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EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN SCOTLAND

1900 - 1930

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of

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Abbreviations

E.I.S.	Educational Institute of Scotland
H.C.	House of Commons
H.L.	House of Lords
H.M.C.I.	Her/His Majesty's Chief Inspector
H.M.I.	Her/His Majesty's Inspector
H.R.A.	Highland Region Archives
I.L.P.	Independent Labour Party
K. & L.T.R.	King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer
Parl. Deb.	Parliamentary Debates
P.G.A.	Public General Acts
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
R.C.C.E.S.	Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland
S.E.D.	Scotch (post 1918 Scottish) Education Department
Sess. Cas.	Court of Session Cases
S.E.R.C.	Scottish Education Reform Committee
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
S.T.U.C.	Scottish Trades Union Congress

SUMMARY OF THESIS

At the start of the twentieth century Scotland had a nation-wide network of publicly-controlled schools. Although these schools were managed locally, generally by elected boards, the educational system itself lay under the direction of central government, with authority exercised through the Committee of the Privy Council and the Scotch (later Scottish) Education Department (S.E.D.).

The aim of this investigation is to examine the system of education as it developed between 1900 and 1930, paying particular attention to political and cultural pressures while, at the same time, considering how these pressures influenced the processes of policy making and management, and shaped the character and quality of schooling.

Much of the study is based upon a scrutiny of the records of the S.E.D. and the Treasury, parliamentary papers and debates, and archival material from the private papers of individuals; with additional data taken from autobiographical and other printed sources, contemporary both the period in question and more recent.

The first chapter provides a brief survey of the main trends and characteristics in the Scottish environment up to the outbreak of the first world war. Between 1872 and 1914 some of the marked changes in that environment included a movement of population from rural to urban areas and a significant expansion in heavy industry. Nonetheless, it is suggested, the outward appearance of success disguised a spirit of conservatism which failed to respond to new discoveries in science and technology. Failure to tackle problems was also evident in the scale of social deprivation and bad housing. Education, however, was provided in a clearly-defined pattern of institutions, consisting of parish schools for the majority of children, burgh grammar schools and academies for a selected few. Throughout, emphasis was placed on meritocracy and scholastic achievement. All were part of a strong

bureaucratic structure of educational management which, in essentials, had remained largely static since 1872.

In Chapters 2 and 3 the political context within which this system of education operated until 1918 is outlined. Up to 1906, parliamentary control lay in the hands of the Unionists. Thereafter, despite controversy over legislation on social issues and a constitutional crisis, the Liberals remained in office until the advent of a coalition government in 1916. Dissension over questions about home rule, tariff and trade, land reform and a programme on welfare, together with the hesitant early growth of the Labour party, coloured the background against which education in Scotland was to develop. But this development was also determined by the personalities of the legislators at Westminster. Many shared similar educational backgrounds. Their career patterns were often interlocked; while their family ties and social environment reinforced their professional and business relationships.

Following this general discussion in the first three chapters, the inquiry goes on to examine in detail a number of themes forming an integral part of any account of the relationship between education and politics in Scotland. In Chapter 4 it is argued that the partnership governing the conduct of Scottish public education depended upon the maintenance of an efficient administrative framework; a framework containing a reasonably equitable balance between the powers of the central authority and the responsibilities of local bodies. But the system did not operate in a political vacuum; and, as the evidence illustrates, administrators and managers were open to pressures from diverse sources. On the other hand, only in rare instances were courts of law used in order to challenge their decisions. Herein lies the significance of the case brought by the Dalziel School Board against one of its own employees as well as against the S.E.D. The board's action not only questioned the viability of the machinery of management but also the principles upon which the whole educational system had been founded; while, in addition, it showed the significance of religion as a reactive and creative force in Scottish education.

Political challenges to the system, however, were more frequent. As analysed in Chapter 5, the key objective in the attacks on the existing pattern of administration and organization was a need to modernize the structure and replace the parish-based method of management with a more efficient one built upon a county or district base. But for a long time no re-structuring took place. The 1904 and 1905 Education (Scotland) Bills, containing reforming proposals, failed to pass; while the 1908 Bill re-emphasized the validity of parish control. Nonetheless, the attempts to alter the system were useful in so far as they revealed that no fundamental change in one segment was possible without relating it to a total re-appraisal of the whole fabric of local government in Scotland. The first world war subordinated elements essential in schooling - such as accommodation, staffing and equipment - to the demands of the military. Yet, despite the interest in re-construction aroused by the experience of war, the political will to jettison tradition was still insufficient to overcome opposition to change from some community groups and the churches, as the discussion makes clear in Chapter 8. Even so, with the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill, a degree of modification was introduced with the adoption of an *ad hoc* county-based pattern of management.

Preserving a balance between the central and local authorities was not the only constraint imposed on the Scottish educational system. The impact of the Treasury, it is noted in Chapter 6, was equally important. With its function as the keystone of central government bureaucracy, as well as its essential role in matters of finance, the Treasury's relationship with the permanent secretariat of the S.E.D. was characterized by attitudes and behaviour that were both insular and obstructive. The evidence, however, makes clear the determination of Craik and Struthers, the Department's successive permanent secretaries between 1886 and 1921, not to be trampled into submission. Their persistence, and their reactions to Treasury dictat, reveal how difficult it could be at times to distinguish clearly between the exercise of an administrative function and the pursuit of a political goal.

Tight, but unreliable, levels of finance from local sources allied with the machinery of central government and the forces of the Treasury, together with a system of educational management in need of reform, combined with geomorphological and cultural factors to turn education in the Highlands into a precarious and difficult exercise. As noted in Chapter 7, boards and schools had often to exist on inadequate equipment and staffing. Comparisons with data used in the Conclusion reveal that such problems were not unique to the Highlands. Nonetheless, the degrees of the difficulty, especially in the counties of Inverness and Ross and Cromarty, were sufficient to provide a constant source of concern to local managers and centralized administrators alike.

Chapter 9 surveys the main trends in Scottish educational development between 1918 and 1929. It was an uncertain period, characterized both by frequent changes in government and by economic failures. While some of the ideas incorporated in the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill failed to be implemented, major changes were initiated in the school curriculum. But they were changes which narrowed rather than extended the 'ladder' of opportunity. In matters of administration and management, on the other hand, the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Bill completed the process of reform begun in 1904, thus integrating education with other aspects of community administration.

The Conclusion brings the strands together, placing the detailed evidence in the wider context of political and social reform. It draws attention to the main argument put forward, namely, that by the early 1900s, the parish-based system of educational provision and management in Scotland was both too restrictive and inadequate to cope effectively with the range of the demands that were being made on it. Constraints imposed on the managerial structure, caused as much by factors within the local environment - such as lack of sufficient finance - as by influences emanating from other sources, notably central government, created a slow recognition of a need to initiate reforms. But as support for change grew, particularly, but by no means exclusively, within the hierarchy of the permanent secretariat of the S.E.D., so

did the expression of local opposition to change become more determined. While the force of that determination to introduce reform, and the desire of the parish authorities to retain their established positions in the structure of the government of Scottish education, forms the underlying thread of this investigation, it is concluded that the concept of a partnership between the two tiers of government was inadequate and, in some respects, misleading. It was based on a need to observe a British as well as a Scottish dimension. It could not cope swiftly with the processes of innovation. Finally, it failed to differentiate, with sufficient clarity, between the responsibilities of politicians and administrators, and accurately locate one of the most important elements in any act of decision-making, namely, the exact source of power.

CHAPTER I

The Scottish Environment 1900-1914

Education in Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century did not operate in a political or cultural vacuum; nor did educational practitioners such as Sir James Donaldson, Principal of the University of St. Andrews and Simon Laurie, Professor of Education at the University of Edinburgh, refrain from active participation in politics. Issues attracting their attention formed part of an established and vigorous debate about entrenched principles, ranging from a general survey of the aims of education to more specific discussions on the nature, content and control of the curriculum. It was a debate which reflected, within the context of a distinctive Scottish national identity, a desire by teachers, religious leaders, civic dignitaries and parents to exercise some constructive influence on the conduct of children's schooling. Moreover, it demonstrated the right and responsibility of the state to have an efficient and well-ordered system of education. A variety of contextual factors, adding colour to the dimensions of the argument, cannot, therefore, be ignored.

In the first place, some importance must be attached to the changing pattern of Scotland's population. Although the total figure of 1,608,420 in 1801 rose to 4,472,103 within a century, the rate of growth was rather inconsistent. For example, between 1811 and 1821 it rose from 1,805,864 to 2,091,521. From 2,888,742 in 1851 it grew to 3,062,294 by 1861, and the total of 4,025,647 recorded in 1891 reached 4,472,103 by 1901. The actual increases were 285,657 from 1811 to 1821, 173,552 from 1851 to 1861 and 446,456 between 1891 and 1901; while the rates of increase calculated were 15.8 per cent from 1811 to 1821, 6.0 per cent from 1851 to 1861 and 11.1 per cent from 1891 to 1901 (1). This general upward direction may, as Flinn says, fail to reveal a clear pattern of development (2); but, unquestionably, by the end of the nineteenth century, much of Scotland had been changed from a rural to an urban society, with the cities

emerging as ... "major economic, social political and spatial phenomena" (3). Aberdeen's population had risen from 57,000 in 1831 to 154,000 by 1901. Within the same period, that of Dundee increased from 63,000 to 161,000 and Edinburgh from 166 to 413,000. Glasgow's growth was equally significant; it advanced from 274,000 in 1831 to 761,000 by 1901 (4), thus helping to give the west of Scotland 45.6 per cent of the country's population, with the east having 31.6 per cent and the north-east 9.8 per cent (5).

Much of this urbanisation had adverse effects on many rural communities. These effects were encapsulated in dramatic and sometimes tragic forms in the depopulation of the Highlands, an emotive, complex and controversial issue, riddled with hidden whirlpools of selection and over-emphases. This process of depopulation had begun seriously in the mid-nineteenth century. Flinn believes that it must ... "have been rare among regions of Western Europe in experiencing a persistent absolute decline..." (6). Paradoxically, however, some Highland communities continued to grow throughout the century (7). Consequently, as Slaven suggests, it is ... "an oversimplification to say that the population of the West of Scotland grew by emptying the population of the Highlands and Islands into the factories and mines of the Lowlands" (8). Other factors, such as regional variations in marriage habits (9), a decrease in the rate of fertility (10), reductions in the levels of mortality (11), emigration (12) and immigration (13) were equally potent in engendering the transformation of the environment.

In addition to the growth and redistribution of the population, the condition of commerce and industry also provided an influential element determining the quality of the nation's system of education. Established crafts and trades appeared to be flourishing. Shipbuilding dominated heavy engineering. Clyde-built ships represented one-third of Britain's total tonnage and 18% of the world's output (14). The North-British Locomotive Company became the largest in the country (15). Coal production increased from 14.9 million tons in 1870 to 42.4 millions by 1913, with the number of collieries rising from 121 to 542 (16). Large and successful exhibitions were held in Glasgow in 1901 and 1911. Agriculture and its related products dominated the rich lands of the east and of the

Borders.

Much of this success, however, disguised ominous trends. Production of iron-ore, for example, fell from 700,000 tons in 1901 to 591,000 tons by 1913, with its importation rising during the same period from 700,000 tons to 1.9 million tons (17). Some of the coal seams in Lanarkshire were almost exhausted and becoming uneconomical to mine compared with more modern pits in Fife and the Lothians (18). Textile firms, many with archaic machinery, were failing in competition with rivals in the United States (19). Above all, shipbuilding companies were finding themselves under increasing pressures from German yards, with the concomitant steel industry, so dependent upon shipping, finding alternative outlets to be scarce. Too many Scottish employers were failing conspicuously to understand and apply some of the new discoveries in science and technology - such as the principles of diesel power and the internal combustion engine (20). Furthermore, as Checkland notes, some of them were highly dogmatic and dictatorial in their attitudes and behaviour, keeping their labour force uninformed, using foremen to instruct, resisting suggestions from trade unions (21) and retaining ideas common in the early days of the Victorian age when the men of business, taking over from landowners, ... "had no conspectus of the new industrial and urbanized society they were bringing into being". (22)

A third factor, characteristic of the life of Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century, was the standard of housing available. Nearly half the population of the nation in 1901 lived in one or two rooms, and housing problems were not confined to urban areas alone (23). For example, migrant workers, such as those moving to the island of Barra during the herring season, could quickly overwhelm isolated rural communities and present the authorities there with almost intractable problems (24). Nevertheless, in considering the country as a whole, the complexity of the housing question was undoubtedly most apparent in the major centres of population.

Parliamentary legislation between 1867 and 1909 enabled local authorities to improve sanitary arrangements and housing conditions generally. Owners of

properties could upgrade dwellings by carrying out repairs and prohibit habitation until living conditions in them were regarded as satisfactory (25). Unfortunately these reforms were only permissive. Few determined and large-scale attempts were made to replace defective accommodation. Furthermore, a form of sub-letting space in individual houses, known as 'farming out', was not uncommon. 'Farmed out' houses, according to the Public Health Act of 1867, were ... "houses of one or two apartments taken on lease by any person, and let or rented to several occupiers for limited periods as furnished apartments" (26). By using a system of 'ticketing', that is, placing the 'farmed out' houses on an official register specifying the maximum legal capacity of a house, local authorities hoped to impose and maintain minimum standards of sanitary control. But the popularity of the method often defeated the objective. By 1902 Glasgow had 20,000 'farmed out', ticketed premises housing 74,000 people, a tenth of the city's total population (27). Disturbing evidence presented to the Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor in 1903, revealed ... "men and women concealed in every corner ... hidden in the cupboard, in presses, under the bed, and even on the housetops..." (28). Moreover, this system of sub-letting was not confined to Glasgow. Leith adopted the 'farming out' principle in 1903, as did Paisley in 1907, and by 1909 Edinburgh had 7,221 ticketed houses (29).

Yet in spite of such testimony, responsible bodies in Glasgow, for instance, delayed before adopting plans to improve living standards in the Port Dundas district. An enquiry in 1902 had found the area ... "insanitary in a degree that could hardly have been imagined possible"; but it took nearly ten years before the clearance scheme there was completed (30). As Gibb points out, local authorities ... "were reluctant to prosecute such cases since expulsion would only produce overcrowding elsewhere..." (31). In addition, many of the housing problems in areas such as the Clyde basin before 1914 were caused by ... "uncertain demand as industrial employment and earnings fluctuated" (32).

However, the logic between standards in housing and health, on the one

hand, and progress in education, on the other, was understood clearly by some individuals like Seebohm Rowntree and Margaret MacMillan, and also by a few public bodies. As far back as 1875, for example, the Edinburgh School Board, admitting the difficulty in enforcing school attendance on children who were inadequately fed and clothed, had carried out a short experiment in conjunction with the city's Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, to provide food and clothing for destitute children (33). Later, in 1903, central government, responding to growing public concern over the low level of physical health among army recruits in South Africa, agreed to appoint a committee to inquire into the causes of physical deterioration. Evidence given to the Committee by, for instance, General Sir Frederick Maurice, praised attempts made in Glasgow, notwithstanding delays in clearing the Port Dundas area, to feed necessitous children (34). And in 1905 a report to the medical authorities in Dundee stressed that ... "many children, either from disease or lack of personal cleanliness, are a source of danger and serious discomfort to their companions; and that many derive little benefit from school attendance because they cannot apply their minds to lessons while their stomachs are empty" (35).

Some commentators, nevertheless, have suggested that a ... "thesis of degradation..." is an ... "oversimplification of a complex picture..." (36). There was, for example, no mass evacuation of the middle classes from the Gorbals district of Glasgow at the beginning of the Edwardian age. "Continuity of character with peripheral change was", on the contrary, "the over-riding theme." (37) Even in the dignified surroundings of Edinburgh ... "a complex mosaic of status-areas could be identified..." (38), but the growth of these areas ... "involved a subtle interplay between social stability, the persistence of earlier patterns, the processes of social and economic change, adjustments in the spatial pattern and new residual developments." (39)

Elimination of deficiencies in material needs, or in the social environment, could not alone root out factors which had a debilitating effect on the Scottish

educational environment. The problem had a moral dimension also. Some Scottish preachers, for instance, as Enright has observed, believed that ... "social evils could only be eradicated through a personal encounter with Christ which would in turn bring the regenerative graces of Christian virtue to all classes of society." (40) A contribution in this direction was made when the limited Presbyterian and the Free churches linked-up in 1900, thereby diluting much of the bitterness which had engulfed Protestant denominations since the time of the Great Disruption. Nevertheless, Roman Catholicism, as Checkland has underlined, ... "could still stir strong emotions among Scots conditioned for generations to the idea of the Pope as anti-Christ." (41) Amelioration, even by public institutions claiming the authority to mediate between the human race and the spirit of God, could not easily transmogrify prejudices and intolerance fostered over many generations.

Theologians accepted - albeit reluctantly - that ... "it was improper any longer to attempt to enforce uniformity of belief." (42) Some, on the other hand, found salvation, and an antidote to social misery, in the proselytising of the Socialist Sunday School Movement and kindred organisations. (43) Others turned to popular literature for comfort. While the triple gods of Scott, Burns and Stevenson remained almost impregnable, Kailyard writers such as Barrie and Maclaren presented a vision of a 'tir-na-nog' in an ideal Scottish community. Their popularity indicated that although many Scots were ... "vigorous industrialists and slum-builders, ... they never reconciled themselves spiritually to their urban creations." (44) More recent research, notably by William Donaldson, has pointed out that many of the Kailyard writers, although growing up in Scotland, wrote for an English or an American market. "On the whole," he suggests, "popular fiction in Victorian Scotland... is not obsessed by rural themes; it does not shrink from urban stress or its problems; it is not idyllic in its approach; it does not treat the common people as comic or quaint." (45) But realistic literature, as Harvie has noted, presents ... "a revolutionary challenge to society...". Did Kailyardism do this? Harvie thinks not. "The bogus community of the Kailyard," he feels, "was

promoted as an alternative to the horror of the real thing.” (46)

Political leaders and their professional advisers were not oblivious to these trends. The fodder of escapism alone, however, was too ineffectual to resolve the adverse effects of population changes and urbanisation, to counteract conservatism in industry and commerce, and to eradicate the worst excesses of detrital habitation. Despite the force of an inherited tradition, it was thought that the root of reform, and the means of revitalising Scottish society, lay embedded in education. What were, by 1900, the general characteristics of Scotland’s educational system and what sorts of trends had helped to formulate and shape its sinews?

* * * *

Two interdependent elements had dominated the processes of development: voluntary initiative and formal state intervention. John Knox’s First Book of Discipline had provided a basis for a graded system of education and had ... “served as a standard and an ideal towards which to strive.” (47) A series parliamentary acts in the seventeenth century, notably that for ‘founding’ schools in 1646 and, more significantly, the act of ‘settling’ schools in 1696, built upon Knox’s foundation, re-emphasising earlier ideals and providing stronger powers to enable parish authorities to establish schools. Nonetheless, in spite of this framework, the pace of expansion in the parochial system during the eighteenth century was controlled not only by ... “the vigour of the presbyteries” ... and by a need ... “to rouse unwilling heritors” ... to fulfil their obligations (49), but also by environmental factors such as political disruptions created by opposing forces during the Stewart uprisings (50), pressures from an expanding population (51), and periodic recession and inflation within the economy (52). In contrast to developments within rural parishes, many burgh schools, by the eighteenth century, had become increasingly under the control of town councils. Subsequently some of these councils set out to turn the schools into what they deemed to be centres of academic excellence, a feature often denoted by an emphasis on the study of Latin, although other subjects were not ignored entirely

(53). While this kind of trend enhanced the reputation of the schools concerned, their new status was often achieved at the expense of smaller establishments. Consequently, as Smout points out, it was possible for Edinburgh ... "to become nationally famous for its educational facilities while perhaps a third of its citizens remained more or less totally illiterate". (54)

Apart from parochial and burghal foundations, and as an antidote to the fairly narrow curriculum of the 'grammar' schools, the eighteenth century also witnessed the development of 'academies'. A large network of them was established throughout Scotland, (55) as well as in England and Wales, (56) providing education in sciences, commerce, and practical subjects such as navigation. Elsewhere, and to fill gaps where there had been no parish initiatives, charity schools were started. (57) Their main purpose was to preserve a stratified society and rescue the poor from extreme poverty by teaching them what the eighteenth century writer Clara Reeve referred to as ... "their duties to God, their neighbours and themselves." (58) The propelling force behind these schools was the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (S.S.P.C.K.), founded in 1709. The aristocracy and the middle classes found in the Society a splendid avenue for exhibiting what they felt were humanitarian sentiments and pious ideals, albeit touched with a soupçon of refined cynicism. But gradually these schools became pawns in political disputes. Their industrial work was criticised and, notwithstanding the original aims of their founders, they were accused of encouraging what they had set out to prevent, namely, disrupting the pattern of society. Other beneficiaries gained at their expense, notably the 'hospital' schools such as George Watson's in Edinburgh, Hutcheson's in Glasgow and Robert Gordon's in Aberdeen. (59) Most of these schools were boarding institutions which provided scholarships for individual poor and needy boys. When there was a shortage of other kinds of schools, the system performed a useful function, but by the mid-nineteenth century Simon Laurie did not think it was ... "a wholesome one, either morally or intellectually." (60)

At the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the strongest characteristic of the school system as it had developed in Scotland was its voluntary nature, regulated by enthusiasm, tempered with a range of philanthropic and religious motives intermingled with degrees of pity, fear and altruism. During the nineteenth century, on the other hand, there were to be considerable changes both in principles and provision. These changes came slowly and spasmodically, with earlier motives abandoned only with reluctance. Industrial expansion and rapid increases in population, however, forced society to direct its attention to inadequate resources. A variety of remedies to counteract social problems were proposed: population reduction, stringent legal measures, currency reforms, expansion of free trade and consolidation of class differences. But there were some, such as Erskine, (61) Sharpe (62) and Whitbread (63), who thought that education was the best panacea for all disabilities. It was in the context of this confusion of ideas that reliance on the principle of voluntary initiative began to be questioned. Out of this questioning came a gradual replacing of voluntaryism by the active participation of the state.

The idea of state participation in education was not new. During the sixteenth century, for example, the principle of '*cuius regio, eius religio*' had led English as well as Scottish monarchs to take an intelligent interest in schooling. Similarly, after 1603, and especially during the period of the Commonwealth, education was seen as a useful tool by those wishing to fortify the antennae of the state. But, from the early nineteenth century, central government's stance of passive interest in education was to alter. Inactivity was to give way to open participation and, ultimately, to control and direction. Some indication of changes in attitudes were evident in the views and actions of enthusiasts like Robert Owen (64) and Henry Brougham, (65). Yet, early attempts at state participation, such as the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1801, the Poor Law Bill of 1807 and the proposed Education Bill of 1820 were either failures or largely ineffective in practice. Individual politicians were showing the will to change; the corporatism of central government seemed reluctant to do so.

Nevertheless, even limited success portended the beginnings of a change in attitudes towards the relevance of social legislation. This change began to manifest itself in measures such as the Test Act of 1828 and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Of special significance to education, in so far as they created a precedence, were the Appropriations Act of 1829 and the bill to set up a Board of Education for Ireland in 1831 (66). In the wake of this last development came Roebuck's resolution on July 30, 1833 to establish a system of national education. Following it, the Committee of Supply, on August 17, 1833, by fifty votes to twenty six agreed to grant a sum of £20,000 to assist the erection of schools for the poor throughout Great Britain.(67) Despite this, and other measures such as the Poor Law of 1834 and the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, attitudes towards state provision for education remained lukewarm. (68) The government, in Brian Simon's words, was ... "with its autocratic leadership concerned chiefly to prevent more fundamental social changes by a tactic of procrastination". (69) But the inevitable corollary to the vote of August 17, 1833, with its annual renewal of the grant thereafter, and in increased sum, was the formation of administrative machinery to supervise the deployment of the money. Thus was created the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839, to be followed - despite opposition - by the setting up of a state inspectorship in 1840. (70) Official state supervision of education in Great Britain was, therefore a reality.

These developments did not end the voluntary system. Nevertheless, by the mid nineteenth century, mounting social and economic pressures meant that the framework of that system in Scotland was being ... "strained and overwhelmed..."(71) The Great Disruption, with its fragmentation of the religious establishment, and the growing strength of English influences, indicated that the Scottish educational tradition was *no longer immune from change*. (72) To try to redress these tendencies, James Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, steered a number of education bills through parliament between 1850 and 1864. By doing so he resuscitated the idea of education as a panacea against social evils, reminding

Parliament that reform ... "was part of what [it] was bound to do." (73) To a large extent, English opposition combined with anti-reformist Scottish Tories to defeat them. (74) But the reality of the need and the urgency for reform within education was clear in England also. The publication of the Newcastle Commission's report in 1858, followed by that of the Argyll Commission for Scotland in 1867, emphasized the extent of this urgency. The latter noted that in Glasgow, for example, there were 98,767 children of school age but only 40,933 in attendance. (75) It also felt that the parochial system lacked organisation and supervision and that the parish school principle, geared more appropriately to a rural or semi-rural economy, was incapable of expanding to meet growing needs. (76) While not opposing the idea of Privy Council control, the commission was apprehensive about the implication of English influences. (77) Yet when the Education (Scotland) Bill became law in 1872, the strong degree of authoritarianism, previously exercised by the church authorities, remained. Far from loosening the reins, the Act tightened them in the interests of state education. A nation-wide system of school boards was created not, as in England and Wales, to 'fill the gaps' but to take over responsibility for most schools. In addition, a new central body, the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, together with its executive wing, the Scotch Education Department (S.E.D.), was formed. Not until after the office of the Secretary for Scotland was revived in 1885, and the Secretary's assumption of the additional and totally separate post of Vice President of the Committee of Council in 1886, thus creating a powerful central bureaucratic machine as a counterbalance to the local structure, was the near-total detachment of Scottish education from the system in England and Wales achieved. Two things prevented a complete separation of the systems. First, the Committees of Council for both England and Scotland retained the same person as President. Second, and much more significant, the authority of the Treasury to restrict the S.E.D.'s deployment of the finance allotted to it from central funds, as well as the Treasury's assumption of a responsibility for Departmental personnel and related staff,

remained intact, thus ensuring the retention of a limited form of unity between the systems of education in Great Britain.

By 1900, therefore, the pattern of the state organisation of education in Scotland was well-defined. There was a nation-wide system of schools providing compulsory, although by no means entirely free, (78) education, with increasing emphasis placed on meritocracy and scholastic achievement. Administered locally but controlled from a central point, the schools formed part of a fiercely bureaucratic form of educational government containing diverse elements that were capable of reacting against each other. What was the nature of this reaction? How were the processes of decision-making and devolution of responsibility manifested in the management of education in Scotland between 1900 and 1930? What kind of pressures were put on the legislature, the S.E.D., and local authorities? How did these pressures affect the relationships between them so as to shape the format of policy-adoption and implementation? In the chapters that follow, the discussion will focus particular attention on the character of the legislators and significant stages in the legislation on Scottish education between 1904 and 1929; the nature of the interaction between the central bureaucracy of the S.E.D., and the local authorities, especially the school boards; the extent of the Treasury's influence on the structure of the bureaucracy; and the manner in which the attributes of the system and the tensions within it influenced the course of educational development in the Highlands. Finally, consideration will be given to the last ten years before the re-organisation of local government and the abolition of school boards in favour of larger units in 1929.

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2. Flinn, M. (ed), Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s, London, 1977, p.301.
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4. Census returns extracted from Checkland, S. and O., Industry and Ethos, London, 1984, pp. 36-45.
5. ibid, p. 184.
6. Flinn, (ed), op.cit., p. 305.
7. ibid, p.307. Flinn notes that, apart from the small parish of Lochs, declining after 1891, every other parish in Lewis and Harris continued to grow until 1911. And small towns in the Highlands, such as Inverness and Stornoway, trebled their populations during the nineteenth century, while Campbeltown increased by approximately 50%.
8. Slaven, A. The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960, London, 1975, p. 136.
9. Flinn, (ed), op.cit. p. 334. "The median age at marriage of men in the Far North was consistently about 18 months higher than that of Scottish men generally, and of those in the Highland Counties almost three years higher. Their wives, too, married at ages almost as much above the national average. And just as consistently, both men and women in the industrial Western Lowlands married at ages below the national average."
10. ibid., p. 348, Flinn's researches found that there was little difference between fertility rates generally in urban and rural areas but that there were ... "significant disparities ... between the high rates of the industrial (as distinct

from the urban) areas and the low rates of the Highlands, Islands and Borders."

11. ibid, pp. 412-20. Flinn holds that ... "a principal feature of the general decline of mortality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is the reduction in mortality from infectious diseases, including tuberculosis." It was, however, an uneven pattern. While T.B. declined steadily in Glasgow, rural and highland areas showed little reduction until the years immediately preceding the first world war. Contaminated milk, lack of fresh air in schools and low standards of hygiene enabled the disease to retain its hold.

Ferguson, T. Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914, Edinburgh, 1958, pp. 134-5, quotes thus from a report by Stirlingshire's County Medical Officer of Health in 1879: "Farm No.3. A dairy farm, with 20 cows; milk sold in Glasgow. Male and female potato diggers share the byre with five calves. In one part of it there is an accumulation of dung and in another a quantity of chaff. ... the only division between the dung, chaff, calves and potato diggers consists of a wooden nail...".

Ferguson states also (p.140) that box rooms, suitable for storage only, were used as bed rooms. "Many families clinging tenaciously to the idea that a bed erected in their best room would be fatal to their social reputation, preferred to stow away the children... in a dark and unventilated bed closet."

12. Campbell, R.H. Scotland, in Cage, R.A. (ed) The Scots Abroad, London, 1985, p. 10. observes that Scotland was ... "high among the countries which lost population to countries overseas and that at a time when it was increasingly urban, industrial and prosperous." He goes on to say that there was a feeling in Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century that the country had fewer opportunities available compared with those overseas. But many Scots who were successful abroad as merchants ... "had ... often very little lasting link, if any at all, with Scotland." (p.19).

Flinn, (ed), op.cit p.442, states that emigration from Scotland reached a peak in the early decade of the twentieth century. "The unskilled labourers ... tended to opt for Canada (39%) ... and Australasia (41%). Skilled artisans ... preferred South Africa and the United States, while the middle classes showed a strong preference for South Africa" (p.453).

