Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey stormed through Glasgow in the winter of 1874. The American evangelist and his musical collaborator attracted vast crowds to their meetings and many among the throngs appeared anxious about their spiritual well-being. Dwight Moody knew how to capture a crowd’s interest and to involve them in a personal search for salvation; he had been, after all, a skilled salesman in the American mid-west before becoming a celebrated preacher. Moody knew that successful revivals, like his earlier sales campaigns in the shoe and boot trade, depended upon careful organisation. The evangelists and their associates had worked closely with Glasgow clergymen for more than a month before the public meetings began, winning them to the cause and convincing them that the revival meetings supplemented their ministries, not supplanted them.

During that cold and damp February, thousands of men and women flocked to their meetings at City Hall and the Kibble Palace, awed by the power of Moody’s sermons and Ira Sankey’s clear ringing voice. At one gathering, scheduled for the Botanical Gardens, the crush was so great that Moody could not make his way into that vast domed glass building. In response, he stood in his open carriage and preached to a crowd estimated at 20,000 by the more cautious observers and 30,000 by others. Was this crusade, as later rumoured, masterminded by P. T. Barnum or was it a remarkable outpouring of religious anxiety in a troubled society?1

Moody and Sankey touched people throughout Glasgow, the East End included. ‘Went into the City Hall last Sunday morning’, David Willox, a resident of Parkhead wrote in his diary on February 21, ‘but was disappointed in not getting in to hear Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the Evangelists, who are causing a great stir just now.’ William McArthur, Willox’s friend and workmate at Beardsmore’s Forge was luckier and did gain admission to one meeting. According to Willox, McArthur was struck by the intensity of the American evangelists. ‘I think my friend Mr. McArthur has been deeply affected by their preaching,’ Willox observed. ‘He professes to have ‘found Christ’ as the phrase goes; time will tell,’ he added cautiously.² But Willox was not as disinterested in the religious phenomenon sweeping the town as his comments might indicate. On April 1 he confided: ‘I have been several times to hear Messrs. Moody and Sankey. They seem very earnest, but I see nothing wonderful about them.’ Willox’s experience, however, seemed to confirm what the revivalists had promised local clergymen: the religious awakening they began would continue after they had left the city. ‘I have been at a few prayer meetings, two of which have been held in my house,’ Willox noted in April, adding almost sheepishly, ‘Have got some good by them.’³

David Willox was a churchman before Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey preached in the city. A member of Parkhead Congregational Church, he was on friendly terms with its Pastor, Daniel Gardner, who baptised one of the Willox children on 30 December 1874.⁴ Willox was not alone in Parkhead in his commitment to Christianity. A number of denominations sought members in this segment of Glasgow’s East End. A Free Kirk operating in Camlachie probably attracted some residents;⁵ and Methodists supported local members in Parkhead from their churches in Calton and Tollcross. This group encountered only limited success, however, with a small class meeting in Parkhead from December 1869 until September 1870.⁶ Following its closure there was a twenty year hiatus before a mission was established in 1890. Even at that late date, the Methodist presence seemed impermanent, with the remuneration of its missionary based upon his success in bringing members into the church.⁷ In 1882, less than five years after its founding in London, Major Henry Edwards of the Salvation Army sought an appropriate building in Parkhead to use as headquarters for his mission activities.⁸ But the conversion of
local seekers did not depend on these halting steps; there was no shortage of religious institutions in Parkhead open to any who wished to participate in Christian worship. The local Congregational church was only one of five churches in the district at the time. It complemented two United Presbyterian congregations, a Church of Scotland parish church and a Catholic church.

With five churches, three of which had been opened between 1873 and 1876, one might think this a community in which religion was central to its social structure. Parkhead seemed to confirm the results of a survey conducted at the outset of the decade that suggested six of every ten adults in Scotland were members of some church. In 1881, however, there was no evidence that such a happy state existed for organised religion in the district. Despite the findings of Rev. James Johnston’s 1871 survey, the proliferation of church buildings in the community and missionary activity on its streets, members of Christian churches in Parkhead were a marginal group numerically within the district’s 10,000 residents; moreover, their inability to recruit greater numbers in a working-class district like Parkhead challenges assertions of vigorous church growth among the urban proletariat in these years. Failure to grow a membership in this part of Glasgow’s East End, or to sustain the numbers they had achieved there, suggests that all Christian denominations in the district were fragile transplants in an unwelcoming environment.

Confirmation of this judgement is found in the membership rolls of the Parkhead United Presbyterian Church and in the listing of members of the Tollcross United Presbyterian Church, an institution with thirty percent of its members living in Parkhead, in the baptism records of St. Michael’s Roman Catholic Church, in the Kirk Session Minutes of the Parkhead Parish Church and in the Minutes of the Deacons’ Court of the Parkhead Congregational Church. These sources document members and leaders in the district as well as church actions and policies from 1873 to 1885. From them one is able to compile a comprehensive list of Parkhead residents who belonged to those churches. Critics might challenge the accuracy of such a catalogue and, no doubt, a few church members remain undiscovered from combing through these accounts. This listing does, however, contain all who were identified as members of Protestant congregations over more than a decade, even those who were later ‘disjoined’, about five
percent of the total local church membership; thus this Protestant inventory more than adequately compensates for any members who might have been omitted.

No member records exist for Catholics in the district; the Church did not maintain any. Catholics in Parkhead can, however, be identified by employing the same sources used by the Church hierarchy to estimate its numbers. Unlike the official methodology, this study does not multiply the annual number of baptisms by a factor of twenty-two; rather it tracks all baptisms over a six year period in the only Catholic church in the district, incorporating into ‘membership’ all people within families named in the Baptismal rolls. Like the Protestant listing, all who have been identified as Catholics have been maintained on this ‘member’ list even though they might have subsequently fallen away from the faith. There is, therefore, a comfortable margin to offset any Catholics in Parkhead who might not have been identified through baptismal records.

Callum Brown, a leading interpreter of the church in Scotland, suggests a much larger congregation than proposed here. Spurning the strictures of formal membership, he projects a vibrant Christianity in this period rooted in folkways, a non-institutional belief system he claims was embraced by large numbers. In his analysis, this Christian Britain lived on until the tumultuous 1960s when, Dr. Brown asserts, its folkways collapsed, causing its death. Unlike Callum Brown’s national study, this investigation is based on membership in Parkhead’s five churches and contains no adherents or occasional visitors. Their exclusion is not accidental. These men and women might have attended services at Protestant churches but they consciously chose not to embrace membership and, as a result, could not participate in communion, a sacrament central to Christian beliefs. ‘Occasional Catholics’, those who sporadically attended mass but chose not to have their children baptised, a fundamental rite of the Church, would not have been viewed as practising Catholics by the hierarchy or clergy. Protestant adherents and ‘occasional Catholics’ lacked commitment to essential Christian dogma and this differentiated them from church communicants. Distinct from those who had accepted that discipline, adherents were set apart by church authorities and thus are excluded from any compilation of church membership here.
This methodology produces an extensive and reliable database. Significant in itself, it identifies leaders as well as members of local congregations, documenting that small percentage of people who made conscious commitments to Christian membership in Parkhead. The data attains even greater power when merged with the 1881 census of all residents of the district. Use of any census materials can be hazardous, of course: the information requires caution and demographers have warned about the dangers that lurk in these census returns. Used with care, however, the enhanced demographics provide a window on the district, allowing researchers to assess the economic and social characteristics of a small but cohesive group in the community, determine if that band of Christians shared characteristics with members of the larger society and probe any differences between minority and majority groups. Such microanalysis provides greater insight into social patterns than generalisations about group behaviour and a surer sense about the churches of the day than reports of the number of seats occupied on specific Sundays. This analysis does not posit the premature death of Christianity; it proposes rather its marginality among the working-class of Glasgow’s East End.

**Parkhead and its Church Members**

A guide to Glasgow published in 1882 was explicit in its description of the eastern approaches to the city, terming them dingy suburbs with ‘streets of a decidedly unpleasant aspect.’ Parkhead was, of course, one of these drab suburbs described by the editors of the *Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland*. One could hardly dispute their portrait: the mills and forges of the East End and the buildings that clustered around them were in sharp contrast to the fine commercial buildings of the city’s business district or the handsome tenements and terraces of Glasgow’s West End. In these years Parkhead was predominantly a manufacturing centre dominated by the massive Forge that sprawled west from New Road with its complex of sheds and workshops sheltering furnaces and forging equipment. Smaller foundries, engineering shops, chemical works and textile mills spread out from the Forge adding to the area’s industrial gloom. Tenements and small pre-industrial houses sprouted among the factories, public houses, shops, schools and churches.
Stretching east from the Caledonian Railway viaduct over Great Eastern Road to the city’s eastern boundary and straggling south from Duke Street to the River Clyde, Parkhead consisted of 2,261 households in April 1881. Forty-eight percent of these families lived in houses comprising only one room and an additional forty-three percent stayed in two-roomed homes. Less than seventeen percent of families in these crowded houses were headed by church members. Among adults in the community, 868 of the 4,999 males and females twenty-one years or older were members of Protestant or Catholic churches, a far cry from Rev. Johnston’s estimates. Any assumption about organised religion’s strength in Parkhead must be modified by the fact that only one in six, either from an individual or family perspective, was a member of any Christian church. One must also recognise that the Protestant denominations were very restricted in their penetration of this community. None challenged St. Michael’s, the Roman Catholic church in Parkhead, in whose congregation were found forty-one percent of all Heads of church households. With only one family in ten in Parkhead belonging to a Protestant church in 1881, it was clear that Protestantism had not built a strong membership base among the people of this predominantly working class district.

![Figure 1: Parkhead circa 1892](image)
Table 1: Heads of Households in Parkhead, April 1881:
By Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Parkhead Households</th>
<th>Total Parkhead Church Member Households</th>
<th>Roman Catholic Households</th>
<th>Church of Scotland Households</th>
<th>Tollcross U. P. Households</th>
<th>Parkhead U. P. Households</th>
<th>Parkhead Cong. Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,261</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_was that small group distinguished from the larger community by characteristics other than church membership? Did church members, for instance, reflect the distribution of workers in the economy of Parkhead? There were some anomalies in the two largest industries, iron and steel and textile production. Virtually one-third of all heads of church households were employed in the manufacture of iron and steel, ten percent more than in the population as a whole. This over representation may be a data anomaly or more probably reflects the predominance of Catholics among church members in Parkhead and the presence in that group of large numbers of males employed in metal fabrication. In the district’s textile mills fewer heads of church households were employed than one would expect, an aberration explained by the prevalence of young unmarried women in that industry. Despite these variations church members were found in virtually all aspects of the local economy._

What of church-affiliated heads of households themselves? Is there anything one can determine from an examination of them in isolation from their neighbours? As indicated in Table 2, seventy-seven percent of heads of church households had been born in Scotland whilst twenty percent had been born in Ireland, the latter somewhat less than the percentage of Irish-led households in the

Table 2: Heads of Church Households by Country of Birth,
April 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2261</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the Irish-born heads of church households, eighty-two percent were members of St. Michael’s, with the remainder distributed among three of the four Protestant churches in Parkhead.

