecting folk-lore and encouraging new Gaelic literature becomes a more weighty contribution.

The earliest society in the field of Celtic scholarship was the Celtic Society of Glasgow, founded in 1856. One of the methods used by the society to promote Gaelic was the award of prizes for new Gaelic verse, and in the first year of its existence the first prize for Gaelic poetry, carrying an award of five guineas, was given to William Livingstone, an Islay man working in Glasgow as a tailor. Livingstone was to become one of the best known of the nineteenth century Gaelic bards, his work dealing with the themes of depopulation of the Highlands and the dispersal of the Gaels. (2) In 1882 the Islay Association brought out an edition of his poetry. (3)

Other contributions included the publication of the Glasgow Gaelic Society's Transactions in which were printed essays on Gaelic literature, History and Phonology. The Lewis and Harris Association published

---

(1) Such as Carmichael's 6 volume Carmina Gadelica

(2) See D.Thomson, An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry, (London,1977) pp233-238 for an assessment of Livingstone's poetry.

(3) Oban Times, 11.2.1882

a book of hitherto unknown Lewis bards in the 1880s (1)

The Uist and Barra Association contributed towards a memorial to the Uist

poet MacCodrum, thus ensuring that his name would not be forgotten on his

native island. (2) The Skye Association played its part by awarding

prizes for new poetry from the island. (3)

The Glasgow Highland societies were clearly not merely repositaries of

nostalgia where Highlanders established in the city could occasionally

indulge in harmless sentimental memories of their past, and were not

identical to such societies as the St Andrew's societies in the United

States which were formed in order to maintain sentimental links with the

homeland. Glasgow was not geographically distant from the Highlands and

passage to and from the Highlands was frequent. Perhaps most important

in the relationship which developed between the Highlands and Glasgow was

the peculiar economic and social development of the Highlands which

resulted in the region lacking a native middle class which could provide

an intellectual leadership. The Highlanders in Glasgow, therefore, came

to see themselves, not as a community in exile, but as a central pivot of

that community:

"Glasgow is a recognised centre of Celtic culture and scholarship,

and contains more Gaelic speaking people and educated Highlanders

than perhaps any other town or even county in the kingdom. From

its commercial relation with the North and West of Scotland, it has

become, in fact, "The Capital of the Highlands"." (4)

(1) Minutes, Lewis and Harris Association 1889
(2) Minutes, Uist and Barra Association
(3) Minutes, Skye Association
(4) Oban Times, 23.4.1887. On proposal to form a new Gaelic Society in
Glasgow.

That the Glasgow Highlanders were inextricably bound up with the culture

of the Highlands is also shown in the development, evolving out of the

packed concert halls of Glasgow, of a popular Gaelic culture. Derrick .

Thomson shows how there developed in Glasgow a new genre of Gaelic

versification. While sharing many of the conventions of Highland

village poetry, the genre incorporated a new, urban element:

"The village has changed, perhaps from Skye or Lewis or Mull to

Overnewton, or Pollokshaws or some other locality in Glasgow or

Clydeside...Many of the songs are peppered with references to

streets, shops, and characters in Glasgow....

Many of the (Glasgow) poets whose work has been referred to

composed pop songs which have enjoyed a long popularity. This is

partly to be explained by the elaborate system of "ceilidhs" and

concerts staged in Glasgow and Clydeside generally, and the early

links between the organisers of these, and the song-writers

themselves, and the National Mod, which began in 1893." (1)

It is tempting to add that the Glasgow Highlanders adapted the music

hall traditions of their Lowland neighbours to their own Gaelic culture.

Not only did the Glasgow experience influence popular Gaelic culture, but

it also had an effect on some of the more serious Gaelic poetry of the

nineteenth century. Two of the most politically-committed poets William

Livingstone and Mary MacPherson, who both gave vent in their verse to the

(1) Derrick Thomson, An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry, op.cit. pp230-231

injustices perpetrated on the Highland crofters and cottars, both lived

and worked in Glasgow for a period. Livingstone was supported in his

literary ambitions by a prominent Glasgow Highlanders. (1) Mary

MacPherson composed verse to the Glasgow Skye Association, the Glasgow

Skye Shinty Club and the Greenock Highland Association, thus firmly

embedding the Clydeside societies in the Highland consciousness.

