The Effects of Migration and Empire on Scotland to 1939.

Section 4: The Effects of Migration and Empire on Scotland.

MR DAVIDSON

Introduction

Positive Impact:

Ephraim Borowski (the director of the Scottish Council for Jewish Communities) argues that the Scottish approach to assimilation of its minorities can be described as being similar to tartan – alternating bands of colour combine to form an intersecting pattern in which each colour remains individually visible while contributing to the overall design. It is not just that there are many threads in the tartan, but that the weave of the tartan is what holds it together. A cloth that is simply made of parallel threads is no cloth, and readily falls apart. In relation to Scottish culture and identity this argument fits rather well. Throughout the 19th and early 20th century many of the immigrants to Scotland went through a process of assimilation (to a variety of different degrees as you found out in unit 2). Each group (with their own identity, culture and even religion) added depth to the Scottish culture. Many of these influences, as well as those obtained from the wider reaches of the British Empire, can still be identified today.

BBC Scotland Children in Need presenters (2008) showing Scotland’s diversity?
Although it is certainly true that some “pockets” of immigrant communities still remain throughout Scotland, it is clear that the assimilation of many migrants into mainstream society has had a huge impact upon Scottish culture and has greatly enriched our society. Divergence, difference, and even disagreement contribute to hold that society together. However, it is not only immigration from the Empire (and beyond) that has impacted upon Scotland. Emigration from Scotland to other Empire Dominions can also be seen to have had a positive effect on Scotland. For example, the Report form the Economic Advisory Council about Empire and Migration (1931) stated that, during such poor economic conditions, “emigration may be an indispensable means of raising or maintaining the standard of life against the pressure of numbers”. This clearly highlights the fact that those who emigrated actually created better conditions for those who remained as it relieved many of the population pressures.

Negative:

However, despite the evidence above, it can also be argued that the Empire has had a negative effect on Scotland - many of these were longer term effects. The tradition of the movement of Scots continued well into the 20th century. Until 1989–1990 there had been only one year (1932–3) in which Scotland experienced a greater inflow than outflow of people. During the 19th century and again in the 1920s and 1930s, the principal aim of the emigrants was to find work and wages and to escape unemployment at home. This trend has generally most affected the age group 16–29, skilled rather than unskilled workers, and men rather than women. Although most of the emigrants were able to make a better life for themselves and their families abroad, the impact on Scotland has been less favourable.

Many of the most productive and talented Scots have left their birthplace to enrich, both economically and culturally, other countries at the expense of their own. The empty glens of the Scottish Highlands are an eloquent testimony to this process.

Industrial Impact of Migration

The Immigrants made an invaluable contribution to the Scottish economy and industry. Manual labour was provided by the Irish Immigrants. Young Irishmen formed a great mobile army of navvies, moving around the country, building the harbours, railways, canals, bridges and reservoirs which became the physical sinews (connections) of the new economic order. Most of Scotland’s railways were laid very quickly between 1830 and 1850. Many of the men that provided the extra labour that was required to build the railways were Irish immigrants escaping the potato famine. By 1850 one thousand miles of railway had been built in Scotland. Those who built the railways produced a transport network that supported Scotland’s economic growth in the 19th century.

Moreover, some of Scotland’s greatest economic landmarks owe lots to the skill of foreign workers. For example, the Forth Bridge - which is still considered an engineering marvel today - was built with the help of a truly international workforce. In the mid 1880’s there were 4,600 men employed, whilst naturally Scottish, English and Irish workers made up the majority, French, German, Swedish and even Japanese workers were also to be found.

Work begins on the Forth Bridge:
Furthermore, Glasgow became the industrial workshop of the empire. It’s iron and steel foundries and shipbuilding yards turned out close to one-third of the nation’s total output in each industry. Glasgow also used its industrial powers to help protect the Empire. The interlinking Industries of the city and its surrounding area were heavily involved in making the British navy the most modern afloat.

Benefiting from this growth in trade, shipbuilding firms along the Clyde, such as Napier’s, John Brown’s and Fairfield’s, turned out one-tenth of the world’s total shipping tonnage. It also supplied locomotives and box-wagons to various corners of the Empire, including Canada and India. For example, the Springburn area of Glasgow alone built one quarter of the world’s locomotives in 1914.