13. A significant trend in the early and mid-nineteenth century had been immigration from Ireland. Flinn, (ed). op.cit. p. 457, notes that by the end of the century ... "the influx of Irish had effectively ceased ... and a new wave of immigrants appeared." These came mainly from Italy, Russia and Poland (p. 458). In 1911 65% of them settled in the western lowlands, with one-third in Glasgow alone. The remainder went to Edinburgh, Fife and Stirling. About one-half of them were miners and about 12% were tailors. 58% of Italian immigrants in 1911 became proprietors of restaurants.
14. Slaven, op.cit., p. 178.
15. Checkland, op.cit., p. 173.
16. Slaven, op.cit., p.167, Table 19.
17. ibid., pp. 169-170.
18. ibid., p. 168.
19. ibid., p. 163.
20. Ferguson, op.cit., pp. 330-31.
21. Checkland, op.cit., p. 178.
22. ibid., p.14.
23. Butt, J., Working Class Housing in the Scottish Cities 1900-1950, in Gordon and Dicks, (eds.), op.cit., p. 233.
24. Ferguson, op.cit., p. 137.
25. Slaven, op.cit., p. 237.
26. Ferguson, op.cit., p. 138.
27. Slaven, op.cit., p.238.

28. ibid., p. 241.
29. Ferguson, op.cit., pp. 138-140.
30. ibid., pp. 141-2.
31. Gibb, A., Glasgow: The Making of a City, London, 1983, p.142.
32. Melling, J. Clydeside Housing and the Evolution of State Rent Control 1900-39 in Melling, J. (ed.), Housing, Social Policy and the State, London, 1980, p.145.
33. Ferguson, op.cit., p. 571.
34. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration 1904, Cd. 2210, vol. II, p. 12, Sections 278-0: ... "there is more serious effort made to combat these evils [physical deterioration] in Glasgow than in almost any other town."
35. Ferguson, op.cit., p. 565, quoting. Exact source not given.
36. Gordon, G. and Dicks, B., Prolegomena in Gordon and Dicks (eds.), op.cit., p. 14. In the context of the 'thesis of degradation', the authors refer specifically to Checkland, S.G., The British Industrial City as History: The Glasgow Case, in Urban Studies, vol. I, no. 5, 1964, and to Kellett, J.R. Glasgow: A Concise History, London, 1967, p.6.
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38. Gordon, G. The Status Areas of Edinburgh in 1914 in Gordon and Dicks (eds.), op.cit., p. 173.
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40. Enwright, W.G. Urbanization and the Evangelical Pulpit in Nineteenth Century Scotland, in Church History, vol. 47, 1978, pp. 404-05, as quoted in Knowles, T.D. Ideology, Art and Commerce: Aspects of Literary Sociology in the Late Victorian Scottish Kailyard, Gothenburg, 1983, pp. 39-40.
41. Checkland, op.cit., p. 196.

42. ibid., p. 195.

43. Reid, F. Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain 1892-1939 in International Review of Social History, vol. 11, Assen, Netherlands, 1966, pp. 20-39.

The Socialist Sunday Schools taught the principles of socialism to adults and children. Their teaching methods were similar to those used in the Sunday schools of Christian denominations. By 1900, seven Socialist Sunday Schools had been established in Glasgow and one each in Paisley and Edinburgh. The total number in Scotland increased to fourteen by 1906. Despite their strong pacifist stance, they remained active during the first world war but, following the expansion of the Communist party after 1921, their influence began to wane. Throughout their existence they attracted support from some professionally-qualified schoolteachers who were unable, within the state system, to experiment in the teaching of subjects such as history and civics. Like their Christian counterparts, the Socialist Sunday Schools understood the popular appeal of singing as a method of projecting ideas, particularly among children. Specially-composed verses were collected and published in the Socialist Sunday School Hymn Book. One characteristic example quoted by Reid was the following:

We're a band of little comrades,
Walking in the path of Truth;
We are marching onward, onward,
Through the flowery land of youth;
Marching onward up to manhood,
When we mean to join the fight,
Of the weak against oppression,
In the battle for the right.

But this applied technique of poetry and music was not confined to socialists. Others who were politically opposed to them, such as the Primrose League, made similar use of verse-singing as an effective method of putting forward their ideas. Thus:

Children of the Empire,
 Primrose Buds are we
 Marching, ever marching,
 On to victory,
 Wearing still the emblem,
 Just a tiny flower
 From our native woodland,
 Ever joyful hour.

We a pledge have taken
 Ever to be true
 To our King and Country,
 And the Empire too -
 True to our religion,
 Ever serving Him
 Who is loved by angels
 And the Seraphim.

Hymn of the Primrose Buds as quoted in Pugh, M., The Tories and the People 1880-1935, Oxford, 1985, p. 215.

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60. Laurie, S.S. General Remarks on Hospital Training, Edinburgh 1868, p. 113.
61. Parl. Deb. H.C. 1s. vol. ix, 24.4 1807, col. 542.
Erskine believed education ... "gave the poor of Scotland too much pride and spirit to apply for parochial relief in their own country; and it was education which enabled them to distinguish themselves so much in every line when they left it."
62. ibid., cols. 543-4, Sharpe: "Education would give... [children] ... habits of submission and respect for their superiors; habits of cleanliness and exertion, and the fear of punishment."
63. ibid., col. 550, Whitbread: "Search the Newgate calendar. The great majority

of those executed in London every year were Irish; the next in order were English, and the last Scots. This was in exact proportion with their respective systems of education among the lower orders."

64. Owen, R. A New View of Society, London, 1813, frontispiece: "Any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community ... by applying certain means ... which are to a great extent at the command ... of those who possess the government of nations."
65. Stewart, R. Henry Brougham, London, 1986, pp. 120-28.
Brougham's enthusiasm in 1818 for state education contrasts with Davis Giddy's a decade earlier. The latter ... "thought that education would not be the better for being made compulsory; it was better that it should be voluntarily, and not be forced; that it should descend like the gentle dew of Heaven', and be received as a gentle blessing" Parl. Deb. H.C. Is. op. cit., col. 543.
For a discussion of differing views in the late 18th and early to mid 19th centuries see West, E.G. Education and the State, London, 1965, ch. 8.
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67. Sturt, op. cit., pp. 68-70.
68. Cecil, D. Lord, M., London, 1954, p. 130. Melbourne ... "sometimes wondered if education was really of any use, so far as success in life was concerned. The careers of his acquaintance seemed to indicate the reverse. 'I do not know why there is all this fuss about education', he once remarked to Queen Victoria, 'none of the Paget family can read or write and they do very well'".
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 Morgan, A. Makers of Scottish Education, London, 1929, p.224.
 Scotland, J. The History of Scottish Education, London, 1970, vol.2, p. 87.
 Lenman, B. and Stocks, J. The Beginings of State Education in Scotland, 1872 - 85, in Scottish Educational Studies, vol.4, no.2, 1972, p.98.
 Smout, T.C. A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950, London, 1986, p.223. But evidence suggests that there could be room for doubts about the availability of free education:
- i) Memo from Craik to the Vice President, 18.3 1898 in ED 7/1/5
 "Whether Free Education involves Free Books or not, it is certain that Free Education is not established for Scotland by any Statute". What was done was to ... "allocate a certain sum of money 'towards relief from payment of

school fees:" While the distribution of this money was controlled by the Code, no school had to agree to the conditions ... " and if every school in Scotland declined to submit to those conditions or to accept the Fee Grant, no parent in Scotland could on that account demand that educational provision should be made for his child without fee."

Craik's reference to the absence of 'any Statute' is not entirely clear, given that he quotes the relevant phrase from Section 19, sub-section 3 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889. P.G.A., 1889, 52 X 53 Vict. ch. 50. Nevertheless he is correct in saying that the onus to act fell onto individual school boards. Circular 104, dated August 26, 1889 makes this clear: "... I am ... to ask the very early attention of your Board to the provisions of the Minute [dated August 26, 1889] so that you may be able ... to state the arrangements which your Board propose to adopt with regard to each school under their management Should the arrangements proposed not be duly sanctioned so as to come into operation from 1st October, the share of the grant may be lost for any school in regard to which such failure may occur." R.C.C.E.S., 1889-90, C-6106-I, pp. 111-12.

- ii) Haddow v. Glasgow School Board, 10.6.98., Sess. Cas. 1897-98, vol.2, pp. 988-95. The School Board brought an action against Haddow because of his daughter's absence from school. Her absence was caused by the parent's unwillingness to pay for books. Without books, the Board refused to admit her to the school. The Board's case was that it was the duty of the parent to provide books at his own expense. The parent, on the other hand, argued that if education was free, so also should books be. Giving judgement against Haddow, the Lord President noted: "The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1889, and the subsequent statutes, which are popularly referred to as establishing free education, do nothing more than effect within certain limits the abolition of school fees."

CHAPTER II

The Political Context

With the introduction of another Scottish education bill into the House of Commons in March 1908, central government was initiating a sixth attempt within six years to try to reform the system of education in Scotland. Between 1902 and 1905 the process of legislation had reached no decisive conclusion, being interrupted partly by lack of parliamentary time and partly by the growing inability of Arthur Balfour, the Prime Minister, to control incompatible factions within his party. Balfour's resignation on December 4, 1905, and the ensuing general election, led the combined forces of the Conservatives and the Liberal-Unionists into one of the most spectacular and catastrophic defeats ever experienced by a political party at a general election. In the years preceding that election, and during the decade following it, what was the general nature of the political climate determining the direction taken by education in Scotland?

The Conservatives, led by Lord Salisbury, had come to power in 1895. Together with the Liberal-Unionists, their allies since 1885 (1), they consolidated this power in the general election of 1900. In that election the percentage of the total votes cast for them was 50.3. Liberals gained 45.0 per cent and the remainder were won by Labour, Irish Nationalist and Independent candidates (2). The actual number of seats captured did not reflect these percentages. Unionists had a majority of 218 over Liberals and 134 over the combined opposition parties (3). For the first time, admittedly by a narrow majority, they won control of Scotland. Sixteen burghs and twenty counties voted for them while the Liberals held fifteen burghs and eighteen counties. Among Liberal losses were the burghs of Ayr and St. Andrews and the counties of Argyll, Bute, Dumfries, Orkney and Shetland and Sutherland (4).

That Unionists gained this victory was, in no small measure, the result of

persistent division within the Liberal party. Its members questioned the viability of home rule. For decades this issue fomented dissension between Liberals in the east and west of Scotland. Shortly after the general election of 1885, when seventeen Liberal-Unionists had been returned to Scottish seats, Campbell-Bannerman suggested that the case for home-rule was "... logically strong"..., but provided ... "the Scotch movement is kept in its proper place it will do us no harm." (5) By the end of the century such honest optimism was seen to have become somewhat misguided. "There is no doubt," remarked one commentator, "that Mr. Gladstone's scheme of Home Rule, with its certainty of Catholic ascendancy over the Protestant north-east of Ireland drove into an antagonism ... most important divisions of nonconformist electors". (6) This trend was reflected clearly in a number of Scottish constituencies in October 1900. (7) "Home rule", it was felt, "not only lopped trunks off Scottish Liberalism, but blasted it to the heart". (8) On the other hand, as two recent commentators have noted, ... "the slimming of the Liberal party by the defections of Whigs and Unionists meant that in the longer run it could become more coherent." (9)

As a single issue, home rule was neither strong enough to destroy the tenets of Liberal policy nor to create cracks in the fabric and core of the party. It had other problems, notably finance. The Scottish Liberal Association, for example, had failed to set up a permanent central fund to fight elections and continued to ... "merely trust to the Whip to find the money." (10) Of greater potential danger had been the rift created by the retirement of Gladstone in 1894 and the elevation of Lord Rosebery to the leadership of the party. (11) Equally important was the growing popularity of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. "C.B.", declared John Sinclair, one of the Liberal Whips and a future Secretary for Scotland, "will do nothing to force a split... . There is no fear of his jumping down R[osebery]'s throat for he is genuinely anxious to avoid a split, and willing to make almost any sacrifice to that end." (12) Despite such generous sentiments, the cleavages within the Liberal party between 1895 and 1905 were real

enough. Reflecting on them at a later date, William Webster observed that although ... "there was apparently an overwhelming majority of organised Liberal opinion for Sir H.C-B, the time was very serious for the Party because there was a great deal of indifference, apathy and suspicion in the minds of many good Liberals who were not just sure of their ground." (13)

Weaknesses within the Liberal camp, therefore, assisted in bringing victory to the Unionists. In addition there was one general factor that gave Unionists an enormous tactical advantage over all other parties and enabled them to use it with superb panache to gain maximum effect - the imperial dimension. Success for British troops in the South African war, coupled with the intoxicating spirit of jingoism, helped to obliterate from the minds of many voters all serious concern for less colourful issues. "We should have won Moray", wrote Munro Ferguson, the former Scottish Whip, "-and but for the fishers' absence it would have been won. The khaki feeling is strong in the Moray basin...". (14) This was no isolated example. In Scotland alone, constituencies such as Caithness, Sutherland and Partick, each having close connections with the armed forces or with those aspects of the economy dependent on military strength, found much inspiration in the war and enabled them to give substantial support to the Unionists. (15) In these, and in similar areas throughout the country, (16) a parliamentary candidate expressing pro-Boer sympathies was no more capable of gaining support for his views than was an advocate for democracy likely to establish a successful power base in the empire of Nicholas II. For the Unionists, the imperial connection was ..."a positive article of belief around which to hang their policies." (17)

The euphoria generated by the election of 1900 evaporated quickly. An element of distrust between the Conservative party's central office and local associations developed. "The long period of party success," according to one report, "induced a sense of security and complacency which stifled local activity." (18) The resignation of Salisbury, both as Prime Minister and as leader of the party, in July 1902

and the succession of his nephew, Arthur Balfour, to the two offices neither aroused any real degree of enthusiasm in the parliamentary party in particular nor among its supporters within the country in general. Confidence built up by the Boer war was short-lived. The crisis over the issue of tariff and trade caused the Unionists, by the end of August 1903, to split into three hostile groups, with the protectionists in one corner and the advocates of free trade in another. "Between the two", states Ramsden, "was a substantial centre group, loyal to the leadership, distrustful of the dogmas of both sides and worried as to the future of the party if unity were not somehow maintained." (19) Maintenance of unity proved to be an unattainable objective. Through intrigue and accident the Prime Minister managed to lose five of his cabinet colleagues - including Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Secretary for Scotland - by September 1903. "In seeking above all to avoid a split", Ramsden concludes, "Balfour institutionalized it and made it permanent." (20)

Disastrous by-election results followed, with nine seats lost in 1904 and another nine by October 1905. (21) Other major policy failures in the fields of education, Ireland and India helped to weaken further the morale of the Unionists. In the late autumn of 1905 Joseph Chamberlain, probably the most powerful member of the cabinet, initiated an open challenge to the authority of the Prime Minister. (22) "The storm signals", wrote Asquith, "are flying and everything points to an early break-up." (23) This came, finally, in December. Balfour was forced to act. Rather than fight, he resigned. Gambling on what he felt to be the fragile nature of the opposition, he placed the future destiny of his own party in the hands of Joseph Chamberlain.

Yet Balfour could indeed have been forgiven for believing that the Liberals were in an irreversible state of decay. Although the party had had an influx of new blood, with journalists and academics broadening its base and with young radicals providing much-needed administrative talent, distrust was not far from the surface. (24) "No-one", wrote Munro Ferguson to his wife, "is more filled than I am with distrust of C.B. and his immediate followers...". (25) And Lord Knollys, the King's

private secretary, in a letter to Haldane in September 1905 expressed a belief that, were the Liberals to gain power, the King would urge Campbell-Bannerman to go to the House of Lords ... "partly because he would think that Asquith would be the best man to lead in the H of C and partly because he would fear that Sir H. C-B... would be inclined to give way to pressures from the extreme left...". (26)

Unfortunately for the Unionists, disagreements among Liberals and surreptitious attempts made by some leading members of the party, such as Asquith, Grey and Haldane, to foment disloyalty towards Campbell-Bannerman proved to be transitory. (27) The strength of Liberalism, especially in Scotland and Wales, re-asserted itself. Home rule ceased to be a debilitating yoke... "and this in conjunction with pledges carefully given upon retrenchment and a peaceful foreign policy endowed the party with a most welcome air of respectability." (28) Although the long-term consequences of this 'respectability' could be unpredictable, the immediate result caused a political sensation. In the general election of 1906 Liberals captured 399 seats, (29) while the Unionists were beaten decisively, losing 250 constituencies and winning in only 158. (30) With additional support from Labour, Irish Nationalists and a few Independents, the Liberals, therefore, had acquired the essential numerical strength to dominate the House of Commons. Nevertheless, the number of seats which they held did not necessarily reflect accurately the true complexity of the political climate outside parliament. The percentage of the total votes cast for the Liberals was 45.9, a figure not all that substantially higher than the 43.7% gained by the Unionists.(31) Consequently the marginal difference of 2.2% in the support given to the two major parties provided a reasonably clear indication that the foundation of Liberal authority in the Commons was not as solid as the number of seats suggested; and that the main Opposition party had retained enough power to enable it to remain ... "an electoral force of considerable strength." (32)

What were the general implications of this change in central government?
How did the major parties adjust to defeat and success?

In response to loss of power, the leadership of the Unionists was neither complacent nor sanguine. While some were ... "increasingly alarmed by the military, economic, demographic and educational inferiority of British society ...",⁽³³⁾ Balfour had little doubt that it was the advent of the Labour party which had had a decisive influence on the result. Salisbury, however, looked at the loss of control in a wider framework, suggesting that issues such as the controversy about Chinese Slavery, the food tax and, as noted earlier, poor party organisation accounted for the decline.⁽³⁴⁾ Among the prosaic but electorally more significant context of local constituency branches this latter factor was important, particularly in Scotland. Too many of those serving on Scottish local committees were either apathetic in their attitude or members ... "in name only".⁽³⁵⁾ Few branches were socially cohesive. Scottish landowners were ... "more of a liability politically than their English counterparts... ." ⁽³⁶⁾ 'County families' saw themselves as ... "a class apart and above the middle classes of the county towns, the tenant farmers, the farm servants and the working classes generally."⁽³⁷⁾

Meanwhile, following the loss of his parliamentary seat in January 1906, Balfour re-entered the Commons within six weeks, winning a by-election in the City of London, and before any conclusive action could be taken to replace him as the leader of the party. Treading delicately among rival factions, he attempted to revive confidence in the party while, at the same time, attending to some of the more glaring weaknesses. In particular he resolved major differences of opinion between himself and Chamberlain with regard to the controversial issue of free trade and imperial preference. By so doing he preserved ... "the authority of his leadership intact without driving anyone out of the party..."⁽³⁸⁾ although some - such as Lord Balfour of Burleigh - took a pessimistic view of a rapprochement with Chamberlain and feared that the Birmingham influence had killed the old Conservative party ... "as I knew it under Lord Salisbury."⁽³⁹⁾

Reform of the party bureaucracy was complete by the end of 1906. Having granted an increased measure of autonomy to local and regional Unionist branches,

and following the enforced retirement of Chamberlain after a stroke in July of that year, it was clear to the membership generally that Balfour was ... "the only possible party leader, incomparably more able and more experienced than any alternative."(40) Yet slowly, almost imperceptibly, he allowed the Unionists in the House of Commons ... "to drift into sterile opposition."(41) Defeated twice in the general elections of January and December 1910, deserted by what old Tories had always assumed to have been one of their strongest supporting pillars, namely, the monarchy, (42) and outmanoeuvred in the initial stages of the constitutional crisis of 1910-12, Unionism could withstand no further failures. Leadership of the party passed to Andrew Bonar Law, a ... "pre-eminently managerial figure..."(43) New dimensions, associated increasingly with commercial elements manifested themselves. Leaders of business took a more positive role in the formation and implementation of general party policy and the popular image of the Tory party (44) as one of landowning paternalism began to wane.

Defeated Unionists, with reduced parliamentary representation, survived and overcame some of their more serious managerial and internal policy differences with only a minimum amount of public dissension. Paradoxically, the Liberals, exhilarated with the trappings of an electoral triumph, found it increasingly difficult to control outbreaks of peppery disagreements. Towards the end of a period of ten years in government these were to culminate in what was to prove to be for the Liberal party in parliament, as well as in the constituencies, a near-fatal haemorrhage in December 1916. Why?

In the first place, despite its aura of invincibility, the authority of the leadership of the parliamentary party continued to rest on a somewhat uneasy base. To some of his contemporaries, Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister, had ... " 'caught on' with the country ..." (45) and exercised ... "an inexpressible personal human control of the party." (46) Assessed retrospectively by two recent authorities, he has been judged by one to have been ... "the shrewdest of party managers and committee men;" (47) while another sees him as ... "an able parliamentarian ... [but] ... a weak leader of

government." (48) Asquith, his successor as Prime Minister, less fragile physically and more vigorous intellectually, established firm and decisive control. Re-casting the government in 1908, he assembled ... "a viable team of men whom he could trust and respect ...". (49) But, by 1916, having struggled with the tension of responsibility, with the needs of a country at war, and with the inevitable clash of political philosophies present in coalition governments, Asquith had neither the energy nor the will to prevent his administration from collapse.

Second, the temperamental incompatibility between traditionalists and radicals in the parliamentary party, particularly with regard to major questions on Social policy, made it very difficult for the cabinet to establish aims and objectives acceptable both to ministers and to backbenchers. (50) Initially the cabinet ... "appeared open to pressure from well-informed sources, and aloof from, rather than committed to, social reforms with which they claimed to sympathise." (51) However, following ministerial changes in 1908, this dichotomy admittedly lost some of its force and the Liberals were able to put forward and pass into law a constructive programme of legislation, ranging from public health and welfare to taxation and defence. Notable among these measures, and having particular relevance to Scotland, was the House Letting Bill of 1910. This bill abolished the stranglehold over tenants of the need to pay rent for a specific property for a minimum period of six months. Moreover it relinquished concomitant control over their voting rights (52) and, therefore, relaxed the rigidity of the regulations determining their eligibility to vote in school board elections. Equally significant socially, and offering more substantial political dividends, was the campaign to amend Scottish land legislation. The failure of the Scottish Small Holdings Bill to reach the statute book helped to unite Liberal opinion in Scotland in favour of a radical campaign against land value taxation. This campaign kept alive the interest in Scottish home rule and enabled Irish home rule to be ... "made more palatable if it could be presented as merely the first instalment in a process of devolution which would shortly be extended to Scotland."(53) Furthermore this issue reinvigorated the Young Scots

to promote new ideas, attack complacency and suggest reforms beneficial to Liberal party organisation.(54)

These developments occurred in the context of events such as the budget of 1909 and the advent of general industrial unrest. Reacting to proposals in that budget, Unionists, particularly in the House of Lords, indulged in a persistent outburst of ferocious obstructionism. Nevertheless, by means of determination and political skill - and not without an element of luck - the cabinet overcame a severe attack on its authority in parliament; thus defusing a threat to dislodge the delicate balancing machinery controlling the core of the political system. At the same time the government was obliged to confront the rising confidence of the suffragette movement as well as face growing disruption in key industries such as coal, shipping and railways.

Individually each of these trends was disruptive. Collectively they amounted to what Halevy has judged to be ... "nothing short of a revolutionary outbreak." (55) Furthermore, they point to a third and, in retrospect, possibly the most serious challenge to the position of the Liberal party as a leading force in public life. That challenge began in 1900 when the hybrid Labour party won two seats at the general election. Six years later it captured 29 constituencies. After the election in December 1910 there were 43 Labour members in parliament. (56) Significantly, however, the party in Scotland remained electorally weak until 1918, gaining only two seats in 1906 and three in 1910. Hutchison distinguishes a number of factors responsible for this slow maturity.

One primary cause was that the Labour party's organisation in Scotland was weak. It failed during its period of early growth to establish a working relationship with the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), itself hampered by limited finance and poor administration. In addition the Scottish Workers' Electoral Representative Committee (S.W.E.R.C.), by refusing to compromise on matters affecting the question of affiliation of unions to parties, enhanced the gulf between trade unionists and other socialists. A

second feature contributing to the poor performance of Labour in Scottish seats was that, contrary to practices adopted in England, no formal pact was made between Labour and Liberal candidates in two-member constituencies. Finally the haphazard rise in Labour's popularity was encouraged by the adoption of social radicals such as John Hogge as Liberal candidate, thereby enabling Liberals to diminish the Labour vote. (57) On the other hand, in spite of these disadvantages, there were indications that the period of the Labour party's sluggish development in Scotland was about to terminate. Nationally, Liberals lost fourteen seats to the Unionists in by-elections between 1910 and 1914, among them Leith, formerly held by Munro Ferguson. (58) Moreover, a developing process of informal political education for adults fostered growth in the popularity of socialist concepts. Although failing to prevent, or indeed resolve, disputes about the minutiae of dogma, the pioneering efforts of groups such as the Fabian Society and the Workers' Educational Association, together with the initiative of individuals like John Maclean, created a useful basis for the dissemination of ideas and, ultimately, for Labour's political breakthrough in Scotland after 1918.

The impact of electoral failures and successes in 1906 could not be predicted. One feature of the political climate, nevertheless, remained fairly constant - imperialism. Unionists continued to embrace its ideals; Liberals found them increasingly attractive. While disagreements on specific issues abounded, the central importance of the role of the empire in the minds of politicians, administrators and educators remained paramount. (60) Only among some sections of the working classes was the popularity of imperialism questioned, sometimes in very distinctive form. (61) Otherwise it was accepted as a key feature of government policy and little was done to prevent its baser qualities from degenerating into rabid and rampant jingoism.

Factors determining the direction to be taken by education in Scotland were complex. It was, nevertheless, a process carried out in the context of administrative reform by the Unionists, of the application of new ideas, a struggle to remain in power by the Liberals, and of a hesitant early growth in the Labour party. Whatever the viability

of any educational policies, the extent of their success or failure in practice was to be decided, to a very considerable degree, by the quality, ability and experience of legislators and bureaucrats who, themselves, were prisoners within the system and political climate in which they operated and, nominally, controlled.

References

1. Not everyone approved of the alliance between the Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists. Thus:

Lady Bracknell	What are your politics?
Jack	Well, I am afraid I really have none. I am a Liberal Unionist.
Lady Bracknell	Oh, they count as Tories. They dine with us, Or come in the evening at any rate.

Wilde, O. The Importance of Being Earnest, Act I, in The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, London and Glasgow. 1973 reprint, p. 333.
2. Craig, F.W.S. (compiled and edited) British Electoral Facts 1385-1975, London, 1976, 3rd edition, pp. 85-87.
3. ibid.
4. ibid., pp. 117-119.
5. Letter from Campbell-Bannerman to James Bryce, 16. 12. 86. in Campbell-Bannerman MSS, Add. MS 41211.
6. Stobart, W.L. Lord Rosebery and his followers: The Present State of the Liberal Party in The Fortnightly Review, vol. LXIII, New Series 1898, p. 914.
7. Craig, op. cit. pp. 117-119.
8. Academicus, Politics in Scotland in The Fortnightly Review, vol. LXIII New Series, 1898, p. 933.
9. Checkland, S & O. Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914, London, 1984, p. 78.
10. Letter from Munro-Ferguson to Campbell-Bannerman, 24.10.00 in Campbell-Bannerman MSS, Add. MS 41222.
11. A.B.C. The Nemesis of Party in The Fortnightly Review, vol. LXIII, New Series, 1898, pp. 4-7 gives an immediate contemporary reaction to the change.
12. Letter from John Sinclair to Herbert Gladstone, 25.12.01 in Viscount

- Gladstone MSS, Add. MS 45995.
13. Notes by William Webster on Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's Leadership, received June 1922, pp. 6-7, in Campbell-Bannerman MSS, Add. MS 41252.
 14. Letter from Munro Ferguson to Campbell-Bannerman, 24.10.00 in Campbell-Bannerman MSS, Add. MS 41222.
 15. Pelling, H. Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910, London, 1967, pp. 383 *passim*.
 16. Kinnear, M. The British Voter: an atlas and survey since 1885, London, 1968, p.26, cites, in addition to Scottish constituencies, seats such as Brightside (Sheffield), Portsmouth, Plymouth, Tynemouth, Middlesbrough, Stockton and Sunderland. In each Liberals lost to Unionists as a result of war-hysteria.
 17. Ramsden, J. The Age of Balfour and Baldwin 1902-1940, London, 1978, p.6.
 18. National Union of Scottish Conservative Associations, 1906. Annual Report as quoted by Unwin, D.W., The Development of the Conservative Party Organisation in Scotland until 1912 in the Scottish History Review, vol. 44, no. 138, Oct. 1965, p. 109.
 19. Ramsden, op. cit. p.11.
 20. ibid.
 21. Craig, op. cit. pp. 66-67.
 22. Ramsden, op. cit. pp. 15-16.
 23. Letter from Asquith to Campbell-Bannerman, 25.11.05 in Campbell-Bannerman MSS, Add. MS 41210.
 24. Emy, H.V. Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892-1914, London, 1973, pp. 100-103.
 25. Letter from Munro Ferguson to his wife, 21.7.05, in Novar MSS, File 26.
 26. Letter from Lord Knollys to Haldane. 16.8.05 in Haldane MSS, MS 5906.
 27. Probably the most serious of these attempts was the 'Relugas Compact'. Koss, S. Asquith, London, 1976, pp. 65-6. "Framed in the early weeks of

September [1905], it took its name from the remote fishing-lodge in Morayshire where Grey had gone in pursuit of the Season's catch. Conveniently, Haldane and Asquith were also relaxing in Scotland," ... "the terms of the 'Compact' ... are well enough known. Asquith, Haldane and Grey pledged to deny Campbell-Bannerman the benefit of their services or reputations unless he first obliged them by removing himself to the Lords and surrendering the leadership of the Commons - with the Exchequer attached - to Asquith. It further stipulated that the Foreign Office (or alternatively the Colonial Office) should be reserved for Grey, that Haldane (with no prior ministerial experience) should be made Lord Chancellor..."