A striking difference between the Christian group and the district as a whole emerges when the household size of church members is examined. The average household connected to any church in Parkhead comprised 5.27 persons whilst households without any church connection were smaller at 4.40 persons. Among church households, the highest average family size was found among members of the Established Kirk (6.18), followed by households connected with St. Michael’s (5.39), only slightly larger than the average for all church-connected households and challenging stereotypical views about large Catholic families.

Was there any difference in housing conditions between church-connected families in Parkhead and those beyond the churches? Did different patterns appear between Catholic and Protestant homes in the district? It is in this measure that sharp distinctions emerge between Protestants in Parkhead and all others in the community. Whilst Catholic families, like most in Parkhead, lived within sharply confined spaces, Protestant families were found predominantly in the larger houses of the area and only twenty-one percent of Protestant families lived in one room. In contrast, fifty-four percent of Catholic families and fifty-one percent of non-church member families lived in one-roomed houses. Further, twenty percent of Protestant households lived in comparatively large houses of three rooms or more. The data indicates that Protestants were measurably better housed than Catholics and, importantly, better than the population as a whole. This data suggests sectarianism in housing in Parkhead with Protestant church members having superior housing to all others in the community.

What of the employed adult members of Parkhead’s churches? Not surprisingly in a working-class district, labourers and low skill workers formed the largest group of church members. In the St. Michael’s congregation three of every four employed adults were labourers, power loom weavers or puddlers. Among Protestant denominations there were far fewer male labourers but substantial numbers of female power loom weavers. Carters and miners were also strongly represented.
among the low skill Protestant church members. This occupational data indicate clearly the preponderance of manual workers among church members in Parkhead.

Table 3: All Employed Male & Female Adult Church Members by Occupation, Parkhead 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>All Adult Church Members</th>
<th>Adult Protestant Church Members</th>
<th>Adult Catholic Church Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Adult Members</td>
<td>% of Adult Members</td>
<td>No. of Adult Protestants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labours</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Skill Occupations</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Trades</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Trades</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers &amp; Managers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks &amp; Administrators</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the spring of 1881 almost one in four of all employed adult church members in Parkhead was a labourer. Among Catholic labourers who influenced that statistic so strongly, sixty-two percent had been born in Ireland, supporting reports indicating Irish males were employed disproportionately as labourers and in other low skilled jobs in Scotland. Young women who tended power looms comprised a significant presence among Catholic low skilled workers. In Protestant churches whose members were predominantly Scottish-born, the proportion of labourers was quite low, one in ten. An entirely different ratio emerges, however, when one looks at church members employed in low skilled occupations. Among that large group, two-thirds of all male and female workers were Protestants; moreover, thirty-two percent of that group was composed of single or widowed female textile workers.
Tradesmen were conspicuous in Parkhead’s denominations where they comprised twenty-one percent of all employed adult church members. In the district’s Protestant churches one in every four employed adults was a tradesman. Less numerous at St. Michael’s, tradesmen there made up thirteen percent of the adult congregation. Differentiating Protestant congregations from Catholic was also the greater presence of employers and managers, indicating the power of Protestants in the local economy. Another marked difference appears when one examines clerks and administrators. In Parkhead in 1881 fully one-third of the sixty men who comprised this occupational classification, a group of increasing importance as businesses became more complex, were church members and they were overwhelmingly Protestant.

Elected annually by the congregations, the lay leadership of Parkhead’s Protestant churches was male, predominantly merchants and managers, followed by tradesmen, with only a trace of other occupations involved. The bourgeoisie and ‘respectable’ working-class tradesmen celebrated the ‘Lord’s Supper’ quarterly together with all other members of Protestant churches but it was they who were sustained each year to lead those congregations. Despite representing only one in three of all employed adult members, representatives of these groups nevertheless dominated the lay leadership of Parkhead’s Protestant churches. More articulate and self assured, to the other Protestant parishioners they must have radiated success. Despite nominally democratic governance of their churches, labourers and low skill workers who comprised the majority of adult members were conspicuously absent from the Kirk Session, Court of Deacons or Board of Managers. Annually these workers elected merchants, managers and tradesmen to regulate their god’s work in Parkhead. In selecting these men as their congregational leaders, it seems likely that church members who were labourers, carters, miners and puddlers were also affirming the social attitudes and values of that minority.

Parkhead’s Apprentices and Tradesmen: Sectarianism at Work

There were, of course, more than managers, merchants and labourers in Parkhead. Apprentices and tradesmen formed a
significant group of manual workers in the district. Apprentices were young men at least fourteen years of age who had embarked on a training programme of five to seven years duration. If they endured the low wages, long hours and hard work during their apprenticeships they would join what many perceived to be the elite of industrial workers. How did some boys gain access to apprenticeship training while others did not? Was it family connection to the trade, good performance and deportment at school or did knowing someone who could advance their interests play some role in their admission to this training? Whilst it seems likely that all these factors, particularly family connections, influenced in some fashion the admission of apprentices, Joseph Melling has argued that in Scotland access to apprenticeship training was, in fact, influenced by religious affiliation. Further, he asserted that children of Catholic immigrants, if they achieved journeyman status, tended to be confined to the lesser trades. 19 It would be naïve to deny that sectarianism was a factor of Glasgow life but one wonders what support, beyond anecdotal comments, there is for such a claim about apprenticeships.

The augmented census returns for Parkhead in 1881 provide information to test such statements. Analysis of the seventy-six apprentices who lived in Parkhead in April of that year indicates that they too were not a church-going group: only somewhat more than one in five of those young men belonged to a church-member family. Of those who did, however, one lad in five was Catholic. The data set is not large and one must use caution in interpreting results. The predominant group here, as in virtually all aspects of Parkhead life, was beyond the reach of organised religion. How can one respond to Professor Melling’s charge when only fourteen of the seventy-six apprentices in Parkhead were members of families connected to any church in the district? Perhaps the best way to interpret this fragmentary data is, as shown in Table 4, to measure the number of apprentices from Catholic and Protestant church-member families against young men of similar ages in those churches and in the community as a whole.

Configured in this fashion it becomes apparent that in Parkhead in 1881 the rate of Catholic lads who were apprenticed was below the rate of the population in general, 6.5 percent as opposed to...
10.1 percent. One also notes that the rate of Protestants in apprenticeships was twice that of Catholics, seeming to confirm Professor Melling’s allegations. The data, however, are not compelling: with small numbers, it can only suggest discrimination in admission to trades. Even then, the comparative advantage of Protestants does not greatly exceed that of the community as a whole. Thus, while one might identify disadvantages for Catholic lads, one sees in the selection for apprenticeship training no significant advantage to being a member of a Protestant family over a family with no church connection.  

What of tradesmen? These men comprised an interesting sub-set in the data relating to Parkhead’s manual workers. In their ranks were more than just heads of households: tradesmen in the district were young unmarried men, middle-aged males, both married and single, and widowers. Parkhead tradesmen represented a continuum of the ‘respectable’ working-class. With better earning power and somewhat greater security of employment, tradesmen were viewed as a privileged group. Who were these men and did their position in any way turn on religious characteristics? In 1881 a total of 373 Parkhead males had passed through strenuous apprenticeship programmes and had achieved standing in their trades. In keeping with the prevailing nature of the district, the largest proportion of tradesmen in Parkhead, 265 of 373, had no affiliation with any church. However, three tradesmen in ten were church members, a significantly higher rate of religious participation than found in the district’s population in general. Importantly, twenty-six Catholics were found among Church-member tradesmen.

When one considers tradesmen as a percentage of males twenty-one years or older within their own churches and in the community at large, as displayed in Table 6, a stark image of sectarian advantage emerges. At St. Michael’s in April of 1881 fifteen percent of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Apprentices</th>
<th>Lads 14-20</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Churches</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Churches</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Parkhead</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
adult male members were tradesmen but in the Protestant churches of Parkhead one third of all adult male members were fully finished tradesmen. It becomes exceedingly difficult to deny religious discrimination in Parkhead when one observes that Protestants became tradesmen at twice the rate of Catholics. Significantly, the data also demonstrate that being a member of a Protestant church in Parkhead in the spring of 1881 appeared to provide a substantial advantage not only over Catholics but over all other male adults in the community, a pattern first detected in Protestant housing. The data leads one to conclude that there was, in fact, significant comparative advantage to being a Protestant church member and point to sectarianism in the trades as in other facets of life in Parkhead.

Other aspects of behaviour, however, must also be considered. One could question, for instance, whether non-Catholic tradesmen achieved their status at such a rate because they were members of Protestant churches or whether they became members of Protestant churches because they had become tradesmen. The former might signify religious discrimination; the latter could indicate a ready adoption of church membership by non-Catholic tradesmen in order to exploit perceived benefits arising from that connection. While such considerations might account for minor variations in numbers it seems unlikely as an explanation of a major disparity such as was evident in Parkhead in April 1881. There the data
indicate that among church members Protestants had a signifi-
cance presence in the trades and that they became tradesmen at
twice the rate of all other males in the community. One concludes
that in all likelihood such accelerated attainment occurred in
families who had made a particular profession of faith. Protestant
church members, a minority group in Parkhead, exerted great
influence in the district’s trades and there is evidence that their
influence extended to other elements of life in the community.

Elders and Deacons: Seeking Out Sin

Those who governed the Protestant churches in Parkhead exer-
cised great power over members; failure to adhere to their
conception of social behaviour resulted in sanctions and there was
no punishment more severe in any congregation than denying a
member access to sacraments. Kirk Session and Court of
Deacons’ minutes provide a catalogue of activities that concerned
the leaders and distressed their community of believers. A major
theme running throughout the records of all churches in Parkhead
was concern about premarital sexual relations and clergy and laity
confronted those who violated their concept of acceptable behav-
iour. Although it is difficult to quantify the level of pre-marital
intercourse in Parkhead the records paint it as an issue of some
substance and a troubling matter for those who led local churches.