The Empire also became an important source of raw materials for Scottish industry, for example the jute industry in Dundee imported jute from the Bengal region of India. As mentioned earlier (unit 2 ‘Experiences of Immigrants’) many of the workers that were employed in the jute mills in Dundee (and contributed to their success) were immigrants.

On the other hand, Scottish industrial magnates invested heavily abroad, particularly in the Empire (where investments were safe), as a more lucrative source of profit than investing in Scotland. As a result, the Scottish industry remained relatively backward and relied on a low wage economy to maintain its dominance in heavy industry. With so much money invested abroad, Scotland’s industry also became very vulnerable to international slumps - as can clearly be seen after the WWI.

![An aerial view from the south of the Fairfield Shipyard, taken around 1932, In the background are the River Clyde and Partick](image)

**Economic Impact**

**Positive:**

Some of the most well known businesses in Scotland at the time were run by Jews. A. Goldberg & Sons (founded in 1908 by Abraham Goldberg) began life as a small company buying material and making clothing to sell to wholesalers. The first Goldberg’s department store was opened in Glasgow. However, by 1980 Goldberg’s had grown to have 135-stores nationwide. Abraham Goldberg was chairman from 1908 to 1934, when he handed power to his two sons, Ephraim and Michael. By this time Goldberg had become a millionaire. When Goldberg’s ceased trading in 1991 it was still very much a family run business.

Other successful Jewish businesses in Scotland were Morrisons the dressmakers, as well as the Frutins in the theatre and entertainments industry.

Other well known immigrant businesses include Nardini’s in Largs. One of Scotland’s most famous cafes, Nardini’s was opened in 1935 and provided generations of holidaymakers with their world famous ice cream.

All of the lighter coloured building on the left hand side of the street is Goldberg’s flagship department store, Candleriggs Glasgow.
Sir Thomas Lipton is one of the most famous Scottish businessmen to come from Irish descent. Tomas Lipton’s parents came to Scotland from county Fermanagh in the late 1840s - and he was born in Glasgow in 1848. In 1871 Lipton’s parents opened their first provision shop - Lipton’s Market - in the Anderston area of the city. Lipton initially began work helping his parents but their grocery store business proved to be highly successful and Lipton soon established a chain of shops across Glasgow, then Scotland and soon the whole of the UK. **By 1888 there were over 300 stores nationwide.**

In an attempt to sell tea at unprecedented cheap prices (to try to become the first person to sell tea to the huge working class markets) Thomas Lipton purchased his own plantations in the USA. In doing so he established the famous Lipton's Tea brand that still exists today. **Having such successful businesses, which generated huge levels of income and prestige for Scotland, is clearly of great benefit to the country.**

Negative:

Despite the obvious positive effects that the immigrants had on the Scottish industry and economy, it must also be said that they produced some negative effects as well. Many of the Irish and Lithuanian immigrants who settled in Scotland were occupied in very low wage work. It was estimated in 1851 that somewhere between a half to three-quarters of all dock labourers and two-thirds of miners were Irish. Many also found their way into the less skilled jobs of handloom weaving and other textile work. Irish women, for instance, made up 44.3 per cent of female textile workers in Greenock in 1851.

Often this tradition was continued through generations due to a lack of education. As a result, **many became dependent on poor relief (under the poor law) to survive and became a burden on the economy.**
In the long run, however, the willingness of the Irish to do the menial or unskilled jobs (that ultimately resulted in their poverty) proved complementary to the native Scottish labour force and contributed greatly to the development of industry and economy.

However, it must be said that **not all immigrant groups became a burden upon the Scottish economy.** Most of the Jewish communities looked after their own poor. Welfare organisations such as the ‘Boot and Clothing Guild’ provided measures to relieve poverty within the Jewish communities. Furthermore, it must also be said that many of the Jewish migrants were employed in skilled occupations (tailoring, opticians or even instrument makers were common Jewish occupations). As a result, **the numbers of Jewish people who became a burden on the poor law are relatively low.**

As the numbers of emigrants (who were often destined for the empire) increased during the inter-war period, Scotland’s economy suffered. The principal aim of the emigrants was to find work and wages and escape mass unemployment at home. As a result, most of those who emigrated were in the 16–29 age group, skilled rather than unskilled workers and men rather than women. Although most of the emigrants were able to make a better life for themselves and their families abroad, the impact on Scotland has been less favourable. **Many of the most productive and talented Scots have left their birthplace to enrich, both economically and culturally, other countries at the expense of their own.**