28. Emy, op. cit., p. 141.
29. Craig, op. cit., p. 87.
30. Kinnear, op. cit., p. 28.
31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. Pugh, M. The Tories and the People 1880-1935, London, 1985, p. 159.
34. Ramsden, op. cit., p. 23.
35. Hutchison, I.G.C. A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 221.
36. Pugh, op. cit., p. 131.
37. Hutchison, op. cit., p. 222.
38. Ramsden, op. cit., p. 25.
39. Letter from Lord Balfour of Burleigh to Lord Landstowne, 5.12.07, in Lord Balfour of Burleigh MSS.
40. Ramsden, op. cit., p. 27.
41. Lindsay, T.F. & Harrington, M. The Conservative Party 1918-70, London, 1974, p. 17.
42. Pugh, op. cit., pp. 164-654. Maintains that in the constitutional crisis of 1911-

12, George V opted to be a figurehead for the nation as a whole, thus ensuring the survival of the monarchy. But the belief among older Tories that there was a natural relationship between them and the monarchy was, to a certain extent, the result of events which took place in the late decades of Queen Victoria's reign, a point developed by John MacKintosh. When the Tories were in opposition ... "the Queen secretly asked Salisbury [leader of the opposition] in 1886 whether it would suit the Unionists to grant or refuse Gladstone's request for a dissolution The Queen raised the matter again in secret letters to the Leader of the Opposition in March and in October 1894." These instances challenge ... "the older maxim that the Crown only takes advice from its accredited servants. Part of the explanation for the cooperation of the opposition leaders was the conviction that the Crown was their natural ally [therefore] in saving the country from a temporary Radical aberration and that what they did could not be wrong. (A similar arrogant assumption governed their use of the House of Lords after 1905 and ended in disaster.)... George V [however] adhered to the normal working of the constitution and accepted the advice and proposals of his Cabinet." MacKintosh, J.P. The British Cabinet, London 1977, pp. 249-50.

43. Middlemas, K. Politics in Industrial Society, London, 1979, p. 39. ... "after Balfour had been replaced, in 1911, ... Central Office merged with the National Union on its own terms, virtually without discussion. The Chairman of the national Union meekly accepted the change: 'They hoped ... to form a businesslike organisation ... like a railway company with a board of directors'. (National Union Minutes 1911, p.24). The business corporation analogy suited the theme of national efficiency and contrasted happily with the 'extravagant' welfare schemes of Asquith's government...".
44. This trend, although a feature of Conservatism, was by no means confined to the Unionist party. Liberals were equally skilled in linking their party activities

with the business community. Thus: Scott, J. & Hughes, M. The Development of Scottish Capital up to the First World War, London, 1980, pp. 46-49.

"The multiple directors [of Scottish companies] had many of the characteristics of a privileged status group: many of the men were Members of Parliament, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, etc., and were drawn from the landed aristocracy and the established professions... The pattern of interlocking directorships was reinforced through a complex system of kinship relations which testify to the importance of family inheritance... . the Duke of Buccleuch ... and the Earl of Dalkeith, both of whom appear in the list of central directors, were father and son An important set of kinship ties centred around the Dundas family ... one of his [Ralph Dundas]' relatives was married to William Younger (of William McEwan) Another relative had married into the family of Lord Balfour of Burleigh Clearly the 'Dundas system' ... was still a force to be reckoned with".

45. Letter from J.W. Crombie (Leader of the Scottish Liberals) to James Bryce, 23.10.07, in Bryce MSS.
46. Letter from Arthur Ponsonby to James Bryce, 3.6.08, in Bryce MSS.
Ponsonby succeeded Campbell-Bannerman as the Member of Parliament for Stirling District.
47. Middlemas, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
48. Cook, C. A Short History of the Liberal Party, London, 1976, p. 43.
49. Koss, op. cit., p. 99.
50. Authorities are by no means agreed on this issue. Thus:
Emy, op. cit., pp. 102-103: "... the entry of a sizeable bloc of Social Radicals into the party by 1906 ... was instrumental in forwarding the emphasis upon social politics." But Cook, op. cit., p. 43: "... the Parliamentary Liberal Party was not composed of the wild Radicals that its enemies sometimes supposed.

Politically the party was dominated by 'centre' Liberals... . The real Radicals were few and far between."

51. Emy, op. cit., p. 146.
52. Hutchison, op. cit., p. 240.
53. ibid. pp. 241-42.
54. ibid. pp. 232-33.
55. Koss, op. cit., p. 129.
56. Craig, op. cit., p. 84.
57. Hutchison, op. cit., pp. 245-264.
58. Cook, op. cit., p. 58.
59. Roberts, J.H. The National Council of Labour Colleges, M.Sc. Edinburgh 1970, Ch. 4.
60. For detailed discussion see: MacKenzie, J.M. Propaganda and Empire, Manchester, 1984.
MacKenzie, J.M. Imperialism and Popular Culture, Manchester, 1986.
61. Humphries, S. Hooligans or Rebels? : an Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939, Oxford, 1981, p. 134. ..." the grand pretensions of group leaders and the public school ethos of manliness that permeated these movements [Boy Scouts, Boys' Brigade] were often viewed with cynical detachment." Lack of respect could be illustrated in verses, some of which had a sexual connotation. Others expressed working-class opposition to the celebrations of Empire day. Thus:

'Ere came the Boy's Brigade,
All smovered in marmalade,
A 'tupenny' a' penny pill box
An' 'alf a yard of braid.

CHAPTER III

The Character of the Legislators

With rare exceptions, few political figures have gained any substantial advancement through specialising in the field of education. Yet education is an aspect of politics that contains some of the significant features of the panoply of the state, the nature of its power and the deployment of its authority. The formal basis of that power and authority does not emanate from a bureaucracy. On the contrary, its source is embedded in the legislature. At the end of the nineteenth century neither the executive responsibilities of the centralised administration of the S.E.D. nor the organising machinery of local government bodies in Scotland could lawfully operate any part of the state's education policy without a right of statute. Although advice could be given, and persuasion brought to bear, the ultimate responsibility for determining all the criteria upon which the administration of education in Scotland rested, lay indisputably with the legislators. Departmental circulars containing directives for local administrators or classroom teachers could be constructed with relatively little difficulty. On the other hand, as indicated in evidence given in a previous chapter, (1) without a *raison d'être* based upon law, formulated and approved by parliament, such instructions - regardless of their tone and substance - did not necessarily carry full legal authority. Parliament itself, however, did not operate in a vacuum. Its membership was open to all manner of persuasion, generated by M.Ps themselves, by external pressure groups, or by the stridency of public opinion. In addition, there were other, less overt, influences on individual members, helping to determine their reactions and shape their decisions. These influences were present in a variety of factors such as cultural inheritance, social environment, and pre-parliamentary careers and occupations. Above all, their own formal educational experiences, most of them acquired in public schools, high schools and academies, tended inevitably to colour their attitudes towards a state-controlled

system of schooling, operating in a society that was undergoing increasingly rapid, and sometimes unpredictable, changes. What, therefore, was the calibre of those members of parliament, elected between 1900 and 1917, (2) with an interest in Scottish education (although some of them represented constituencies in other parts of Great Britain) (3) and immersed in attempts to reconcile its inherent conflicts and reform its structure?

During the passage of the abortive Education (Scotland) Bill of 1904, nearly seventy MPs participated. Liberals, with thirty-eight speakers, took a more positive interest in its course than the combined force of twenty-seven Conservatives and Unionists. This may have reflected two factors: first, government ennui with the whole subject of education, caused partly by the traumatic experience that it had encountered during the controversy over the Education Bill of 1902, and partly as an aftermath of the cabinet crisis in the summer of 1903 over the question of tariff reform; (4) and second, a general lack of interest in Scottish education. (5) Apart from Sir John Gorst (Conservative, Cambridge University), a former Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, no senior government figures other than Graham Murray, the Secretary for Scotland and Scott Dickson, the Solicitor General for Scotland, took any active part in debates. Given their official positions, they clearly had no alternative but to attend. The Liberals, on the other hand, fielded some of their luminaries, sensing with the unmistakable snout of an opposition ferreting for power, the opportunity to challenge the government. Liberal speakers included Asquith (Fife), Bryce (Aberdeen South), Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling District), Haldane (Haddington), Lloyd George (Caernarfon boroughs), Thomas Shaw (Hawick) and John Sinclair (Forfarshire).

After failing to complete its passage, the 1904 bill was re-introduced in a modified form in 1905. Referring to it during his reply to the address on the King's speech, Lord Oranmore and Browne observed that it contained none of the ... "modicum theologicum...", which was such a distinctive feature of the debates on the Education Bill of 1902, because ... "Scotsmen, though they are keen theologians, are

fortunately agreed as to the religious pabulum which it is desirable to give to their children. There is, therefore, every reason to hope that this measure, which will be of immense service to the cause of education in Scotland, may be passed into law this session." (6) Despite his Lordship's optimism, less interest was shown in the 1905 bill than in its predecessor. Out of a total of approximately thirty-five speakers, twenty were Liberal and twelve were from the side of the government. One Labour member - Keir Hardie - took part. With the exception of Scott Dickson, (newly appointed as Lord Advocate following the departure of Graham Murray from active politics (7) and the elevation of the Marquis of Linlithgow to the Scottish Office), and Sir John Gorst, the government seemed to rely on the vivacity of its backbenchers. Not much of that was evident. The bill, introduced in March, meandered to its withdrawal in August. The failure to carry it through to success was one symptom of the government's growing vulnerability, evident in what Hutchison has called the ... "lethargic and apathetic..." feeling among Conservative supporters in the country, caused to a considerable extent by an atmosphere of confusion and bitterness created during the controversy attached to the question of tariff reform. (8)

At the end of 1905 the nation slid into a general election. Following the realignment of political control, a third attempt was made to reform Scottish education when another Education (Scotland) bill was introduced into the Commons in 1908. Its passage was completed successfully and it duly received the Royal Assent. Over sixty MPs took an active part in debating it, including thirty-one Liberals, twenty-two Conservatives and Unionists, four Labour and three Irish Nationalists. Fourteen of them had been in the previous parliament. Their presence, therefore, guaranteed an element of continuity in the general debate.

What was the character of the formal schooling (9) that these legislators had received? Of those debating the 1904 proposals, nineteen had been educated at English public schools and six in English grammar schools. Twenty had been to Scottish high schools and academies. The remainder were former pupils of Board or

Church schools; but a minority had been educated privately. Although the total number of speakers was significantly less in 1905, there was virtually no difference in the pattern of their schooling. Similarly, despite the change in government and party control in 1906, the types of schools represented showed little change. In so far as all these categories of institutions reflected their location, their popularity or, sometimes, their antiquity, so did the choice of universities. (10) Among English graduates, the Oxonians had a slight edge over the men of Cambridge. In Scotland the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, established in large centres of population and physically closer to the core of government administration and industrial entrepreneurship, proved to provide more attractive choices than the quieter, semi-rural settings of St. Andrews and Aberdeen.

On the other hand, in the context of the political affiliations of MPs, there were factors relevant to their education that were more important than the antiquity or the location of institutions. English public schools, for example, as Daalder has observed in his study of cabinet government, entitled *Cabinet Reform in Britain*, ... "for a long time almost completely monopolised the schooling of future British rulers, thus inculcating their special values with lasting effect." (11) Among the former public school boys concerned with the Scottish education bills between 1904 and 1908, the majority were Conservatives and Unionists. Moreover, their proportion in relation to Liberals who had also attended the same type of school, changed from a ratio of ten to eight in 1904 to that of thirteen to six in 1907. Throughout, Eton had the best representation. Most of the old Etonians were Conservatives. Some of them represented Scottish seats. Out of the other major public schools, only Rugby provided a majority for the Liberals. In contrast, Liberals dominated ex-pupils from Scottish higher class schools and academies, with Edinburgh Academy and Glasgow High School providing the largest contingent. Similarly, most of the graduates from the Scottish universities were Liberal, although there was a slight balance in favour of Conservatives and Unionists among the Glasgow alumni. The superior force of the Conservatives was noticeable in the

Oxbridge camp; but it was the Liberals who were pre-eminent among the graduates of continental universities.

This general pattern of education is not entirely alien to the hypothesis put forward by John Scott in his examination of elitism and class structure. He has suggested, with reference to the years between 1880 and 1914, that it was the Conservative party which had become ... "the true party of the establishment." (12) What enabled it to become so and project itself into ... "an all-pervasive social and political force..." (13) was its considerable ability, Scott argues, to control public schools and the "... system of sponsored mobility operated by Oxbridge colleges." (14) It is an attractive argument; but it tends to simplify what was essentially a complex pattern. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, public schools did not limit their clientele to any special category of social class. Decades later, as Rubinstein has pointed out, the majority of such schools catered for the middle classes. (15) Only a few of them, such as Eton and Harrow, concentrated on an aristocratic elite. Even so, among the old Etonians debating the issues in the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1904, Charles Balfour was the sole M.P. from a genuinely aristocratic family. The others, such as Maxwell and Tennant, were, respectively, the sons of a baronet and a chemical engineer. Similarly in 1908 all the active former Etonians except Lambton were from military, legal, professional and industrial backgrounds. Furthermore, ... "many wealthy industrialists - as opposed to bankers or merchants - had no time for social climbing ...". (16) Consequently they often sent their sons to local schools, and thereafter direct into business. This happened, for instance, to John Denny (Conservative, Kilmarnock), educated at Dumbarton Academy; to John Dewar (Liberal, Inverness-shire), a former pupil of Perth Academy; and George Younger (Unionist, Ayr burghs), who had attended Edinburgh Academy. Each went from school into their family concerns, although Denny spent a short period furthering his education in Lausanne.

Rubinstein notes also, with regard to university education, that the ancient English foundations were open ... "to genuinely promising young men ... where talent

was genuinely cultivated and rewarded regardless of background.” (17) In a specific reference to Scottish and Welsh students, he observes that many ... “took a first B.A. at a provincial university and then a second at Oxbridge - both, one imagines, for its social and employment advantage and for its educational value.” (18) Indeed, as Robbins points out, there was a long-established connection between the University of Glasgow and Balliol College, Oxford via the Snell Exhibition. (19) “The Glasgow-Balliol link”, he states, “was exceptionally strong, but it was but one particularly influential example of a widespread transfer of intellect, usually in a southerly direction.” (20) Both Sir Henry Craik, the first permanent Secretary of the S.E.D. and Sir John Struthers, his successor, took that route. They allowed their intellect to return, periodically at least.

The range of institutions attended by the M.Ps legislating on Scottish education between 1904 and 1908 was, therefore, fairly restricted. Did the content of their learning prove to be equally so? Until the latter half of the nineteenth century classics dominated the official curriculum of old English public and grammar schools alike. They were, declared Gathorne-Hardy, ... “a part of that defence the public school masters felt they almost alone maintained against the evils of industrialisation and voracious materialism...”. (21) Classics had the highest status within more modern foundations too, such as in the City of London School, where future leaders, including Asquith, ... “learnt their classics in the gas-lit fog of the City.” (22) Curricular changes proposed during the 1860s in the reports of the Commissions chaired by Clarendon and Taunton in England, and Argyll in Scotland, seeped through exceedingly slowly. Foreign languages were often considered to be irrelevant, science ranked below drawing at Eton, and English literature tended to be ignored. (23) Generally, however, Scottish schools showed a different emphasis. While classics continued to have an important role, the curriculum at Glasgow High School from 1875, for instance, included modern languages, maths, natural science, music and drawing also. “The increasingly sophisticated curriculum”, writes Ashmall, “made the school’s contribution to the intellectual development of the boys who attended its classes significantly

academic.”(24) Similar trends were taking place in some other Scottish schools like George Watson’s College (25) and the Royal High in Edinburgh. (26) But opposition to these sorts of changes remained fairly strong, particularly in universities. (And, because of the growing importance of examinations in the matter of selection for entry into post-school institutions, as well as for the Civil Service and the armed forces, what the universities thought and did (or did not do) with regard to the curriculum, inevitably affected processes in schools.) Little real relevance was attached to the idea of the utilitarian values of knowledge. For example, Benjamin Jowett, the powerfully-influential Master of Balliol, was ... “particularly opposed ... to science; and this ... “elitism ... meshed quite neatly with the growing conservation of the British intellectual nation during the latter part of the [nineteenth] century.” (27) Even if those trends were not quite so dominant within the Scottish universities, only in the closing decade of the century did their proposals for curriculum reform begin to become really effective. By that time all the MPs involved in the debate on the Education (Scotland) bills of 1904, 1905 and 1908 had completed their formal education, some even before the commission reports had appeared at the end of the 1860s. But they at least, as Jenkyns comments, had gained an appreciation of the social value concomitant with a knowledge of classical literature, namely, that ... “the man who knew Latin and Greek was a gentleman.” (29)

This ability to quote from classical sources may have been useful to members of parliament, both as a source of amusement and as a means of encapsulating the essence of an argument. In their roles as legislators and decision-makers, however, the nature of their pre-parliamentary careers was at least as relevant. (30) While there was some evident diversity, the range of their occupations was contained within a limited framework. This was not unexpected. As the Labour party was in its infancy, it would have been extraordinary and exceptional for any MP from the other political groups to have had direct experience of manual labouring in agriculture or industry. Representatives of key professions - academic, medical and financial - formed a small

coterie of members. Regrettably the only ex-schoolmasters taking an active part in the debates came from non-Scottish constituencies. Moreover they had had no experience of teaching in Scottish schools. To some extent, this omission was rectified by MPs such as Thorburn (Unionist, Peebles), Wylie (Conservative, Dunbartonshire), both of whom had served on school boards, and, after 1906, Craik (Conservative, Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities), whose career in educational administration contained no element of teaching.

Former army officers and retired civil servants constituted a larger group, with their representation increasing between 1904 and 1908, and containing as many Liberals as Conservatives. More numerous, however, were company directors and industrialists. Many had had substantial periods in commerce and heavy industry, usually at managerial and directorial levels. Among them were Crombie (Liberal, Kincardine), Denny (Conservative, Kilmarnock), Dewar (Liberal, Inverness-shire), Duncan (Conservative, Govan), Gulland (Liberal, Dumfries), Renshaw (Conservative, Renfrewshire) and Younger (Unionist, Ayr burghs).

On the whole the balance between the party affiliations of MPs from all these categories of occupations was surprisingly even. By far the largest and most formidable of the single career groups were the lawyers. (31) Most of them were either advocates or barristers. While there was evident fluctuation in the levels of their participation, with twenty-six speaking in 1904 and only fourteen in 1905, the proportion in both years was almost identical. Only in 1908 was there a real decline in the extent of their activity. As a group they enjoyed a high profile, legacy of a long history of a close relationship between Scottish government and the law. Encouraged by an ability to adapt professional commitments to an eccentric parliamentary time table, they were able to pursue what was, in reality, a dual career, so enabling them to rely on the financial outlay from one in order to provide the necessary sustenance for the other.

This need for MPs to be self-sufficient was not unimportant. Until 1911 they did not receive a full professional salary. Provided wealthy patrons were available, the

system remained viable. But even before 1911, as Rubinstein stresses with reference to the Conservative party, changes were taking place in the social composition of the House of Commons. Patronage was in rapid decline and conservatism was losing its ... “predominantly landed-aristocratic background to one based on industry and commerce.” (32) In a Scottish context, though, this dichotomy between landed families and industry had never been totally rigid, as Scott and Hughes illustrate in their study of the ‘interlocking’ between banking, insurance, industry and business. (33) In particular, they note how, soon after 1800, relationships were established between pillars of the Scottish aristocracy and the business world. Previous reference has been made to the Dukes of Buccleuch, for example, who developed a family connection with the Royal Bank and with insurance companies like Standard Life and Scottish Equitable. (34) So did the Marquess of Linlithgow with the Bank of Scotland and Standard Life and the Marquess of Tweeddale with the Commercial Bank, Edinburgh Life and Scottish Widows. (35) This pattern had become a distinctive feature of Scottish industry and business by the later part of the nineteenth century, with profitable links made between railway companies like the Caledonian or the North British and construction firms such as that of Sir William Arrol and the chemical conglomerate of Sir Charles Tennant. The ramifications of this ‘interlocking’ went further. Sir James King, Lord Provost of Glasgow from 1886 to 1889 held multi-directorships in Tennant companies. In addition, he had connections with Burmah Oil, on whose board sat John Denny, the Kilmarnock MP, and J. & P. Coats. Similarly, Younger’s brewing ‘empire’ was ‘interlocked’ with the National Bank, with George Younger MP being one of its directors as well as being on the board of the North British Railway and the Mercantile Insurance Company. (36) By 1905, as Scott and Hughes note, Scottish companies ... “comprised a system of regional and financial clusters of industrial companies embedded in a diffuse but well-connected financial system.” (37)

To these ‘clusters’ were joined a number of MPs involved in debating the Education (Scotland) Bills between 1904 and 1908. Apart from those noted above,

also included were Hunter Craig (Liberal, Govan and a director of Scottish Temperance), Sir John Leng (Liberal, Dundee until 1906 and on the board of Alliance Trust), Parker Smith (Unionist, Partick and a director of Union Bank) and H.J. Tennant (Liberal, Berwickshire and on the boards of his father's companies). Others, not necessarily part of this 'interlocking', also belonged to the industrial and manufacturing fraternity. Among them were Campbell (Conservative, Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities until 1906) and his brother Campbell-Bannerman (Liberal, Stirling District), Crombie (Liberal, Kincardine), Dewar (Liberal, Inverness-shire), Duncan (Conservative, Govan after 1906), Menzies (Liberal, Lanark South) and Renshaw (Conservative, Renfrewshire). Furthermore, the banking connection of the Buccleuch family continued through the Earl of Dalkeith (Conservative, Roxburghshire).

In addition, these formal relationships between the MPs and industry could be reinforced through marriage and other forms of social contact. Asquith, for example, married Margot, the daughter of Sir Charles Tennant; Ashley (Conservative, Blackpool) became the son-in-law of Sir Ernest Cassel (their daughter Edwina was the first Countess Mountbatten of Burma); while Charles Renshaw not only chaired the company of A.F. Stoddard but was also Stoddard's son-in-law. Other MPs, not necessarily having direct links with industry but who were, nevertheless, a part of the social milieu attached to business, married into the aristocracy. These included Munro Ferguson (Liberal, Leith) whose wife was a daughter of the Marquis of Dufferin, and John Sinclair (Liberal, Forfarshire), Vice President of the S.E.D. and Secretary for Scotland between 1906 and 1911, who married the daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen, whose sister was the wife of Lord Balfour of Burleigh. Finally, the ties that the MPs had created through formal education, business and marriage were maintained by their membership of social and political clubs such as the Athenaeum, the Carlton, the Edinburgh 'New' club and the Reform.

During the interval of ten years following the passage of the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1908, the climate of Scottish political opinion, as noted earlier, began

to alter; but it was not until after 1918 that the composition of parliamentary representation started to undergo a fundamental change. Consequently the pattern of the MPs involved in the debates on the Education (Scotland) Bill 1918 was different only to a degree from what it had been in 1904, 1905 and 1908. The Scottish element in their education was undoubtedly more prominent, and there was a marked drop in the number of members who had been to the public schools and to Oxbridge. Edinburgh university had retained its strong position, while Glasgow's popularity had dropped. Graduate representation among the Liberals continued to lead that of the Conservatives and Unionists. The MPs careers and occupational patterns showed the same variations as in the earlier decade. Lawyers dominated, and there were small groups of retired civil servants and army officers, manufacturers and schoolmasters, with solitary representation from bankers, medical practitioners, engineers and architects. The 'interlocking' with business and industry remained, as did the pattern of marriage alliances. (38)

In considering the characteristics of those members of parliament taking an active part in legislating on Scottish education between 1904 and 1918, certain general features became apparent. Throughout, Liberals played the more active role in debates. But as two of the four major bills were introduced when they were in opposition, they may have seen them as useful vehicles with which to attack the Conservative government. This imbalance in interest, however, continued in 1908 and 1918. Why? No clear answer is discernible. The educational background of most of the MPs under consideration was not dissimilar. Members of both parties had, in many instances, attended the same kinds of schools, with curricula that had common features. Equally, a substantial group had been to universities, while some had made conscious decisions to forego higher education and proceed direct from school into business. On the whole, however, their educational background provided the MPs with a common denominator with which they could shape their individual philosophies and, in the context of the control of education, their attitudes towards state provision

and organisation. Similarly, their career patterns were often 'interlocked', with close contacts cultivated and maintained between those in a variety of professions and occupations. Their social environment and family ties were also used to reinforce professional and business relationships. All these attributes could have had a neutralising effect on attitudes and could have helped to dilute levels of extreme partisanship. On the other hand, shared experiences did not create identical political philosophies; and individual MPs from similar backgrounds could have diametrically opposed views about all manner of major issues. Education was a field that contained most of the features that were important to the viability of the state, the retention of its fundamental principles and the preservation and prolongation of its cultural heritage. But it was also a field where the concentration of practice lay in a specific and, usually, local setting. Only in exceptional circumstances, when questions were lifted above and out of their particular local context, beyond the mechanisms of administration, and, in conjunction with other significant aspects of state government and areas of high principle - such as in the central role played by religion during the passage of the Education Bill of 1902 - did education become a key feature of partisan disputation. With what were seen as lesser issues, with matters connected with the efficiency of the bureaucratic machinery, or with questions of balance of power in local school boards, the interest of many parliamentarians waned, except when financial considerations became evident. Was it, therefore, that the nature of the education legislation between 1904 and 1918 contained little to excite the imagination of MPs? Was it that the Liberals, as a political group, contained a much higher proportion of members whose formative years and experiences had developed in them a great interest and awareness of social questions? Or was it only accidental that local educational issues in Scotland happened to be prominent in areas and constituencies represented by Liberals rather than Unionists? An examination of the legislation may reveal some of the answers.

TABLE 2 UNIVERSITIES

TOTALS

PARTY AFFILIATIONS

	1904				1905				1908				1918				
	C	LU	LIB	NAT													
English																	
Cambridge	12	4	8	5	4	3	5	4	2	1	1	2	1	5	2	1	4
London	4	2	1	3	4	3	4	4	1	1	2	7	1	1	1	1	3
Oxford	10	7	9	7	4	5	5	1	4	3	3	3	5	1	3	2	4
Scottish																	
Aberdeen	1	7	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Edinburgh	9	4	5	12	2	1	7	2	1	6	3	2	1	1	2	2	9
Glasgow	7	4	1	4	2	1	4	4	1	3	1	7	2	1	2	1	3
St. Andrews	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Irish																	
Dublin National	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
Dublin Trinity																	
Continental																	
Berlin	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bonn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Freiburg																	
Geneva	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Göttingen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Heidelberg	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Paris	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Stuttgart																	
Vienna	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

TABLE 3 CAREERS/OCCUPATIONS

TOTALS

PARTY AFFILIATIONS

Careers/Occupations	1904					1905					1908					1918					
	1904	1905	1908	1918	C	LU	LIB	LAB	I	C	LU	LIB	LAB	I	C	LU	LIB	LAB	I		
Advocates/Barristers	23	12	14	19	6	4	12		1	3	2	7	7	2	2	3	7	1	1	15	2
Solicitors/Writers	3	2	1	1			3			2	3	1		2	1	1			1	1	
University Lecturers	2	1	2	1			2			1	1	1		1	1	1			1	1	
Schoolmasters	3	1		2			3			1	1	1		1	1	1			2	2	
Army Officers	6	4		2	3		3			3		1		2	2	4			1	1	
Civil Servants	3		6	3	1		2			1		3		2	2	3			1	1	1
Doctors	1		3	1	1		2			1		2		2	1	2			1	1	1
Bankers/Stockbrokers	4		3	3	2		2			1		2		1	1	2			1	1	
Company Directors	6	4	2	2	2		4			1		1		1	1	1			1	2	
Merchants	2	5	8	2		2				2		3		1	1	6			2	2	
Manufacturers	2	1	2	3			1			3		1		1	1	1			3	3	
Engineers/Industrialists	3	1	4	2	1		2			1		1		1	1	1			1	1	1
Publishers	3			2			3			1		1		1	1	1			2	2	
Landowners	2	1		1	1		1			1									1	1	
Naval Officers	1	1			1					1					1						
Educational Administrators			1								1					1					
Creative Writers			1												1						2
Social Workers				2																	
Coal Miners		1	1									1								1	
Moulders		1	1									1								1	
Shipwrights				1																1	
Soldiers				1																1	
Journalist				1																1	
Architect				1												1					1

References

1. Chapter I, ref. 79.
2. The only MPs included in the sample are those who took an active role in the debates on the Education (Scotland) Bills of 1904, 1905, 1908 and 1918. The sole source of reference used for the record of their participation has been Hansard. Biographical data on the Members has been extracted from the following sources:

Burke's. Peerage

Dictionary of National Biography

Popular Guide to the House of Commons 1907: A Pall Mall Gazette Extra

Scottish Biographies 1938

Who's Who

Who was Who

The tables accompanying the narrative in the chapter are based on information gathered from the above sources. Some of this information is incomplete. For example, not all MPs gave details about their education or their occupations. One member even refused to reveal his exact date of birth. The narrative, therefore, is an indicator of trends and not a fully-documented and complete account.

3. The breakdown in terms of location of seats was as follows:

1904: Scotland: 50; England: 13; Wales: 2; Ireland: 1

1905: Scotland: 27; England: 17; Wales: 1;

1908: Scotland: 38; England: 17; Ireland: 6

1918: Scotland: 40; England: 6; Ireland: 3

Some of the English and Welsh Seats were represented by Scots. For example, Ferguson (Conservative, Manchester), Hardie (Labour, Merthyr) and MacDonald (Labour, Leicester).