Professor T. C. Smout addressed this aspect of sexual behaviour
in an article three decades ago. In it he propounded the thesis that
premarital sexual relations were, if anything, less prevalent in
Scottish cities than in the countryside. He pointed out that in
towns the working-class morality was probably more heteroge-
neous than in the country but he did detect vestiges of country
morality among those who were new urban residents: ‘Some took
the tone of their behaviour from the rural areas from which they
had immigrated – and in the case of the Irish this could place a
high premium on female chastity, in the case of the north-eastern
Lowlanders, rather a low one.’ He concluded that it was
extremely difficult to discover what he termed any proletarian
norm of urban society. This was, in his view, ‘probably because
there was not one, but many.’

Despite such complexities, it is possible to determine a rate of
illegitimacy, a prime marker in any attempt to measure the extent
of premarital sexual relations in a community. Obviously not every unmarried female who had sexual intercourse with a male partner became pregnant and delivered a child but the rate of illegitimate births does give an indication of the scale of premarital relations. According to Professor Smout, the national average of illegitimate births in the decade 1860-1870 was 9.3 percent. This same rate of illegitimacy was recorded for Glasgow in the year 1871. Regrettably data for the city is not available for all years of that decade but one is able to trace the rate of illegitimate births in Glasgow in the next decade and within a segment of Parkhead’s population from 1878 to 1882.

Table 7: Summary of Births: Glasgow, Camlachie and St. Michael’s Parish Church, Parkhead

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Glasgow (N, %)</th>
<th>Camlachie (N, %)</th>
<th>St. Michael’s Church (N, %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legitimate</td>
<td>Illegitimate</td>
<td>Legitimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>90.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>17443</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>17659</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>19691</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>92.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54739</td>
<td>4476</td>
<td>92.4</td>
</tr>
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These data portray the scale of illegitimacy over a five year period in the only Catholic church in Parkhead. At St. Michael’s the number of illegitimate children subsequently baptised seemed quite small, thirty-five during that period. The rate of illegitimate births was lower in that congregation than in Glasgow in each year for which comparative data are available and for two of the three years in Camlachie, the municipal district encompassing Parkhead. St. Michael’s was composed of Irish-led and Scottish-led families, with the former accounting for fifty-four percent of the total membership. The lower rate of illegitimacy in this congregation might support Professor Smout’s assertion about Irish chastity but the data in total seem to illustrate that in these years illegitimacy was a relatively minor feature of Glasgow’s social behaviour, hovering around seven to eight percent of all live births in the city. In fact, one observer noted that Glasgow’s illegitimacy rate during this period was inflated by an estimated 1.5 percent with unmarried women from smaller towns and villages seeking anonymity there during their pregnancies. But such discussions would have been dismissed as sophistry by the lay leaders of Parkhead’s Protestant churches. They were alarmed by
this behaviour and vigorously sought out pre-marital fornicators in their congregations.

Indications of illicit sexual relations among Protestants arise from two sources: applications for baptism and intervention by clergy and lay leaders in what they deemed improper conduct by members of their congregations. At each Protestant church in Parkhead parents were required to make application for baptism. Should Kirk Session or Deacons’ Court detect any irregularity, they denied permission. At Parkhead Parish Church official disapproval was most frequently expressed in refusing baptism to children conceived before their parents were married. At the October 1876 Kirk Session meeting the Elders indicated their disapproval: ‘Joseph Adamson also applied [to have his child baptised] but having acknowledged himself & his wife as being under Church Scandal, his case was deferred to the next meeting & the Elder of the district requested to converse with them.’ In February of 1878 ‘John Wilson and his wife applied but any decision on them was held over as they acknowledged being under Church Scandal.’ In April of 1883, the Session instituted a more formal procedure for dealing with such cases, charging the Minister and district Elder to investigate and recommend action. If, during this process, the parents expressed suitably penitent attitudes, Parkhead Parish authorities approved baptism.

At Tollcross United Presbyterian Church Elders seemed to deal regularly with what they termed ‘anti-nuptual fornication’. In January 1878 they received a report that Christina Brown, a female member ‘had been guilty of the sin of fornication’. For her moral failure she was suspended from membership. Two months later the same woman was again summoned. Having married the father of her illegitimate child by this time, both parents were required to appear before the merchants, managers and tradesmen who composed the Kirk Session. Confessing to ‘antinuptual fornication’, they were admonished by the Minister and readmitted to membership on probation.

The Deacons of Parkhead Congregational Church seemed equally aggressive in the hunt for deviant behaviour. At their July 1878 meeting one of the Deacons alerted his colleagues to sin in the congregation: ‘Mr. Roberton called the attention of the Deacons to the report that was being circulated viz. that
Mr. Alexander Houston had had a child born within 8 months. The reports were very unpleasant & he thought a deputation should be appointed from this meeting to visit to enquire into the whole matter.’ Towards the end of the month that report was received: the father admitted his sin and accepted whatever judgement the church authorities felt appropriate. The Deacons referred the case to the congregation for decision. Thus, any members who had not yet heard the rumours concerning the Houstons would be apprised of them at a full meeting of the Church.29

The Kirk Session at Parkhead United Presbyterian Church was also vigilant in its search for those in the congregation who violated the prescribed moral code. James Hamilton, a Gray Street merchant, brought troubling rumours to his colleagues at their 17 June 1884 meeting. According to Hamilton, a female member had given birth to an illegitimate child. Shocked, the Elders began an investigation. The young woman confessed her error, explaining that her attempt to cover up her pregnancy was ‘to spare the feeling of her family.’ A counselling session was recommended and four months after the matter had first come to their attention, the Elders finally disposed of the case: ‘Miss McNichol was introduced to express her sorrow for the sin she had committed. After suitable advice from the Moderator in regard to her future well being she was received into the fellowship of the Church with the right hand of fellowship by the Session.’30

Like their colleagues at Parkhead United Presbyterian Church and at the Congregational Church, the Elders at Tollcross seemed to immerse themselves directly in investigating and judging the moral rectitude of their members. The minutes illustrated the prevailing strategy at this Tollcross church: ‘Appeared Jessie McLean & having confessed to the sin of antenuptial fornication her case was left in the hands of the Moderator & she was instructed to appear at the next ordinary meeting of Session.’ The ritual at Tollcross replicated that at Parkhead United Presbyterian: personal appearance, debasement, counselling, judgement and confession. In the case of Jessie McLean, Mr. Auld, the Minister, reported that she seemed penitent and she was again brought before the Elders where she was ‘dealt with in the usual manner.’31 The final stage in a successful intervention was, in the words of the Church Minutes, the extension of the right hand of fellowship to the redeemed sinner. Church leaders had done
In this the churches seemed remarkably consistent, judging all matter of moral failings. Church members in Parkhead who were charged with criminal offences, like those who practiced antenuptial fornication, were subject to church tribunals. In three cases of ‘white-collar’ crime, local church authorities pronounced judgements upon the members who had committed fraud, decisions that called the communicants to account but, recognising human frailties, forgave them after admonishment. The merchants, managers and tradesmen who comprised the church tribunals in Parkhead judged all faltering members but frequently displayed compassion for those sinners who acknowledged their guilt and expressed remorse, restoring to fellowship equally parents whose children had been born inconveniently early, criminals who had abused positions of trust and, as will be demonstrated, members who indulged in drink.

‘The Savage Hospitality of the Scotch’ and the Churches of Parkhead

Evidence of alcoholic consumption abounded in Parkhead in these years, in its many dismal bars, in its numerous off-license shops and on its streets where drunkards argued loudly and sometimes fought as they swayed their way home. In Scotland, according to one critic, ‘Drinking customs and habits were so universal that they accompanied almost every individual from the cradle to the grave’ and led to what had been termed ‘the savage hospitality of the Scotch.’ Records of Kirk Sessions and the Deacons’ Court in Parkhead confirm that church members were victims of that ‘hospitality’ and portray vigorous efforts to combat drunkenness. Although the churches were only one cohort in the crusade against drink, in Parkhead they were consistent in proclaiming abstinence the preferred Christian life style.

Members of the Congregational Church there seemed to be part of a very close community of Christians, united by a publicly acknowledged bond. Like Jane Kirkwood, Marion Haddow and Janet Robertson who ‘had each seen clearly Christ as their Saviour & they were not ashamed to show their attachment to
him’, all applicants confessed to having made Jesus Christ their personal Saviour before being admitted to membership. Drink remained a problem even among these people and the Deacons took their stewardship roles seriously. They were concerned about the individual saint but also about public perceptions of their congregation. In July 1875 the minutes noted a commitment to act in defence of both: ‘Mr. Bryden as a member of this Church who ought also to be visited, in consequence of him partaking to [sic] freely of Drink & thereby causing people both inside and outside the Church to speak of his conduct.’

Intemperance was the most public of vices in Parkhead, inviting the attention of neighbours and Deacons alike. In July 1879 a Deacon witnessed a member making his way along a district street intoxicated. The incident was duly reported to the Deacons’ Court and two members were instructed to visit the offender and report back. The Pastor, also enlisted to counsel the delinquent, reported that the man greatly regretted his conduct. The Court agreed that the drunkard should be forgiven and be invited ‘to take his place at the Communion Table’

It was not only rank and file members who were summoned before church authorities to explain their behaviour. Allegations of intemperance were levelled at Walter McCann, an Elder at Tollcross United Presbyterian Church in April of 1877. The Kirk Session agreed that he should be suspended from office and from the Church while his behaviour was investigated. In May the authorities decided to maintain their watch on Mr. McCann, ‘to observe whether he carries out the promises he has made.’ He remained in this state of limbo until October when the Session agreed to readmit him to the Church but not to his office. Clearly McCann was incapable of maintaining his sobriety, for eleven months after the original complaint had been laid, the Session cut him off: ‘In view of the spiritual interests of the congregation’ they deposed him from office ‘with very deep pain and regret.’ The Elders concluded their decision by commending ‘their brother to the grace of God, and earnestly hope that he may be privileged to occupy a position of Christian usefulness in another though less conspicuous sphere.’