**Food Industry**

As mentioned in Unit 2 (The Experiences of Immigrants) **food provided a great business opportunity for many immigrants.**

Initially Italians sold ice cream from carts, before relocating their businesses to retail premises in the more affluent areas of the cities. **These ice cream parlours and cafes benefited Scotland greatly through trade and business - especially in the climate of steadily rising wages during 1890s - 1920s which allowed more people to spend more on luxuries.** Not to mention the cultural impact. **Fish and chips became the original fast food of the working class man and even today a day at the seaside would just not be the same without an ice cream.**

Furthermore, many Italian and Lithuanian families attempted to retain their cultural identity through their food. Thus, Italian-style food (for example) gradually became assimilated into Scottish society.

Finally, in the second half of the 20th Century, many Asians emigrated to Scotland. The ease of trade with the empire coupled with improvements in transport allowed produce and customs to be imported - especially from India. As a result, **many emigrants found employment or business opportunities in the food industry, thus, most towns have an Indian and Chinese restaurant.**

**Tailoring**

Most of the working members of Scottish Jewry were heavily concentrated in just a few trades and industries, such as shop keeping, tailoring, shoe and slipper making. Indeed, the concentration of Jews in the tailoring trade from the 1880s led to accusations of sweated labour. In some workshops of the 1880s and 1890s, Jewish tailors may only earn 7s or 8s per week - significantly below Charles Booth’s poverty line of 21s per week - and as a result often relied upon welfare benefits from the many Jewish care organisations (as mentioned previously). Immigrant Jewish tailors often aimed to produce cheap, ready made and mass produced items - an area of the market that they essentially created. A gentleman’s suit that had cost £2 and 10s in 1880 could be bought for £1 and 10s in 1911 due to Jewish immigrant production methods. Jewish master tailors and the shops they supplied enjoyed a great deal of success in the late 19th and early 20th century. **Many of those who initially worked tailoring in sweatshops later prospered,** often with the assistance of more settled members of their community, and opened up their own businesses.
KU Tasks

(1) Copy and complete the table below for each heading (pages 2 - 5) to show the positive and negative impact that immigrants had on Scotland’s economy. Ensure that you make detailed notes (NB. It is also very important that you note which immigrant group were responsible for each change).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
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</table>

The economic impact of immigrations in Scotland

Jewish workers in a clothing factory (early 20th Century). Tailoring was the only occupation where significant numbers of Jewish women worked.
Source Task

Comparison Question

Source A: comes from Scotland, 1689 to the Present, W. Ferguson (1968)

“The developing economy of Scotland proved very attractive to the poverty-stricken Irish. In some ways they were an economic asset, providing a hard working mobile force of unskilled labour. Gangs of Irish ‘navvies’ did excellent work in all sorts of construction projects, particularly canal and railway building. They also provided a supply of seasonal labourers.

However, they also acted as cut-price labour in the mines, where they were frequently employed as strike-breakers...Economic rivalry gave rise to bitter resentment, especially in the coal fields of Lanarkshire, although seasonal harvesters, both Highland and Lowland, also had grievances about losing work to the Irish workers”

Source B: comes from Scotland, Tom Devine The Scottish Nation”

“Young Irishmen, some of them were only working in Scotland to earn enough to cover their passage to the land of real opportunity across the Atlantic, formed a great mobile army of navvies, moving across the length and breadth of the country, completing the harbours, railways, canals bridges and reservoirs which became the physical sinews of the new economic order.

At the time, however, the Irish did not receive much credit for helping to sustain the Scottish economic miracle. They were ‘strangers in a strange land’, alien in religion, speech and culture, massed at the bottom end of the labour market, often attracting vociferous criticism for burdening ratepayers and the poor law”

1. To what extent do Sources A and B agree about the economic contribution of immigrants to Scotland?

Compare the content overall and in detail. 5 marks
**Assimilation**

It is also very important to note the impact that the assimilation of the immigrant groups has had on the society and culture of Scotland.