4. Copy of a letter from A.J. Balfour, the Prime Minister, to the Duke of Devonshire, 4.6.03 in Sandars, MSS, c.739, April-June 1903, f. 51-66.
... "our greatest offence - that of having been too long in office - is one that time cannot diminish. But the Education Bill fever will be allayed in twelve months and Ritchie [Chancellor of the Exchequer] will, I hope, next year get another penny off the income-tax."
5. There would have been nothing unusual about this. T.S. Buchanan, Liberal MP for Perthshire East from 1903, and previously for Edinburgh West 1885-92 and Aberdeenshire 1892-1900, noted in his diary for May 5, 1895:
"Budget last Thursday when we had sensible, interesting, unsensational speech from Harcourt. If he were ten years younger and had the prospect of ten or fifteen years of House of Commons life would do very well, but about so much of the ordinary business (e.g. Scotch business) he is indifferent and ostentatiously so.. Rosebery might as well be in the moon for all that he is seen or heard of."
Buchanan MSS.
6. Parl. Deb. HC 4, vol. 141, 14.2.05, col. 17.
7. Following the resignation of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, during the cabinet crisis in the summer of 1903, a number of possible candidates for the Scottish Office were considered. These included St. John Brodrick, the Marquess of Linlithgow, the Duke of Montrose and Graham Murray. The King approved Murray's appointment on October 3, 1903. But in a confidential memorandum from Sandars to Balfour on October 4, 1903, the case was put for the Duke of Montrose: "I wonder what you will think of Montrose. He is very popular ... and we are not strong in Scotland: there is no Scotch peer in the Govnt. and we have lost B of B. It is worth thinking of - especially as Rosebery is playing a good deal on the nobility of the country." Murray, in a letter to Balfour, dated October 5, 1903, found the offer very tempting ... "more than anything I think

from the fact that no one at the Scotch Bar has ever reached the goal: and equally of course the difficulty is the financial one - At present I get £5000 as Lord Advocate,"... .Taking the Secretaryship would involve the loss of income. Murray goes on to say: "I am too old ... to expect in the future first class cabinet office - whereas as I am I could fairly hope of an appropriate vacancy for high judicial office...".

Sandars, MSS c. 744, 1-6 October 1903, f. 98-121.

Murray's prediction proved to be correct. He accepted the office of the Secretary for Scotland but resigned his parliamentary seat in 1905 on being appointed Lord President of the Court of Session. Later, he became Governor General of New Zealand and was raised to the peerage as Viscount Dunedin in 1926. He died in 1942, exactly three months before his ninety-third birthday. Leaving no heirs, the title became extinct.

8. Hutchison, I.G.C. A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 220.
9. Table 1
10. Table 2.
11. Daalder, H. Cabinet Reform in Britain 1914-63, Stanford/Oxford 1964, p.8.
12. Scott, J. The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain. London 1982, p.105.
13. ibid, p. 105.
13. ibid, p. 107.
15. Rubinstein, W.D. Education and the Social Origins of British Elite 1880-1970 in Past and Present, no. 112, August 1986, p. 173.
16. ibid, p. 188.
17. ibid, p. 175.
18. ibid, p. 190.
19. Robbins, K. Nineteenth Century Britain, Oxford 1988, p. 137.

20. ibid, p. 139.
21. Gathorne-Hardy, P. The Public School Phenomenon, London 1977, p. 138.
22. Clarke, M.L. Classical Education in Britain, Cambridge 1959, p. 97.
23. Gathorne-Hardy, op. cit. pp. 142-3.

The author quotes from the memoirs of Lord Robert Cecil who was at school in the 1880s: "When I went up to the university after twelve or fourteen years' tuition in the classical languages I was unable to read even the easiest Latin authors for pleasure ... we were taught no English literature ... nor do I remember learning any history."

24. Ashmall, H.A. The High School of Glasgow, Edinburgh 1976, pp. 133-4.
25. Brown, J.S.C. The New Watson's, in Waugh, H.L. (ed.), George Watson's College, Edinburgh 1970, pp. 66-70.
26. Ross, W.C.A. The Royal High School, Edinburgh 1949, pp. 68-72.
27. Jenkyns, R. The Victorians and Ancient Greece, Oxford 1980, p. 276.

"It was an unhappy mischance that two of the most influential educators of the nineteenth century were particularly opposed to scientific education. For most of his life Jowett was sweepingly contemptuous of the sciences; Dr Arnold was more respectful, but felt that 'Physical Science', if studied at all, seems too great to be studied."

28. Turner, F.M. The Greek Inheritance in Victorian Britain, New Haven/London 1981, p. 435.
29. Jenkyns, op. cit., p.63.

But there were always exceptions. "Lord Esher complained ... of a deterioration in manners since the time of Gladstone and Disraeli. After seeing Asquith play bridge following an important dinner, Esher wrote in his diary: 'Men and women in their presence felt a sort of moral reserve which some people feel in church. There was a certain advantage to the State in having at the head of affairs men who necessarily drew the best of those they met. It

kept order in the highest sphere of politics”.

30. Table 3.
31. Willock, I.D. Scottish Judges Scrutinised, in Juridical Review, 1969, pp. 193-205. The article provides a brief summary on the educational and social backgrounds of those appointed to the Judiciary from 1900 to 1969.
32. Rubinstein, op. cit., p. 194.
33. Scott, J. & Hughes, M. The Anatomy of Scottish Capital, London, 1980.
34. Chapter 2, ref. 44.
35. Scott & Hughes, op. cit., p. 23.
36. ibid., pp. 33-36.
37. ibid., p. 46.
38. For example:

John Gilmour (Unionist, East Renfrewshire from 1910). Director of the Caledonian Railway. Married the daughter of Lord Balfour of Burleigh and himself became Secretary (later Secretary of State) for Scotland.

Alexander Shaw (Liberal, Kilmarnock from 1915). Eldest son of Lord Thomas Shaw (later Baron Craigmyle), the former Lord Advocate. Thomas Shaw, son of a master baker, had been educated at Dunfermline High School and Edinburgh University. Alexander Shaw went to George Watson's College, Edinburgh and Oxford. He married the eldest daughter of Lord Inchcape.

Sir Archibald Williamson (Liberal, Elgin and Nairn from 1906). Grandson of Thomas Guthrie. Partner in a merchant company. Married the sister of Lord Herschell.

CHAPTER IV

The Pattern of Control and Administration: Central and Local Authorities

By the beginning of the twentieth century the pattern of educational administration in Scotland was firmly established. The system contained two key elements: first, a centralised body - the S.E.D. - deriving its power from the Committee of the Privy Council on Education; and second, local authorities, elected by ratepayers, and exercising a right to manage schooling by virtue of a responsibility delegated to them by the central authority. In theory the two elements formed part of a unified pattern of control. But, as Sir Cecil Carr, a distinguished exponent of the law of administration, has pointed out, the processes of delegation require certain safeguards. "When Parliament legislates at high pressure", Carr writes, "and when there is hardly time to think out how an Act is going to work, it is natural to delegate wide general powers of making rules and regulations for carrying this Act into effect."⁽¹⁾ He goes on to suggest that the form of any chosen method of delegation requires certain safeguards. These include the right to act being given only to an authority ... "trusted to exercise ... powers in the public interest ...", ⁽²⁾ or having limitations on the exercise of these powers stated in definitive form; ⁽³⁾ so that whenever any special interests or groups are liable to be affected by delegated legislation, full publicity can be given to the measures proposed and relevant machinery created in order to amend or revoke particular items. ⁽⁴⁾

Carr's general argument is tenable. Nonetheless, despite the careful framing of a statutory basis, any formal relationship between central and local authorities can alter in unforeseen ways. Circumstances may create a need for change. For example, reorganisation may become necessary because of the pressure of grievances, or pre-determined safeguards may no longer be adequate enough to cope with an approaching crisis. In this kind of context, therefore, to insist on the preservation of existing practices or on the retention of established distinctions between, for

instance, respective tiers of government, may not only be unrealistic but may also, unless reformed, encourage a gradual drift towards some kind of administrative paralysis.

That such a possibility was real enough became apparent during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, when the functions of local authorities were expanding and creating a tendency for them to clash with the central policy-making departments. These clashes, as Ashford points out, caused controversy, and ... "nearly always ... over the violation of national party policy, rather than from generalised resistance to the centre...". (5) He goes on, with particular reference to education, to note that before the end of the century the increasing responsibilities shouldered by local authorities created additional problems, especially in matters of finance, because so much activity was being ... "conceived in terms of the delivery of services ... and the achievement of maximum efficiency in the use of local income." (6) In addition, many of the emerging problems in the relationship between central and local administrative bodies reflected central government's lack of detailed knowledge about local conditions, as well as its intention of keeping a firm hold over any delegated interests. But there was another factor affecting the relationship between the two levels of control and administration - the increasing power of the civil servant.

Government ministers served in office for only relatively short periods of time. Therefore, it was often left to permanent secretaries and other senior civil servants to ... "interpret the ... content of political decisions being passed down to lower levels of government." (7) By 1900, in the wake of the Northcote - Trevelyan reforms, most of these senior civil servants were, as Pellew has observed, the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. The growing predominance of these universities, allied to the teaching of Benjamin Jowett, the Master of Balliol, had helped to produce administrators who tolerated little or no challenge to their ideas and their authority. (8) Consequently, while the orthodoxy of the legislative role of the parliamentary system may have been that of a central government initiating and creating policy, with executives putting adopted decisions into practice, it was becoming increasingly common to find that much of the real power lay in the hands of those very executives who were taking a more pronounced role in devising policy. In this context, Pellew draws attention to the

way in which the permanent staff of the Home Office had, by 1914, established a right not only to give advice on policy-creation, by participating in committees or drafting regulations, but had also, as a result of experiences gained in interpreting acts of parliament, acquired a formal status in the processes of political control. (9)

But in a two-tier system of government, based upon the principle of devolution, local authorities, too, are vital organs in the mechanics of planning, and are not, in theory at least, mere functionaries of the central body, authorised only to carry out instructions. However, the presence of a form of local organisation does not automatically guarantee the existence of a fully democratic form of administration. Despite being in close touch with the electorate, a local structure, as Langrod has emphasized, neither ... "excludes a high degree of bureaucratisation...", nor necessarily serves as a bastion against anti-democratic forces. (10) Moreover, as Moulin has argued, local government often focuses its main attention on ... "interests which are strictly and narrowly local and almost individual; [so that] the higher interests of the nation ... are usually overlooked or, if necessary, sacrificed." (11) Panter-Brick challenges these interpretations, and suggests that, at a local level, ... "politics is a milieu in which the clear overall vision of the central authority is refracted, bent to suit special and purely local interests." (12) He goes on to say that ... "many an internal conflict which takes the form of a dispute between local and central authorities is in fact a conflict that would appear on the political scene whether or not there was a system of local government." (13) In conclusion, he suggests, it is ... "not that a system of local self-government inevitably encourages a blindness to wider claims but that, where there are conflicting claims difficult or impossible to reconcile, the local machinery will be used by the interests involved." (14)

From the early decades of the nineteenth century some of these attributes became characteristic features of the machinery of state education in Great Britain. As that machinery developed from a participative process into one of control and direction, it seemed, as outlined in the first chapter, to lack really clear, pre-determined aims and objectives. The kernel of the central bureaucracy, as created by the grant of 1833, the formation of the Committee of Council in 1839, the establishment of the state inspectorate in 1840 and of the Education Department in 1856, was, in spite of

the fine ideas and creative administration of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, ... "the outcome of a chronic failure to match means to ambitions or *vice versa*." (15) Initially, both the administrative and inspectorial staff were appointed through a system of patronage. Gradually this was replaced by one based upon competition, with a secretariat seeking ... "to shape the inspectorate in its own image, making the Department instrumental not suggestive." (16)

These general trends, and the degree of authoritarianism at central government level, were as marked in Scotland as they were to the south of the border. Similarly, they were not free of criticism. One of the most vociferous attackers on the centralised bureaucracy of the S.E.D. was Sir James Donaldson. While ascending his own ladder of educational and professional success, from being a teacher and tutor of classics, a Professor of Humanity, Rector of two distinguished Scottish High Schools - Stirling and the Royal High in Edinburgh - to becoming the Principal of the University of St. Andrews from 1890, Donaldson expressed increasing dissatisfaction with the organisation of education in Scotland and with the role of the S.E.D. in particular. Summing up his views in a speech to the British Association in 1912, he drew attention to the difficult position of the Scottish Secretary in his role as Vice President of the S.E.D., noting that his duties were ... "exceedingly multifarious and distracting ...", giving the holder of the office insufficient time to concentrate on educational questions. Consequently, Donaldson argued, much of the real responsibility for education was left in the hands of permanent civil servants and, in particular, those of the Secretary of the Department. "He is", conceded Donaldson, "generally a man of great ability and has his own peculiar ideas as to what education should be ...", but, not being responsible to parliament, much of his data was being gathered for him by underlings, ... "and there is no one to check him." (17)

On the other hand, as Kitson Clark has pointed out, the ultimate control over the machinery of government lies not with administrators but with politicians, the holders of cabinet office and their departmental ministers. Civil servants, despite having the freedom to offer advice and criticism and, as noted above, to wield considerable authority in the processes of planning and in the administration of legislation, have no choice - bar resignation - but to accept and put into practice the

policies of the political party in power. While there may be differing views about the extent of the authority exercised by the individual civil servant, criticism is generally aimed at ... "the extent of discretionary power apparently committed to him ... and not with anything that ... [infringes] ... on the prerogative of the ministers of the crown." Clark feels that the civil servant's position is indeed ... " a remarkable one. It entails the control of the expert by the inexpert, the subordination, in the last resort, of the man who has grown grey in the skilled handling of certain problems to the man who may not have given a thought to them six months before, and whose sole claim to authority is that he has been sponsored by a public which has never, in all probability, thought of them at all." (18)

A different perspective, with reference to Clark's last observation, was presented by Lord Balfour of Burleigh. Speaking in Edinburgh, soon after resigning as Scottish Secretary, he noted that public opinion in Scotland, on educational matters at least, developed very slowly, and that there was no section of national policy ... "in which people as a whole are more tenacious of old habits and autonomy arrangements, or as to which they entertain more inveterate prejudices". He concluded thus: "In no department can less be achieved by legislation alone; in none is there more need for well-directed and continuous administration." (19)

How did the bureaucratic machinery of central government attempt to ensure that the S.E.D. had a modicum of this 'well-directed and continuous administration'? Evidence on the structure and work of the Department was given by Sir John Struthers when he faced the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, chaired by Lord Macdonell. At the beginning of his statement Struthers drew attention to the separation between the S.E.D. and the Scottish Office, and to the fact that the Secretary for Scotland was in effective charge over both but ... "as two entirely different institutions." (20) He went on to declare that there were, however, ... "many subjects on which we confer where our work touches at various points ...". (21) In particular he stressed that there was a close liaison between the S.E.D. and the Local Government Board for Scotland with which ... "we have an arrangement for a common audit of Parish Council and School Board accounts...", while the Local Government Board's Medical Officer was the S.E.D.'s leading adviser on school medical

inspections. (22) (A more detailed discussion of this connection appears in the seventh chapter). With regard to the recruitment of senior staff for the S.E.D., Struthers pointed out that this was done by nomination and not by competitive examination. (23) "Occasionally", he stated, "a very exceptional man might be promoted, but as a rule and as a practice I should consider it quite out of the question." (24) The main argument against recruitment by examination rested, he believed, on the Department's need to get men with first-hand 'acquaintance' of Scottish education. Therefore, post-school and university work was ... "of ever so much more importance than their capacity for passing an examination at the age of 23 or 24." (25) But, as will be noted later, in a study of the relationship between the S.E.D. and the Treasury, this was a practice which caused problems for those appointed to permanent posts, both in the Department and in the Inspectorate. Nonetheless, Struthers was adamant that ... "when questions of principle arise ..." it was essential for the most senior administrators at Dover House to have ... "the advice of our outdoor staff, our inspector staff, much more than that of men who have spent their whole time in the office." (26) At lower levels of appointment, on the other hand, priorities were different. The bulk of the bottom-grade clerks were non-graduates. Some were ... "capable of not much more than doing mechanical work ..." while others ... "give promise...". (27) A few of these, ... "carefully selected...", could be chosen, for short periods, as private secretaries to the Secretary himself. (28)

This evidence given by Struthers drew attention to the need to have staff who were fully 'acquainted' with Scottish education. In this respect there appeared to be some difference between the professed ideal of the Secretary and the practice within the Department. For example, in 1912, each of the three departmental Examiners, that is, those ranked immediately below the Assistant Secretaries, were men who had been appointed at an early age. None seemed to have had much direct acquaintance, let alone experience, with Scotland, and their knowledge of life outside an academic context could have been equally scanty. Similarly, prior to their appointments at the S.E.D., the majority of senior clerks and staff clerks had been employed in other branches of the civil service in London rather than in a career within a Scottish setting. (29) Only in the case of the inspectorate was there clear evidence

of direct educational experience in Scotland. The five chief inspectors, for instance, had graduated initially at Scottish universities. Of the remaining twenty-three inspectors, nineteen had taken their first degrees in Scotland. From the others, three had graduated in London and one in Oxford. Some inspectors had taken additional degrees, either at Oxford and Cambridge, or at continental universities.(30)

In contrast to the hierarchical and rigid pattern of the central bureaucracy, staffed by full-time professionals, the locally-controlled school boards, managed by amateurs, presented considerable variations in standards and abilities. The structure of the boards, set up in 1872, was, according to Walker, inadequate even within a decade. The 984 boards differed in size and efficiency. 647 of them had only five members and a further 262 only seven. (31) Although local interests were represented on many boards - the woollen industry in Peebles, (32) hotel-keeping in Strathspey, (33) fishing in the north-east and along the Moray Firth (34) - membership in the majority was dominated by ministers of religion. Where the relationship between denominations was delicate or had, as on Clydeside and in Edinburgh, strong Catholic representation, this domination could exacerbate existing sectarian strife. "The cumulative vote", observed Gibson in 1912, "... makes it possible for any small band of 'cranks' to put in one or more of their number." (35) These tendencies produced a majority of boards which in Walker's judgement ... "were weak in personnel, public support and powers." (36) Their growing debility was seen, for instance, in Edinburgh between 1873 and 1908. During these years, as illustrated below, the number of those entitled to vote increased steadily, but the percentage of voters exercising their rights and responsibilities fluctuated. In no triennial election between 1876 and 1909 did this percentage rise above thirty.

The Pattern of Voting in Edinburgh School Board Elections from 1873 to 1909.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Candidates</u>	<u>No. on Roll</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1873	28	39406	16103	40.86
1876	18	41553	13612	32.75
1879	21	49295	14128	28.66
1882	16	54659	12458	22.79
1885	19	56823	13286	23.38

1888	19	61146	13156	21.51
1891	21	65499	14194	21.67
1894	18	68334	14723	21.54
1897	21	76304	16114	21.12
1900	23	82855	17036	20.05
1903	20	90115	18063	20.04
1906	23	97213	23603	24.27
1909	29	98810	30200	30.56

Apart from the strength of the religious element, there were two other evident weaknesses in the structure of the school board system: inadequate financing and the threat of annexation of small or medium-sized boards by larger neighbours. As the structure of the school board system was grounded in the relationship between each board and its encapsulating parish, so the strong dependence of a board on the financial resources of the parish was inevitable. Even large Boards, such as those of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Govan and Leith were aware of a need to rely on their respective communities to provide the essential commodity required for survival. But the poorest boards, even when given additional aid by central government, were forced to fight a continuous battle against insolvency, with many of them being, in Gibson's graphic phrase, ... "hag-ridden by dread of the ratepayer." (38) The problem, discussed in a later chapter, was at its worst in the Highlands, where so many boards lacked amenities that were considered essential elsewhere. This deprivation was especially noticeable at times of proposed educational expansion. Writing to the Secretary for Scotland in 1904, soon after the publication of that year's Education (Scotland) Bill, the School Board of Applecross, located in one of the most remote areas of Wester Ross and reached either by sea or via the only rough land access over the steep, inhospitable terrain of the Bealach na Bo, pointed out to Graham Murray that it ... "knows its own needs far better than a central body, which is mainly composed of dwellers in the vicinity of Towns and Railways, which afford facilities of Technical Education, not accessible to those who, like many of us, have not even roads." (39)

While many school boards spent time in dealing with the repercussions of inadequate financial resources, some were also obliged to defend their geographical boundaries against pressures from neighbouring authorities. In 1900, for example,

the Glasgow School Board tried to extend its boundaries so as to match those of its enlarged municipality. Craik pressed the Scottish Secretary to accede to Glasgow's request, believing that acceptance would cause no inconvenience and that any outstanding local taxation anomalies arising from a merger could be resolved easily. Should there be marked resistance from such school boards as those of Pollokshaws or Govan, he added, the Department would use powers granted to it to enforce an amalgamation. (40) The threat failed to deter resistance from certain school boards, notably Govan and Leith. As will be illustrated in the next chapter, both were to begin sustained campaigns to prevent their local boards from being amalgamated with those of their stronger, larger neighbours. But initial trends towards unity attracted little controversy on Clydeside. Glasgow's Board, in 1902 proposed annexing not only that of Govan but also those of Eastwood, Maryhill and Springburn. (41) None openly opposed the proposal at that stage. Govan was neither outrightly hostile nor markedly enthusiastic. (42) Only after the publication of the 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill did it begin a concerted opposition to any kind of formal amalgamation with Glasgow. Maryhill, on the other hand, favoured a linkage ... "either alone or as part of the larger scheme proposed ..., (43) while Springburn suggested that such a development would ... "materially further the cause of education and diffuse an equality and fairness to all concerned not existing at present." (44) In both cases, the favourable reactions of the smaller boards reflected the economic realities under which they had been forced to operate.

Controlling the processes of public education in Scotland was a complex undertaking. A successful and efficient administration of the service depended on the maintenance of a careful balance between the powers of the central authority and the responsibilities exercised by local bodies. But, as stated earlier, the system did not operate in a political vacuum. At both levels, administrators and managers were open to pressures and criticism. Rarely, however, were the law courts used as means to question the validity of key elements within the structure of the educational system. To do so, in Ashford's opinion, could present a more serious challenge to the relationship between the central and local authorities than any dispute about local reactions to government plans. (45) Such a challenge, nonetheless did occur

between March 1913 and December 1914 when the school board of Dalziel, Lanarkshire, brought a series of actions against the S.E.D.

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On December 15, 1914 at the Court of Session in Edinburgh, an appeal by the Dalziel School Board against a judgement given in a lower court was dismissed,(46) thus ending a case which had begun in March 1913 when the School Board had brought an action against the S.E.D. This action was based on sections of the Education (Scotland) Acts of 1872 and 1908. It focussed attention on two features illustrating the control and administration of Scottish education: first, on the powers given to the S.E.D., under section 21 of the 1908 Act, relating to the dismissal of teachers by school boards; (47) and second, in accordance with section 65 of the 1872 Act, on the responsibilities of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland and on the authority vested in the office of the Secretary of the S.E.D. (48) But while the action against the Department was initiated by the School Board, the cause was provided by a Dalziel schoolmistress, Janette Walker Marshall.

Miss Marshall, a trained teacher and a graduate of the University of Glasgow, had been appointed to the infants' department of Knowetop Board School, Dalziel, on June 21 1910. (49) Coming from a presbyterian family, her father being an elder in the United Free Church, she, herself, was an active church worker and a Sunday-school teacher. (50) Despite this totally Protestant background, she renounced her affiliations and was accepted into the membership of the Roman Catholic Church on December 27, 1911. (51) Consequently, on January 15, 1912, the School Board barred her from teaching religious knowledge at the school. One member of the Board went so far as to demand her dismissal. (52) Within five weeks, the whole Board requested her resignation (53) because it felt that she had ... "become unfitted ..." (54) to teach either religious instruction or history ... "as they wished them to be taught ...". (55) Miss Marshall refused to resign. (56) She appealed to the S.E. D. against the Board's notification, maintaining that the Board's case was shaped ... "simply and solely on account of my religious convictions." (57) The relevant Education Acts, she pointed out, enforced no religious tests, and the Dalziel School Board was ... "going beyond its powers in imposing one ...". (58)

What was the Board's response? The school, it declared, had no Roman Catholic children. Miss Marshall's knowledge of what the advertised post entailed, ... "and of the sharp division of opinion and the extreme tension of feeling ... in the parish on the point in question ought [therefore] to have satisfied her that her presence on the staff of Knowetop School, even after the step she took on 27th of December last was unfitting and undesirable." (59) In support of its argument, the Dalziel School Board referred to the case of Glasgow School Board versus the Kirk Session of Anderston in December 1909. The judgement given in that case was that, so long as parental wishes about religious instruction were observed, no statutory restriction could be imposed on any Board that wished to make ... "as part of the condition under which they will appoint, any other and further qualification that they choose." (60) The Dalziel Board took this as an indication that it could expect its teachers to ... "hold certain religious views." (61) What they could not hold were the views of the Roman Catholic Church.

This attitude towards Catholics was embedded in the long history of the theological differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, these differences were exacerbated by the expansion of industry, especially in central Scotland. One product of the industrial development was a wave of immigration, especially from Ireland. This immigration created a growing fear that Irish Catholics would undermine the level of wages paid to protestant workers. (62) Gradually, this feeling against the Irish began to manifest itself in reaction against Catholicism. Protestant employers, or protestant-dominated unions, for instance, showed markedly anti-Catholic bias. (63) This bias became a part of school board administration. Despite taking an active role in running the Boards, the relationship between Roman Catholic and Protestant members was an uneasy one. With regard to both the content of education as well as the more general aspects of local government, friction was not easily avoided. As Gallagher has pointed out, this was especially so in the Glasgow area. (64) Moreover, according to Brown, this friction was made worse by a slow decline in what had been the civic functions of the protestant churches. To compensate for this decline, many church leaders believed ... "the school-board teacher exemplified the continuity between traditional kirk control

of the community and the overtly 'secular' state." (65) Any challenge to this continuity was regarded as intolerable. To most Protestants, the most disturbing challenge came from Roman Catholics, particularly since many Catholic candidates in school board elections gained, as McCaffrey has shown, from ... "effective marshalling of the vote."(66) Even more dangerous to strictly sectarian boards, however, was a teacher who chose to depart from the predominant tenets of the community in which she worked, and to accept the doctrines of a church that was foreign to her own family background and training. This is what Janette Marshall had done; and this was why the Dalziel School Board reacted as it did.

How did the S.E.D. deal with this reaction? If refused to accept the School Board's contention that a change of religious affiliation from Protestantism to Catholicism constituted ... "reasonable ground for the dismissal of a teacher." (67) But it acknowledged that the Board had been placed in a difficult position by Miss Marshall's action. Consequently, in April 1912, it invited to Board to withdraw its dismissal notice, provided Miss Marshall agreed to resign and that the Board showed its willingness to award compensation to her. (68) This the Board refused to do. (69) A subsequent inquiry on June 4, conducted by Dr. A.R. Andrew, concluded that the dismissal was ... "not reasonably justifiable." (70) Following this inquiry, the Board was asked again, on July 20, to cancel its dismissal notice to Miss Marshall. This time, however, Struthers added a warning that, should it become necessary, the Department would use its powers to order the local authority to compensate Miss Marshall by paying her a sum equivalent to three months' salary. (71) (These powers were to be put into effect on September 10). (72) Despite receiving such a threat, the Board refused to budge; maintaining that there had been no ... "capricious dismissal ...", and going on to accuse the Department of undermining the authority of school managers to determine the place of religious instruction in the curriculum. (73)

Reflecting on these developments, The Scotsman suggested that the non-denominational character of Scottish education appeared to be a fallacy. The teacher, it pointed out, was a victim of religious tests. Theoretically, such tests had no part in the educational system. In practice, however, it appeared that the principle was not being observed, despite the S.E.D.'s apparent adherence to it. Had the Department

relied on custom, the paper believed, it would have accepted the view of the School Board, and would have ... "agreed that change of religion is in itself sufficient cause for the dismissal of a teacher." (74)

Two meetings early in September, one at Motherwell and the other in Edinburgh, publicised the exchanges between the Department and the School Board. Both passed resolutions supporting the Board. That in Motherwell considered its treatment by the Department to have been ... "curt, unreasoned and unreasonable." (75) But, of the two, the one held in Edinburgh was to prove to be the more significant in so far as it went on to condemn what it termed the ... "tyrannical treatment [of the Board] by the one man oligarchy...". (76) Here was an oblique attack on Struthers. It introduced a new dimension into the dispute. Previously, the issue had been about the right of a teacher to hold, in private, certain religious beliefs which differed from those of the members of that teacher's employing authority. This critical reference to Struthers changed the emphasis, broadening the content of the argument and turning it much more into a challenge to the power of the Secretary of the S.E.D. and the function of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland. Even before this Edinburgh meeting, however, a transitional step in the dispute had already taken place. In answer to a Commons question about membership of the Committee of Council it was revealed that, since its appointment by an Order in Council on March 2, 1909, no meetings of the Committee had taken place. (77) Commenting on this information the Dalziel School Board went on to suggest that the S.E.D.'s refusal to ratify the Board's notice of dismissal to Miss Marshall was not a decision of the Department ... "but merely [that] ... of the Secretary or other official...".(78) This opinion, together with declarations of public support and a persistent refusal by the central authority to withdraw the order of compensation in favour of Miss Marshall, led the School Board to conclude that only through a judicial inquiry could its original decision to dismiss the Knowetop schoolmistress be vindicated. Therefore, on January 18, 1913, a summons against the Department was issued on behalf of the Board. (79) The formal hearing, before Lord Hunter, took place in March, and his judgement was delivered on May 10, 1913.(80)

What did the School Board's argument consist of? Three major points were

stressed. First, that ... "communications from the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Department did not in fact emanate from the Department...". (81) Second, that ... "consideration of an appeal by a dismissed teacher is in the nature of a judicial act, and can only be exercised by the Committee of the Privy Council itself, ... and not by any individual member thereof." (82) Finally, that Miss Marshall had had a contract with the Dalziel School Board. This contract contained a proviso that one month's notice was required from either party wishing to terminate the arrangement. By attaching a condition about the payment of compensation, the S.E.D. was assuming it had the power ... "to vary the express terms..." in the contract. The Board found this unacceptable. (83)

During the hearing, much was made of the formation of the Committee of Council. For the prosecution it was argued, for example, that the Committee set up under the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act was a new body and ... "in a different position from the time - worn relics of a former state of things ...". (84) But as Struthers correctly pointed out, only one Committee exercising joint jurisdiction both in England and Scotland had existed before 1872. Between that year and 1885, although separate Committees were set up, there was no severance of departmental administration. Even after that, the administrative pattern was not altered except that the Scottish Secretary ... "was substituted as the executive Minister for the Lord President of the Council." (85)