The treatment of one of the Deacons at Parkhead Congregational Church was less formal and perhaps more understanding of
human frailty. Mr. McCallum’s sin was witnessed and reported by
John Graham, Minister and fellow member of the Deacons’
Court: ‘The pastor referred to Mr. McCallum having been seen
the worse of drink & explained the whole circumstances of the
case.’ The records are mute on the reasons that led McCallum to
fall victim but the Court obviously had an understanding of some
compelling personal conditions and these influenced their judg-
ment. ‘Messrs A. S. Barr, Roberton & Henderson corroborated
Mr. Graham’s statements & sympathise with Mr. McCallum . . .
The Deacons express their sympathy with Mr. McCallum &
request him to take his place as usual at the Deacon’s meeting.’

Two Parkhead churches went beyond judgement and, in some
cases, forgiveness of member intoxication; they considered the
formation of their own temperance societies. Alexander Rattray
and the Kirk Session at Parkhead Parish Church spent consider-
able time at their meeting on 29 September 1879 discussing the
problems associated with drink in their congregation. The impetus
for this debate came from a deputation they had received that
evening who suggested the creation of a congregational temper-
ance society. The Session unanimously endorsed the proposal and
ordered ‘that a meeting of the congregation be called on
Wednesday 2nd October to meet in the church for the purpose of
electing a committee to draw out rules for the Association to be
called – Parkhead Parish Church Temperance and Mutual
Improvement Society.’ That a congregational meeting was
summoned so quickly signalled the Session’s recognition of the
importance of such a body to their community.

Church members endorsed the concept and the society was
created. Yet within nine months it became clear that relations had
been shattered between the temperance organisation and the
Session. Thomas Hargrave of 29 Gray’s Lane, Secretary of the
church’s temperance society, respectfully complained of his group
being prohibited from using the Church or Vestry, free of charge,
for their meetings. As a sign of his executive’s frustration or
perhaps as an attempt to pressure Session, Hargrave added: ‘If the
same be not granted on the above conditions they intend severing
their connection altogether and meet somewhere else.’ The
Session would not be bullied. With only the Minister and two
other members of Session present, they refused any further
discussion and effectively terminated the society. Subsequent to
that May meeting, there was no further reference in the Session’s Minute Book to the Parkhead Parish Church Temperance and Mutual Improvement Society.

Relations between other local churches and temperance organisations were less prickly than at ‘Rattray’s Church’, as the Established Kirk was known in Parkhead. The Good Templars, a national temperance society with a local lodge, had a cordial relationship with Parkhead United Presbyterian Church, having the use of the church to celebrate its first anniversary. Two years later the same organisation applied for and received approval to hold another service.41 A similarly warm relationship existed between the Good Templars and Parkhead Congregational Church, although the Court of Deacons there flirted briefly with the idea of forming their own ‘total abstinence society’.42

To church authorities, support of abstinence was not just to encourage an end to drinking among members; evil in itself, this failing was believed to lead to other sins. The Catholic Total Abstinence League of the Cross, promoted by the clergy of St. Michael’s in Parkhead, counselled its members in an 1890 publication about the iniquities that flowed from drunkenness: ‘Is it not true,’ challenged its handbook, ‘that most of the more flagrant sins committed by Catholics, especially among the poorer classes . . . proceed from drink? Drink is the cause of crime, of madness, of ruined reputations, of strife, of murder.’43

Not only Catholics were convinced of this linkage; Protestants in Parkhead also saw drunkenness as the beginning of a member’s troubles, striking at the heart of the Christian community, resulting in marriage breakdown and spousal abuse. In these cases, the Deacons of the Parkhead Congregational Church exhibited an understanding and compassion for the real victim of drunkenness, the spouse. Two Deacons, visiting an applicant for church membership in June of 1875, touched on the subject of her marital status: ‘put a few questions for their own satisfaction with reference to her separation from her husband. She stated she had left her husband on account of his drinking habits. She desired to worship god in peace and therefore she left him.’ This report provoked discussion among the Deacons and sympathy for the woman in at least one member of the Court: ‘Mr. John Barr said she was justified in leaving him as he was a fractious wretch.’44
A year later Deacons were again visiting prospective members and discovered what they believed to be a case of drunkenness leading to spousal abuse. Having met with the couple together, the two visitors resolved to interview the wife alone. At this meeting their suspicions were confirmed: ‘She said it would be a great shame for her husband in the meantime becoming connected to any Christian Church - his habits was [sic] quite the opposite to Christianity as he was both intemperate and abusive.’ Despite warnings and their own caution, the husband, James Stevenson, was subsequently admitted to church membership, even becoming a member of the Choir. It seems clear that after an extended period as an abstainer, he again fell into his old ways. In December 1882 the Pastor led discussion of the case in the Court. According to Mr. Graham, Stevenson ‘had of late abused her & his moral conduct was not such as justified this Court in allowing him to sit in the Choir.’ One of the Deacons intervened, arguing that to expel Stephenson would only redound on his wife. The Court agreed and no action was taken. Three months later John Graham reintroduced the Stevenson case. He had visited Mrs. Stevenson and, based on her account, he recommended that her husband be expelled from the Choir. The Deacons ‘agreed that a letter be sent to Mr. Stevenson by the Secretary stating that a member of the Church & congregation had been annoyed at his appearance in the Choir loft. After what they had heard regarding his treatment to his wife we painfully request him not to take part in future in the Choir.’ Strangely, the man was not suspended or expelled from church membership.

Concern about prevalence of drink in Parkhead was not restricted to churches. It had been a national crusade for more than four decades before the topic became so important to the governing bodies of the district’s congregations. As early as 1830, less than one year after the formation of temperance societies in Greenock and Maryhill, William Collins, the Glasgow printer published his temperance newspaper, *The Temperance Society Record*. Probably one of the most significant temperance organisations in the United Kingdom, the Independent Order of Rechabites (Salford Unity) Temperance Friendly Society, first appeared in Scotland in January 1838 in Dumfries, with a second ‘Tent’, as local chapters were known, opened in Edinburgh in December of that year. The Hope Tent, the first Glasgow chapter, opened shortly thereafter. The Rechabites struck their
colours early: like most temperance societies, they did not preach temperance but total abstinence from all intoxicating drink.\textsuperscript{48}

There was no Rechabite Tent in Parkhead although David Willox reported that at least one resident was a member of a nearby chapter.\textsuperscript{49} Willox, himself, was a member of the Sons of Scotland Temperance Friendly Society which had been organised in 1866 and had attracted a following in Parkhead. His diary makes frequent references to attendance at meetings of the ‘Sons’ until in early 1876 he told William Robb, the Parkhead United Presbyterian Elder and fellow member of the ‘Sons’ that he no longer wished to belong. ‘Although I did not drink myself,’ he told the carting contractor, his resignation ‘was because I could not consistently carry out the principles of total abstinence to their very letter that I had resolved to give them up.’ His explanation to William Robb not only strained credibility, it was at variance with an earlier entry in his diary that recorded a disagreement with a friend and fellow member as his reason for leaving the order: ‘It was but a trifling thing altogether, and is not worthy of one moment’s thought, only it shows how trifling even the best of friends fall out at times. I think I shall write out my resignation, and sever my connection with the ‘Sons’ altogether.’\textsuperscript{50}

There were other Parkhead residents who subscribed to the temperance movement, most of whom became associated with the Order of Good Templars, an off-shoot of the Sons of Temperance. The first Good Templars Lodge, aptly named Scotland’s First, opened in August 1869. According to Elspeth King, at a time when the temperance movement had lost momentum this new order ‘had an immediate and evangelical appeal; its uncompromising prohibitionist aims, its firm stance on the communion wine question, its admission of women on equal terms with men and its extensive provisions for juvenile lodges and education served to give it unprecedented popularity.’\textsuperscript{51} Good Templary seemed to exert great appeal in Glasgow’s East End. No records remain to chart the size of its membership but judging by the sequential numbering system that identified each lodge the movement appeared to grow quickly: the Star of the East Lodge, number 18, opened in Camlachie on 7 July 1870 and number 20, the Guiding Star Lodge of Parkhead followed three days later. Within a month Lodge number 96, Shettleston’s Hope was in operation.\textsuperscript{52} David Kirkwood, shop steward, Member of Parliament
and subsequently Baron Kirkwood of Bearsden, was a member of the Guiding Star, first of its juvenile section and later the adult lodge. Neither organisation seemed sombre or dour. Kirkwood recalled them fondly long after he had left Parkhead: ‘The company was good. Youths and maidens met together for ritual and for instruction and amusement. We had a dance every Saturday night.’

In the crusade against drink it may be argued that churches in Scotland followed a public trend, appropriating it and trying to make it their own. The Church of Scotland remained suspicious of lay-led temperance organisations and encouraged church-led groups. In November 1877 the Moderator of the General Assembly told a Glasgow meeting of the Church’s temperance group of his belief that the Gospel of Christ was the sovereign cure for any malady, including intemperance. Speaking at the same public meeting, Professor Lee of Glasgow University supported Dr. Phinn’s views, seeing the gospel as ‘the only true and effective remedy.’ Unlike the Established Kirk, the Catholic Church in Scotland was into the fray much earlier. Only a dozen years after the appearance of the temperance movement in Scotland it committed itself to the crusade against drink, forming the St. Andrew’s West of Scotland Total Abstinence and Friendly Society. Its members’ pledge was uncompromising: ‘I promise, with divine assistance, to abstain from all intoxicating liquors except used medicinally, so long as I continue a member of the Total Abstinence Society and to discontinue, by advice and example, the crime of drunkenness in others.’ Regrettably, no membership records of this group remain; thus, one is not able to chart its growth, duration or influence among Glasgow’s Catholics.

Despite the appearance of an Irish temperance group, the Father Matthew Total Abstinence Society, at Bridgeton’s Sacred Heart Church in 1877, there seem few traces of any continuing Catholic attack on drunkenness in the city until the League of the Cross appeared in Glasgow in the final decades of the century. Uniting both clergy and laity ‘in a Holy Warfare against Intemperance’, the League’s sponsors conceived the organisation as an attempt to raise ‘the religious, social and domestic state of our Catholic people, especially the working classes.’ Archbishop Eyre had become much impressed with the work of the League in
England. Perhaps viewing it as preferable to any Irish organisation, he urged the League upon clergy and laity in Glasgow. Late in arriving in Scotland, Tom Gallagher has suggested the late 1880s, its membership was restricted to Catholics and the organisation seemed an attempt to rescue church members not only from drink but from association with their neighbours in existing Protestant-dominated temperance orders.58

How does one assess the impact of temperance organisations on behaviour in Glasgow’s East End? Records documenting the number of members in Scotland simply do not exist. The temperance idea did, however, become an ecumenical phenomenon, supported by all churches in Parkhead. Not only did they urge abstinence upon their members as the Christian way of life, they disciplined those who failed to honour that recommendation. Their success seemed limited, however, even among church members and the busy trade at the twenty-two licensed wine and spirits outlets in Parkhead suggests they had also failed to convince members of the broad community of the virtues of temperance.