**Sport:**

The impact that immigrants have had on Scottish sport has been immense. Some of the most successful Scottish football teams can trace their roots back to the immigrant communities of the 19th century. For example, Celtic Football Club (who’s connections to Catholic Irish immigrants are clear - as mentioned in unit 2) remain hugely successful today. They still remain the only Scottish team to have won Europe’s biggest club competition - the European Cup - lifting the trophy in 1967. Dundee United (originally the Catholic team in Dundee - founded in 1903) have also achieved notable European success, finishing runners-up in the 1987 UEFA Cup final (knocking out the mighty Barcelona on the way to the final) and reaching the semi-finals of the European Cup in 1983.

Further more, one of Scotland’s greatest ever football managers, Sir Matt Busby - who was manager of Manchester United between 1945 and 1969 (winning the European cup in 1968) - was from Lithuanian dissent. He was born of Lithuanian ancestry and lived for most of his early life in the mining village of Orbiston, Bellshill, Lanarkshire.

**Religion:**

Both Irish and Lithuanian immigrants brought Catholicism to the central belt on a large scale. The rivalries that developed between Catholics and Protestants are still very evident today - and are often most prominent around the ‘Old Firm’ (Rangers versus Celtic) football matches - many in Scotland are used to this rivalry. However, this rivalry goes a long way back (as the poster opposite shows). Catholicism was also hugely important in allowing the Irish immigrants to retain some of their heritage and culture. It allowed them to worship in a way that they knew as well as being the centre of their social life and providing education and welfare. Today, Catholic Schools make up 15% of all public sector schools and there is also 1 Jewish public sector school. Societies such as the Society of St Vincent de Paul (SSVP) were established in Scotland (from 1845) to help those in poverty. Today, the SSVP has 2,300 members and 340 local branches in eight Scottish regions supporting those in need. As weddings between migrants and natives became more common, the speed at which this assimilation began to effect Scottish culture increased dramatically.

A cartoon from a magazine (1904) with the words ‘What, you two again!’
Cultural Impact:

Jewish Immigrants:

Although the Jewish presence in Scotland has never been great in numerical terms, always less than half of one percent (0.5%), the Jewish contribution to the professional and cultural life of Scotland has been widely admired and appreciated. Jews and Scots have shared much of their attitudes to life, including a strong belief in education - which still remains today.

*The Gorbals School of Jewish Children 1917.*

Moreover, the strong belief in education has helped many Jews to become professionals.

The first record of a Jewish graduate from a Scottish university was in 1787 (when Levi Myres graduated from Glasgow University). During the period 1830 - 1939 the trend of Jewish students entering into professions continued. Asher Asher (a Glaswegian-born Scottish Jew) became the first Jewish doctor in Scotland in 1856 when he began practicing in the mining town of Bishopbriggs.

In Glasgow today, there are six synagogues, a primary school, a yeshiva (religious college), two nursing homes and sheltered housing for the elderly, a welfare centre, facilities for those with learning difficulties, a golf club (Bonnyton Golf Club), a sports centre, a community newspaper, youth groups, and delicatessens.

**From this it is clear that Jewish culture is still vibrant in the city.** Recently, there has even been a Jewish tartan created!

![Jewish Tartan](image)

100 most common surnames in Scotland (with Kelly being highest at number 38). It is clear therefore that the impact that Irish culture has had on Scotland is significant and far reaching.

However, it must also be noted that the visibility of Irish culture in Scotland was significantly increased by their tendency to concentrate in one area - for example the industrial centres of Dundee or Glasgow. Despite this, the previously mentioned sporting and religious examples only tell part of the Story. Irish immigrants (and the descendants) have also contributed towards the development of Scottish literature, music, dance, comedy and theatre (and later television and screen).

In literature, the great Scottish writer Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (famed for his stories about the detective Sherlock Holmes) was born in Edinburgh in 1859 to Irish Parents.

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Irish Immigrants:

A quick look through the phone book for any area in Scotland (in particular Glasgow) will reveal **many surnames that have Irish origins.** For example Kelly, Murphy, Docherty, Boyle, Reilly, Gallacher, McLaughlin and O’Donnell are all within the top
As well as the impact that the Irish have had in shaping the modern Scottish culture, it is also important to note the continuing strength of Irish culture and identity in Scotland.

Despite being absorbed into the state system in 1918, there are over 400 Catholic schools in Scotland, accounting for approximately 15% of all publicly-funded schools. Recent figures also suggest that around 90% of Catholic parents use Catholic schools.