As well as helping to maintain a sense of cultural identity among

Glasgow Gaels and helping to nourish that culture, the Glasgow Highland

societies were viewed by some to have the potential to play a wider role

in the political struggles of the Highlanders. John Murdoch, the

radical editor of The Highlander newspaper, exhorted the Highlanders in

the city, through the pages of his newspaper, to intervene in a struggle

against the depopulation of the Highlands. Commenting on a large turn

out at the Annual Gathering of the Comunn Gaidhealach Ghlaschu, he wrote:

"No patriot could look upon such a multitude of faces or hear so

many voices join in the choruses of their characteristic national

songs without feeling the deepest interest in the assembly before

him - and considering the reason why, and how, it was that so many

hundreds, drawn together from all our Northern and Western counties,

should be assembled in that great city, in kindly social fellow-

ship..... The voice of the country must be raised to protest against

it (depopulation) and especially the voice cf our Highlanders and

countrymen driven to large cities must there give forth a sound

(1) Crisdean Whyte, "Ath-Sgrudadh.(13): Cruth is Pearsantachd am Bardachd
Uilleam MhicDhunleibhe" in Gairm, no 139, Summer 1987, p.267.

which can neither be mistaken nor resisted, demanding the con-
sideration of our legislature to the state and condition of our
rural population." (1)

Ten months later, however, Murdoch was to complain about the inactivity
of the Glasgow Highlanders:

"These re-unions (society soirees) simply show that the power is
there... it is like having the engine ready and the steam escaping
for want of things being in gear....
On school boards, parochial boards, municipal boards or in
Parliament the influence of Highlanders on the Clyde is no more
seen or felt than if there was not a dozen of them there, instead
of the thousands, and tens of thousands whose power and presence is
felt otherwise." (2)

One speaker at a Highland gathering in the city complained about the
emphasis placed on Gaelic revivalism at the expense of a political
struggle against landlordism:

"My only regret is that so much energy, talent and enthusiasm
should not have been directed towards the emancipation of the
Celtic races from servility to landlords, and their land from the
tyranny of landlord-made laws, which have divorced the people from
the soil, their property as much as their chiefs, and converted

(1) The Highlander 19.2.1876
(2) Ibid., 23.12.1876

smiling glens and villages with poor but happy populations, into

deserts of wild animals to make sport and pleasure for the rich." (1)

When assessing the political contribution of the Glasgow Highland societies

it is important, however, not to be over categorical in compartmentalising

the political and cultural activities of the societies, since frequently

the two over-lapped. James Hunter makes the point that Gaelic revivalism

and cultural awakening was closely bound up with the land reform movement.

Celtic revivalism, Hunter argues, inevitably led to closer links with

fellow Celts in Ireland and the influence of Irish ideas on agrarian

agitation on the Highlands. (2) The logical connection between the

Gaelic revival and political agitation was also made by Murdoch, himself

committed to both movements. In an editorial he pointed out that "it is

rather remarkable that the men who are doing most towards restoring to

the people their proper rights to the soil, and are trying to emancipate

them from the servility and bondage to landlords are the very men who

have been working and writing in favour of Gaelic". (3) In the same

article he justified the connection between land reform and Celtic

revivalism with the argument that in the Celtic past there could be found

a model for the land reforms of the future:

"... we had not so long ago among the Celts a social and political

system which was as superior to the system with which we are

advised to be content from feudal England, as light is to darkness." (4)

(1) The Highlander, 10.3.1877
(2) J.Hunter, "The Gaelic Connection: the Highlands, Ireland and Nationalism"
Scottish Historical Review 54, 1976, pp 178-203.
(3) The Highlander, 17.3.1877
(4) Ibid.

Much of the cultural work, therefore, carried out by the Glasgow societies

had a covertly political content. It is, however, also necessary to

evaluate the role of these societies in the more overtly political

struggles. This was a period when the question of crofters' rights

came to the fore in national politics. By 1882 the struggle between

crofters in Skye and their landlord, Lord MacDonald, was attracting

widespread interest outside the Highlands, especially when violence, on

a scale unknown outside Ireland, broke out. The Skye crofters, probably

influenced by events in Ireland which led to the passing of the Irish

land act of 1881, embarked on a rent strike. Eviction notices were

served in retaliation and the summonsing officer was attacked.