**Struggling to Build and Maintain Churches in Parkhead**

To their members, churches provided great comfort and wrapped them in a community of believers. This security was not, however, without cost, for churches were expensive to build and operate. In the East End they were financed to a large extent by the people whom they served although the Church Extension Movement and the Elders’ Association of the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Union contributed towards church construction in Parkhead.59 The generosity of private trusts like the Ferguson Fund, established to assist Protestant churches with capital and operating support, and the commitment of individuals outside the community supplemented fund-raising efforts of local people.

Two modes of church financing can be detected in Parkhead. At Parkhead United Presbyterian Church the Building Committee was led by merchants and managers of the congregation. Its composition differed from other committees that directed church affairs, however, for it included two women, Miss Margaret Reid and Miss Ellen Anderson.60 The committee’s plan for the church
was ambitious; it was to seat 760 people on the main floor and in a gallery at a cost of slightly less than £4,000. As a sign of their commitment the members of the Building Committee pledged £169.12/- at its inaugural meeting in December 1875. Of the £4,000 local church managers estimated £800 would be raised by the congregation. They also estimated rashly that an additional £1,600 could be raised through bazaars and sales. The remainder of the money was to come from the United Presbyterian Church Planting Fund (£1,250) and the Ferguson Fund (£350).

The Deacons and Managers of Parkhead Congregational Church, the Protestant church in the district with the least connection to local merchants and managers, were even more ambitious. According to a November 1880 report the total cost for the recently completed structure had amounted to £4,939, fully £1,000 more than expended by the United Presbyterians along the street. Whereas various bodies within that organisation had contributed substantial amounts to the building, the Congregational Union had pledged a mere £300 and the Chapel Building Society had committed an equal amount. A loan of £600 had been arranged for the purchase of the land and, as Pastor John Graham reported: ‘An agreement had been come to between 6 Gentlemen & the Union Bank of Scotland whereby they were enabled to get £1,500 on personal security for our new Church.’ In order to construct the church, the congregation was indebted for an extraordinary amount, £4,339 in total. Rev. John Graham and the congregation struggled with this debt for twenty-one years, finally discharging it in 1901.

The daily operation of Parkhead’s churches was also fraught with financial difficulties. Although national church authorities encouraged the establishment of new congregations they did not endow them with operating funds. These new churches had only two sources of revenue: Seat Rents, the money paid by members for the privilege of having a reserved seat in the church, and Door Collections, money normally gathered quarterly as members entered the church. Protestant and Catholic churches alike wrestled with the issue of charging members to sit in the sanctuary. Many believed Seat Rents inhibited attendance among the poorer members of the community and acted as a brake upon expansion of the churches’ work. Whether these fees adversely affected recruitment in working-class areas like Parkhead remains unclear.
but David Kirkwood certainly believed they had an impact. ‘It was unusual in my young days for those of the labouring class to go to church,’ he wrote. ‘The church was regarded by them as a place for the ‘weel aff folk wi’ guid claës’.’ It was these comparatively well-off people in Parkhead who paid to have their names at the end of a pew, indicating their seats in the sanctuary.

As early as 1855 there had been a desire among English Catholics to eliminate all fees associated with church-going, hoping that this would encourage attendance particularly among the Irish of London’s East End. Although Cardinal Wiseman had endorsed the idea, he and other Catholic leaders worried how alternative funds could be found to replace Seat Rents. Like his English colleagues, Archbishop Eyre in Glasgow faced the same financial constraints and Seat Rents remained part of the religious environment of Catholic churches in the city.

As Catholics struggled to find ways to encourage poor folk to attend mass, Norman MacLeod began holding evening Sabbath services in Glasgow for working people only. Inducted as Minister of the Barony Church in July of 1851 MacLeod recognised early that his sprawling parish that in those days included Parkhead could not be served through normal means. In March of 1857 he implemented his plan of having services where none but the poor might attend. ‘Guid claës’ were not required; in fact, anyone dressed in such attire was turned away by Elders who stood at the doors, inspecting the congregation as it entered the church. According to MacLeod’s brother, ‘the pews were filled with men in their fustian jackets and with poor women, bareheaded, or with an old shawl drawn over the head, and dressed most of them in a short-gown and petticoat.’ These evening services filled the church with people and did much to enhance Norman MacLeod’s reputation among the working-class of East End Glasgow. Innovative approaches might have attracted some of Glasgow’s poor to evening services but in reality they were failures: they neither recruited large numbers of new members to invigorate the church among the working-class nor did they provide an alternative to the basic ecclesiastical funding mechanism.

At the first Business Meeting of Parkhead United Presbyterian Church, a meeting open to all in the congregation, Seat
Rents were discussed. The members, gathered at the Parkhead Public Hall in March of 1873, adopted recommendations from its Kirk Session that seats be let for periods of six months at a cost of 6 shillings and 8 shillings. This was not an insubstantial amount; in Parkhead, the lower charge represented a labourer’s wages for about eighteen hours or one-third of his working week. Similarly, 8 shillings represented approximately one-third of a tradesman’s weekly wage packet. Six months later the Session amended the rule and established a tri-level policy of 4, 6 and 8 shillings.71

Congregations in Parkhead democratically adopted Seat Rents but it remained difficult to collect them. In June of 1882 the lay leaders at Tollcross United Presbyterian Church were so frustrated with members failing to pay that they authorised the Minister to inform the congregation ‘on as many successive Sabbaths as may be thought necessary’ of the church’s fiscal requirements, ‘making it a matter of conscience to pay without delay.’72 In the wake of the depression that affected Glasgow so harshly in the last half of the 1870s Parkhead United Presbyterian Church Session waived Seat Rents for members in need. Five years later, however, the final entry in the first volume of its Session Minutes returned to the subject with a notation lamenting declining revenues from Seat Rents.73

Whilst church revenues rose and fell with economic conditions in Glasgow and the enthusiasm of members, it is possible to evaluate the revenue stream of three of the five churches in the district. In November 1882, for instance, Parkhead Parish Church reported an annual income of £385. Parkhead United Presbyterian Church recorded revenue for that same year of £296 whilst at the Congregational Church the combined annual income from collections and Seat Rents was £178. Although the accounting methods and income classifications varied it seems clear that Seat Rents contributed approximately forty percent of each of the churches’ total revenues. Thus almost thirty years after Cardinal Wiseman had worried about the impact of Seat Rents on the health of his Church, they remained necessary to the financial stability of the various denominations in Parkhead and in much of urban Scotland.

Churches in Parkhead could not be called self-financing during these years. It was the timely intervention of the Elders’ Association
and the Ferguson Fund that often insured a financial balance was achieved. But it was not these external resources alone that propped up church finances. The major component of a church’s annual expenditure was its Minister’s salary and the Kirk Session, Managers or Deacons frequently used this expenditure as a convenient method of balancing the budget. They simply paid the Minister whatever they felt they could afford, despite any commitment to a specified stipend. Rev. William Young began work at Parkhead United Presbyterian Church in 1873 at a salary of £300. Seven years later, although his salary remained the same, he was paid only £226. A realistic man, Young recognised that his congregation was particularly hard-pressed that year. Despite his accommodating attitude his salary did not regain its original level during the decade. At a special meeting of Managers and Elders held on March 31, 1885 it was reported that a cumulative total of £190 salary was owed to Mr. Young over the past five years. The Minister again indicated that he did not wish to press for payment but felt the debt to him could not simply be eliminated. He was hopeful ‘some action might soon be taken by the Synod or Presbytery to meet the care of congregations in circumstances like ours and he thought that in the event of any such arrangement he had a right to be included in the same.’

At Parkhead Congregational Church a similar approach was employed in the disbursement of John Graham’s salary. At a November 1883 meeting the Deacons worried about their looming financial deficit, particularly in light of the Ferguson Fund’s decision to discontinue its operating grant. In response to this action the Deacons resolved ‘they could not in the mean time see their way to continue Mr. Graham’s salary in future to £200.’ Any reduction in grant would be translated into a drop in ministerial salary: ‘As we had been reduced £15, our pastor’s salary would in future be £15 less,’ they noted. There is no doubt that John Graham was as understanding of his church’s problems as William Young but Graham was offended that the decision to reduce his salary had been taken when only five Deacons were present and he chastised them sharply at their next meeting. Like his colleague further along Westmuir Street Mr. Graham was prepared to accept the reduction but, he noted, ‘considering the smallness of the meeting he thought it his duty to make those remarks.’

It appears that the Congregational Union, the church’s central
coordinating body, was as displeased with the Deacons’ actions as Mr. Graham had been. At a Deacons’ meeting five months after the sharp exchange of views between Pastor and Deacons, an elliptical note in the Church Minutes indicated that critical comments had been made by the Union about their conduct. They remained determined, however, to manage the church’s deficit at the expense of the Minister’s salary. They were not alone; all churches in Parkhead faced financial problems. These matters required constant attention, indicating memberships neither wealthy enough nor large enough to provide financial stability.

**Churches, Missions and Missionaries: The Failure to Convert Parkhead**

Churches in Parkhead challenged their members, calling for financial sacrifice, abstinence from pre-marital sexual activity, avoidance of alcohol and commitment to Christian values. This seemed a life-style of limited attraction in the district, drawing only one family in six in the spring of 1881. These April numbers were not anomalous: church documents demonstrate no significant alteration to congregational sizes occurred during the course of that decade. The district’s churches were well aware of their failure to reach out to the community, and none more than the Catholic Church.

Concerned about lack of penetration among the swelling numbers of urban dwellers, Catholic clergy enlisted the support of missionary orders to recapture presumed Catholics beyond the Church. Glasgow had been a battle ground between disinterest and Catholic revivalists for almost three decades. Beginning in 1853, the Rosminians or Fathers of Charity held a mission at St. Mungo’s in the East End and later in that year three of their members led a three week mission at St. Mary’s in the city. In 1870 the Passionists, an order that employed religious retreats as the focus of their missionary work, used Dalbeth Industrial School as a base to work among the people of the East End. Over the next decade, Redemptorist Fathers and Jesuits laboured to invigorate Catholicism in the city, confirming children, hearing confessions, and in the words of Bernard Aspinwall, bringing adults to the ordinances of the Church. One can certainly see the construction of St. Michael’s in 1876 as part of this strategy of encouraging Catholicism among people in the East End. From its
foundation Father Kerr and his curate, Father Cunningham had worked to establish a more dynamic connection between St. Michael’s and the local population. By 1881 that church might have best reflected the community in which it was located but, like Protestant churches in the district, it was not a church triumphant.