Although it would be wrong to suggest that all Catholics in modern Scotland are from Irish descent (indeed it is far from the case), it is certainly clear that the influence and impact of Catholic schools (most of whom find their origins within Irish communities) remains significant.

Furthermore, Irish music and dance remain hugely popular (not only amongst Irish communities) and no matter where you go in Scotland you will never be too far away from a St Patrick’s day celebration or an Irish themed pub.

**Political Impact**

Initially, most immigrants were simply concerned with making a living. Especially as many of those who settled in Scotland came from working class backgrounds and arrived in the country with very little. However, as their assimilation became more widespread, so did their involvement in the political life of their adopted homeland.

**Catholic Irish:**

There was little political impact from the Irish in the 19th century. Most Irish males did not qualify for the vote as they failed to put down roots long enough in any one constituency to satisfy residential qualifications. Disqualified in large numbers from voting until reform of the franchise in 1918, the Irish instead directed their political energies, with the encouragement of the Catholic Church, towards Home Rule for Ireland.

Those that could vote gave it to the Liberal Party as the they appeared to be the only party which might deliver on the subject of Home Rule. With the partition of Ireland in 1921 the Irish became more embroiled in the politics of their adopted country. They overwhelmingly supported the Labour Party and this allowed them access to mainstream political life in Scotland.

**However, some descendents of Irish migrants did become important political leaders, for example John Wheatley.** John Wheatley was born in Bonmahon, Ireland, on 19th May 1869. In 1876 the family moved to Braehead in Lanarkshire. At fourteen, John became a miner like his father. In 1906 Wheatley was converted to socialism and formed the Catholic Socialist Society in Glasgow. The following year he joined the Independent Labour Party. By 1920 Wheatley was the main political figure in Glasgow. He was a passionate politician who took great interest in improving working class housing conditions.

**Lithuanians:**

For many of the Lithuanian immigrants their first political involvement was through the powerful Lanarkshire Coal Miners Union. Unionisation acted as a key factor in Lithuanian assimilation into Scottish society but it also developed socialist ideologies. The small (yet influential) socialist element within the Lithuanian community formed a branch of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP) in Lanarkshire in 1903. By 1905 they had organised branches in almost all of the Lithuanian communities throughout Scotland. Two years later the LSDP produced its own newspaper Rankpelnis (Worker). (See picture of the offices of Rankpelnis on p.4)
The LSDP also reconstituted itself in 1907 as the Lithuanian Socialist Federation of Great Britain (LSF). The LSF was closely linked to the Social Democratic Federation (SDF - a Marxist political party) and the South Side branch of the SDF in Glasgow contained several Lithuanian members. This involvement in socialism caused a split within the Lithuanian communities - between those who adhered to some of the socialist doctrine, and those who remained committed to the Catholic faith. The First World War drove these two groups further apart.

KU Tasks

(1) Copy and complete the table below for each heading (pages 8 - 11) to show the positive and negative impact that immigrants had on Scotland’s culture. Ensure that you make detailed notes (NB. It is also very important that you note which immigrant group were responsible for each change).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The cultural impact of immigrations in Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sporting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Talmud Torah class at Gorbals Public School (early 20th century) - The Glasgow Hebrew Talmud Torah was one of several organisations which provided religious education to Jewish children in Glasgow and was the only one in the Gorbals which took girls. The school was originally housed in a former tailors workshop in the Gorbals (from 1895) before moving its classes to the Gorbals Public School in 1899.
Source Evaluation Task:

Source A: from an interview given by Mrs Aitken, a Glasgow resident, talking about Jewish settlement in the Gorbals in the early twentieth century, quoted in The Complete Odyssey, Voices from Scotland's Recent Past, edited by Billy Kay (1996).

“It was nearly all Jewish shops and Jewish firms in the Gorbals. There was Fogel’s at the corner of Hospital Street and Cleland Street; there was the Jewish bakery at the corner of Dunmore Street. Gleicken, the tailors were there and the Ashers as well. The Gerbers, the Wolfsons, them that had all the jewellers, the shops in the Trongate, they came from there. There were small cabinet-making businesses and upholstery work right up Cumberland Street. They could get their customers everything. They all opened little shops, just doing alterations and repairs to suits and everything. People always helped each other out. Everyone knew someone who would give credit if times were hard. It was a great place the Gorbals!”