Giving judgement, Lord Hunter found himself unable to accept the contention, based on section 65 of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, that an order signed by the Secretary or Assistant Secretary was ... "to be deemed to have been made by the Scotch Education Department ...". (86) At the same time, he admitted that disproving the view would be ... "very difficult ... when the Department, as here, approve and adopt as their own the action of their Secretary." (87) But, with reference to the School Board's second point, he maintained that in matters of constitutional usage ... "the decision of a responsible minister at the head of a Government Department is equivalent to the decision of a Department, and the responsibility of the Department is to Parliament and not to the Court." Any other interpretation, he argued ... "would amount practically to a condemnation of the working of the Scotch

Education Department since its institution in 1872, and also of the working of the English Education Department and other Government Departments.” (88) As to the third and final part of the School Board’s case, Lord Hunter pointed out that in every dismissal by a local education authority, there was a right for the dismissed teacher to appeal to the S.E.D. as well as to receive compensation ... “not exceeding a year’s salary...”. He, therefore, found it impossible to accept the prosecution’s plea on this particular point. (89) With this observation, the examination was concluded, and the action of the School Board against the Department dismissed. Costs were awarded against the Board. (90)

Critical approval greeted the verdict. The Glasgow Herald believed that the Dalziel School Board’s ... “novel doctrine of Departmental responsibility ...” had been ... “convincingly disposed of ...”. (91) On the other hand, The Scotsman thought the case illustrated how the Committee of Council no longer had any useful function. But, at the same time, the paper thought the action had exposed the denominational character of Scottish education; indicating how ... “liberationists are able to regulate their consciences so as to draw money from the pockets of Roman Catholic ratepayers for religious instruction congenial to Presbyterians.” (92) The Glasgow Observer agreed, and demanded that the litigants ... “should be called on themselves to pay the piper, and not saddle the rates with the cost of their folly.” (93) The Board paid no attention to the suggestion. On June 9, 1913 it included £300:0:0 in estimates to cover the cost of legal expenses. (94) Tinged with arrogance, the decision confirmed the abundance of the Board’s self-confidence. Not that it had been mellowed by the inquiry. On the contrary, between Lord Hunter’s examination and the publication of his judgement, the Board provided further evidence of the extent of its deoniminational prejudices by inserting an addition in every teacher’s contract, making it explicit that all those teaching in Dalziel schools had to be ... “Protestant, and give religious instruction according to the Protestant faith.” (95) The Board, remarked The Scotsman, with a touch of irony, ... “may be thanked for making it clearer than ever that it is not a creedless religion ... that is taught in our schools.” (96)

Despite Lord Hunter’s conclusions, the Dalziel School Board did not seem to be markedly disconcerted. On May 19, 1913, it decided to appeal against the

verdict. (97) It was not until December 1914 that the Appeal Court completed its work. The intervening period gave the S.E.D. a degree of anxiety. Whereas it had been reasonably confident about succeeding in the original inquiry, (98) attitudes by mid-November 1914, when the hearing was held, were less sanguine. The Appeal Court judges, it was noted, had had no administrative experience. Nor were they attaching any particular distinction to the central issue in Lord Hunter's judgement, namely, that the Committee of Council devolved responsibility on to the S.E.D. Secretary. (99) It was even feared that the Vice President would have to be cross-examined, a decision which he considered ... "monstrous but [which he] seemed prepared to face if he were advised that it was desirable." (100) What the Department required, Struthers felt, was ... "a vindication of ... [the]... right to make and announce its decisions in any matter that was referred to them by Statute, whether it is a purely administrative act or not, in any way that they think best without being obliged to disclose the manner in which they arrived at the decision...", provided that it adhered to Section 65 of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. (101)

The argument put forward on behalf of the School Board contained two key points: first, that the actions of the S.E.D. against the Board had been taken, not by the Department ... "as the law required, but by a single individual ..."; and second, that no Education Act contained ... "any suggestion that delegation was permissible..." (102) For the Department it was held, first, that it was ... "a committee of the Privy Council...", and that ... "no general law ..." regulated the way in which the Council conducted its business; and second, that all documents signed by the Secretary of the S.E.D., were considered to be those issued by the Department ... "unless it was proved that the signature was not that of the secretary." (103) On both counts, the Court found in favour of the Department. "It is plain from the tenor of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872", stated Lord Dundas,

that the policy of Parliament was to leave to the Department a very free hand indeed as to the methods by which they might think fit to conduct their business... . The duties of the Department involve ... the consideration and decision of important matters of various kinds. The Department ... are entitled to deal with them in such a manner as they may consider best ... provided they are not contrary to the statutory powers ... or to the inherent principles of justice and fair dealing. (104)

But Lord Dundas went on to suggest that, had instructions for delegation of authority in the matter of the conduct of business been laid down by formal machinery such as ... "a minute or resolution of the whole members, I do not think such a step could have been challenged as being contrary to the intent or the letter of the statutes." (105) The two other judges, Lord MacKenzie and Lord Cullen, agreed; and the School Board's appeal was dismissed. (106)

At the S.E.D. the result was greeted with relief ... "especially after the gloomy prognostications hazarded in some quarters." (107) Nor was The Scotsman unduly disappointed, holding that any other judgement would have condemned the pattern of educational administration developed in Scotland since 1872. While censuring the ... "litigious spirit ..." of the School Board, it did not, on the other hand, feel that the Committee of Council was free of blame. On the contrary, it believed that it was ... "just as much an anachronism as the similar Committees connected with the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board and other Departments. It is time, said the Editor, "that they were all swept away." (108) As for the School Board itself, an unrestrained enthusiasm for pursuing the S.E.D. through the Courts was finally terminated as much by the spectre of insolvency as by the verdict handed down by the Appeal judges. Any intention which the Board had had of taking the case to the House of Lords was abandoned. So was its refusal to pay compensation to Miss Marshall. Thus, in the opinion of The Glasgow Observer, both the Department and the law had, together, endorsed an important principle, namely, that ... "where a Catholic is dismissed solely for creed reasons, compensation shall be payable and shall be paid." The Board, concluded the paper, had ... "at last decided to eat the leek." (109)

* * * *

In the context of the established pattern of control and administration in Scottish education, the Marshall case provided a salutary instance of the fragility of the relationship between the central and local authorities. It was an example of the way in which unexpected decisions could fan grievances, so enabling them to develop sufficient power to challenge the structure and machinery of a system of education. Such a challenge was directed as much at the theoretical principles upon which the

educational system had been built as at practices within it which had been allowed to develop with an insufficient degree of rigorous preparatory analysis. But, in addition, the dispute between the Dalziel School Board and the S.E.D. had, by virtue of its theological basis, an element which ensured that it would turn a local controversy into a semi-national issue. To this extent, therefore, it was the victim of one of the most reactive and creative forces in Scottish culture. Paradoxically, however, a popular belief existed that education in Scotland was free of the kind of religious controversy which had bedevilled education in England and Wales, especially after 1872. That this was not so was made patently clear by the actions of the School Board of Dalziel, Lanarkshire against Janette Walker Marshall.

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20. Struthers, Sir John. Evidence given to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 21 November 1912, in Appendix to the Third Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service (the Macdonell Report) 1913, Cd. 6740, p. 169, q. 19471.
21. ibid. q. 19473.
22. ibid., p. 170, q. 19485.
23. ibid., q. 19493-95.
24. ibid., q. 19497.
25. ibid., q. 19500.
26. ibid., p. 179, q. 19701.
27. ibid., p. 171, q. 19535.
28. ibid., p. 184, q. 19802.
29. The civil servants occupying senior positions in the S.E.D., in 1912, appointed without competitive examination, between June 29, 1895 and February 27, 1912 are given below. Following the names come their ages on appointment, dates of appointment, salary scales (per annum) on appointment, and their occupations in the five years preceding their appointments.

Assistant Secretaries: Macdonald, George; 42; December 1904; £850-£1,000; Civil Servant 1900-04.

Alexander, George William; 46; March 1910; £800-£1,000; Clerk, successively, to Glasgow and Edinburgh School Boards, 1905-10.

Examiners: Cornish, William Hubert Warre; 26; April 1899; £250-£600; Student, tutor and lecturer, St. Mark & St. John Training College, London 1894-99.

Lindsay, Francis Howard; 23; December 1899; £250-£300; Student 1894-99.

Senior Clerks: Atkin, Percy Harland; 34; December 1897; £360-£500; Civil Servant 1892-97.

Armstrong, Francis Joseph; 34; November 1899; £350-£500; Civil Servant 1894-99.

Macartney, Horace John; 35; September 1901; £360-£400; Civil Servant 1896-1901.

Staff Clerks:

Perks, John Watson; 39; April 1899; £360-£400; Civil Servant 1894-99.

McQuibban, Lewis; 35; April 1902; £360-£400; Civil Servant 1897-1902.

Fryer, Walter Bayfield; 38; April 1905; £360-£400; Civil Servant 1900-05.

Kerr, Archibald Dumay; 32; July 1908; £360-450. Civil Servant 1903-08.

Wray, Frank; 38; July 1905; £230-350, Civil Servant 1900-05.

Harris, Herbert Walker; 38; July 1905; £250-350, Civil Servant 1900-05.

Public Service (Appointments without Competitive Examination) 1895-1905, 1913, No. 454, pp. 162-64.

Public Service (Appointments without Competitive Examination) 1905-1912, 1913, No. 455, pp. 253-54.

30. In his evidence to the Macdonnell Commission, Struthers gave data on the qualifications of the Inspectorate. This data was published with the evidence, but the names of the inspectors were deleted.
- Royal Commission on the Civil Service, Appendix to the Third Report, op. cit., pp. 296-97.
- By juxtaposing the data given by Struthers with information located in appendix C of Thomas Bone's study of the Scottish Inspectorate (Bone, T.R. School Inspection in Scotland 184-1966, London 1968, pp. 260-66) it would be possible to attach names to some of the entries listed by Struthers, but without guaranteeing a fully-completed roll.
31. Walker, J.H. The Ad-Hoc Administration of Education in Scotland 1872-1929, Ph.D. Glasgow, 1970, p.7.
32. Minutes of the Peebles Burgh School Board 1873-1919.
33. Minutes of the Insh School Board 1903 in H.R.A. 5/20/2.
34. Inverness Courier, 23.3.06.

35. Gibson, W.J. Education in Scotland, London 1912, p. 140.

36. Walker, op. cit., p. 59.

An eccentric example of the weakness referred to by Walker may be found in the case of Blades versus Jansen. In the 1906 school board election at Cardross, Dunbartonshire, the Rev. Martin Jansen, a German citizen resident in Scotland for seventeen years, was returned as a member of the Cardross School Board. Previously, he had served on the Board for six years and had been nominated for a further term. An objection to his candidature was raised but not pressed. At the election, Jansen was returned for a further term. Twenty days after the declaration of the result, the validity of his election was challenged by the Rev. John Blades, one of the two unsuccessful candidates. The Sheriff gave judgement against Jansen on the grounds that he was not a British subject and that, accordingly, his election was null and void. Blades was deemed to have been returned and was declared to be the new member on the Cardross School Board. Blades v. Jansen in Sheriff Court Reports, vol. xxii, 1906, pp. 226-29.

37. The Scotsman, 30.3.03.

The Edinburgh Evening Dispatch, 3.4.09.

38. Gibson, op. cit., p. 141.

39. Memorandum to the Secretary for Scotland, 23.4.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/26.

40. Memorandum from Craik to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 10.4.00 in S.R.O. ED 14/4.

41. Minutes of the Glasgow School Board, 17.11.02.

42. Minutes of the Govan School Board, 11.12.02.

43. Minutes of the Maryhill School Board, 25.11.02.

44. Minutes of the Glasgow School Board, 23.3.03.

45. Ashford, op. cit., p. 17.

46. Sess. Cas. 1915, p. 248.

47. P.G.A. 1908, 8 Edw. 7., Education (Scotland) Act, Ch. 63., cl. 21.

48. P.G.A. 1872, 35 & 36 Vict. Education (Scotland) Act, Ch. 62, cl. 65.

49. Copy of the Appeal from Marshall to the S.E.D., 25.3.12 in Robertson F.J.

The Marshall Case, Edinburgh 1912, p. 21.

50. Copy of Letter from Dalziel School Board to the S.E.D., 9.4.12 in Robertson, op. cit., p. 25.
51. ibid., p. 26.
52. Copy of Appeal from Marshall to the S.E.D., 25.3.12. in Robertson, op. cit., p. 25.
53. Copy of letter from W.R. Barbour, Clerk to the Dalziel School Board to Marshall, 19.2.12 in Robertson, op. cit., p. 21.
54. Copy of Appeal from Marshall to the S.E.D., 25.3.12. in Robertson, op. cit., p. 22.

In her letter Miss Marshall quotes part of the statement by the mover of the motion, carried at the Board's monthly meeting on February 19, which led to the formal request for her resignation. Thus: "I don't hesitate for a moment to state that it was because Miss Marshall has become a Roman Catholic that she has become unfitted to perform the duties of the school. I don't think we should seek for a moment to hide that fact . . . I have come to the conclusion that it is not Miss Marshall we are up against, but the Church of Rome."
55. ibid., p. 24.
56. Copy of Letter from Marshall to Barbour, 17.3.12 in Robertson, op. cit., p. 23.
57. Copy of Appeal from Marshall to the S.E.D., 25.3.12. in Robertson, op. cit., p. 22.
58. ibid., p. 24.
59. Copy of Response of Dalziel School Board to Marshall's Appeal, addressed to the S.E.D., 9.4.12. in Robertson, op. cit., p. 26.
60. School Board of Glasgow versus Kirk-Session of Anderston in Sess. Cas. 1910, p. 205.
61. Copy of Response of Dalziel School Board to Marshall's Appeal, addressed to the S.E.D., 9.4.12 in Robertson, op. cit., p. 27.
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64. Gallagher, T. Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace, Manchester 1987, p. 59.
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 70. Copy of Letter from Struthers to Barbour, 20.7.12 in Robertson, op. cit., pp. 30-31.
 71. ibid., p. 31.
 72. Copy of Letter from F.(sic) W. Alexander of the S.E.D. to the Dalziel School Board, 10.9.12 in Robertson, op. cit., p. 32.
 73. Copy of Letter from T.M. Young, Interim Clerk of Dalziel School Board to the Secretary of the S.E.D. 27.8.12. in Robertson, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
 74. Editorial in The Scotsman, 29.8.12.

Struthers agreed that there was a difference between principle and practice. In response to a correspondent from Kent he accepted that what most school boards provided was religious instruction which satisfied the Presbyterians and that this was ... "not satisfactory to Episcopalians and Roman Catholics." He then added an interesting note: "The only exception in the case of a School Board with a Protestant majority that I can think of is the School Board of Glasgow which does provide at the expense of the rates Roman Catholic instruction for a small number of Roman Catholic defective children." (Struthers' underlining). As to the position of the S.E.D., he said its ... "business is strictly confined to seeing that religious instruction in every school receiving grants is given at the specified time either at the beginning or the end of the ordinary instruction, and is not allowed to intrude into that instruction. Beyond that we of deliberate purpose refrain officially from any enquiry as to the kind of religious instruction that is given or as to its

efficiency." (This attitude, as will be illustrated in Chapter VIII, was modified in 1918).

Letter from Struthers to James Coverhill, Bromley, Kent 26.4.15 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/15.

75. Report of Protest Meeting, 5.9.12. at Motherwell Town Hall in Robertson, op. cit., p. 48.
76. The Motherwell Standard, 5.9.12 in S.R.O. ED 7/8/8.
77. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 41, 6.8.12, col. 2908.
78. Copy of Letter from Young to the S.E.D., 1.10.12, in Robertson op.cit. p. 33.
79. Condesence for Pursuers, February 1913 in S.R.O. ED 7/8/8.
80. Scots Law Times 1913, vol. 1, pp. 457-460.
81. ibid., p. 457.
82. ibid., p. 458.
83. ibid., p. 460.
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89. ibid., p. 460.
90. Reclaiming Note for the Pursuers, May 23 1913, in S.R.O. ED 7/8/8.
91. Editorial in The Glasgow Herald, 12.5.13 in ibid.
92. Editorial in The Scotsman, 12.5.13 in ibid.
93. Editorial in The Glasgow Observer, 17.5.13 in ibid.
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95. The Scotsman, 15.4.13 in ibid.
96. Editorial in The Scotsman, 16.4.13 in ibid.
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Struthers had discussed the case with the Lord Advocate. The latter did not take a very serious view of it and advised the Department to let the onus of

proof lie with the prosecution.

99. Letter from Macdonald to Struthers, 14.11.14 in ibid.
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103. ibid. p. 242.
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107. Memorandum from Hepburn-Millar to Macdonald, 16.12.14 in S.R.O. ED 7/8/8.
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CHAPTER V

Scottish Education Legislation 1904-1908

When Graham Murray, the Scottish Secretary, (1) introduced the Education (Scotland) Bill into the House of Commons on March 29, 1904, he began what was to become an exceedingly protracted process which did not reach a satisfactory conclusion until the winter of 1908. One important objective within this Bill was the government's desire to reform the existing administrative structure of the educational system so as to enable it to accommodate ideas and practices adopted at intervals after the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. That Act, unlike its counterpart in England and Wales, had not been a revolutionary measure created in a vacuum. On the contrary, it had been erected on existing foundations, enabling its progenitors to establish a system of education more unified in form than the one operating south of the border. Consequently, Scottish education had not suffered excessively from animosity or tension between disparate elements. Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, there was a growing body of opinion pressing for the introduction of some reforms. Attention was focussed both on general needs and on specific requirements. There was criticism not only of the administration of the educational system but also of components within it. Some issues, such as the insularity of the S.E.D., the inability of school boards to undertake new functions, and the haphazard growth of secondary education, attracted particular attention.

Dissatisfaction with the role of the Department was expressed at many levels. For example, Sir James Donaldson, the Principal of the University of St. Andrews, in an address given to the British Association for the Advancement of Science at its meeting in Dundee in 1912, summed up what had been his chief criticism of the Department for many decades when he declared that ... "it has been continually altering the Scotch system of education without bringing these alterations adequately before the public

and without giving those concerned in it the means of expressing their opinion on the changes that have been introduced before they are introduced." (2) Munro Ferguson, (3) Liberal MP for Leith, admitted that the legislature was unable to supervise the Department efficiently. (4) And William Bruce, a former member of the Edinburgh School Board, expressed his fears about the power of the permanent secretariat. "I do not for one moment", he wrote, "accuse the high officials who represent 'my Lords' as consciously trying to grasp at unlimited powers. But I hold most strongly that such gradual extension of authority is inevitable unless most carefully guarded against." (5)

Public debate on the need for a reform of the administrative structure of Scotland's system of education received an additional impetus with the publication of a joint-scheme put forward by the Scottish organiser of the Liberal League, Charles Douglas, Liberal MP for Lanarkshire North West, (6) and Sir Henry Jones, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. (7) They believed that there was a demand for reconstruction from those who possessed a practical understanding of defects in the existing system. (8) Coordination between institutions had, they emphasized, become ... "imperatively necessary ..."; (9) but a simple combination of adjoining parochial school boards into larger units of administration would not, they suggested, be very effective. (10) The most efficient unit for the general organisation of education would be District schools boards. "Unlike the present School Boards," the authors argued,

they would be elected on strictly educational issues, they would obviate many of the present inequalities of voting, and they would be sufficiently strong to deal in a stable and methodical way with the appointment, dismissal, transference and promotion of teachers, and, above all, to control and manage the secondary schools, bringing them into systematic continuity with the elementary stages of education. In these respects the District Boards would possess all the valuable qualities of County Council administration. (11)

Predictably, much of this discussion on the structure of the educational system tended to reflect the prejudices of particular interest-groups and individuals. Reactions to Douglas' views among his fellow Liberal MPs, for instance, were apt to be coloured by his official position in the Liberal League. The party's leadership, as Hutchison has

illustrated, was suspicious of the League's intentions, and 'infuriated' with its 'incessant activities'. (12) Campbell-Bannerman, writing to the Rev. Professor A.J. Patterson of the United Free College, Edinburgh in August 1903, expressed both displeasure and some alarm about possible consequences for projected parliamentary legislation on Scottish education ... "of the influence of certain philosophic gentlemen who are, *au fond* thoroughly anti-democratic, but who speak very glibly and plausibly and pose as the highest authorities on the subject. They were drowned out, or snowed over in England by the strong anti-clerical feeling: ... They will do their best to bedevil Scotch Education, with (no doubt) lofty educational purposes." (13) Local authorities, too, differed in their responses. Glasgow School Board was willing to support the idea of an enlarged area to be responsible for elementary and higher education, provided that such an area would be simply an expanded version of a traditional school board. (14) Lanarkshire, on the other hand, believed that local control ought to rest with County Councils. Only at such a level, it thought, could disputes be avoided, the number of elections and administrative officials reduced, and a more efficient and economical system of costs and organisation be guaranteed. (15) But Campbell-Bannerman found no substance in that argument. He was against any control of education by County Councils, not because they were too extensive in area, but because virtually all such councils were controlled by political and social groups antipathetic to the Liberals! "At present", he wrote to his mentor on educational questions, James Bryce, Liberal MP for Aberdeen South, "it is all Lairds and farmer-toadiers carefully selected and reduced by flattery and snobbism to a pulp. Smaller areas would be more hopeful." (16)

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The Education (Scotland) Bill of 1904 was a fairly comprehensive measure. (17) Through it the government, with reference to an improved framework for local administration, proposed ending the hegemony of myriad school boards and placing education under the control of district councils. Separate treatment was to be given to Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. All the enlarged new boards would be elected on an *ad hoc* basis and would have control over primary and

secondary education. The boards would have power to appoint and dismiss teachers as well as assist scholars from outside their boundaries. Finally, four provincial councils, representing universities and other interested parties, were to be formed in order to advise the Department on ... "any matter affecting the educational interests of the province." (18)

In his introduction to the Bill, Murray stressed that many of the existing school board areas were too small to be able to foster an effective growth in secondary and technical education. As the pattern of a district council had been operating successfully for public health, he foresaw no major problems in the adoption of the same principle for education. He believed, however, that it was essential to have one central area authority, operating at district council level within counties, and responsible for both primary and secondary education. (19)

On the whole, the House of Commons gave a positive response to these proposals, although individual members differed on matters of detail. It was pointed out, for example, by Thomas Shaw, Liberal member for Hawick Burghs, that some counties were not divided into districts. Where that was so, education would be under the direction of one board ... "and it stood to reason that no poor man would be called to sit on it." (20) Some, such as Alexander Black, the Radical MP for Banffshire, regretted the passing of the old parochial system which, he felt, was so quintessentially Scottish in character. (21) Others believed that, out of those sections of the Bill dealing with questions of administration, the least satisfactory aspect was the rather lenient treatment given to the S.E.D. and especially its continued location in London, thus causing policy-decisions to be ... "conducted too much by letter and circular and far too little by consultation." (22)

Press reaction to the Bill was mixed, but not unfavourable. The short debate on the introduction provided, thought The Scotsman ... "a lonely oasis of harmony and goodwill in the Parliamentary desert ..." with the Secretary for Scotland appearing like ... "the miraculous Moses whose rod has struck the dry rock and made the sweet waters gush over the waste howling wilderness." (23) Other comments were less effulgent in tone. Although the Inverness Courier felt that the Bill had been

constructed on acceptable lines, while leaving room for modification in matters of detail, (24) The Educational News, in a chilly warning, foreshadowed possible friction if 'management' became separated from 'control'. (25) It was left to The Times to point out that the defects which the Scottish bill intended to remove were precisely those dealt with in the English Education Act of 1902 and ... "which has been so violently assailed by many gentlemen who now praise Mr. Graham Murray." (26)

Despite some of the cautiously optimistic attitudes expressed in March 1904, the government's plan to complete its projected legislation on education in Scotland was to remain unfulfilled, with the Bill being withdrawn on August 8, 1904. During the succeeding four years three further measures to restructure Scottish education were brought forward by central government. Only the last, in 1908, became law. Why was the process so protracted? It is possible to identify three factors controlling the rate of progress: first, a very crowded programme of legislation that the government intended to complete between 1904 and 1905; second, an inevitable disruption caused by a change of government in December 1905; and third, the combined effects of some inter-related elements: resistance to the general objective behind government policy, a sudden controversy over the specific question of the provision of meals for children and, finally, the degree of effective control and management exercised over the conduct of Scottish parliamentary business.

Both the 1904 and 1905 Education (Scotland) Bills undoubtedly suffered because they formed part of what was clearly a very crowded scheme of legislation. In 1904 alone, for example, between August 2 and the proroguing of parliament on August 15, the government intended to pass a number of what the Prime Minister called 'administrative bills'. (27) Among these were the Wireless Telegraphy Bill, the Irish Development Government Bill, the Public Works (Loan) Bill and the Poor Law Authorities Bill. In addition, there were some substantial - and controversial - policy measures like the Default Authorities Bill, the Shop Hours Bill and the Irish Land Bill. Finally, there were what Balfour called 'unconventional' proposals such as the Light Railways Bill, the Reserve Forces Bill, the Dogs Bill and the Butter Bill. (Quipped Michael Flavin, the Nationalist member for Kerry: "Give us the Butter Bill and drop the

Dogs.”(28) No wonder Sir Charles Dilke (Liberal, Forest of Dean), among others, complained. “The Government”, he stated, “had wasted a great deal of time this session by introducing and pottering over Bills for a day or two and then deciding not to proceed with them.” (29) Nonetheless, even Balfour was not entirely impervious to parliamentary criticism. Out of the unfinished pieces of major legislation, he admitted that at least one, namely the Education (Scotland) Bill, had given him ... “ a deal of anxiety.” And he held that the failure of the Bill to complete its passage had been caused partly ... “by an adjournment motion or some other device familiar to members...”. (30) This explanation was not entirely implausible. Of greater significance, however, had been the direction taken by the debate on the Bill; notably, as Anderson has pointed out, with regard to proposals for re-forming the pattern of local authority control and a concomitant factor, the question of rating; (31) an issue which, in Campbell-Bannerman’s opinion ... “almost brought the seeds of death with it.” (32) Charles Douglas thought that the abandonment of the Bill reflected ... “no very great credit on the legislative capacity ...” of the Commons. (33) But, while the Leader of the Opposition and his loyal lieutenants such as Bryce and Buchanan, the member for Perthshire East, regretted the failure of the administration to complete the passage of this particular education bill, they showed no enthusiastic desire to make political capital out of the government’s embarrassment. (34) Not that they needed to do so; for it seemed to be quite capable of perpetrating that task upon itself. In a Scottish context, the resignation of Lord Balfour of Burleigh as the Secretary for Scotland and Vice President of the S.E.D. in the summer of 1903 had been a considerable loss. Within less than two years Graham Murray, his able successor, departed also. “When he went to the Bench in 1905”, observes Fry, “the Government had to turn for the Secretary to an obscure retired colonial governor, the Marquess of Linlithgow, an embarrassing contrast to the galaxy of talent among the Scots Liberals.” (35)

Despite this additional disadvantage, the discomfort of August 1904 gave way to mild rejuvenation on March 8, 1905 when another Education (Scotland) Bill was brought into the House. Its main features were, as Scott Dickson, the Lord Advocate,

stressed ... “practically the same ...” as those of its predecessor. The principle of district control with an *ad hoc* committee remained intact, but the Secretary for Scotland was given ... “elasticity and power ... to divide centres and districts ...”. Elections for both school boards and municipalities were to be held conjointly. Unlike the 1904 measure, however, this Bill proposed retaining the capital cost of primary schools under parochial jurisdiction while extending the expenditure on higher class schools throughout the geographical area of a district. (36) Thomas Shaw, on behalf of the Opposition, gave the bill a guarded reception. He felt it contained ... “elements of considerable danger ...” and warned that MPs ... “would watch the text ... with very great interest.” (37) Opinion in the country was similarly ambivalent. The Edinburgh Evening News thought it had been ... “so drafted that almost all possible opposition is conciliated.” (38) The Scotsman, even, considered its future to be optimistic. (39) Yet by July 1905 it was becoming clear that the course of this Bill was to be as chequered as that of the 1904 version. “The progress made in Committee last Friday”, declared Balfour at Question Time on July 20, “was of a very unsatisfactory character, and I see no hope whatever for this Bill except by some mutual agreement between the two sides of the House.” (40) Such an agreement failed to materialize, and the Bill was withdrawn on August 7, 1905.

The second factor which, not unexpectedly, ensured the slow progress of Scottish education legislation through parliament between 1904 and 1908 was the change in government at the end of 1905. Within four months of abandoning the Education (Scotland) Bill in August, the Conservatives abdicated their authority, leaving the Liberals to take control. A spectacular victory at the polls in January 1906 confirmed their mandate. The extent of this success was somewhat unexpected. Division within the party's ranks after its electoral defeat in 1900, the rivalry in Scotland between the Liberal Association and the Liberal League, and the presence of the enigmatic, indecisive Lord Rosebery, had not created the best atmosphere for political optimism. Nevertheless, disagreements among the party's Scottish organisation were beginning to be resolved. One minor indication of a possible change was the doubt expressed by Munro Ferguson about the viability of being attached to the League. “It

may be”, he wrote in March 1903, “that belonging to the league will so hamper us through his (Rosebery’s) treating it as a personal appanage that we shall have to quit of it.” (41) Another indicator was the presence of Charles Douglas, the Secretary of the League, on the platform at a meeting of the Scottish Free Trade League in January 1904. (42) But as Fry has emphasised, a more substantial portent for future development was shown in Campbell-Bannerman’s effort to hold the Liberals together by reasserting their ... “old-fashioned radicalism against the bloodless intellectuals...”, and quietly isolating those such as Asquith and Haldane who were bent on underestimating him. (43) His success transformed the party from one in a state of despondency to one in a position of triumph within six years, so enabling it to begin the task of governing with a real sense of genuine accord. Why, therefore, did it take a further period of two and a half years for an Education (Scotland) Bill to become law?