Additional police were drafted in from Glasgow and fights broke out

between this force and the crofters when arrests were attempted. This

incident focussed the interest of the national press on the grievances

of the Highland crofting population and encouraged radicals in the south

who had been involved in Gaelic revivalism to establish, in 1883, the

Highland Land Law Reform Association (HLLRA) which was loosely modelled

on the Irish Land League. (1) The HLLRA gained the support of the

crofting population and became a potential threat to the existing order:

"The arrival of a 'Crofters' Party' at Westminster in January 1886

is attributable, therefore, to the HLLRA's success in harnessing

the sort of militancy which had appeared in Skye in 1882 and has

subsequently spread to other crofting areas. It was the fact that

they represented a mass movement which by means of rent strikes

(1) See J.Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, op.cit. pp 131-145

and land raids had plunged the north-west Highlands and islands
into its most severe social and administrative crisis since the
demise of Jacobitism that gave the four crofters' MPs a political
significance out of all proportion to their numbers, and ensured
that they took their seats in a parliament preparing to devote
more time to Highland affairs than any of its predecessors since
the 1740s." (1)

Historians of the Highland land movement have tended to suggest that the
impetus for this movement came originally from radicals in the south,
particularly in Glasgow, involved in the various Highland societies. (2)
The activities of some of the Glasgow societies do indeed suggest that
this view is correct. The first intimation of a co-ordinated voice from
the south came in 1878 with the formation, in Glasgow, of the Federation
of Celtic Societies, comprised mainly of various Glasgow societies -
Comunn Gaidhealach, Glasgow Skye Association, Glasgow Islay Association,
the Lewis Association, Glasgow Sutherland, Glasgow Mull, Glasgow
Ardnamurchan, Gaelic Lodge of Good Templars, Comunn Gaidhlig Eaglais
Chaluim Chille (the Gaelic Society of St Columba Gaelic Church) and
Fardach Fhinn. (3) Two years after its formation the Federation defined
its campaign goals to be land reform, Gaelic teaching in Highland schools
and the collection of the folk tradition. (4) Angus Sutherland, the
secretary of the Federation and President of the Glasgow Sutherland
Association, and later to be Land League MP for Sutherlandshire,

(1) J.Hunter, "Politics of Land Law Reform" in Scottish Historical Review
53, 1974, pp54-55.
(2) For example, E.Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances:
Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886 (London, 1982) p.488;
D.W.Crowley, "The 'Crofters' Party', 1885-1892" Scottish Historical
Review XXXV, 1956, p.112.
(3) Oban Times 23.11.1878
(4) Ibid., 24.12.1881

optimistically viewed the Federation as a vehicle for overcoming traditional Highland disunity and for promoting the political aims of the proponents of land reform:

"... dis-union, want of organisation, has been the stumbling block of the Highlander. The cause known, the remedy is comparatively easy. In our Associations exist the elements of an almost perfect ideal of organisation - common aims, identical constitutions, and a common nationality. " (1)

The growing political nature of the Federation resulted in the withdrawal of some of the affiliated societies. The Gaelic Society of Inverness, for instance, complained that the Federation of Celtic Societies had become "virtually an association of Glasgow Societies... becoming more political than a social and literary association". (2)

The first concrete intervention of the Glasgow Highlanders in the land struggle was in the spring of 1881 in support of the crofters facing evictions from the Kilmuir Estate in Skye. (3) In May of that year the Skye Vigilance Committee was formed in Glasgow with the express purpose of supporting the anti-landlord struggles of the Skye crofters. (4) The following month Henry Whyte, a Glasgow based supporter of Gaelic culture and Highland land reform who was also active in various Glasgow Highland societies and who wrote under the pseudonym 'Fionn' on Glasgow Highland affairs for the Oban Times, claimed:

(1) Ibid., 15.10.1881.
(2) Celtic Magazine, VI, p.103
(3) For an account of theis episode, see J.Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, op.cit. p.133
(4) Oban Times 21.5.1881

"The only question that is attracting the attention of the Celts of

Glasgow at present is the condition and prospects of the Valtos

crofters on the Kilmuir Estate... Their case has been earnestly

espoused and ably advocated by several of their countrymen resident

in this city, and so obnoxious have these patriots made themselves

to landlords and the tyranny of landlordism, that attempts have

been made to destroy their social position by appealing to their

employers to discharge such persons from their employment.

Fortunately they have not succeeded in every case." (1)

By the end of 1881 the crofters of Valtos had won their case and, at the

annual meeting of the Celtic Federation, the secretary commended the role

played by the Skye Vigilance Committee in the victory. (2) This

committee was to remain active in the Skye crofters' struggle of the

following year and, although the secretary denied that the rent strike by

the crofters of Braes in Skye was the responsibility of the Glasgow

agitation (3), undoubtedly the promise of support from the large Glasgow

Highland community contributed to the confidence with which the crofters

fought their case. Public meetings, organised by the Federation of

Celtic Societies, were held in Glasgow in May 1882 and January 1883 to

protest against Highland evictions and to pledge support for crofters. (4)

By 1883, however, the impetus for the movement had moved to London with

the setting up there of the Highland Land Law Reform Association (HLLRA).

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(1) Ibid., 18.6.1881
(2) Ibid., 24.12.1881
(3) Ibid., 22.4.1882
(4) Ibid., 13.5.1882 and 20.1.1883.