Catholics were not alone in bringing missionaries to the East End. Parkhead Parish Church deployed its own men on the streets of the district in the mid-1870s, withdrawing them only with the establishment of two new Protestant churches in Parkhead. Putting the best face on the situation, Parish officials noted at the end of 1876: ‘Taking into consideration the circumstances that the wants of the Mission District have been very much overtaken by two new Churches recently erected in the near vicinity & that one of them is about to be erected permanently in the District itself, the Session deem it inefficient to carry on the work begun this year especially as the attendance had latterly very much fallen off.’ Either to convince themselves or the Glasgow Presbytery of their firm intentions, the Elders stressed the temporary nature of this withdrawal: ‘The Session however contemplates at no distant date resuming missionary operations in another district of the Parish & only delay doing so owing to the want of suitable meeting premises.’ Perhaps the resolve of the Kirk Session was strong in 1876 but its Minutes for the remainder of that decade and the next contained no further reference to the resumption of any missionary activity.

At one of the institutions that had precipitated the Established Kirk’s retreat, Deacons of the Parkhead Congregational Church were concerned that their ministry had become too restricted in its reach. In an attempt to attract those who walked past the church, they established a Mission on Westmuir Street in 1878, utilising an unoccupied house. For almost four years that Mission was open to any who walked along the street. Responding to their financial limitations, the Deacons closed the Mission building in the winter of 1882 and relocated the work to the Vestry. This was a strategy doomed to fail, destroying the concept of being in the midst of the community and available to those who would not enter any church.

Other Parkhead Protestants worried about their member
numbers and concern about the failure to attract people into organised religion seemed widespread among Protestant denominations. In February of 1882, for instance, the Kirk Session at Tollcross considered a questionnaire from the Elders’ Association seeking information on the decline of membership in the United Presbyterian Church. Three weeks later authorities at Parkhead United Presbyterian discussed the same communication ‘regarding the decrease in membership of the United Presbyterian Church.’

The Established Kirk was also aware of its waning influence among city dwellers. In November 1884 the members of Session at Parkhead Parish Church considered a request for information from the Glasgow Presbytery. In response to questions relating to the Church’s failure to reach out to the community, Alexander Rattray and his Elders admitted their failure in Parkhead. ‘It cannot be doubted that great numbers of young people & more especially young men are not in connection with any church,’ they asserted. To Rattray, the reason was obvious: ‘There is but one explanation of this want of Church Connection, viz. a lessening interest in spiritual matters on the part of the youthful population.’ These young people, ‘drafted into the city from the country in immense numbers,’ he advised Presbytery, lived in lodgings ‘without Christian guidance or moral support from their surroundings’. Consequently, ‘they simply lapse away.’ Firm action was required if these young urban residents were to be brought under the influence of the Church. ‘Ministers should seek to get hold of & keep hold of the youth of their parish in any ways which will vary with circumstances.’ Rattray’s enthusiasm was admirable but his logic was faulty: it was not just new arrivals or young people who were beyond organised religion: Parkhead society in general seemed unredeemed. His solution, however, appeared serviceable at the time: he demanded vigorous action and regulation to minimise distractions.

Despite the church’s best intentions, it seemed incapable of extending its reach into the urban population. In January of 1888 Mr. Rattray and his Elders again faced questions about their inability to attract members. Many of the same solutions were put forward, this time to questions drafted by the General Assembly’s Committee on Life and Work. There was, Rattray maintained, a decline in interest in spiritual matters and he referred to ‘an influx of families and young people, who coming unprovided with any
introduction to City ministers gradually cease from church attendance.’ This was the same problem he had identified almost four years earlier. He had also complained then of competing Sabbath meetings and organisations that deflected people from the church. In the winter of 1888, however, he was more forceful in his criticism: ‘The church herself is to blame in this, as his [sic] policy has been & is still to encourage all kinds of meetings conducted by clergymen.’

Churches in Scotland recognised they were failing to attract urban dwellers and the United Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland sought advice from their congregations on how to reverse that trend. All churches in Parkhead knew they were having limited impact in their community and had adopted strategies they hoped would alter this situation. Central to those strategies were missions and missionaries, none of which seemed successful in Parkhead. In that work they were even challenged on their home ground by denominations lacking a physical presence in the community but who put missionaries on the streets of the district, most notably the Methodists and the Salvation Army. In the summer of 1886 Pastor John Graham spoke warmly of some Parkhead Salvationists who bore testimony at a meeting sponsored by the Salvation Army at the Waterloo Rooms in central Glasgow. A decade later Tom Bell encountered local members of the Army who worked at Iron-Brew in Parkhead, the facility that produced the popular carbonated drink. ‘There were three Salvation Army lassies who worked at the wash tubs,’ he recalled. ‘They were keen propagandists and often engaged me in discussion.’

If the Army’s later efforts seemed to have had some appeal, it is questionable whether it was, in the end, any more successful in bringing significant numbers of Parkhead residents to religion. Churches seemed ill-equipped to attract an urban population to organised worship; they seemed better fitted for regulating how these people could utilise their limited free time. To that end, churchmen did insure that Glasgow’s art galleries, museums and theatres remained closed on Sundays and in that effort the Parkhead Congregational Church enthusiastically participated. Pressure on regulators was effective, creating the stereotypical Glasgow Sunday, a day ‘dreary and profitless beyond words,’ according to a celebration of the city at the turn of the century. As Mr. Rattray had suggested, churches could exercise influence
over the secular establishment and minimise distractions on the Sabbath but they seemed unable to comprehend that a society had emerged in Scotland whose focus was no longer a Confession of Faith approved by the General Assembly of 1690. In this evolving secular environment, neither clergy nor laymen could induce the majority of Parkhead’s people to pass through the doors of local kirk.

Temperance organisations seemed equally limited in their achievements. Despite the number of lodges in the community, there is no evidence to suggest that a tide of abstinence swept drinkers from the bars and streets of Parkhead. Like churchmen, temperance advocates relied on regulation to meet their organisational goals; and like churches, the temperance movement could mount effective pressure on politicians. Such efforts had previously shuttered licensed establishments on Sundays and forced them to close at 11pm on week-days. In 1887 temperance advocates organised a plebiscite in Glasgow to demonstrate the strength of their anti-drink crusade and to press for further restrictions on the sale of alcohol. Within four years the temperance movement seemed to have succeeded politically with the election of a majority of Glasgow Councillors committed to legislation limiting sale and consumption of spirits. The temperance movement, aided by clever organisation and effective communication programmes and assisted by the churches, seemed poised to achieve its goal, a Glasgow in which drink would be proscribed. Despite these impressive political achievements, temperance advocates had not reformed the drinker; they had succeeded only in making his or her life somewhat more complicated.

To the casual observer late nineteenth century Glasgow appeared to be a self-assured city where factories, ship yards and workshops marked the benefits of empire and progress. Its municipal councillors and officials had early embraced an activist role in providing services to the community: safe drinking water, enlightened building codes, slum clearance, clean and efficient tramways and widespread gas lighting. These measures, part of the aggressive municipal improvement agenda adopted by successive Councils, were symbols of a dynamic and confident society. There were, however, indications of another Glasgow, darker and menacing. Strategies of churchmen and temperance reformers reflected deep fears and anxieties about a turbulent urban environment.
where limits were not respected, where drink reached almost epidemic proportions and where moral decline was thought to be everywhere.

Middleclass reformers and their allies among the ‘respectable’ working-class believed the urban masses had become detached from the order that, in their view, must characterise civil society. Increasingly both church and temperance crusaders turned to regulation in place of their failed efforts to enlist people willingly in their causes. This desire to enforce order seemed symbolic of the anxieties reformers held about life in the crowded late nineteenth century city. Voluntarism had not made the city orderly; even members of the churches were in need of constant reproof about their sexual and social behaviour. If church members were succumbing to temptations, what of the majority of people who cared nothing for the churches’ message and never passed through their doors? Increasingly, therefore, regulation appeared to be the only method by which the brutish in society could be controlled.

Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey had seemed to offer a vision of a reformed Glasgow in February 1874 but it is questionable whether their mass meetings inaugurated a sustained period of spiritual renewal. Although the missionary crusade appeared to have tapped deep well-springs of religious fervour, its success derived from effective planning and vigorous execution, not spontaneity or moral regeneration. The events of 1874 were more an aberration than a beginning, a brief interlude when some people, even large numbers, publicly expressed yearnings to be associated with what Alexander Rattray had termed ‘spiritual matters’. Crowds certainly had gathered that winter to worship with the touring preachers. These congregations were vast, probably representing the bulk of the city’s searchers for salvation but comprising only a fraction of Glasgow’s surging population.

Parkhead did not reflect any broad commitment to organised religion; its working people were not, as one commentator has suggested of the urban working–class, the mainstay of vigorous church growth in the period. Based on member numbers and financial capabilities, the district’s Protestant churches were, in fact, fragile organisations, attracting only a few hundred members, struggling to meet expenses and beset by fears of
diminishing numbers. St. Michael’s was equally limited in its outreach, failing to involve large numbers of the area’s presumed Catholic families in its liturgy. Missions among the people of the district yielded only limited dividends for any brand of Christianity and the working-class men and women of Parkhead appeared impervious to the messages pressed upon them. In the midst of such failure, it seems incongruous to imagine a proletarian church when so few of Parkhead’s working-class joined those congregations, when the lay leadership was dominated by merchants and managers and when Protestant church membership seemed an instrument of sectarian preference.

Tradesmen, the apparent beneficiaries of this sectarianism, united with the commercial and managerial interests to direct the churches, determining rental rate for seats there, establishing clergy salaries, stipends of church caretakers, precentors and where they existed, harmonists. Merchants, managers and tradesmen gave the bourgeois hegemony concrete form in deciding who might be baptised, who under ‘Church Scandal’ would be named before the congregation, or who, after suitable admonishment, would be forgiven. Far from lending their churches a proletarian hue, the lay leadership ensured that churches were distinctly ‘respectable’ and middleclass. It was perhaps this very character that limited the churches’ appeal in Parkhead. Lay leaders could influence the behaviour of those who sat in the pews but without greater drawing power among the people of the East End, churches there could only project a bourgeois face to an overwhelmingly working-class community.