In addition to the strictures of a parliamentary time-table, often at the mercy of the vagarious reactions of MPs, and a change of government, the third strand determining the rate of progress of Scottish education legislation contained a number of inter-dependent elements: the effects of the level of resistance experienced by the government in the pursuit of its general objectives, sudden controversy over the question of providing meals for children and, finally, the level of efficiency in the management and control of Scottish parliamentary business. Once freed from the bridle of opposition, the Liberals set out with considerable celerity and enthusiasm to convert their plans into forms of creative achievement. During the opening session alone, as Koss has pointed out, they intended to bring in twenty-two bills, ... “a dozen of them guaranteed to spark controversy.” Among these were plans to give self-government to the Transvaal, the removal of some of the more contentious aspects of the English Education Act of 1902, the ending of plural voting, and the upholding of Free Trade. (44) “One after another”, Koss goes on to say,

measures were proposed that passed through the Commons with massive majorities only to come to grief in the Lords. A Plural Voting Bill, designed to remove the anomaly of multiple franchises, was thwarted. Bills for English and Irish land reform were emasculated, and two similar bills for Scotland were summarily rejected. A Licensing Bill, predictably enough suffered the same fate. The Liberal rank and file

seethed with indignation (45)

While the state of Scotland's system of education was not so catastrophically debilitated as to require a parliamentary measure to be given urgent priority among these proposals, the response of the Lords towards so many of the intended promulgations of the Commons could only defer the introduction of a bill which, in a Scottish context at least, was something more than a matter of mere peripheral interest. The delay in the introduction of a Scottish education measure was not, however, caused simply by the volume of a controversial programme of social reform or of a blockage of so much of that programme by the use of obstructive tactics in the upper chamber of the Palace of Westminster. The rate of progress was also controlled by the nature of what was specifically Scottish parliamentary business. This, as Fry has observed, was centred on three themes: temperance reform, home rule and land reform; (46) with much of the last devoted to what Hutchison has called ... "the vicarious fortunes of the Scottish Small Holdings Bill." (47) There was, in addition, another issue, well-intentioned and socially significant, but containing no obvious stimulus to serve as a pre-requisite for controversial reaction. This was the question of the provision of meals for children. Paradoxically, however, here was a subject which helped to drive a wedge into the government's time table for Scottish education legislation. When combined with what both Commons and Lords considered to be the lack of observance for correct parliamentary procedures, the debate on meals helped to delay the successful completion of legislation on the structure and administration of education in Scotland until December 1908, thus causing a dissension that was as effective as that engendered by the more complex and contentious matter of land reform. How was this dissension manifested?

In December 1906, legislation on the provision of meals was completing its passage at Westminster. Originally, two measures had been introduced, one English and the other Scottish. A prolonged debate had taken place on the English Bill; none on the Scottish. (48) Both were referred to the same Select Committee. As the two Bills ... "proceeded on the same lines [the Committee] recommended their amalgamation ...". (49) On the Committee sat fifteen members, eleven Liberals and

four Unionists. Of the total, only one represented a Scottish constituency. (50) Four witnesses from Scotland gave evidence to the Committee - the chairman of the Glasgow School Board, the chairman and another member of the Edinburgh School Board, and one independent person. None supported extending the application of the English bill to Scotland. But, according to Sir Henry Craik, the newly-elected Conservative member for the Glasgow and Aberdeen University seat, at three o'clock in the morning, the Committee voted in favour of the extension. (51) He denounced its action, stressing a need to keep English and Scottish legislation separate. (52) The government did not share this anxiety, noting that the application of the Bill was optional. (53) Lord Balfour of Burleigh, however, attacked the Committee's decision. "Such treatment", he declared in the Lords on December 21, 1906, "was absolutely without precedent." While questioning the view that there was a need for Scottish local authorities to provide meals for children, he spearheaded his criticism on the manner in which parliamentary procedure had been breached. The government, he suggested, ... "ought to allow Scotland to make the request before they took up a Private Member's Bill and imposed upon the people of Scotland something they did not require." (54) At the end of its debate the Lords voted by 28 votes to 19 in favour of deleting the Bill's application to Scotland. (55) Apart from a small minority on the Conservative benches, the Commons condemned the Lords' action. But the Prime Minister advised the House to accept the vote on the Lords' amendment ... "rather than sacrifice the whole Bill." (56) This was done and the Bill received the Royal Assent.

Once publicised, the theme of the provision of meals for schoolchildren could not be kept at bay. Further questions were asked about it in the Commons, and the Scottish Secretary made clear his intentions to include the issue of meals in his forthcoming Education (Scotland) Bill. Reaction outside Westminster was hostile. Opposition was directed not so much at the principle of providing meals for schoolchildren but at the decision to place the cost of the operation on the rates. A conference of school board representatives (excluding Aberdeen and Glasgow) on February 15, 1907 voted against supporting any legislation in favour of the proposal.

The Scotsman agreed with the decision, noting that ... “Sir Henry Craik and Lord Balfour were better exponents of Scottish feeling than all the Radical members, and that the House of Lords did well to save Scotland from the burden designed for it by the House of Commons.” (57) But the ‘burden’ was no creation of the Commons. Its nature had been exemplified by the Inter Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, whose report had been published in 1904. “With scarcely an exception”, the Report stated, “there was a general consensus of opinion that the time has come when the State should realise the necessity of ensuring adequate nourishment to children in attendance at school.” (58) On the other hand, the Commission believed, a balance should be reached between the responsibility of public bodies and the initiative of private benevolence so that ... “the community may be protected from the consequences of the somewhat dangerous doctrine that free meals are the necessary concomitant of free education.” (59)

This need for the state to act was taken up by Ramsay MacDonald, Labour member for Leicester, in his private member’s bill on the provision of meals for children in Scotland. (60) Moving the second reading on March 1, 1907, he cited support from areas such as Govan and Greenock and from public bodies like the Royal College of Physicians. (61) Craik, from the opposition, dismissed the bill, and he pleaded for the retention of ... “the benevolence of private donors ... [instead of] ... throwing them all away in order to follow a will o’ the wisp and the shibboleth of Socialism.” (62) Although Sinclair told the House that the emphasis in MacDonald bill differed from that in the forthcoming government measure, (63) this reassurance was treated sceptically. (64) Moreover, it failed to deflect renewed attacks on the government’s procedural ineptitude; for, by allowing MacDonald to go ahead, Sinclair had given useful ammunition to those who were critical of his conduct of parliamentary business. “The Government”, declared Acland Hood, “not only introduced bills in a legitimate way in the gracious speech from the Throne, but they used the ballot to adopt any number of illegitimate children”. (65) The Scotsman agreed, believing that MacDonald bill was used ... “as a stalking-horse”. (66)

It was in the wake of this distinctly petulant atmosphere, therefore, that the

prototype of what became the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 was brought into the House of Commons on March 20, 1907. (67) The Bill proposed reforms which could be implemented ... “without any change in the existing general organisation and without touching questions such as the area of educational administration.” Powers would be given to local authorities ... “to provide machinery for the provision of meals...”, to develop medical inspection, enforce attendance at continuation classes, consolidate the system of financing education and, finally, abolish the cumulative vote.(68) Responding on behalf of the Opposition, Craik thought that the Bill intended ... “to deal with Scottish education problems in ... “homeopathic doses.” (69) Commenting on the proposals, The Glasgow Herald found them ... “less than what the country is entitled to ...”, but thought that they settled some points ... “too important to be called minor.” (70) But after its unenthusiastic reception, little opportunity was given to this Bill to settle anything. In a pessimistic mood on June 6, 1907, Asquith said that the rate of its progress would depend on ... “other measures before the Scottish Standing Committee.” (71) By Question Time on July 10 Sinclair could give no date for a second reading, (72) and this situation remained unchanged on July 26 (73). The Bill was withdrawn on August 21, 1907.

Its successor appeared on March 26, 1908. (74) Sinclair had outlined his ideas in a confidential memorandum to the cabinet on March 14. (75) While observing that the new Bill was almost identical to its predecessor, he warned his colleagues, with regard to the administration of education in Scotland that it was likely to ... “revive hopes which have been already frequently disappointed.” He went on: “Unless the Cabinet deem this question worthy of consideration this Session, and will provide adequate time, it is not advisable to introduce a Bill ...”. Sinclair’s statement contained an ominous ring, clearly reflecting not only an anxiety lest this latest attempt to resolve questions affecting the organisation of education in Scotland should come to grief, but also a distinct degree of nervousness about the effects of an overcrowded agenda on the levels of government efficiency in general and on his own role in the conduct of Scottish parliamentary business in particular. The object of the Education (Scotland) 1908 Bill, the Scottish Secretary informed the Commons, was ... “not to recast the

system of education but to supplement it." (76) Parish-based school boards and secondary education committees would be left undisturbed. The financing of education would be rationalised, with the system of grants and relief funding, developed since the 1890s, pooled into an Education (Scotland) fund. A new principle for the distribution of money was proposed, based on the size of population as well as on the cost of education and rateable values and containing, in the sector of secondary schooling, the abolition of rigid demarcation between neighbouring districts. Powers would be given to the authorities to develop medical inspection. Feeding of children would be, initially, the responsibility of parents; but where public bodies would be involved, Sinclair assured the House that the duty of provision would fall on school boards and not, as in the 1907 bill, on parish councils. Continuation schools would be compulsory and cumulative voting abolished. The Bill, concluded the Secretary, ... "disturbs nothing, it destroys nothing, but it builds round the existing system." This declaration of optimism did not enable the Bill to escape controversy; but the measure avoided the fate of earlier attempts, albeit by watering down some of the more radical ideas, and it received the Royal Assent on December 21, 1908.

It would seem, therefore, in the context of the Liberal government's priorities for its general programme of proposed legislation that opposition in the House of Lords, together with the specific role played by the question of providing meals for Scottish children, as well as the management of Scottish parliamentary business, contributed to the slow rate of progress of the Education (Scotland) Bills at Westminster between 1906 and 1908. There was, in addition, an extra dimension present in each of the above three elements - the leading personalities shaping and controlling the direction of events. Previous reference has been made to the vital contribution of Campbell-Bannerman in the resurgence of Liberal party confidence between 1900 and December 1905. His role as Prime Minister was equally important. J.W. Crombie, Liberal member of Kincardineshire, in a letter to James Bryce after he had taken up his position as British Ambassador in Washington, wrote that ... "the government has done better than most of us expected - especially in holding together among ourselves ... C.B. himself has done excellently. He is not a great Prime Minister

like Gladstone, but he leads the House very well...". (77) Despite this optimistic assessment of the Leader in October 1907, the Liberal administration was not in an enviable position. "Having bared its teeth", states Koss, "the government inexplicably declined to bite In parliament and in the country, Liberal morale was at a low ebb Its leaders, whatever excuses they might legitimately offer, could point to embarrassingly few positive achievements." (78) Koss goes on to quote a relevant observation by Lloyd George, made in December 1907, about ... "the natural tendency of each individual Minister to pull in a separate direction, ... [thereby ensuring that] ... 'the general outlines of policy have not been considered'". (79) Herein lay one possible cause of weakness in Sinclair's management of Scottish parliamentary business. His grasp of procedural priorities was unsure although, admittedly, he had to pilot what was a conglomerate programme dominated by the complicated and emotive issue of land reform. And it could also be argued in his defence that the range of responsibilities and the growing volume of work expected from the holder of the twin posts of Secretary for Scotland and Vice President of the S.E.D. was becoming too onerous a burden for one individual. Nonetheless, his ill-judged decision to allow minor legislation, such as that on the feeding of children, to become entangled with the government's own proposal, indicated a possible lack of thought given both to the 'general outlines' of policy and to the particular direction of measures dealing with the organisation and administration of Scottish education.

The significance of the effects of personalities on the viability of the Liberal government acquired more prominence at the beginning of 1908. Campbell-Bannerman returned to London on January 20, 1908 after convalescing at Biarritz. He chaired a cabinet meeting on February 12. It was his last. Resigning on April 1, he died on April 22. Asquith succeeded to the premiership and Lloyd George to the Exchequer. Sinclair remained in charge of the Scottish Office and the S.E.D. In a letter to James Bryce, Arthur Ponsonby, Campbell-Bannerman's successor as member for Stirling District gave a hint of one possible result of this change in leadership. "Asquith", he said "is doing well, very well I think but that inexpressible personal human rol of the party is not there and if we ever get into very rough waters it is doubtful

doubtful what will happen.” (80) Something of the underlying tension which developed was revealed, for example, by Munro Ferguson, in a letter to his wife. “I’m pretty sure”, he wrote, “J[ohn] S[inclair] is left as a kind of parting legacy to A[squith] by C[ampbell] B[annerman].” He goes on to say:

They might keep J.S. for a bit & give me the office later if he makes another mess of his Edn. Bill... Which is most important:- to get rid of him, or to pass the Bill? It is simply deplorable that he sd. go on - and to assist him is the surest way to retain him for this Parlt. It is as congenial a prospect as that of being civil to R[ichard] B[urdon] H[aldane] who - as Mayor of the Palace “will give the things away.” (81)

And the conduct of James Caldwell, Deputy-Chairman of Committees, by his disruption of one session of the Standing Committee on the Education (Scotland) Bill, did little to reduce the temperature. An amendment to clause six of the Bill had been introduced. This amendment sought to emphasise that the education to be provided for those between the ages of five and fourteen was to be limited to reading, writing and arithmetic. Supporting the amendment, Caldwell argued that, without it, there would be an obligation on parents and the authorities to extend education ... “to an indefinite and unlimited extent. Many school boards”, he said, “would be totally unable to provide the undefined education demanded by the clause as it stood”. (82) The amendment was defeated. But Caldwell’s performance led the London correspondent of *The Scotsman*, in the same issue of the paper as that which carried the report of the debate, to reflect on what he felt was the inefficiency of the Grand Committee system. “The theory on which they welcomed its creation”, he wrote, “was that, given a non-party measure dealing with a particular matter of business, the Scottish members would give a working example of the benefits that would flow from a Scottish parliament sitting in Scotland. The result has been exactly the contrary.” Sinclair’s view of Caldwell was expressed in a forthright letter to Struthers at the end of August 1908 after he had been made aware of the possible publication of the Deputy Chairman’s hostile criticism of the Education Bill. Sinclair thought ... “that Mr. Caldwell, though a nuisance, will not amount to much: but that one can very well do without him: and I shall consider what the necessary steps may be. The powers that be, namely John Bull, will never stand our taking 3 or 4 days for Report: and such a proceeding

would be a much more serious risk to the Bill than The Pamphlet on its merits." (83) In the event, the Bill was passed, and Sinclair remained in the government; but soon after the land reform measure had completed its parliamentary passage, he was translated to the governorship of Madras.

* * * *

From March 1904 to December 1908 one continuous theme ran through the parliamentary debate on the Education (Scotland) Bills: the need to amend and streamline the Scottish system of education so as to eradicate defects which had germinated within it, defects that were an inevitable consequence of what had been since 1872 a form of ... "piecemeal development...". (84) Contained within this general aim were two major objectives, each having a number of inter-dependent elements: first, the necessity to create a reformed national administrative structure that was both rational in principle and coherent in design; and second, the equally desirable purpose of developing a local managerial pattern capable of sustaining the existing format of institutions while, at the same time, producing new, efficient modes of practice, and retaining, throughout, the values and distinctive characteristics of the Scottish tradition of education.

The discussion on the first of these objectives, namely, the creation of an effective administrative national fabric, focussed attention on a number of key issues. Perhaps the least controversial of them was the continuing attachment to the principle of a separate authority for education, the *ad hoc* method. The Scottish view of this differed sharply from that held in England where, as Stocks has pointed out, those ... "who saw the need for larger units of organisation than the parish tended to see *ad omnia* authorities such as the county councils as the only alternative." (85) Moreover, the presence of the powerful figure of Robert Morant, implacably opposed to the *ad hoc* method of administration, was sufficient to deter its application in England. Before becoming Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education he had warned that a separate authority for education ... "becomes, *in the eyes of the town councillors*, a rival and greedy swallower of the funds which the town councillor feels ought to be at *his disposal for all* the needs of the town." (86) Morant went on to say that

there is the mistake of getting together a lot of people whose sole [or main] hobby is education and letting a body of such folk have the run of the public purse. ... Ordinary common -sense restrictions ... are wholly overlooked; and so-called 'education' fads and extravagances of all kinds ... become the normal course of policy.

No fears of this sort were expressed in Scotland. The government's decision to keep the *ad hoc* method reflected a penchant for a traditional Scottish practice; a practice that was ... "suited to the peculiarities of the Scottish educational system and deeply rooted ... in national history." (87) Not everyone shared this attitude. Some, such as George McCrae, Liberal MP for Edinburgh East, former merchant, town councillor and city treasurer, following Morant's line, questioned the retention of the *ad hoc* system, regarding it as ... "antiquated and not conducive either to economy or efficiency." (88) On the other hand, as Stocks has illustrated, organisations like the E.I.S. were keen to continue using the principle, partly as a means of preserving the unique status of education within local communities, and partly because the Institute also saw in the kind of structure represented by the *ad hoc* idea a valuable counterbalance to what the teaching profession felt was often the finicky conduct and oppressive tactics of parish school boards. (89) Alone, however, neither a sentimental attachment to tradition nor the self interest of a professional association would have provided sufficient justification for retaining the practice. There was, as Graham Murray stressed, a fundamental constitutional factor involved in its utilisation in so far as Police and Royal Burghs, ... "exceedingly jealous of their responsibilities and their power ... [would] ... never have consented to have been represented in educational matters by county councils." (90) In other words, Murray was making it clear that it was impossible to jettison the *ad hoc* method of organising education unless the pattern of Scottish local government was to be changed at the same time. It was the inter-relationship between these two elements, therefore, which kept not only the *ad hoc* principle but also much of the framework of the system of administering education in Scotland largely unaltered until 1929.

In contrast to the proposal to keep the traditional *ad hoc* pattern, the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1904 contained what was, in a Scottish context, a relatively new concept in the government of education - the creation of four provincial councils.

These were to be advisory bodies, to be used so as to bring greater cohesion to the educational system. Each council would consist of representatives from county councils, school boards, universities, central institutions, schools and teachers, and have ... "an absolute power in their own hands of making a representation to the Department with reference to any matter affecting the educational interests of the province." (91) The idea, and its practical application, had been explored before the publication of the bill. As far back as 1868, for example, the Schools Inquiry Commission, chaired by Baron Taunton, using evidence gathered from Matthew Arnold, had suggested the formation of a national council for Wales, similar to those already operating in France, Prussia and Switzerland. A proposal to create such an organisation was included in the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill of 1889, but omitted from the Act based on the Bill. (92) Previously, in 1895, Craik had examined the concept of a national council for Scotland. (93) Likewise, in 1903, the Liberal League reacted favourably to its possibilities. (94) In the same year William Anson, President of the Board of Education, had pressed for a Welsh Education Council, and the Board had gone ahead and prepared plans for such a scheme. Ultimately, as Evans has shown in his definitive study of the administration of education in Wales, the idea attracted considerable controversy. (95) It was included in the 1906 Education Bill for England and Wales. But when that Bill was returned in mutilated form from the Lords, the cabinet, in November 1906, rather than rescue individual clauses, dropped the whole measure, so ending any hope for the formation of a Welsh advisory body. It was, therefore, in the context of an existing debate that the University of Glasgow in 1904, for example, approved a report favouring the formation of some kind of a consultative council to bring universities and local authorities into closer contact with regard to the conduct of Scottish secondary education. (96) (As Henry Jones had retained his contacts with Wales and influential Welsh politicians, it was not surprising that the University approved a proposal on these lines). Similarly, in January 1904, at an E.I.S. conference, Munro Ferguson spoke enthusiastically about the concept of a council, describing it as ... "the keystone of the educational arch...". (97) But it was only with tepid enthusiasm that the House of Commons reacted to the clause in the

1904 Education (Scotland) Bill to create four provincial councils. Campbell-Bannerman doubted the need for such bodies, fearing that they would simply illustrate ... “the value of the amateur interference of so-called experts in educational matters.” (98) Not surprisingly, Charles Douglas supported the proposal, believing that the councils would ... “supplement the more authoritative but much less detailed control...” exercised over Scottish education by the House. (99) While not discarding the idea, some questioned the need for four bodies instead of one, suggesting that they would ... “give much less efficacy to the system...”, and that separate bodies would have neither the authority nor the ability to check the power of the S.E.D. (100) Alexander Ure, Liberal MP for Linlithgowshire, went further. “Men of distinction in the educational world”, he declared, “would never dream of sitting upon these councils, because if their recommendations happened to be approved by the Department, the Department would carry them out off its own bat and would need no jogging from the Councils.”(101)

Outside the Commons, reaction to the clause setting up Provincial Councils was more positive. The Edinburgh School Board, for instance, welcomed the government’s plan in principle, but declared in favour of one national body. (102) G.G. Ramsay, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow, concurred with this view, but felt that the issue was not worth a fight. “Better support warmly the *four*,” he wrote to Parker Smith, Unionist member for Partick, “than risk the chance of losing the thing altogether.” (103) Commentators in the north of Scotland, on the other hand, not only favoured separate bodies, but also pressed for a specific council for the Highlands.(104) While little was made of this suggestion in 1904, the idea recurred during the passage of the 1905 Education (Scotland) Bill. In response to pressure from some key members of the Opposition, such as Haldane, Bryce, Munro Ferguson, and Shaw, the government accepted a need to create an additional fifth council to serve the Highlands; and this proposal was incorporated into the Bill. (105)

Despite support from individual Liberals for some kind of Scottish consultative body, neither the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1907 nor its successor in 1908 contained any plan to establish one. Why not? Previous reference has been made to

Campbell-Bannerman's doubts about the effectiveness of 'so-called experts'. A more significant factor for the omission, however, may very well have been the government's unfortunate experience with the projected Welsh Council and the cabinet's unwillingness to risk a similar confrontation over the issue in a Scottish education measure. Whatever the real cause of the neglect, the Scottish Educational Reform Association urged the government to reconsider the need for a central advisory body for Scotland, partly in order to curb the power of the S.E.D., and partly to assist the government to become ... "more conversant with the wishes of those who are actually engaged in the local administration of schools." (106) The matter was taken a stage further in 1908; briefly, at first, during the second reading of the Education (Scotland) Bill, (107) and later, in more concrete form, at the Grand Committee. (108) The basis of the discussion was contained in a clause drawn up by Munro Ferguson. Scotland, he suggested, should have a Council of Education, designed to ... "supplement the Parliamentary control...". This Council should meet every three months, have the Scottish Secretary as its president, and contain representatives from school boards, universities, teacher and professional bodies. Sinclair opposed the scheme, maintaining that school boards... "would never consent to have a partly elected irresponsible authority interposed between them and the direct access they now had to the Scotch Education Department." At the end of the short debate, the Committee voted against the inclusion of the clause by thirty five votes to ten. Evidence suggests that the S.E.D. would have found this result to be eminently satisfactory. The Department had argued against the proposals, pointing out that support for them had come from only three sources - the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, the Association of Secondary Teachers and the Kirkcaldy School Board. Moreover, the S.E.D. felt, the ideas themselves were both ... "illusory ..." and "... crude..." in so far as they ignored one fundamental point, namely, that a government minister, answerable to Parliament, had to be free to choose his own advisers, whom he could consult, but that he was ... "not obliged to do this, nor if he does, does he necessarily follow their advice." Parliament, the S.E.D. concluded, was the only valid form of a national council in education, as in all other affairs, ... "and in

a subordinate measure perhaps the members for Scottish constituencies." (109)

As the *ad hoc* principle could not be removed from the Scottish educational system, so the attempt to graft onto it a new administrative body, such as a Provincial Council, was equally unsuccessful. To a large extent, both devices were a part of the question of general organisation. The more specific aspects of the administration of education concerned the nature of the structure at a more local level and, in particular, the choice of the most suitable format for an area authority. Three kinds of controlling bodies were examined in the legislative debate at Westminster up to 1908: the parish-based school board, a school board operating at county level and, finally, a district council school board. To determine the best form of control, central government had to tread delicately, remain constantly aware of national and local nuances and susceptibilities, while, at the same time, try to create within an existing decentralised framework, a structured system of educational organisation capable of accommodating the aims of teachers, the requirements of management, the desires of the electorate and the needs of the curriculum.

Much of what was said in the parliamentary debate about the possibility of phasing-out the first type of controlling body noted above, the parish-based school board, was couched in mellow tones. The parish, as some MPs pointed out, was the oldest organiser of schooling in Scotland, having ... "existed for centuries - long before the Reformation ...". (110) Retention of the old school boards could be justified, therefore, simply on the grounds of their antiquity. But while the government understood the desire to look back ... "with a sort of affectionate regret to the days of the old parish schoolmaster ..." (111) there was, at the same time, a more practical approach to the question. For example, James Bryce, in 1905, argued that the parish was a natural area for providing the elements of education because it enabled parishioners to ... "give vigilant personal attention to the affairs of the parish school." (112) And, he pointed out, if school boards were taken away from parish control, the contact between small farmers or labourers and the educative process would be lost. James Caldwell, Liberal MP for mid-Lanarkshire, broadened the issue. Each parish, he said was a unit, with its own characteristics, and responsible for the religious well-being

of the community and the management of the poor as well as education. The abolition of the school board might, therefore, pose a threat to the continued existence of the parish council also. (113) In addition, where parishes were already large in area, with a scattered, thin population, as on the west coast of Scotland, an amalgamation into even bigger units could bring effective representation at meetings to an end because of inadequate transport, the expense involved in travelling, and the loss of working time. (114) Campbell-Bannerman agreed with many of these reflections. Local control, he believed, was ... “the corner-stone of the educational system of Scotland...” and there was no real desire in the country to abolish the old parish-based educational unit. (115) The government, nevertheless, took a different view with the Lord Advocate urging that it was necessary for education to be adapted to the needs of a more modern society. (116) Haldane, ...”conscious of the extent to which Scottish education was suffering from want of a new instrument...”, agreed with this, thereby dissenting from his Liberal colleagues. (117) Sentimentality was not, therefore, going to be the dominant determining factor in the choice of an administrative area for Scottish education.

The second possible format for an area authority was a school board operating at a county level. In his introduction to the 1904 Bill, Graham Murray rejected the adoption of the pattern used by English County Councils. Scotland, he pointed out, possessed what England had not - a well-organised and universal system of school boards. Furthermore, proper secondary education was provided in Scotland, almost without exception, by the burghs only. (118) Effectively, therefore, with no radical change in local government machinery envisaged, a unified system of education under a county authority, but without burgh participation, was inexpedient. Despite this clear declaration by the government, the possibility of county council control was not passed over lightly.

The issue formed the basis of a motion by Alexander Black, Liberal member for Banffshire, at the start of the second reading of the 1904 Bill. Calling for the Commons to reject proposals to place primary education under any re-constituted authority ... “in disregard of existing educational areas ...”, he maintained that considerable care was

necessary so as ... "not to ruthlessly destroy any essential element in rural Scottish life. "The pivot of the rural community, he felt, was the parish and not the county, and the Bill's promoters needed to demonstrate that any proposed change constituted a marked improvement. (119) The Lord Advocate, although not unsympathetic to established tradition, pointed out that ... "a change arose not from defects in the School Boards, but from essential changes in the circumstances of the country." No longer was it possible, he argued, to expect parish schools to prepare pupils for the higher standards being demanded by universities. (120)

Inevitably, those holding county seats tended to take a more positive attitude towards county control. For instance, Charles Renshaw, Unionist member for Renfrewshire West, believed the county to be the best unit provided the Scottish Secretary could be given powers to sub-divide it into smaller divisions. Support for this view came from John Dewar, Liberal MP for Inverness-shire, who emphasized that a county plan without some form of devolution in management would be quite ineffective in large Highland counties such as Inverness and Argyll. (122) Yet others, such as Herbert Maxwell, Unionist MP for Wigtownshire, stressed a need to consider not only the size of a county but also the distribution of population within it (123); while Liberals like Haldane and MacNamara rejected the principle of county control precisely because of the variations in area and levels of population, and also as a result of what they felt were the deleterious effects of county council administration over education in England and Wales. (124) Nevertheless, there was a dilemma here, with the essence of it being expressed most clearly by James Bryce. Elementary education, he suggested, needed to be administered in a small unit and secondary education in a relatively larger one. Unfortunately the government was proposing to use only one kind of authority to control both levels. The solution, Bryce believed was ... "to allow elementary education areas to combine for the purposes of secondary education." (125) Unionists and Liberals supported this argument, provided powers of sub-division of counties could be established. To try to resolve the question, the Scottish Secretary, aware of what he referred to as a need for greater 'elasticity', agreed to incorporate an amendment in the third clause of the 1904 Bill, stating that, when

required, two counties or local government districts could combine or that a division could take place in an undivided country. This proposal helped to ... “relax the rigidity of the provision...”, but it did not lead Murray to abandon his belief in what he felt was the most effective of the three kinds of local controlling bodies that could be used to administer Scottish education - a district council school board. (127)

The government's intention, according to the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1904, was to establish such district council school boards, to be constituted under the terms of the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889, rather than keep the old parish-based school boards or have a single county authority. Clearly, this was a compromise formula and the Commons, initially at least, greeted it with remarkable equanimity. Public debate on the proposal had already taken place. In October 1903, for instance, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, shortly after his resignation as Secretary for Scotland, had delivered an address on Scottish education at George Watson's Ladies College in Edinburgh. During his speech he advocated enlarging the areas of educational administration so as to place both primary and secondary schools under one body. “I have in mind”, he declared, “the same area as the district of a county for road and public health purposes, so as to avoid the creation of any new area of local government, but I distinctly urge that the body should be specially elected for educational purposes.” (128) But The Scotsman was sceptical about proposals for a district-based school board. Its initial reaction at the end of March 1904, with its reference to the Scottish Secretary as the ‘miraculous Moses’, gave way to a more balanced reflection by the end of the first week of April, when it noted that the old parish school board ... “had the fear of the parish before its eyes. The district school board”, it continued, “will be elevated above that terror. It will have more magnanimous ideas which will, of course, be more costly Its only interest will be education. It will have no interest in economy.” (129) Within a few weeks the paper was wondering if Murray, despite his approval of district area school boards, might not ... “be induced to reconsider his decision if he finds that Scottish public opinion is in favour of the county area. It is possible”, The Scotsman's editor continued,

that he has been greatly influenced by Departmental opinion, which is naturally in favour of District Boards, as it is in favour of *ad hoc* Boards. District Boards will undoubtedly be more easily prodded, and the local authority will be a far more pliable instrument than if it represented the county. (130)

As with the consideration of the possibilities of county-controlled boards, the debate at Westminster on the principle of district-controlled school boards, once begun, revolved around the question of the abolition of the parish unit in favour of a larger organisation. Again, the relative size of the area designated seemed to cause concern to MPs. Black, for example, believed that district council school boards, like those proposed for county councils, would be too large for primary education. Equally, he was not in favour of secondary education being put under district councils because such councils had been created essentially to administer roads and communications, without any regard being paid to the distribution of population. But he did suggest aggregating parishes and burghs into primary school districts and then aggregating those primary districts into larger areas for secondary education. By doing this he believed that rating authorities would be assisted, and that full local representation from every parish and burgh, each acquainted with the needs of individual communities, would, as a result, be safeguarded (131). The idea was rejected and regarded as too cumbersome. It would, said the Lord Advocate, increase the number of administrative areas, whereas what the government required was ... "a coherent, consistent, and comprehensive system all over the country." (132) Some MPs, however, especially Haldane, re-emphasized the fact that as district councils had not been areas selected or created for education, problems might arise unless ... "powers of combination of a more explicit kind than were given in the Bill ..." were not formulated and used when required. (133) Murray admitted that the decision to adopt district school boards was a compromise. Although formed originally for geographical reasons, he was confident, nevertheless, that they could be adapted for educational purposes; but he was prepared to consider ideas about possible combination ... "where local opinion thought that combination was necessary." (134)

This concern with the preservation of local interest in the management of

schools, and a fear that enlarged areas would be unworkable, remained paramount to the debate on the kind of board favoured, with the government resisting all attempts to have the principle of a district controlled school board removed from the 1904 Bill. The Scottish Secretary insisted that the establishment of this principle was an essential requirement for a viable policy. (135) Unwittingly, however, the government created for itself an additional hazard by designating not only a separate status for the four burghs of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, (referred to in the 1904 and 1905 Bills as 'enumerated districts'), but also by proposing to amalgamate Leith with Edinburgh, and Govan, Kinning Park, Partick, Cathcart and Pollokshaws with Glasgow. (136) Yet, even before the publication of the 1904 Bill, the controversial nature of such a proposition was made clear to the government. While Glasgow School Board, supported by that of Maryhill, fully endorsed attempts to enlarge existing school board areas by combining adjacent districts, (137) reaction from the boards of Govan and Cathcart was predictable enough. Always sensitive to any possible advance by the hoof of Glasgow imperialism, both opposed all forms of amalgamation with other school boards. (138) Initially, the Scottish Secretary was able to prevent the outbreak of any fierce public disagreement; (139) but once the government made known its intentions in March 1904, reaction could not be contained. Both Govan and Leith submitted official protests, each emphasizing how they had a high level of population, with a full range of educational services. In their opinion, amalgamation with neighbouring authorities would endanger the security of that provision. (140) A joint-deputation to see Murray received little sympathy; (141) while Leith had the added misfortune of lacking the support of its MP, Munro Ferguson, who believed that ... "the more powerful they [the School Boards] are the less they can be flouted by Sir Henry Craik's successor, whoever he may be ...". (142)

Once initiated in 1904, the same ideas to reform Scottish education were brought forward again in 1905, with only very minor modifications included in the new legislative proposals. But after the change of government at the end of 1905, Sinclair indicated quite clearly that the Liberals intended only to improve existing machinery and, as quoted earlier, ..."not to recast..." the system. By 1909, therefore, no major

changes had taken place within the structure. However strong the reforming zeal may have been among some sections of the legislature at Westminster, the propelling force to institute alterations had been insufficient to undermine the strength of the established framework.