Although Glasgow Highlanders continued some involvement (a Glasgow branch of the HLLRA was formed in February 1886 and in the summer of the same year Glasgow Highlanders organised the defence of crofters jailed as a result of agitation on Tiree (1)), a feature of the period from 1883 was the low profile of the Glasgow societies. As one correspondent of the Oban Times was to complain in early 1884,

"Just now a great number of Highland Associations are being formed throughout the country associating themselves with societies in Inverness, Edinburgh and London, while Glasgow, which bore the brunt of the battle, is completely ignored. To the Glasgow societies we are mainly indebted for the Royal Commission (2) and it is only human to complain that such a society as the Inverness, for example, with its one member should now march off with the honours.... I believe that Highlanders still look to Glasgow for advice and support, and by all means let us justify their faith." (3)

However, the role of the Glasgow societies had so diminished that only one Glasgow society, the Glasgow Sutherland Association, attended the HLLRA Conference in September 1886. (4) The other societies which had been openly involved in support of the crofting population and land reform withdrew. The Skye Vigilance Committee, which had been formed specifically in order to support the crofters' struggles, was disbanded.

(1) Ibid., 14.8.1886
(2) Set up in 1883 by the government to inquire into the conditions of the Highland crofting and cottar population.
(3) Oban Times, 19.1.1884.
(4) Ibid., 25.9.1886.

The Glasgow Skye Association was distinctly unwilling to become too closely identified with the political struggle and tended to support the movement covertly. A request from the socialist Scottish Land Restoration League for co-operation in organising a public meeting on behalf of crofters received the ambiguous reply that the members "agreed not to interfere qua association though it was stated that no doubt individually each member would be present". (1) This ambiguous role is typified in the proceedings of the Skye Gathering held in Glasgow in 1884 when Reginald MacLeod of MacLeod, the Conservative candidate for Inverness-shire and brother of the Skye landlord MacLeod of Dunvegan was invited to act as chairman. And so, in the year that some of MacLeod's tenants were on a rent strike and a gun boat and three hundred marines were called to the island to intervene in the brewing struggle, the Glasgow Skye contingent listened to a condemnation of radical action and in its stead the proposal of migration and emigration as a solution to the crofters' grievances:

"Our Skyemen must look to labour and the improvement of their own industries, the improvement of the fishing industry, and if that fails they must come and seek help in the industries of the South. Some of them must be prepared to go abroad...I hope that we may be able to look back upon the events of 1884 as a bad dream of the past, to look at Skye not filled with police and soldiers, when the people are no longer talked of in the newspapers, and no longer form the subject of drawings in our illustrated journals. I hope

(1) Minutes of the Skye Association, January 1885.

we may hear nothing of military forces in connection with Skye,

except when some of our young men join Her Majesty's army and

serve under the British flag." (1)

Perhaps in order to ensure a balance, a reply to Reginald MacLeod's

speech was made by Alexander MacKenzie, editor of Celtic Magazine and a

founder of the HLLRA. Speaking in Gaelic, MacKenzie announced that he

was proud of being an agitator. The answer to the Highland problem, he

claimed, was to divide the land among those who desired it. He further

corrected a contention of MacLeod that there was land for all in

Canada. The audience, the report stated, cheered both speakers. (2)

The Lewis and Harris Association was no more active in campaigning for

the crofters on its native island. In 1888 agitation for land had

spread to Lewis and once again there were battles between the crofters

and cottars and the marines and Royal Scots Guards drafted in to prevent

the forcible distribution of farms. This resulted in what has been

described as "the bitterest and bloodiest of all the confrontations

between the crofting community and the law". (3) During this

confrontation a meeting of the Lewis and Harris Association drew up a

resolution:

"That this meeting records its regret at the heavy sentences passed

by Lord Craighill in the Aignish and Clashmor trials and that in

the event of any public action being taken (my emphasis), the

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(1) Ibid., December 1884.
(2) Ibid.
(3) J.Hunter, Making of the Crofting Community, op.cit. p.174

Directors be empowered to give same such support as they may deem advisable." (1)

Although sympathy undoubtedly lay with the crofters, it is clear that the association did not see that its role should be in initiating action and the Lewis and Harris Association, like the Skye Association, maintained a non-political stance.