How useful is Source E as evidence of the contribution of immigrants to Scottish society? (5)

In reaching a conclusion you should refer to:
• the origin and possible purpose of the source;
• the content of the source;
• recalled knowledge.

As well as following advice given in the class and appears on the LtScotland website, consider these questions when tackling sources:

1. When was the source produced? Does that add or detract from the value of the source? You must give a reason for your decision.
2. Who produced the source? Does that add to or detract from the value of the source. You must give a reason for your decision.
3. Identify the issues: Which issues are relevant to the theme? Do they help us in terms of the question? Note them down. Is the information accurate/bias/exaggerated? Does this increase or decrease the value of the source? You must give reasons for your decisions.
The Impact of the Empire on Scotland

The Act of Union of 1707 brought wealth to Scotland, and power and influence to many Scots which is still evident today. Glasgow was an imperial city, known as the ‘Second City’ of the Empire. There are still places in the city that are called Kingsborough, Queensborough and Victoria, and you can see the 19th Century Victorian British influence in many parts of the city. Glasgow’s lavish City Chambers (opened by Queen Victoria in 1888 - see photo) are testament to that. Indeed, the Empire turned the centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh into banking and economic hubs that could boast many fine examples of lavish Victorian architecture - with buildings often made from granite or sandstone.

Historian Tom Devine suggests that “every nook and cranny of Scottish life, from culture to identity, from economy to politics was shaped by this experience of Empire”.

The Empire also plays a very important role for Scottish emigrants. Many Scots contributed greatly to their destination country through hard work, endeavour and the skills that they already possessed. For example, Scots contributed to the development of tea plantations and the Jute industry (examples given later in this booklet). Scots became Governor Generals and later Prime Ministers once their adopted country had been given dominion status (for example Sir John A. MacDonald, first Prime Minister of Canada). Finally, many elite schools and universities were founded or supported by Scots.

Below: The front and back covers of the official guide to the Empire Exhibition held in Glasgow in 1938. The front cover (left) is clearly displaying the extent of Britain’s Empire and the many influences that shaped modern Scotland. The back cover (right) displays the grandeur of the Exhibition - not only demonstrating the financial advantages that the empire brought but also the huge impact that it had on Scotland. These highlight many of the positive aspects of the relationship between Scotland and the Empire.
As the empire became better educated and more industrialised the links between Scottish business and the empire undoubtedly grew. This was helped by the fact that many of those who held power (or wealth) in the dominions proudly remembered their Scottish roots. Furthermore, the landscape of Scotland was changed significantly as a result. Many of the Scots who returned from the Empire built large mansions (with the profits they had amassed through successful business ventures) in or near the cities. An example of this is Broughty Ferry near Dundee. Scots also felt the impact of war as a result of the Empire. Scottish regiments played a considerable part in the expansion and maintenance of the Empire. Highland regiments fought with pride in campaigns in India, Africa and Afghanistan, commanded by Scottish generals. Understandably therefore, many Scots also died for the Empire. This military involvement also helped to further Scotland’s long standing military tradition and enhanced our reputation within the armed forces.

KU Tasks
(1) Complete the table below using pages 13-14 to show the positive and negative impact that involvement in the Empire had on Scotland. Ensure that you make detailed notes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Impact of the Empire on Scotland</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
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Source Evaluation Task:

Source A: comes from Scotland, 1689 to the Present, W. Ferguson (1968)

“The large coal and ironstone deposits of the parishes of Old and New Monkland turned that part of Lanarkshire into the main centre of the iron industry. The period of the greatest expansion was from 1835 to 1870: in 1839 there were 29 furnaces in Scotland with an annual output of 75,500 tons, but by 1869 there were 158 furnaces producing 1.5 million tons...the industry had grown to vast proportions and interlocking interests ramified (branched out) through the entire range of ‘heavy industry’. Vital to these developments in coal and iron was the improvement in communications and particularly of the railways. The rise of Glasgow as a leading centre of the coal and iron industry stimulated interest in steam...from the 1830s many small yards were established...concentrated mainly at Govan on the south bank and Whiteinch on the north. By the mid-nineteenth century these were among the main shipbuilding centres on the Clyde”.

(1) How fully does Source A show the contribution of immigrants to Scottish society? (10)

Please take time over this final overall task. Follow advice given in class.