Not all was lost, however. Organised religion’s inability to move out beyond its core support did not signify defeat, for that tiny minority in Parkhead was not without influence. Working with others committed to recasting late nineteenth century Glasgow and attempting to recover some semblance of the vanished Scottish confessional society, Parkhead’s churchmen sought to reshape the lives of the district’s people. As a result men and women who remained disinterested in the churches’ message of salvation and who conducted their lives according to their own lights saw their activities increasingly circumscribed by a code of social conduct imposed upon them by an articulate, increasingly militant and politically astute minority.
Notes

1 There were two pervasive rumours about the Moody-Sankey tour of Great Britain: the first was that both men had grown rich from the sale of their hymn book, *Sacred Songs and Solos* and the second was the Barnum connection. William Moody, the evangelist’s son dealt with both charges: ‘On reaching Ireland it was rumoured that Mr. Moody was growing rich by the royalties from the hymn-books. This he publicly denied, together with other reports of a like character to the effect that P. T. Barnum, the great showman, was behind the whole movement.’ See William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York, Chicago & Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1900), p. 171.


3 Ibid., Wednesday 1 April 1874

4 Ibid., Monday 5 January 1874.

5 Records of the Camlachie Free Church do not contain names of members. See The Deacons’ Court Minute Book, 1856-1881 of the Camlachie Free Church, Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

6 The first Parkhead reference appears in December of 1869 with six members being admitted on trial, three received from other classes and three members ‘not on trial’. On 28 March 28 1870 the Parkhead group consisted of three members on trial and three regular members. The last reference to a Parkhead class appears in September of 1870, showing no members. In the mid-1870s two members were noted in the Shettleston class but within two years it, too, disappeared. See Circuit Schedule Book, Glasgow East, Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

7 Parkhead Methodist Circuit Records, Quarterly Meetings, 1890-1903, Bound Minutes Book, Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow. In 1890 the missionary was paid 22/- per week to work in the area and circuit authorities resolved to raise his pay if he was successful in his mission.

8 The Glasgow leader of the Salvation Army attempted to rent the Congregational Church’s ‘Wooden Church’ on Helenvale Street, its first temporary building, for Army meetings. See letter to Robert H. Henderson from Major Henry Edwards, 27 October 1882, inserted in ‘Deacons’ Minute Book commencing 30 June 1873’, records held at the Parkhead Congregational Church, Westmuir Street, Glasgow.

Callum Brown describes the four decades following 1850 as a ‘period of vigorous church growth which exceeded population rise.’ He further suggests that the decline in church membership among the working-class occurred as the century drew to a close. The Parkhead data indicate that religion did not assume a significant role in its working-class experience, despite the planting of three new churches in the district in the 1870s. Local church records also suggest concerns about declining membership appearing during the early and middle years of the 1880s. The data for the district does, however, confirm Dr. Brown’s assertions of the middleclass assumption of leadership roles in churches. He makes an interesting differentiation between ‘proletarian involvement’ and ‘proletarian self-determination’ in these urban churches. See Callum G. Brown, ‘Each take off their several way?’ The Protestant churches and the working-classes in Scotland’ in Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher, eds., *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 77-78.

See Parkhead United Presbyterian Church Minute Book: Elders, Managers and Trustees, 1873-1885 and Minute Book of the Session of the Tollcross United Presbyterian Church, April, 1877: Volume 3, both located at the Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The Baptismal Register for St. Michael’s Parkhead is held by Father Frank O’Rourke, Parish Priest at St. Michael’s, Parkhead. The Parkhead West Church Session Minute Book, January 1875-September 1905, is held at the Archives of the Mitchell Library. As indicated above the Deacons’ Court Records are held at the Parkhead Congregational Church, Westmuir Street, Glasgow.

There is no equivalent to the records maintained by Protestant churches and no ‘member’ records exist in any central depository. Local priests probably kept note of families in their congregations, using the listing as sources for visitation and exhortation to attend Mass but any such notes were transitory and have not been maintained. This lack of member data made the Church hierarchy’s task difficult. To provide statistics they employed the process outlined, multiplying the number of baptisms in any given year by a factor of 22 and believing that the resulting number was conservative. There is no evidence to support their estimation process. See *Report of the Religious Examination of Schools 1878-1879* (Glasgow: Patrick Donegan, 1879), Archives, Archdiocese of Glasgow.

Callum Brown is critical of the approach used here, claiming social science ‘assigns importance to ‘formal religion’ and which denigrates or ignores ‘folk religion’, ‘superstition’ and acts of personal faith not endorsed by the churches. It privileges numbers, counting religion by

14 The national Census was taken on the first Saturday in April of 1881. For the most part, data employed in this segment portrays Heads of households who have been identified as church members and lived within the boundaries established for Parkhead. Heads of households have been chosen as the major identifier for two reasons: membership rolls are no longer extant for all churches in the area but Heads of households who were members can be determined for all district churches. They are named in the existing membership rolls and in baptism rolls; moreover they are also named when seeking baptism for their children in the church minutes that cover more than fifteen years. By employing Heads of households we are also able to determine the total number of people who were members of church-related families from the 1881 census, giving us a church-connected population of 1,994 men, women and children in a total population of 10,276 or 19.4% of the population of Parkhead. Children were, of course, not members of Protestant denominations. They had not yet formally ‘joined’ the church and thus were not able to take communion. They are included in the total to provide a full count of Christians in Parkhead. Of this total church-related population 11.7% of all residents of Parkhead have been identified as Protestant and 7.6% of the population were Catholic.

15 Of particular value in this regard is C.H. Lee’s *British Regional Employment Statistics, 1841-1971* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Professor Lee cites concerns about data accuracy held by the compilers of the 1891 census, equally applicable to the 1881 exercise: ‘The main difficulty arises from the extremely inaccurate and inadequate manner in which uneducated, and often, indeed, even educated persons, describe their calling . . . A census taken on the ordinary method, where the schedule is filled up by the householder himself or some member of his family, who, too commonly, neither cares for accuracy nor is capable of it, does not supply data which are suitable for minute classification, or admit a profitable examination in detail.’ *Census of England and Wales 1891, General Report*, p. 35, cited in Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics*, p. 4. Concerns about data integrity of decennial censuses are not restricted to the United Kingdom. In 2001 Canadian historian Bruce Curtis indicated that census design, as well as interpretation of the data, is an area requiring great caution in order to avoid the pitfalls of conscious political construction. See Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

17 Of the general population of Parkhead in 1881 73% of Heads of households had been born in Scotland, 24% in Ireland and 3% in England.

18 Married women with no occupation outside the home have been removed from the table. There were 220 such Protestant women and 137 Catholic women in April 1881.


21 Steve Bruce and his colleagues suggest correctly that comparative advantage cannot be automatically attributed to religious bias. They suggest, for instance, that Irish immigrants to Glasgow had an ‘inherent disadvantage’, ‘being slow to prosper because of a lack of capital, low levels of education and an absence of industrial skills.’ See Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Rosie and Michael Paterson, eds., *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 5.


24 The data for Glasgow and Camlachie are found in James Nicol, *Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of the City of Glasgow, 1881-1885 With Observations Thereon* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1885), pp. 16-17. The data on St. Michael’s Parkhead are derived from that church’s Baptistmal Register.
The Irish impact was understated in nineteenth century censuses. Children of Irish immigrants born in Scotland who were ‘Irish’ in most aspects of their lives were noted as Scottish-born with no apparent connection to the Irish-born community.

The City Chamberlain suggested ‘it should be understood that Glasgow is debited with about 1½ per cent more than is its due to the relief of a wide surrounding district from which unfortunates come to conceal their condition.’ James Nichol, *Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of the City of Glasgow, 1885-1891 With Observations Thereon* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1891), p. 29.

The surnames of all members who were brought before any church tribunal in Parkhead have been altered. This has been done for two reasons: the Deacons’ Court Minutes of the Parkhead Congregational Church and the Baptismal Register of St. Michael’s Catholic Church, unlike all other church documents cited in this study, are privately held and not, therefore, in the public domain; and, further, there seems no need to embarrass descendants in order to illustrate the social control mechanisms employed by the churches in Parkhead. The citations detailing the ‘offences’ are accurate; thus, any reader who feels compelled to learn the actual names may discover them by consulting the appropriate sources.

See notations on 22 October 1876, 25 February 1878 and 29 April 1883, Parkhead West Church Session Minute Book. Future references to this source will be as Parkhead Parish Session Minutes. On 20 November 1867 it became a parish church under the title of Parkhead Parish Church quod sacra. The church, built in 1865 and now demolished, was terminated in January 1965 and is now merged with Calton-Parkhead. See Andrew Herron, *Historical Directory to Glasgow Presbytery* (1984), no publisher noted.

Tollcross U.P. Minute Book, 7 January 1878 and 18 March 1878.

Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 1 July 1878 and 29 July 1878.

Ibid., 22 June 1884 and 15 October 1884.

Tollcross U.P. Minute Book, 4 December 1882.

See Tollcross U.P. Minutes, 13 May 1878, 7 October and 2 December 1878; 6 January 1879 and Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 26 September 1881. In the case at the Congregational Church, the member took himself out of the church’s jurisdiction and the state’s by fleeing the country for America.

Robert Highet, *Rechabite History A Record of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Independent Order of Rechabites* (Salford Unity)
Temperance Friendly Society (Manchester, 1936), p. 11.

35 Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 1 June 1874.

36 Ibid., 28 July 1879.

37 Ibid., 29 September 1879.

38 Tollcross U.P. Minute Book, 1 April, 6 May, 3 June, 1 October, 14 October 1877 and 24 March 1878.

39 Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 26 July 1880.

40 Parkhead Parish Session Minute Book, 29 September 1878.

41 Ibid., 25 May 1879.

42 Parkhead U.P. Minute Book, 5 Mach 1875 and 2 March 1877.

43 ‘Mr. Henderson proposed that we have a Total Abstinence Society in connection with this Church & that this subject be submitted to the first Church meeting for the approval. This was seconded by Mr. Tennant & unanimously agreed to.’ It is not clear whether the Church Meeting approved or disapproved the formation of this society but there was no further reference to it in the Minutes. See Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 30 August 1880.

44 The League of the Cross, Market Weighton, Printed at the Catholic Reformatory School for private circulation, 1890 located at the Archives, Archdiocese of Glasgow.

45 Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 28 June 1875.