As well as considering the overall structure of the Scottish system of schooling, and alternative patterns for local area control, MPs were equally interested in processes of management, and especially in matters affecting decision-making at school board level. Manifestation of this interest were evident in a number of related aspects, three of which illustrate this concern: the composition of school boards, the operation of the electoral machinery and, finally, some of the sensitive anomalies within the question of rating.

In proposing to establish district level school boards, elected on an *ad hoc* basis, the government in its 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill laid down that the number of members to serve on each Board would be determined by the S.E.D. (143) But Graham Murray stressed that he was anxious to continue fostering local interest in the management of education and individual schools. Accordingly, each school would have managers consisting of one third of the members of an elected school board and two-thirds from the parish council wherein the school was situated. With the exception of restrictions on the appointment of teachers and the borrowing of money, the managers would be given full authority to conduct their particular schools. (144)

Parliamentary reaction to these proposals were mixed. Some MPs expressed a general suspicion that the ... "chilling hand..." of the S.E.D. might ... "cramp their [school boards] efforts by swathing them round with Departmental bandages." (145) Others suggested that the Boards should have ... "unlimited power...". (146) But there was particular concern for one aspect of the general management of the new district boards, namely, the difference in power given to what the government termed the 'enumerated' and 'non-enumerated' districts. As indicated earlier, the enumerated districts were the four burghs of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Each was to constitute a distinct education authority. All other burghs, termed non-enumerated, were to form part of the new district school boards. The 1904 Education

Bill differentiated between the pattern of management to be adopted in the two types of district. Every school manager in enumerated districts would be chosen from the members of the school board. In non-enumerated districts only one-third of the appointed managers were to be school board members, with the remainder coming either from parish or burgh councils. (147) Clearly this decision was taken so as to ensure that the local element in the management of individual schools could be protected. Nevertheless it was reported to be unpopular, particularly with teachers, and pressure led the government in June 1904 to introduce an amendment abolishing the differentiation between the two types of district boards. (148) Reaction to this in the Commons was hostile. Buchanan, for example, supported by others like Maxwell and Bryce, considered it to be a substantial alteration, causing ... "the doing away, root and branch, of any power on the part of parents and of the locality of exercising control over the school ...". (149) Defending its action, the government insisted that it was placing trust in the authorities within the non-enumerated districts not to appoint all managers for an individual school from those elected for non-educational purposes, and that the amendment was ... "no Machiavellian scheme..." to change the Bill. (150) Nevertheless, in response to the criticism, the government, while leaving the choice of managers, in non-enumerated districts, to the education authority, stipulated that it should be compulsory to appoint at least one manager from among school board members ... "returned for the electoral division in which the particular schools were placed." (151)

The question of representation in enumerated and non-enumerated districts was related to another aspect of the local management and control of education, namely, the conduct of elections and the form of electoral districts. Elections to all the district boards proposed in the 1904 Bill were to be conducted on the same franchise as used for county councils, except that in the four enumerated burghs, school board members would be elected within each municipal ward. (152) An amendment to have a similar system used in smaller burghs was rejected as being unmanageable by the government, despite a plea that the ward system was ... "interwoven with the whole civic life of town and cities...". (153) This was not necessarily synonymous with

efficient practice. Hutchison, for example, has drawn attention to the build up of weaknesses in the Conservative party after 1900 and how these combined to lead to its defeat in 1906. After the election, the party carried out an inquiry into the causes of this defeat. One factor that this inquiry revealed was that ... "parish, or ward committees, so vital for efficient running of a constituency party, were indeed hopelessly defective." (154) In the context of school boards, however, the amendment in the 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill pressing for a ward system, directed attention to an important aspect of the voting question, namely, the decision in the Bill not to retain the cumulative vote. The practice of cumulative voting, as Bone has observed, had been abolished in England in 1902. Introduced into Scotland under the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, it had been used ... "with deliberate intention of giving expression to minority feelings...". Each voter had the same number of votes as there were vacant seats, and these votes could be distributed as desired, either by 'plumping' all for one candidate or allocating one vote for each candidate. Consequently, any careless distribution tended to give small parties an advantage over larger ones, thus encouraging instability among boards. (155) Under the proposed new structure for a district school board, therefore, the government did not think that cumulative voting could be continued. (155) This decision did not displease The Scotsman, which believed that it had been a system of voting onto school boards ... "faddists and sectarians ... [who] ... represent particular interests, and they have continued to involve the country in an expenditure out of all proportion to the educational benefits received." (157) This view reflected the attitude of the S.E.D. To Struthers, for instance, cumulative voting had no real relevance for school board administration except in so far as it placed ... "the management of affairs in the hands of (it may be) a quite insignificant but *well-organised* minority which is in no way representative of the general sentiment of the community on educational questions." (158) Both Conservative and Liberal governments were clearly in accord on this point. No proposal to retain the cumulative method was included in the 1905 Education (Scotland) Bill; and in those of 1907 and 1908 the government declared its intention to abolish it in favour of the French plan known as '*scrutin de liste*'. This

would give every voter the same number of votes as there were candidates, but they would not be able to give more than one vote to any particular candidate. (160) In some quarters, response to these proposals was unpopular. The Glasgow School Board, for example, on April 13, 1908, declared that the abolition of cumulative voting, without some guarantee of an available replacement to cater for minorities, would not be in the interests of electors. (161) Similarly, a deputation from the Govan School Board to the Scottish Secretary protested against the government's move. But as the members of the deputation admitted their own lack of unanimity about the question, Sinclair was reported to have taken advantage of them so as ... "to avoid making any pronouncement upon it." (162)

The S.E.D. took a fairly sanguine view of these developments. While cumulative voting was still used for electing members of Drainage Boards and Brine Pumping Compensation Boards, the Department, nevertheless, did not believe there would be any opposition to its abolition in school board elections except ... "probably ... from the Roman Catholics." (163) This confidence was misplaced, for when the Commons was considering the Education (Scotland) Bill on November 24, after it had been amended by the Standing Committee on July 7, Sinclair informed MPs that the cumulative vote would not be abolished. (164) What had caused this change in policy? At the meeting of the Standing Committee, amendments were put forward in favour of the re-introduction of the principle of cumulative voting, as well as for the establishment of a form of *proportional representation*. Sinclair opposed both, on the grounds that it was ... "unfair to make Scotland the *corpus vile* of a hasty and ill-considered experiment." (165) Evidence in a confidential memorandum from the Scottish Secretary to his cabinet colleagues on August 1, 1908 reveals that while some Unionists on the Committee supported the government, several Liberals, especially from the west of Scotland, together with some Irish MPs and at least one English member with Roman Catholic interests, resisted the abolition of the cumulative method. (166) The government's case was carried, but only by twenty-seven votes to twenty-one. Complicating the issue was another proposal, namely, for replacing cumulative voting with a system of *proportional representation*. This was defeated by

twenty votes to eighteen. (167) Lord Balfour of Burleigh reported that there was some degree of confusion at the meeting, with ... "a good deal of cross-voting, which I am not in a position to analyse because the reports of what goes on in those Committees are not easily understood by those who were not present." (168) Despite the fairly narrow margin of the government's success in the Standing Committee, Sinclair was sufficiently optimistic to inform his cabinet colleagues that "overwhelming" opinion in Scotland favoured the ending of the process of cumulative voting at school board elections, partly on account of its denominational connections and partly because of its effect in deflating public interest. At the same time, he accepted that Roman Catholics had a strong desire to retain it. However, he was ... "clear, as the result of repeated interviews with representatives of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, ... that this is one of their demands on which they lay least stress, and that, if their views in other directions are met, they are not inclined to do more than record a formal protest against the abolition of the cumulative vote." (169)

"Other directions" could well have been an alternative to the cumulative vote - proportional representation. The case for this was put into a discussion paper by J.M. Robertson, Liberal MP for Tyneside and Honorary Secretary of the Proportional Representation (Parliamentary) Committee. (170) Robertson suggested that the government's intentions with regard to voting, as published in the Education (Scotland) Bill in March 1908, would help to re-ignite interest among electors and lead to the creation of a more evenly-balanced party representation in the membership of school boards, thus replacing ... "a system of election ... [that]... produces a more profound apathy than any other that can be devised." But in the meantime, during the interval between early August and late November, it became clear that the government had had ... "to reconsider their position." Proportional Representation was too complex a formula to be ... "adopted in an Act of Parliament by a side wind ...". The only possible alternative, therefore, was to retain cumulative voting. (171) The short debate on November 24, based on an amendment by John Hope (Liberal, West Fife), with support from some Irish MPs, as well as McCallum (Liberal, Paisley) and Duncan (Conservative, Govan), ended in favour of the re-introduction of cumulative voting

despite some barbed criticism from Gulland, Munro Ferguson, Alexander Cross (Conservative, Camlachie) and Cleophas Morton (Liberal, Sutherland)) (172)

The general question of the format of local control and managerial responsibility, of electoral districts, and voting patterns, had repercussions within the financing of education, especially rates. In his introduction to the 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill Graham Murray described the system of financing Scottish education as ... "really chaotic in its perplexity." (173) Much of this chaos had been caused by piecemeal development which, by 1902, contained a number of elements. First, the parliamentary vote for public education which, as the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, pointed out in its final report on Scotland, ... "generally, followed the lines of the English Vote...". (174) Second, the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889 and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, both of which provided ... "relief from the payment of school fees ...". Third, the Education and Local Taxation (Scotland) Act of 1892 which, under section 2(1)(b), gave a fixed sum for education as well as, in section 2(5), a variable quantity for ... "the relief of rates or towards schemes of public utility under which is included educational schemes." (176) Fourth, another variable sum allotted to education under the terms of the Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1898, much of which went to finance certificate examinations and higher class schools. (177) "Very roughly", calculated the Royal Commission, "Scottish School Boards have an annual income, excluding loans, of some £2,000,000 for all purposes including those of Higher Education. Rather more than £1,000,000 comes from Government grants in one shape or another, and rather more than £900,000 falls upon the rates; the balance being made up of miscellaneous local receipts". (178) In the 1904 Bill, the government proposed to pool all these sources into one Education (Scotland) Fund. (179) Responding to the idea, Bryce felt it was a useful way of resolving the post 1890 complications. (180) Others suspected the government's decision would give even more power to the S.E.D. "If the Scotch educational system had formerly been chastised with Whips", declared Crombie, "it was now to be scourged with Scorpions". (181) But Murray defended his action by stressing that at least one-third of the money was not to be controlled by the

Department but given to school boards ... "to spend as they pleased in their own control of education." (182)

The decision to consolidate and streamline the method of funding Scottish education was carried forward from 1904 and eventually incorporated into the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908. But while reactions to the general plan were relatively non-controversial, the question of school board rating was a more contentious issue, although the response to it in Scotland, because of comparatively lower levels of religious animosity, was milder than in England and considerably less volatile than in Wales. On the other hand, there was much concern north of the border with the mechanics of the system of school rating. The 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill laid down that the newly constituted district school boards would continue the practice of having the education rate levied and collected with the parish rate, in accordance with what had been established under the Poor Law (Scotland) Act of 1845. (183) But on May 2, 1904, during the second reading of the Bill in the Commons, Sir Charles Renshaw, Conservative MP for Renfrewshire West, proposed that, since the district was to become the new education unit, it, and not the parish, ought to be the authority responsible for rate collection. (184) Forces outside Westminster reacted swiftly, bringing immediate pressure to bear on the government to retain the traditional method for collecting the school rate. The clerk of the Kilsyth parish council, for example, on May 3, informed Murray that such a change would be a mistake, both on economic grounds and because districts, just as much as counties, lacked expert knowledge of individual parishes and local conditions. (185) Support for this view came also from the Society of Inspectors of the Poor in Scotland (186) and from school boards and parish councils as diverse as those of Alyth, Coatbridge, Cathcart, Kilmallie, Kirriemuir (187) and Kincardine (Ross). (188) Further objections about rating developed on June 15 when, in Committee, the government introduced an amendment to differentiate between the education rate in enumerated and non-enumerated districts. In the former, the rate would be levied ... "according to ... respective valuations in the valuation roll ...", and elsewhere ... "one half according to population and one half according to valuation...". (189) This amendment reflected

what was clearly a fundamental weakness in the Bill, as Murray was forced to admit. "They were", he said, "here dealing with the incidence of the school rate in respect of the new district where the rating area was an agglomeration of districts." (190) Following some fairly heated exchanges, the government agreed to reconsider the question, but the Bill was withdrawn before the issue could be resolved.

Yet, in essence, Murray's amendment was an attempt to grapple with what was a fundamental weakness in the local sector of Scottish educational administration, namely, that rating was a process controlled by hundreds of small, fiercely-independent and proud parish-based school boards operating within fixed boundaries which, in urban areas, did not necessarily accord with those of the municipal authorities. While opposition to proposed changes in rating criteria in 1904 was strong enough to deter any re-introduction of the same proposals in 1905, the relationship between rating and education re-emerged three years later in a form that linked it with electoral patterns and practices. The link was illustrated in two ways during the passage of the 1908 Education (Scotland) Bill; first, by the continued imposition of a property disqualification; and second, by repercussions arising from the rigidity of school board boundaries.

Although the 1908 Bill, in its amended form, proposed to abolish the four pounds minimum limit on the value of property owned or occupied by electors, (191) thereby increasing the number of voters, particularly in Highland districts where sometimes whole parishes were almost totally disenfranchised, (192) another disqualification remained. This was the restriction which applied to joint-occupiers, especially lodgers. According to John S. Taylor of the I.L.P., they were liable to pay rates but not entitled to vote. Consequently he believed that large numbers in urban areas like Glasgow could not participate in school board activities. (193) The problem, as explained by Macdonald, was caused by the use of varying criteria for different types of elections. Individual occupation or ownership qualified for a parliamentary or municipal franchise; joint occupancy did not, because one owner or occupier might pay a total rate or rent and the other none. Compilers of school board registers often assumed equal interest by joint-occupiers or owners; but municipal council registrars

relied on no such assumption unless specific proof could be supplied. The effects, in Macdonald's opinion, were most serious among women voters. "Women", he declared, "are less interested in municipal affairs and are particularly ignorant of how to get a vote if they think about the matter at all." (194) To resolve the issue, the Scottish Secretary, at Question Time on November 16, declared that joint-owners or occupiers would have to make a special application to be included on school board registers.(195) Despite this announcement Richard Laidlaw, Liberal MP for Renfrewshire East, in an amendment on November 24, proffered a different solution. The Speaker refused to accept the amendment. (196) And on December 9, during the Committee stage of the Bill in the Lords, the Duke of Norfolk put forward an argument very similar to that of John S. Taylor. But the government refused to apply a total abolition of the restriction, believing that any discrepancy between school board rolls and municipal or parish registers was ... "more apparent than real." (197)

Reality, on the other hand, was a stronger element in the other link noted between rating and education - the question of school board boundaries. Previous reference has been made to the reactions of the Govan and Leith school boards towards proposed amalgamations in 1904. Evidence on the problem of boundaries in Glasgow in 1908 illustrates some of the difficulties and their relationship with specific proposals in the 1908 Education (Scotland) Bill. Throughout the nineteenth century, Glasgow's municipal boundary had rarely been static for long. A major extension of the burgh in 1846 was followed by minor additions in 1872 and 1878. In 1891 six other burghs were absorbed by the city - Govanhill, Crosshill, Pollokshields East, Pollokshields, Hillhead and Maryhill - together with suburban areas such as Mount Florida, Langside, Shawlands, Kelvinside, Possilpark and Springburn. But the burghs of Govan and Partick, together with Shettleston and Tollcross in Lanarkshire, Cathcart and Newlands in Renfrewshire and portions of Dunbartonshire were to remain firmly outside Glasgow territorial authority until 1912. Nevertheless, they were, physically at least, closely linked with Glasgow so that decisions taken by official bodies within the city invariably affected adjacent areas. (198) The activities of school boards were not immune from this trend.

The problem of electoral divisions in greater-Glasgow, and their relevance to the authority of school boards was drawn to the attention of Struthers in May 1908. John Clark, the clerk of the Glasgow School Board, pointed out that his Board's territory consisted not of clearly defined districts of parish councils but an area with a boundary running ... "zigzag through them at parts, leaving *portions* of districts entirely outside." (199) Clark's general problem with regard to the franchise, therefore, was one of producing an accurate School Board register. But the issue had two other dimensions, each having a direct connection with the burden of rates. What were they? First, that the Education Bill, unless amended, would entitle parish electors outside the boundary of the Glasgow School Board, and therefore free of any rateable responsibility to that Board, to vote in its elections; and second, that individuals living in districts not adjacent to the area of Glasgow's Secondary Education Committee would be able to continue to utilise the Committee's schools, but without contributing to the rates. To resolve these two inter-related problems, Clark pressed on the government to act. On June 1 he asked that Clause 23 of the first published version of the Bill be given an additional proviso empowering the Scottish Secretary, on the application of any school board, to divide a board's area into two or more electoral districts and to define their boundaries. (200) This proposal was accepted and incorporated into the Bill after it had been considered by the Standing Committee. (201) Finding a satisfactory solution to the second difficulty proved to be a more sensitive undertaking. Clark was concerned that only two Secondary Education Committees were adjacent to that of Glasgow - Lanarkshire and Govan. Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire were not. Yet pupils from Queen's Park, Mount Florida, Langside, Shawlands, Scotstoun and Pollokshaws, all of which formed part of Renfrewshire, as well as Bearsden and Milngavie in Dunbartonshire, attended intermediate and secondary schools in Glasgow together with others from Argyll, Ayr, Perth and Stirling. Nevertheless, Glasgow could claim only for those scholars from the two adjacent districts. (202) Neither the S.E.D. nor the government could find a solution applicable both in Glasgow and elsewhere in Scotland. As Macdonald commented to Struthers: "One would like a power to the Department to say what districts ought to be made to

contribute. But I cannot see how it can be worked in conveniently." (203) Not until November 5, 1912, when the Glasgow Boundaries Bill became law, were most of these territorial difficulties removed. Even then, despite the amalgamation of a number of burghs with Glasgow, as well as the combination of school board districts ... "by order of the Scotch Education Department...", a few anomalies remained. "There are now 9 School Board Districts partly within the City", noted the Census report, "but none wholly so." (204)

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Although much of the debating on Scottish education that took place at Westminster between 1904 and 1908 concentrated on the formal structure of the national system, and the operating of that system in a regional or local setting, what was said was often couched in a more general context. For instance, the enthusiasm of many MPs for the parish-controlled school was a manifestation of a wish to preserve not only an institution but also a form of community organisation and a unit of local government. They appeared to feel that it was essential to retain the existing format of the board school in its established setting, because that school symbolised what they perceived to be some of the essential values in a democratic form of education, as well as being an anchor and a focus of stability within the community. In their advocacy, the exact location of the parish was often relatively unimportant. Equal significance was attached to its preservation whether it formed part of a deprived, depopulated Highland area, or an overcrowded urbanised, industrial environment. Although some of the MPs had a realistic understanding of the difficulties facing a large number of parish schools, others clearly had developed a concept, both of the educational potential of the schools as well as the communities where they were located, that was rather idealised. More apparent, however, was its resemblance to the kind of community depicted in Kailyard writing, (205) with an emphasis on the virtues of the small town or country village setting, the feeling for the recent past, concern for ... "vanishing values..." and an attitude that has been summed up by Ian Campbell as being ... "essentially conservationist." (206) Earlier commentators, such as Grassie Gibbon, on the other hand, saw the Scottish politician in a different, more bitter light.

“But when I read or hear our new leaders and their plans for making of Scotland a great peasant nation, “he writes,

a land of little farms and little farming communities, I am moved to a bored disgust with those pseudo-literary romantics playing with politics... . They are promising the New Scotland a purgatory that would decimate it. They are promising it narrowness and bitterness and heart-breaking toil in one of the most unkindly agricultural lands in the world... . They promise that of which they know nothing, except through sipping of the scum of Kailyard romance. (207)

Attitudes at Westminster were not, however, dominated by sentimental factors. MPs also showed an acute awareness of the effects of location on the efficiency of organisation, on the content of schooling and on projected plans for expansion. County or district-controlled school boards were, therefore, seen by many members as the more effective forms for administering education. Nevertheless, their analyses of the potentialities within the different levels of local organisation points to a feature that was beginning to emerge as a strong characteristic within the political temperament of Great Britain by the beginning of the twentieth century, namely, the drive to create more powerful and centralised forms of bureaucracy symbolised, in Scottish education, by the S.E.D. In a recent examination of the concept of location in politics, John Agnew has drawn attention to how ... “state building involved a shift in control over local interests from local population and elites to national capital and national state.” (208) Observing that ... “place is viewed as significant only in traditional or parochial societies... “(209), he goes on to point out its importance in Scottish affairs and concludes that ... “political expression in Scotland is *intrinsically* geographical.”(210) Much of the direction taken by the parliamentary debates on Scottish education confirms the importance of this element.

But this was an element which formed part of a more significant phenomenon with which MPs were clearly preoccupied - a need to create a balance between power and accountability. Many of them were critical of the S.E.D., not necessarily because it was a bureaucratic organisation but because they feared that it was persistently engaged in attempting to acquire more power than they felt it was entitled to, and that this power was being gained at the expense not only of the local education authorities but also of the national legislature at Westminster. Nonetheless, there was a dilemma

here. Where the bureaucratic machine of the central administrative body was pushing forward with its plans, notably those concerned with the expansion of secondary education, and in so doing being guided by a very clear understanding of precisely what it wished to achieve because it had, as Hamish Paterson has noted, ... "a dominant *ideology* throughout...", (211) the legislative body, on the other hand, lacked a totally unified form of ideology or a singleness of purpose and - sometimes - even understanding and interest. In considering trends in their argument, or their conception of the nature and complexity of Scottish educational problems at the beginning of the twentieth century, the general criticism of Scottish MPs, as voiced by - admittedly - two idiosyncratic commentators, Gibbon and MacDiarmid, (212) was not entirely inappropriate if applied to the conduct of Scottish education debates at Westminster between 1904 and 1908. The authors considered that ... "the majority ... would not even profess ... to have any sound knowledge of or passionate concern with Scottish affairs. Scottish questions only enter into their purview as discrete phenomena They are never seen in relation to each other - never coordinated into any conception of national circumstance, potentiality or policy." But this raises a question about the role of MPs in the context of education legislation. What, precisely, is their function? Kogan has directed attention to one possible answer by suggesting that they ... "are not decision-makers but review the decisions of those who make policy - the ministers and departments." (213) They have, he believes, ... "no real authority ..." but can ... "give ministers a rough time." (214) They represent their constituencies but are also ... "under pressure from a miscellany of interest groups and the general public." (215) At some stage, all those legislating on Scottish education at Westminster between 1904 and 1908 fitted into these categories.

* * * *

The attempt, beginning in March 1904, to change the structure and administrative pattern of Scottish education was concluded in December 1908. What was achieved? Certainly not a substantial re-forming of the system. The philosophy of parish-based control remained intact, but not entirely unbattered. Proposals to replace the parish schools with institutions run by county or district boards were given

a thorough examination in 1904 and 1905, but not much thereafter. The *ad hoc* method of local organisation remained; but no form of a national council came into existence. Financial improvements were instituted, and by 1908 the importance of the relationship between education and health was beginning to be understood. Much of what was achieved, it has been postulated, was carried out at the expense of avoiding controversy: and, moreover, the Bill which became the 1908 Education (Scotland) Act ... "practically side-stepped the administrative problem...". (216) Is this a fair judgment?

The political processes which ended in 1908 encompassed part of the life of two parliaments, each controlled by different philosophies of government. During the passage of their respective education measures, both parliaments witnessed considerable disaffection, to which the education bills contributed only a relatively small part. But difficulties with other portions of the general legislative programme, together with the unpredictable reactions of individual politicians, served only to exacerbate problems in the more specifically educational aspects of Scottish government policy. What was this policy? The general aim was to resolve some of the more glaring anomalies which had been created as a result of the 'piecemeal' development of the educational system over three decades. The administrative machinery had been amended here, and demolished there, but little thought had been given to any kind of an overall rational criterion. However, the opportunity to do this occurred in 1904. The Education (Scotland) Bill of that year contained a formula for radical reform. This generated much discussion, and some controversy, as it attempted to tackle, in a direct manner, the need to have a more rational basis for the Scottish system of educational organisation. If, in one way, it failed to achieve its objective, as did its successor in 1905, in another sense it achieved much. For, by exploring new avenues and possibilities, both bills revealed that no major change in the structure and administration of the system was possible without a fundamental re-appraisal of the whole fabric of local government in Scotland. Relationships between the parts were too interdependent and complex for one segment to be changed without that change having a drastic effect on another portion. In this sense,

therefore, the 1908 Bill did not 'side-step' the administrative problem, because that problem had been attacked by the previous government and had been found to be quite intractable. Not until 1929, when a complete exercise was carried out, did the 'piecemeal' pattern of Scottish educational administration give way to a more streamlined form of organisation.

References

1. Murray, Andrew Graham, Viscount Dunedin, 1849-1942.
Educated at Harrow, Trinity College, Cambridge and the University of Edinburgh. Advocate.
MP(C) for Bute 1891-1905. Solicitor-General for Scotland 1891-2 and 1895-6. Lord Advocate 1896-1903. Secretary for Scotland 1903-5. Became Lord Justice General and Lord President, February 1905. Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, 1913-32.
2. Donaldson MSS, Box 8.
3. Ferguson, Ronald Crawford Munro, Viscount Novar, 1860-1934.
Education privately and at Sandhurst. Lieutenant, Grenadier Guards.
MP (Lib) for Ross and Cromarty 1884-85 and Leith Burghs 1885-1914.
Governor-General of Australia 1914-20. Secretary for Scotland (C) 1922-24.
4. Report of the E.I.S. Edinburgh Association Conference in The Scotsman, 1.6.03.
5. Letter in The Scotsman, 31.12.02.
6. Douglas, Charles MacKinnon, 1865-1924.
Educated at Edinburgh Academy and the Universities of Edinburgh and Freiburg.
Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, University of Edinburgh.
MP (Lib) for Lanarkshire North West 1899-1906.
7. Jones, Sir Henry, 1852-1922.
Educated at Llangernyw National School, Denbighshire, Normal College, Bangor and the University of Glasgow.
Lecturer in Philosophy, University College of North Wales, Bangor, 1884-91.
Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of St. Andrews, 1891-94. Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Glasgow, 1894-22.
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9. ibid., p.15.