A variety of factors were involved in the retreat of the Glasgow societies from open support of the crofters' cause. An important factor for the established societies was the fear that their close identification with the radical cause would endanger their viability. Because of their low subscription rates and perhaps also because the societies did not contain wealthy members, the generosity of the societies' patrons, who were called upon to make financial donations, was essential in order to remain solvent. In 1874, for instance, five sixths of the income of the Skye Association came from contributions made by the societies' patrons who were mostly Highland landlords (2), and it is not likely that the society had become self-sufficient by 1883. This point is alluded to by J.G.MacKay, secretary of the Skye Land Laegue, in a letter to the Oban Times in which he criticised the supineness of the Glasgow societies. He cited the example of the Glasgow Sutherland Association which, he wrote, had demonstrated that support for radicalism had strengthened rather than weakened its support:

(1) Lewis and Harris Association Minutes, January 1888.
(2) Skye Association Minutes Session 1874-5

"(he) could not give a better example of how a society can prosper

by espousing the cause of the people; that in a society that has

had the manliness to speak out in their behalf, to suffer in the

cause, to be forsaken by the Tories and aristocrats, and still

has not suffered shipwreck, no, it has increased tenfold in

numbers, in usefulness both to its own members and to its

countrymen at home." (1)

While fear of landlord retribution either in the form of withdrawal of

aid or even in the form of threats to social position alluded to by

Henry Whyte (2) may have been important factors, other political

considerations were also operating. Although the majority of Glasgow

Highlanders undoubtedly supported the crofters' struggle, some prominent

members of the community were Conservatives. J.G.MacKay wrote to the

Oban Times attacking the chairman of the Glasgow Skye Association for

canvassing for the Tory candidate who was standing against the Land

League's MacFarlane in Argyll in 1887. (3) Colin Campbell, the director

of the Glasgow Argyllshire Association, was a prominent Conservative. (4)

Perhaps more important was the growing lack of homogeneity among the

supporters of the crofters. Henry Whyte, one of the leading Glasgow

based radicals, in his Oban Times column, attacked the HLLRA for its

close links with the Free Church and warned against the introduction of

the question of Disestablishment being introduced into the land movement. (5)

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(1) Oban Times, 19.3.1887
(2) See above, page
(3) Oban Times, 8.1.1887
(4) Ibid., 15.2.1890
(5) Ibid., 9.2.1884. ("Glasgow Letter" written under pseudonym "Fionn")

Clydeside, meanwhile, had become influenced by Henry George and his

views on land nationalisation. In February 1884 George addressed a

large audience in Glasgow and, in the following month, he received an

enthusiastic welcome in Greenock apparently as a result of the "united

action of the different Celtic organisations of Greenock". (1) In

March 1884 the Georgite Scottish Land Restoration League was formed in

Glasgow at a meeting in which John Murdoch presided and enjoyed the bonus

of an initial membership of 1940. (2) The organisation aimed to "restore

the soil of Scotland to the people" and to unite the struggles of the

rural and urban masses. (3) It was not till 1885, two years after its

initial formation in London, and a year after the Land Restoration

League had taken root in the city, that a Glasgow branch of the HLLRA

was formed. (4)

Why did it take so long for a branch of the HLLRA to be formed in

Glasgow, especially since this organisation had successfully won the

support of the mass of the Highlanders in the homeland? (5) One of the

reasons may have been the greater attraction for some urban Highlanders

of the Land Restoration League which, with its twin commitment to land

and labour, addressed the desire for social change in the immediate

environment as well as at home. Although it would be erroneous to

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(1) Ibid., 23.2.1884, 22.3.1884
(2) Ibid., 15.3.1884
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., 31.1.1885
(5) For an assessment of the support of the HLLRA in the Highlands
see J.Hunter, "Politics of Land Reform", op.cit.

exaggerate the support awarded to the Land Restoration League (1), it did

in effect point to a differing political trajectory for many Glasgow

Highlanders from their kin in the Highlands, a trajectory which was to

involve many in the socialist movement. The first prominent Highlander

to identify with the early Scottish Labour movement was John Murdoch. (2)

In the early twentieth century the foremost Scottish Marxist, John

MacLean, was the son of Gaelic speaking parents who settled in

Pollokshaws. (3) A contemporary and close colleague of Maclean's, the

veteran socialist Harry McShane, has written of the "many socialists in

Glasgow of Highland origin". (4) The split in the mid 1880s between the

supporters of the more radical movement for land nationalisation on the

one hand and land reform on the other (5), was a reflection of the lack

of political homogeneity among the Glasgow Highlanders which ensured

that they never achieved the political weight of the Irish. (6)