46 Ibid., 28 August 1876.

47 Ibid., 21 December 1882.

48 Ibid., 29 November 1883. There is no intention here to suggest that there was only one case of spousal abuse amongst church members or Parkhead residents generally. This instance is, however, the only direct reference to spousal abuse in the Minute Books of the four Protestant denominations in Parkhead.

49 With this organisation, temperance was a code word for abstinence. Like the Rechabites, the Scottish Sons of Temperance and the Good Templars were also dedicated to total abstinence, although the latter would accept limitations on drink as a stage towards the adoption of total abolition.

50 David Willox recounted attending a meeting of the Parkhead Economic Society: ‘On the motion to admit a new member to the economical society, his proposer recommended him as a ‘Rechabite’. A member of the audience jumped up and explained excitedly: ‘Jock McFarlane’s no a
Rechabite, he is a dent man. I’ve kent him all my days, and I’ll no allow you nor anybody else in my presence to ca’ him a Rechabite.’ David Willox, ‘Reminiscences’, p. 68.

51 Willox, Diary, 31 March 1876 and 3 December 1875.

52 Elspeth King, Scotland: Sober and Free (Glasgow: Clark, 1979), p. 16.

53 Independent Order of Good Templars: Central Registry of Lodges in Scotland, University Archives and Business Centre, University of Glasgow. Whilst there is a listing of the various lodges in Glasgow, there is no membership roll or data detailing the membership size. Thus, one has no idea of the actual reach of the various temperance lodges into the population. Because of the proliferation of lodges and local chapters it has been assumed to be large. There is no documentation to support this, however.

54 David Kirkwood, My Life of Revolt (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1935), p. 54. It was perhaps the ritual that provided David Kirkwood with the greatest benefit, though as a youth he may not have realised it. Tom Johnston recalled that at the height of the General Strike with Kirkwood being tried for sedition, the result of an inflammatory speech he had previously had given in the Commons but repeated outside the House at a meeting held near Sheffield, Kirkwood’s lawyer confronted the chief witness, an English policeman. Asked if he had indeed understood what Kirkwood had said, the constable answered in the affirmative. Kirkwood was then called to the stand and in the broad accent that had baffled many members of the Commons recited excerpts from the ritual of the Good Templars. Unable to either comprehend or summarise for the court what Kirkwood had said, the policeman’s evidence was severely weakened. See Thomas Johnston, Memories (London: Collins, 1952), p. 227. Kirkwood also recalled the story but pointed out that despite the policeman’s consternation, he was fined £25 by the Bench, whom he lampooned as ‘very imposing County people’. See Kirkwood, My Life of Revolt, pp. 235-236.

55 Speeches Delivered at a Public Meeting in the Queen’s Room, Glasgow, Tuesday 27th November 1877, Glasgow Branch of the Church of Scotland Temperance Association (Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Son, 1877), p. 7.

56 Articles of the St. Andrew’s West of Scotland Catholic Total Abstinence Friendly Society (Glasgow: Muir, Gowan & Co., 1842), p. 4, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.

57 Father Matthew, an Irish temperance crusader, formed the organisation which bore his name in 1838. Unlike many temperance groups, it was not centrally directed but local organisations featuring group activities
and bands, spread through pre-famine Ireland. There is no indication that the Bridgeton group was connected to any other Catholic temperance organisation in the city. See entry for Father Matthew Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society, 20 October 1877 in Savings Bank of Glasgow, Eastern Branch, Society Declarations, May 1869-July 1929, Glasgow University Archives and Business Centre. Founded in 1873 in England by Cardinal Manning, the Catholic Total Abstinence League of the Cross did not become active in Glasgow until the last decade of the century. Tom Gallagher argues that the League was active in the West of Scotland in the late 1880s and that by 1892 it had 128 branches with 30,000 members. Gallagher, Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace, p. 56. In a search of the League records at the Archives of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, none was discovered for this period.

58 The League of the Cross, p. 3.
59 Gallagher, Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace, p. 56.
60 The Elders’ Association was particularly helpful in the establishment of Parkhead United Presbyterian Church, providing the congregation with a temporary wooden building until the permanent structure could be built. See Parkhead United Presbyterian Church Minute Book: Elders, Managers and Trustees, 1873-1885, 1 April 1874, Archives, Mitchell Library.
61 According to the 1881 census, Ellen Anderson, a dressmaker, lived at 26 Westmuir Street with her lodger, Margaret Reid, a milliner. Each woman subscribed £6.6/- at the initial meeting of the Building Committee. Another woman, not a member of the Building Committee, Mrs. William Robb, wife of one of the Church Managers, lent the Church authorities £300 for the purchase of a property adjoining the proposed church in May of 1877. Parkhead U. P. Church Minute Book, 2 May 1877.
62 Ibid., 9 December 1875.
63 Parkhead Congregational Church, Deacons’ Minutes, 1 November 1880.
64 Ibid., 24 December 1878. These six public-minded supporters remained anonymous. It is not clear whether these gentlemen subsequently converted their loan to a gift to the church.
65 ‘Parkhead Congregational Church Centenary, 1873-1973’; no date, no place of publication; mimeographed publication located at the Archives, Mitchell Library, p. 7.
66 In the case of the Church of Scotland new parish churches quod sacra, that is churches serving an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not a civil one, were established after 1834. Launched in 1865, Parkhead Parish church was one of these new churches.


Due to the paucity of Catholic archival material in Glasgow, it is not possible to determine whether strategies to improve attendance at masses similar to those employed in London’s East End were in effect in Catholic Churches in Glasgow’s East End. See Gilley, ‘Catholic Faith of the Irish Slums’, p. 842.

Parkhead had been part of MacLeod’s massive Barony Parish prior to 1865 and Alexander Rattray, who would have been familiar with MacLeod’s tactics, probably used that example as a model for his popular evening services.

Rev. Donald MacLeod, ed., *Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D.* (Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1876), p. 245.


Minute Book of the Session of the Tollcross United Presbyterian Church, April, 1877: Volume 3, Archives. Mitchell Library, 5 June 1882.

Parkhead U.P. Minute Book, 12 May 1885.


Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minutes, 29 November 1883 and 24 December 1883.

*Ibid.*, 26 May 1884


Parkhead Parish Session Minutes, 26 December 1876. Parkhead Parish Church initiated missionary work in Parkhead in August 1875. It ceased activities in December of 1876. Parkhead Congregational Church occupied its ‘wooden church’ on Helenvale Street at this time and Parkhead United Presbyterian Church was also housed in temporary facilities but had committed to build a permanent building.

Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 1 July and 24 December 1878 and 27 February 1882. The mission was first opened while the congregation was still housed in its temporary structure. It
was maintained, however, after the permanent building was erected on Westmuir Street. In the winter of 1882 the Deacons agreed to abandon a separate location for the Mission and move it into the Church Vestry.


82 Parkhead Parish Session Minutes, 30 November 1884. One wonders how well Mr. Rattray and his colleagues in the Kirk Session knew the realities of their community. They were certainly mistaken to believe that these lodgers were from the country and young in age. In April 1881 there were 495 lodgers in Parkhead, 229 of whom had been born in Glasgow. Thus 46% of these lodgers were city born and bred. A further 99 lodgers had been born in Ireland, some of whom might have been potential members of Mr. Rattray’s flock. Thus only one in three of Parkhead lodgers had come from the Scottish countryside. The average age of all lodgers resident in Parkhead in 1881 was 31 years.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid., 15 January 1888.

85 Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 28 June 1886. ‘The Pastor then spoke about what he had seen and heard at the Waterloo Rooms about General Booth and the Salvation Army. He said he was pleased to hear the testimonies of some of the Parkhead people.’ It is interesting, however, that there was no mention of the Army as a competitive threat at the very time the Parkhead Congregational Church was itself active in mission activities in the district.

86 Tom Bell, Pioneering Days, p. 26. Tom Bell, born in Parkhead in 1882, apprenticed as an iron moulder and became leader of that trade union, a journalist and Chairman of the Communist Party of the United Kingdom.

87 The following notation, indicating concerted action by churches in maintaining an entertainment-free Sabbath, appeared in the Parkhead Congregational Deacons’ Minute Book, 28 June 1880: ‘The pastor produced a requisition for names from the members & adherents of this Church against Mr. Taylor’s bill for the opening of Museums & Theatres on the Sabbath Day. It was agreed that we had only one week to procure names. Mr. Gardner requested Messrs. Anderson, Cameron & Middleton to oppose the Bill.’


89 During the years under review all newly elected members of the Kirk Session of the Church of Scotland were required to: agree to the confes-
sion of faith approved by the General Assembly of 1690; acknowledge Presbyterian church government as the only government of the Church; and observe the uniformity of worship and the administration of all public ordinances at present performed. See Parkhead Parish Church Session Minutes, 27 February 1887.

90 The Forbes Mackenzie Act, passed in 1853 and named after its proponent, William Forbes Mackenzie, a Borders Member of Parliament, legislated legal hours of sale as 8 A.M. to 11 P.M., closed public houses on Sundays, and limited licensed grocers to selling drink for consumption off premises only. This act followed the 1828 Home-Drummond Act which empowered magistrates to grant certificates for the sale of liquor. See James Mackinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland From the Union to the Present Time (London & New York: Longmans Green, 1921), p. 263.

91 King, Scotland Free and Sober, p. 18.

92 Songs written for popular consumption were keys to the temperance movement’s communication programme and, as with the genesis of the movement, many originated in the United States. A very popular song was ‘Father’s a Drunkard and Mother is Dead’, composed by the American Mrs. E.A. Parkhurst. Its lugubrious lyrics capture the basic message of the temperance movement: ‘We were so happy till Father drank rum, Then all our sorrows and trouble begun’. One of Mrs. Parkhurst’s colleagues in the movement and fellow song writer was Reverend E. S. Ufford who wrote the melody and words for another American temperance song adopted in the United Kingdom, ‘Throw Out the Life-Line’. In Victorian England and Scotland temperance advocates took their campaigns to the streets, performing these songs. The latter song was a favourite with the well-known British group, The Temperance Lifeboat Crew. Dressed as lifeboat men, they encouraged their audiences to join in the chorus, singing ‘Throw out the Life-Line! Throw out the Life-line! Someone is drifting away. Throw out the Life-Line! Someone is sinking today.’ Temperance advocates brought their message to street crowds throughout the United Kingdom. Many of temperance songs were also transcribed and played in middleclass drawing rooms from collections such as Scottish Temperance Songs, compiled by Thomas Knox and published in 1880. Thus the message was heard by a wide segment of the population. In many ways, the temperance movement pioneered modern communications techniques.