The lack of a unified political voice and the extent to which urban

working class Highlanders were identifying with a common political cause

along with their Lowland neighbours (7), suggests a degree of assimilation,

at least on the political level. However, the inability of the Glasgow

Highland societies to provide the sort of dynamic political leadership

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(1) When John Murdoch stood as Land Restoration Candidate for Partick in
1887 he only managed to poll 74 votes.
(2) J.D.Young, "John Murdoch: A Scottish Land and Labour Pioneer"
Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, XIX (1969), pp22-24
(3) N.Milton, John MacLean (London, 1973) Chapter One.
(4) McShane and Smith, No Mean Fighter (London, 1978), p.55
(5) Evidence of this split is to be found in a report of a meeting in
support of the crofters held in the city in June 1884 which claimed that
the audience was divided between supporters of the Land Restoration
League and others. Oban Times, 14.6.1884
(6)For the voting pattern of the Irish see J.McCaffrey, "The Irish Vote in
Glasgow in the Later Nineteenth Century", Innes Review, xxi (1970) and
I.Wood, "Irish Immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880-1906" in MacDougall
(ed.) Essays in Scottish Labour History, op.cit.
(7) In Greenock it was found that Highland immigrants tended to share in
the common political enthusiasm of the town for Liberalism, but were also
active in trade unions and were "rather more militant than has sometimes

Murdoch was calling for may be attributed to traditional Highland

failings which the urban experience had been unable to obliterate.

Behind the inability of the Glasgow societies to sustain co-ordinated

and unified action it is tempting to trace the legacy of the deep

divisions within Highland society with their basis in place or clan,

divisions which were reflected in the very multiplicity of societies.

Perhaps these divisions had not been overcome by the Glasgow Highlanders

precisely because the community had retained so much of its Highland

character and had translated the traditional distrust of and even

contempt for Highlanders from other areas into exile. Another legacy of

the Highland psyche which the Glasgow Gaels may have retained in exile

was the traditional deference to landlords, a deference from which not

even the radically anti-landlord Gaelic poet, Mary MacPherson, was

entirely immune. (1) In Glasgow this deference was demonstrated by

the societies inviting the owners of Highland estates to preside at their

gatherings. It may also have contributed to their unwillingness to

engage openly in a political battle against landlordism.

While the lack of sustained commitment of the majority of societies to

the radical cause may have disappointed the likes of John Murdoch, it

would be erroneous to underestimate the part they played in the

cultural and social fields. They played an important role in the

development of Gaelic culture from a primarily oral tradition to a

(1) See Sorley Maclean, "The Poetry of the Clearances", Transactions of
the Gaelic Society of Inverness XXXVIII, 1939, p.319.

written language and an academic discipline. In so doing, Glasgow became an important outpost of the Celtic world. (1) Socially the societies set themselves the aim of providing a meeting place in the city for Highlanders to congregate, and in this they undoubtedly had some success. The survey of the districts of residence of the members of three territorial societies pointed to a support based mainly on the working class, a conclusion which was corroborated with the evidence from the societies' Minute Books of a working class membership susceptible to the traumas of economic depressions. Reports of functions held by the various societies indicate that a wide section of the community was drawn into the social activities.

To some extent the aims of the societies reflected the pre-occupations of the proliferating self-help and self-improvement societies in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. But, uniquely, the Highland societies also played a large part in maintaining Highland identity and links between the homeland and the Glasgow immigrant community. Along with the churches they provided a network of social organisations which had the effect described by Milton Gordon of confining their members "within the ethnic fold". (2)

(1) In the field of Celtic scholarship the Highland immigrants were to provide some of the inspiration for Celtic revivalism among the immigrants from Ireland. See Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit. pp230-231.
(2) M.Gordon, op.cit. p.80.

CHAPTER NINE.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to outline the contours of the Highland community

in nineteenth century Glasgow, and in particular its non-assimilation

into the dominant culture. Using the pre-occupations of other

immigrant studies the following features of Highland life in the city

were analysed in order to measure the extent of non-assimilation: the

extent to which Highlanders were residentially and occupationally

clustered; the extent to which their socio-economic status diverged from

the general pattern of the whole population; the extent to which the

socio-demographic features of the Highland community discouraged external

assimilatory forces; and, finally, the extent to which they formed their

own institutions thus creating a society within a society.

In broad resume, my research indicated that, contrary to the conclusions of

Lobban regarding the Highland community in Greenock (the major study on

urbanised Gaels up to now), the Highland immigrants in Glasgow did form

a very distinct sub-culture, with its own institutions and values.

In terms of settlement patterns, there was conclusive evidence that the

immigrant Gaels chose to settle in specific areas of the city, mainly

along the north bank of the Clyde from Broomielaw to Partick, and along

the south bank from Kingston to Govan, rather than diluting themselves

in the wider Glasgow community. In their lack of residential dispersal,

therefore, the Highlanders were failing to fulfil what Lieberson

judged to be the key criterion for assimilation. (1)

In relation to patterns of occupation, again the Highlanders' choice of occupation militated against loss of identity, since certain occupations became dominated by the Gaels out of all proportion to their numbers. Such occupations as seamen, ferrymen, police, domestic servants served as clusters of Gaelic sub-culture in the wider social milieu. Furthermore, Highlanders were found to differ to a significant extent from the socio-economic status of the rest of the population in the sample areas, being under-represented in skilled occupations and over-represented in semi and unskilled work. Only the Irish occupied a lower socio-economic status.

Family patterns reinforced the evidence of settlement and occupation. Migrating Highlanders tended to move to Glasgow to live in the households of relatives or other Highlanders rather than seek accommodation with Lowlanders. This, and the existence of Highland institutions ensured that a large degree of primary relationships were taking place within the community. In turn, this encouraged inter-marriage amongst the immigrant Gaels, and thus reduced the forces of cultural dilution threatened from exogamy.

A community forms institutions as well as behaviour patterns, and in the nineteenth century the Highland community sustained a wide variety of

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(1) S.Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, op.cit. p.190.

of specifically "Celtic" organisations, from charitable and educational
ones such as the Highland Society of Glasgow which educated in its
school the children of Highland immigrants, to the Gaelic churches and
the various Highland cultural and social societies and clubs, all of
which, to varying degrees, gave the Highlanders a social refuge from the
Lowland, urban world, and commanded a high degree of popular support.
The Highland community in Glasgow, however, never became a political
force in the way that the Irish community did. When it faced its
greatest challenge during the Crofters' War of the 1880s, the Glasgow
Gaels, after an initial burst of activity, oscillated between passivity
and a plethora of divergent views, ranging from charitable relief to
pro-landlordism.

Clearly the process of urbanisation did not lead to the Highlanders
abandoning their sense of identity or their peculiar cultural traits.
In much the same way as the Irish in London preserved their sense of
"Irishness" and formed a society within a society which served as a
shield against the harshness of the outside world (1), so too did the
Highlanders in Glasgow form their own separate sub-culture which was
re-inforced in the neighbourhood, in the workplace, in the family, in
school, in church, in the Gaelic choir, and even in the temperance
society or the masonic lodge, and in the social club. Highlanders were,
therefore, failing to assimilate with the host population on the primary
group level, the level which, according to Milton Gordon, was the key to
full assimilation. (2)

(1) L.Lees, Exiles of Erin, op.cit. p.246
(2) Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, op.cit. p.80

Why was the experience of the Glasgow Highlanders so different from the

experience of the Gaels in Greenock? Undoubtedly, the size of Glasgow

was a critical element in the maintaining of ethnic group consciousness.

Fischer has noted that "the more urban a place, the more intense its

sub-cultures" (1) and within Glasgow there flourished clearly

identifiable ethnic minorities - Irish, Jews and Italians as well as

Highlanders - each with their own institutions, occupational patterns

and cultural traditions which marked them off from their Lowland Scottish

neighbours. While the heterogeneity of the city provided the opportunity

for ethnic divergence, the size of the Glasgow Highland community

attained the "critical mass" necessary to form and support a network

of religious, social and philanthropic institutions. (2) A further

explanation may be found, however, in the differing methods adopted for

the Greenock and Glasgow studies. Lobban analysed all the Highland born in

Greenock unlike this Glasgow study which concentrated on those

Highlanders residing in the most close knit Highland neighbourhoods.

As Lieberson has shown, where ethnic minorities are residentially

segregated, their propensity to assimilate is significantly reduced. (3)

It is possible that the Highlanders who chose to settle in "Highland"-

neighbourhoods already had the strongest group identity. Settling in

a "Highland" neighbourhood undoubtedly reinforced that identity.

Significantly, the Highland born population in Plantation in 1881, the

sample area with the lowest proportion of Highlanders, resembled more

closely in socio-economic and socio-demographic features the general

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(1) C.Fischer, "Towards a Subcultural Theory of Urbanism", op.cit. p.1325
(2) Ibid., p.1325-6
(3) Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, op.cit. p.190

pattern of the total population than did the Highlanders in any of the other sample areas.

Although the Highlanders were clearly not subject to what Gordon terms "structural assimilation" (i.e. assimilated on a primary group level), that does not mean to say that they were subject to the extent of prejudice which Gordon considers is the result of structural separatism:

"...it may be plausibly argued that just as intimate primary group relations tend to reduce prejudice, a lack of such contacts tends to promote ethnically hostile attitudes." (1)

There is little evidence to suggest that the Highlanders in Glasgow were faced with the extent of hostility which met the Irish. (2) Although, like the Irish, the Highlanders were Celts, they were also, unlike the Irish, mainly Protestant, and thus more acceptable in Glasgow, an acceptability possibly added to by their lack of political commitment to a violent and often unpopular cause - the Irish demand for Home Rule. Also unlike the Irish, the Highland community contained members of the city middle class elite (3) whose presence lent a respectability to the entire community. Neither did their occupational choices pose the same sort of threat to local labour as did the Irish in competition for factory work. Finding a niche in domestic service and in sea faring and boat handling occupations they were not challenging the dominance of the locals.

(1) Gordon, op.cit., p.236
(2) Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, op.cit.pp.93-121, 302-327.
(3) Such as the members of the Gaelic Club of Gentlemen described by J.Strang, in Glasgow and its Clubs, op.cit. pp.128-151

What perhaps made the Glasgow Highland community unique among immigrant
groups was their continued relationship with their homeland. Because of
its proximity (in a way that Ireland was not for the London Irish or
Europe for the plethora of immigrant groups which have been the subjects
of studies in the United States) there were constant transactions
between the Highlands and Glasgow. Visits from Highlanders were frequent,
as were holidays back home. A common custom among Highland families
at least in the twentieth century was to send the children back to their
grandparents for prolonged visits sometimes lasting for a year or longer.
For those who were unemployed in the city a return home was not an
insurmountable problem especially since the Highland societies, as was
demonstrated in Chapter Eight, provided funds for such purposes. Neither
was the return to the homeland restricted to those who had failed to
find prosperity in the urban world. The return home, frequently the
dream of immigrants, was a more easily realisable goal for the Highlanders.
Perhaps the closest model to the pattern of Highland settlement in
Glasgow is to be found among the rural settlers in the cities of Sub-
saharan Africa:

> "Throughout Subsaharan Africa urban dwellers regularly visit their
> rural homes where they make gifts, find wives, maintain land rights,
> build houses, intend to retire eventually, want to be buried; they
> receive gifts in return, offer hospitality to visitors from home,
> and help new arrivals in town." (1)

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(1) J.Gugler, "The Theory of Rural-Urban Migration", Migration, J.Jackson,
ed., op.cit. p.146.

Not less important was the role which Glasgow played in Highland life.
Containing the largest concentration of Highlanders and Gaelic speakers
anywhere, it served effectively as a cultural capital for Gaeldom.
Not only did Glasgow contain a high concentration of Gaelic speakers, it
was also the base of the greatest number of educated Gaels who could
provide an intellectual leadership. Thus it was from Glasgow that much
of the works of the Gaelic literary heritage were published.

The survival of the Highland community in Glasgow would in itself make
a fascinating study, since survive it clearly did, though undergoing
change and gradual dilution. From oral evidence the real dilution appears
to have come after World War II. Between the wars the community was as
alive as ever with some of the Highland societies reaching their maximum
support. In 1930 the Highlanders Institute was formed, which served as
an umbrella organisation aimed at uniting all the various Highland
societies under one roof. And in 1933, the community produced its own
newspaper for the first time, The Glasgow Highlander. This venture,
however, would appear to have been over ambitious since the paper was
discontinued after only ten isssues.

Inspite of the burst of activity during this period, the Highland
community was already under threat. The depopulation of the Highlands
and the relative stability of the Highland economy in the twentieth
century together with the end of Glasgow's period of dynamic growth,
gradually dried up the roots of further immigration into the city and
staunched its "new blood". The Gaelic churches have had difficulty

recruiting Gaelic speaking ministers and some have had to discontinue the provision of Gaelic language sermons. However, there remains to the present day congregations which have their roots in particular areas of the Highlands. The Highland societies have also endured hardship, and in the 1970s the Highlanders' Institute, the collective premises at Charing Cross, had to close down because of financial difficulties.

But the Highland community in the city is far from dead. Glasgow is still the world's largest Gaelic city which, at the last census, contained in the region of 10,000 people claiming to speak Gaelic. It is still possible to hear Gaelic being used in the fish shops of Partick, or in the Park Bar in Argyle Street. And there are some signs of a revival, with the creation of Gaelic play-groups for infants, take-up in Gaelic classes, and most significantly, in the granting by Strathclyde Regional Council of facilities for Gaelic medium primary education at the John Maxwell School in Pollokshaws. In addition, there are three secondary schools which already offer Gaelic as an academic subject. We will never again see the large gatherings of Highlanders under the "Hielan' Man's Umbrella" or at Paisley Road Toll. The days when the lingua franca "below stairs" or on the Clyde ferries was Gaelic are past. But there is a future in the city for this clearly identifiable immigrant group.

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