10. ibid., p. 23.
11. ibid., pp. 55-56.
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13. Campbell-Bannerman MSS, MS 41237.
14. Glasgow School Board to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 12.12.02 in S.R.O. ED 14/25
15. Report of the Organising Secretary for Technical Education to the County of Lanark Committee on Technical Education, 13.5.03 in ibid.
Struthers, commenting on the report to Craik, felt that the argument was not well-expressed, but that the main contention was substantially correct.
16. Letter from Campbell-Bannerman to James Bryce, 17.1.04 in Campbell-Bannerman MSS, Add. MS. 41211.
A defeated parliamentary candidate in Berwickshire in 1910, writing to A.J. Balfour, noted that ... "there is a 'County-family' feeling of exclusiveness still somehow maintained, quite unsuited to these democratic days. The idea is in some fashion conveyed, not intentionally, that the landed proprietors and 'county families' are a class apart and above the middle classes of the county town, the tenant farmers, the farm servants and the working classes generally."
Quoted by Ramsden, J. The Age of Balfour and Baldwin, 1902-40, London, 1978, pp. 48-9 and located in Hutchison, op. cit., p. 222.
17. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1904, 4 EDW 7. [Bill 144].
18. ibid., p. 21, ll. 23-4.
19. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, 28.3.04, cols. 864-70.
20. ibid., col. 889.
21. ibid., col. 900.
22. ibid., col. 887.
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24. Editorial, Inverness Courier, 29.3.04.

25. Editorial, Educational News, 2.4.04.
26. Editorial, The Times, 29.3.04.
27. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 139, 2.8.04, cols. 542-5.
28. ibid., col. 546.
29. ibid., col. 551.
30. ibid., col. 545.
31. Anderson, R.D. Educational Opportunity in Victorian Scotland, Oxford, 1983, p. 231.
32. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 139, 2.8.04, col. 548.
33. ibid., col. 591.
34. ibid., cols. 555-67, *passim*.
35. Fry, M. Patronage and Principle, Aberdeen, 1987, 124.
36. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 142, 8.3.05, cols. 735-39.
37. ibid., col. 740.
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41. Novar Papers, 30 March 1903, as quoted in Fry, op. cit., p. 122.
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48. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s.. vol. 167, 13.12.06, col. 772.
49. ibid., 21.12.06, col. 1865.
50. Parl. Deb., [H.L.] ibid., 20.12.06, col. 1663.
51. Parl. Deb., H.C. 4s, vol. 166, 7.12.06, col. 1462.
52. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 167, 13.12.06, col. 773.
53. ibid., col. 778.

54. Parl. Deb. [H.L.] ibid., 20.12.06, cols. 1663-5.
55. ibid., col. 1670.
56. Parl. Deb. H.C. ibid., 21.12.06, col. 1871.
57. Editorial, The Scotsman, 16.2.07.
58. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration 1904, Cd. 2175, vol. I, p.69.
59. ibid., p. 72.
60. Education (Provision of Meals) (Scotland) Bill, 1907, 7 EDW. 7. [Bill 14].
61. Parl. Deb. HC 4s. vol. 170, 1.3.07, cols. 368-72.
62. ibid., col. 381.
63. ibid., cols. 407-10.
64. ibid., col. 422. Craik believed the House was ... "entitled to ask the Government on which horse they would try to win, because they were not going to have them running two horses. Were they going to await the chance of their own Bill, and, if it failed, to take up the Bill proposed by their master on the Labour benches?"
65. ibid., col. 424.
66. Editorial, The Scotsman, 13.3.07.
67. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1907, 7 EDW, [Bill 130].
68. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 171, 20.3.07, cols. 880-2.
69. ibid., col. 883.
70. Editorial, The Glasgow Herald, 21.3.07.
71. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 175, 6.6.07, col. 863.
72. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 177, 10.7.07, col. 1620.
73. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 179, 26.7.07, col. 246.
74. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1908, 8 EDW. 7 [Bill 181].
75. 'Proposed Education Bill for Scotland' in P.R.O. CAB 37/92 1908, no. 37.
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77. Crombie to Bryce, 23.10.07 in Bryce MSS, UB22, Non-Calendared MSS.
78. Koss, op.cit., p.85.

79. ibid., p.85.
80. Ponsonby to Bryce, 3.6.08, in Bryce MSS., UB142.
81. Novar Papers, 1908, file 30.
82. The Scotsman, 2.6.08. The London correspondent's account began thus:
 "When the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman nominated Mr. James Caldwell as Deputy-Chairman of Committees, it was recognised as one of his subtlest strokes of humour... . It elevated into a position of silence and impartiality one of the most garrulous members that ever sat in parliament. After wearing the official muzzle in silent agony for over two years, Mr Caldwell has thrown it aside today in the Scottish Grand Committee the long pent-up flood of his eloquence over-flowed its banks. ... He banged the table, waved his arms, gesticulated, and shouted, till the perspiration poured down his face in copious streams. ... The incident, which wasted forty minutes ... has its serious as well as its amusing side. ... Mr Caldwell is not only a member of the Government, he is an official of the House... . Mr Sinclair will be lacking in his duty if he does not report the incident to Mr Asquith.
83. Sinclair to Struthers, 27.8.08 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/79
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86. P.R.O. ED24/14/12a. an undated document, handwritten by Morant, with words underlined by the author. It can be reasonably assumed that it was produced in preparation for the English Education Bill, 1902.
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90. Parl. Deb., H.C. 4s, vol. 136, 14.6.04, col. 34.
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 96. Report of the Committee on Representation of Universities on Local Authorities to be constituted for Secondary Education in Scotland, 13.5.02, in S.R.O. ED14/25.
 97. Educational News, 9.1.04.
 98. Parl. Deb., H.C. 4s, vol. 132, 28.3.04, col. 883.
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 100. *ibid.*, col. 183.
 101. *ibid.*, col. 206.
 102. Report of a Special Meeting of the Edinburgh School Board in The Scotsman, 22.4.04.
 103. Ramsay to Parker Smith, 10.6.04 in Parker Smith MSS, TDI/372.
 104. a) Inverness Courier, 6.5.04.
 b) Letter from Annan Bryce to James Bryce, n.d., in Bryce MSS., Add. 10.
 Reporting a compliment to James Bryce by an Inverness-shire schoolmaster on ... "your having opposed the provision of the Scotch Education Bill for 4 councils. He said a council in Inverness was absolutely essential, because the Highland problem was entirely different, and representation on a Central Council would not be sufficient, because it would be swamped."
 105. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 145, 8.5.05, cols. 1173-1236.
 106. Memorandum from the Scottish Educational Reform Association to the S.E.D., 7.6.07 in S.R.O. ED 14/46.
 107. Parl. Deb., HC, 4s, vol. 188, 5.5.08, cols. 78-176 passim.
 108. The Scotsman, 15.7.08.

109. Memorandum on Munro Ferguson's New Clause to establish a Council of Education, n.d., in S.R.O. ED 14/64.
110. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 135, 13.6.04, cols. 1511-20.
111. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, 28.3.04, col. 864.
112. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 145, 8.5.05, cols. 1206-11.
113. ibid., col. 1242.
114. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 149, 14.7.05, cols. 750-1.
115. ibid., col. 782.
116. ibid., col. 775.
117. ibid., col. 786.
118. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, 28.3.04, col. 866.
119. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 134, 2.5.04, cols. 129-30.
120. ibid., cols. 138-9.
121. ibid., col. 167.
122. ibid., col. 197.
123. ibid., col. 185.
124. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 135, 13.6.04, col.s 1527-29.

The school boards in England and Wales were abolished under the 1902 Education Act. Considerable opposition to this Act was evident, especially in Wales. Even before it had become law, some Welsh county councils declared that they would refuse to administer it. The opposition was concentrated on the question of providing rate aid to voluntary schools. Local agitation grew to such a pitch that it became necessary for the Board of Education to seek a solution. Before any action could be taken, county council elections were held. Liberals gained control over every Welsh county council. The government reacted by introducing the Local Authority (Default) Bill on April 26, 1904. It became law after a stormy passage. Its application in a number of Welsh counties was a tacit admission that the parent act was deficient both in a sense of justice and common honesty. Controversy in Scotland did not reach these extremes; but it was against this background that the Education

(Scotland) Bills of 1904 and 1905 were passing through the Commons

- 125. ibid., cols. 1530-1.
- 126. ibid., cols. 1532-4.
- 127. ibid., cols. 1535-7.
- 128. Donaldson MSS, Box 12.
- 129. Editorial, The Scotsman, 1.4.04.
- 130. Editorial, The Scotsman, 22.4.04.
- 131. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 134, 2.5.04, cols. 129-37.
- 132. ibid., col. 138.
- 133. ibid., cols. 166-75.

An observer of Parliamentary personalities, writing in the Pall Mall Gazette on May 7, 1904, described Haldane thus: He ... "thinks it necessary to preserve a sublime serenity, suggestive of Alpine heights As usual he was posted just behind the principal Opposition leaders. Not yet a rose, he lives beside the roses. Nothing loth, they often turn towards him, to be refreshed with the dew of his wisdom."

Parker Smith MSS, T.D. 1.46.6.

- 134. ibid., cols. 209-10.
- 135. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 135, 13.6.04, cols. 1505--08.
- 136. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1904, 4 EDW. 7, [Bill 144], p. 2, ll. 1-10.
- 137. Memorial from Maryhill School Board to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 11.12.02 and Letter from Glasgow School Board to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 12.12.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/25.
- 138. Letter from Govan School Board to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 20.1.03 and Letter from Cathcart School Board to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 21.1.03 in ibid.
- 139. On December 5, 1902, representatives from Glasgow, Govan, Eastwood, Maryhill, Shettleston and Springburn school boards accepted the idea of an enlarged school board with ... "provision being made for district representation." Glasgow School Board Minutes, 11.12.02.

Within weeks they had changed their minds. In mid-January 1903 Lord

- Balfour of Burleigh arranged to meet them. Craik advised him to meet the representatives separately or on different days. "If on the same day, they would probably meet and the last to be heard would seem to have an advantage. It must be remembered that the matter is one for discussion only and can hardly lead to any practical results." Commented Lord Balfour: "If this matter is to widen much, I shall have to refuse to hear anyone just now except Glasgow...". S.R.O. ED 14/25, 23.1.03. Underlining by Lord Balfour.
140. Resolution by Leith School Board, 11.4.04, and Letter, 20.3.04 to Munro Ferguson, and Memorandum from Govan School Board, 15.4.04, and Letter, 27.4.04 from Govan Town Clerk to Graham Murray in S.R.O. ED 14/26.
141. Report of Deputations to the Secretary for Scotland in The Scotsman, 28.4.04.
142. Copy of a letter from Munro Ferguson to the Town Clerk of Leith in The Scotsman, 19.5.04. An indication of attitudes towards Munro Ferguson's refusal to support the views of the Leith School Board was given in a meeting of the Board. Thus: "It was too much that a man who probably never slept a night in Leith in his life should set himself up to know more about the interests of his constituency than those who were day after day taking part in the local affairs." (The Scotsman, 7.6.04). And in an attempt to outwit Munro Ferguson, the chairman of the School Board sent a letter to every Scottish MP, pleading Leith's case to remain independent of Edinburgh. Furthermore the Board sent a deputation to London to lobby MPs. It chose to go on a Saturday. Not surprisingly it ... "found not one of the members of Parliament at home." Report of Leith School Board on Amalgamation, printed in The Scotsman, 21.6.04 and located in S.R.O. ED 14/26.
143. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1904, 4 EDW. 7 [Bill 144], p. 2, ll. 22-25.
144. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, 28.3.04, col. 870.
145. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 134, 2.5.04, col. 168.
146. ibid., col. 194.
147. 4 EDW 7 [Bill 144], op. cit., pp. 8-9.

148. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 136, 15.6.04, col. 157.
 "He [Caldwell] supposed that every member for Scotland had received that day the telegram from the Educational Institute of Scotland asking him to support the clause in regard to managers as amended by the Secretary for Scotland."
149. ibid., col. 120.
150. ibid., cols. 122-23.
151. ibid., col. 162.
152. 4 EDW 7 [Bill 144] op. cit., p. 3, ll. 11-18.
153. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 136, 14.6.04, cols. 52-4.
154. Hutchison, op. cit., p. 221.
155. Bone, T.R. Teachers and Security of Tenure 1872-1908 in Bone, T.R. (ed), Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939, London, 1967, pp. 85-7.
156. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 134, 2.5.04, col. 196.
157. Editorial, The Scotsman, 8.6.04.
158. Memorandum on a Proposal to abolish Cumulative Voting in the Election of School Boards in Scotland as prepared by Struthers in March 1907 in response to an enquiry from Lord Eversley in S.R.O. ED 14/64.
159. Education (Scotland) Bill 1908: Memorandum Explanatory of the Provisions of the Bill, 1908, Cd. 4051, p.6.
160. Parl. Deb. [H.L.] 4s, vol. 198, 7.12.08, col. 35.
161. Editorial, The Glasgow Herald, 14.4.08.
162. Govan School Board Minutes, 19.5.08.
163. School Board Elections: Method of Voting: Clause 23, n.d. in S.R.O. ED 14/68.
164. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 197, 24.11.08, cols. 203-4.
165. The Times, 8.7.08.
166. P.R.O. CAB 37/94 1.8.08, no. 106.
167. The Times, 8.7.08.

168. Parl. Deb. [H.L.] 4s, vol. 198, 7.12.08, col. 22.
169. P.R.O. CAB 37/94, op. cit.
170. The Electoral Processes of the Scottish Education Bill, 1908, in S.R.O. ED 14/68.
171. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 197, 24.11.08, col. 204.
172. ibid., cols. 203-09.
173. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, 28.3.04, col. 874.
174. Final Report Scotland in the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, 1902, Cd. 1067, p. 62.
175. R.C.C.E.S. C-6444-I, 1891, p. 65.
176. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, col. 876.
177. ibid., col. 875.
178. Report of the Royal Commission, op. cit., p. 62.
179. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 132, col. 876.
180. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 134, 2.5.04, col. 178.
181. ibid., col. 192.
182. ibid., col. 213.
183. 4 EDW 7 [Bill 144], op. cit., pp. 10-11.
184. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 134, 2.5.04, col. 169.
185. Letter from W. Thomson, Clerk of Kilsyth Parish Council to Murray, 3.5.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/29.
186. Memorial from the Society of Inspectors of the Poor in Scotland to Murray, 31.5.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/30.
187. Memorials to Murray, June 1904, in S.R.O. ED 14/31.
188. Memorial of the Parish Council of the Parish of Kincardine (Ross) to Murray, 9.6.04 in ibid.

In Ross-shire, rates for the County ... "are collected from the centre of Dinwall [sic], save for a flying visit of a few hours duration once annually to the respective districts - which has been found a most unsatisfactory arrangement in Highland parishes that are sometimes 40 miles in length, such as Kincardine

itself is, - the cost of the County rates is at the rate of £2.11.3d per cent, while in the adjoining counties of Sutherland and Caithness the rates are £4.4.4d and £5 respectively, whilst the Parish Collections will be found to work out at something between £1.10/- and £2 per cent."

189. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 136, 15.6.04, col. 181.

190. ibid., col. 229.

191. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 196, 16.11.08, col. 846.

192. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 198, 7.12.08, col. 433.

Thus Lord Balfour of Burleigh: "The Bill ... carried out a great measure of enfranchisement in the country districts, especially in the Highlands and in the crofting districts. He knew of one case where the landlord, the factor, the clergymen of different denominations, and the schoolmaster himself were the only voters for the school board."

193. Two letters from John S Taylor to Sinclair, 8.8.08 and 19.9.08 in S.R.O. ED 14/69.

194. Memorandum from George Macdonald to Struthers, 4.9.08. in ibid.

195. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 196, 16.11.08, col. 846.

196. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s, vol. 197, 24.11.08, col. 200.

Laidlaw's amendment proposed ... "a married woman, otherwise possessing the qualification for being registered as an elector may be registered in respect of the same property as her husband;" The Speaker considered the amendment to be ... "beyond the scope of the Bill. By a side wind it would alter the system of local franchise."

197. Parl. Deb. [H.L.] 4s, vol. 198, 9.12.08, cols. 432-3.

198. Robertson, D.J. Population, Past and Present in Cunnison, J. & Gillfillan, J.B.S. The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Glasgow, Glasgow, 1958, pp. 43-5.

199. Letter from J. Clark, Clerk of Glasgow School Board to Struthers, 20.5.08 in S.R.O. ED 14/51.

200. Letter from J. Clark to Struthers, 1.6.08 in ibid.

201. Education (Scotland) Bill 1908, 8 EDW 7, [Bill 320], p. 23, ll 10-15.
202. Letter from J. Clark to Sinclair, 19.11.08 in S.R.O. ED 14/51.
203. Memorandum from Macdonald to Struthers, 4.9.08 in S.R.O. ED 14/69.
204. Census of Scotland, 1911, cd. 6097-XXIII, vol. 1, part 24, County of Lanark, Appendix, p. 1549.
205. Compare:
 "There, [in Scotland] the son of a working man, thanks to the old rooted system of elementary education and the much more complete system of secondary education than exists in England, has a chance of rising from the ranks... to the University... . I have sat side by side in class-rooms with the son of a ploughman, and a very clever fellow very often he was in many cases. I have also seen the son of a ploughman rise up and get a university degree, and come back to be doing manual labour because he was at any rate not a sufficiently clever fellow to make full use of his opportunities. I have known men who have been at the university working at manual work in Scotland; they come back to the circumstances out of which they rose. If you could have that system developed very much you would get the perfect system. You would get an equal opportunity for everybody...".
 Evidence given by Haldane to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, April 19, 1912, and located in the Appendix to First Report of the Commissioners, col. 6210, p. 79.
206. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 86-9.
207. Gibbon, L. Grassie, A Scots Hairst, ed by Munro, I.S., London, 1983, p.69.
208. Agnew, J.A. Place and Politics, London, 1987, p.3.
209. ibid., p.3.
210. ibid., p.108.
211. Paterson, H.M. Incubus and Ideology: The Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland 1900-1939, in Humes, W.M. and Paterson, H.M. (eds.) Scottish Culture and Scottish Education, Edinburgh, 1983, p. 203.
212. Gibbon, L.G. & MacDiarmid, H. Scottish Scene, Bath, 1934, p. 254.

213. Kogan, M. Educational Policy-Making, London, 1975, p. 149.
214. ibid., p. 151.
215. ibid. p. 160.
216. Stocks, J. in History of Education Society, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

CHAPTER VI

The Impact of the Treasury on the Autonomy of the S.E.D.

In discussing his experiences as Minister of Education during the 1960s, Lord Boyle referred at one point to some of the restraints placed upon him by the machinery of government in general and by the authority of the Treasury in particular. There was, he said ... "always the propensity of the Treasury to think of itself, not only as the best Department, but as the Department which really knows other Departments' work better than they do themselves." (1)

Lord Bridges, on the other hand, considered the relationship between the Treasury and parallel government departments to be more of a partnership, with the term 'treasury control' being a ... "convenient short-hand description..." rather than a precise interpretation of practice. "The Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, " he suggested, "... has to obtain the assent of his colleagues to a decision on expenditure if the spending minister concerned appeals against him to the Cabinet. It follows that the authority of the Treasury is not an over-riding one but depends on the acceptance by other cabinet ministers of the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer." (2)

Bridges, a former Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, was, of course, a formidable exponent of the principles and practice of government; a man with considerable experience of deploying his department's powers over a long period and at the highest levels. Sir Thomas Heath, a predecessor of Bridges at the Treasury, also drew attention to an inter-departmental belief in some form of consensus and equality, stressing that every department was ... "theoretically subject to the same measure of control by the Treasury...". In his opinion, the effect of such control varied ... "from time to time according to circumstances." Consequently the Treasury had ... "constantly to adjust its attitude and tactics." (3)

No awareness of a need for such subtle balance had dominated the proceedings of the Civil Service Commission of 1874-75. That inquiry, chaired by Sir

Lyon Playfair, reported in favour of giving as much responsibility as possible to the Treasury so that it could ... "have the means of making itself accurately acquainted with the wants and conditions of the other Departments; and that it should thus while acquiring their confidence, be able to exercise an efficient and intelligent control." (4) Soon Sir Reginald Welby, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, was indeed exercising 'efficient' if not always 'intelligent' control over matters such as the drafting of introductory portions of documents. His enthusiasm led him in 1886 to complain about lack of respect in the presentation of S.E.D. correspondence to the Treasury. (5) In response, Sir Henry Craik defended the right of the S.E.D. to retain its independence ... "which belongs to it by law and which it is supposed in Scotland to possess ...". At the same time he refused ... "to acknowledge the right of the Treasury and still more of Sir Reginald Welby personally - to criticise the form in which the letters of this Department are drafted." (6) Lord Dalhousie, the Vice-President of the Department, supporting his Secretary, urged that complaints ... "ought to be represented officially to the Lord President or to me" ... and ... "ought not to be rediscussed in private correspondence ...". (7) Paradoxically, Welby, when commenting on Treasury organisation in 1879, had suggested it was more of ... "an office of superintendence and appeal than an office of administration". (8) But he believed its political chief should ... "keep a certain depth of water in the reservoir and to do that he ... [had to] ... have command over the sluices of outflow." Therefore, Welby, maintained, no other department of state could add to public expenditure without the consent of the Treasury; and while a degree of discretion was not forbidden, there was, on the other hand, ... "an obligation to report the manner in which such discretion has been exercised." (9)

Some scepticism about the nature of this direction was expressed by Lord Salisbury during his last period as Prime Minister. He thought that the Treasury's belief in its powers of controlling all departments of government was ... "not for the public benefit." With an element of caustic disapproval he observed that it had ... "the power of the purse, and by exercising the power of the purse, it claims a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy." (10)

Professional scholars have both supported and challenged these

hypotheses. Following the financial crisis of 1931 Colin Clark, in an examination of state economic policy, noted how government departments, while nominally acting under cabinet supervision, had been for decades ... "in fact controlled only by the grinding hand of the Treasury." (11) More recently, Samuel Beer, a distinguished American observer, has suggested that although the approval of the Treasury is required whenever any other department wishes to vary an aspect of its policy, and when that variation contains financial implications, this need not imply that the Treasury's request is based upon any form of strict legal authority. On the contrary, Beer argues, the authority of the Treasury ... "is founded not on formal law, but on tradition and long acceptance." (12) Furthermore, officials of the Treasury ... "work not by command but by consultation, persuasion, and not infrequently concession".(13) The form of Treasury control, therefore, is ... "not positive direction ..." with the Treasury taking the initiative; rather it is that the Treasury ... "shapes the initiative already taken by departments, by a criticism which is mainly negative, bringing that initiative into accord with policy."(14) While not disputing that the Treasury exercises its authority in decision-making, Beer feels it ... "does not do so by command or direction..." but by ... "the power of influence." (15)

Heclo and Wildavsky have developed this theme. They affirm that one of the strongest of Treasury principles is a positive avoidance of ... "settlements with one department that will have the effect of raising expenditure in others." (16) They have observed, nevertheless, that 'the good Treasury man' has both a high degree of political sensitivity and balanced judgment, so enabling him to weigh the requirements of the Treasury against challenges from other departments. (17)

In contrast, Davidson takes a more severely critical attitude. His survey of the Treasury's powers of direction, entitled Treasury control and Labour intelligence in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, revealed few redeeming features in the role played by the Treasury. As a department, it not only stressed a constant need for frugality to be impressed upon social reformers and administrators but also expected them ... "to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of [their] measures ...". Additionally, Davidson feels, the Treasury ... "resisted the deployment of resources by means of which both short and long-term policy options and objectives might be evaluated and the social

and economic repercussions of decision-making monitored." (18)

McLeod, in his study of the relationship between the Treasury and the Local Government Board from 1871, adopts a similar view, believing that the Treasury in the last decades of the nineteenth century discouraged not only unnecessary but also essential spending by all other departments. (19) Moreover, he suggests that the Treasury failed to understand how many of the spending departments were themselves facing strong pressure to delegate and decentralise. Controlling such pressures needed guidance and technical expertise, commodities which could be found only by increasing financial resources and granting more administrative freedom to departments. (20) But McLeod admits that by the start of the twentieth century, the Treasury could not avoid having to deal with strong permanent secretaries from other departments, some of whom were ... "first concerned to concentrate power in themselves in order to secure uniform conditions of activity ..." while continuing ... "to organise their departments along water-tight lines". (21) McLeod concludes, however, that when there was a lack of leadership in any other department, as in the Local Government Board, ... "Treasury restrictionism wrought chronic, incapacitating hardship...". (22)

When looking at Treasury control between 1854 and 1914, Wright does not depart dramatically from McLeod's general hypothesis.. The effectiveness of this control in the latter half of the nineteenth century depended, in his opinion, on a variety of factors: the general economic and political climate, expenditure requirements, the degree of autonomy enjoyed by spending departments, and the ... "status, seniority, experience and political weight of a minister ..." together with the strength and skill of that minister's team of servants which could be ... "exploited to break down, or overcome, Treasury resistance." (24) Furthermore, Wright emphasizes, tactics used by the Treasury in any negotiations followed a fixed pattern, based on a formula established by G.J. Goschen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1887, when he insisted that the ... "first object of the Treasury must be to throw the departments on their defence...". (24) At the same time, however, Wright does suggest that the nature of Treasury influence over other departments was beginning to change by 1914, partly as a result of its own use of Orders in Council and

partly because many departments were showing a greater willingness to recognise the Treasury's increasingly effective role as a co-ordinator. (25)

Was this change real or merely apparent? At least two recent inquiries have looked at the role of the Treasury in the inter-war period from 1919 to 1939. Peden, reflecting on its established position as the key-stone of central government bureaucracy, suggests that although functionally still paramount, it underwent subtle changes, caused partly by the infancy of the Cabinet Secretariat and partly by the re-organisation of its own structural machinery. (26) Following the adoption of reforms proposed by the Macdonnell Commission in 1912 and the Haldane Committee in 1917, the Treasury was arranged into four main divisions: home finance, international finance, supply services and, finally, the establishments division. Each had power and special responsibilities. While the establishments' branch soon formalised its role as the regulator and co-ordinator of personnel, pay and pensions throughout every grade and department of the Civil Service, the more specialised finance sections ensured the continuation of the Treasury's control over the power of the purse. Taken together they largely fulfilled the general objective of Sir Warren Fisher, its omniscient Permanent Secretary from 1919 to 1939, that the Treasury ... "should not hesitate to concern itself with policy as necessary in exercising the power of the purse." (27) But, concludes Peden, the measure of that concern ultimately depended not so much on any intrinsic force possessed by the Treasury as on the will of the Cabinet to retain the strength of the central co-ordinating department. (28)

Many writers who have emphasized the extent of Treasury control over central government machinery have been criticised by Rodney Lowe in his investigation into the expansion of the Civil Service from 1919 to 1939. "Like rabbits by a stoat", he declares, "administrative historians have been mesmerised by the Treasury and have too readily accepted the bland assumption of its officials that their views were synonymous with opinion throughout the whole civil service." (29) With particular reference to the Ministry of Labour, Lowe admits, nevertheless, that government machinery did become more bureaucratic ... "in terms not of rationality, inefficiency or power but only of size and increasing complexity." (30) The Treasury, he argues, ... "far from providing a constructive lead ... threatened to undermine the

efficiency of the whole civil service by fostering administrative values that were more appropriate to the nineteenth century night watchman state...". (31)

By consolidating its position as the arbiter of government finance, the Treasury had been able, over many decades, to project itself into the centre of the executive branch of government. Well before 1900 it had established an authority to direct and control the general machinery of the civil service together with the recruitment and deployment of its staff. But the Treasury did not operate in a vacuum. Neither its power nor its success as a manipulator could be guaranteed or maintained without reference to the ability of political and administrative leadership in other departments to resist its predatory tendencies. In this respect the S.E.D. was singularly fortunate in so far as its first permanent secretary, Sir Henry Craik, together with his successors, Sir John Struthers and Sir George Macdonald, were efficient and adroit managers, quite capable of counteracting whatever weaknesses were present in their transitory political masters. (32) Yet, notwithstanding criticism of its methods and attitudes by influential figures such as Principal Sir James Donaldson, Professor Laurie or Mr. Munro Ferguson, the S.E.D. had to be tenacious in the struggle to retain its individuality against the force of the Treasury. What, therefore, was the nature of the relationship between the S.E.D. and the Treasury? How far did direction by the Treasury manifest itself in policy-decisions and attitudes within the S.E.D.? Was the connection between the two departments characterised - on both sides - by a growing degree of knowledge, cooperation and understanding? Or did the Treasury openly and clearly obstruct and undermine the morale and efficiency of the S.E.D. by acting, as Lowe says, like a 'nineteenth century night-watchman'? Some relevant answers may be found by looking at three aspects of the S.E.D. - Treasury axis. First, at the relationship between the Treasury and the Secretariat of the S.E.D., with particular reference to conditions of service. Second, at actions taken by both departments to maintain a viable system of financing education and redressing some of the more serious deficiencies experienced by local authorities. Third, and last, at the Treasury's role as an appellate body in cases dealing with compensation for loss of office by former local authority employees.

When the modern Scottish Office was created in 1885, the Treasury, as Hanham has shown, took a distinctly hostile attitude towards it, opposing both expenditure and appointments and causing ... "a number of bitter complaints..." to be lodged against Sir Reginald Welby. (33) Inevitably, some of the hostility was to seep into the relationship between the Treasury and the S.E.D., with traces of residual acerbity emerging periodically so as to impair their inter-departmental relationships. One factor encouraging this hostility was the Treasury's position of authority at the apex of the Civil Service. How was that authority deployed in its connection with the S.E.D.? Did it, in any significant form, limit the independence of the Department's bureaucratic machine and restrict the manoeuvrability of its executive?

For decades, as Sir James Dodds, Under Secretary for Scotland, pointed out to the Macdonnell Commission in 1912, the Treasury had had ... "undiminished authority throughout the whole of the Scotch Civil Service ..." in all matters affecting appointments, promotions and finance.(34) However, as with every department of the Service, the relationship between the bureaucracy of the Treasury and that of the S.E.D. operated at different levels. At a rudimentary stage, in order to ensure strict adherence to the minutiae of Civil Service clerical practices, the Treasury imposed guide lines on the Department. When those were ignored, or even if insufficient degrees of deference were observed, Treasury officials - *pace* Sir Reginald Welby - might react pedantically. In a more important context the Treasury ensured that the S.E.D. regulations and policy-decisions, not formally revoked, were in no danger of being abandoned by default. An illustration of this kind of Treasury control took place in March 1903 when Hayes Fisher, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, directed the attention of permanent secretaries in the Board of Education and in the S.E.D. to a Treasury Minute of 1881, stating that ... "by mutual agreement between the Departments concerned, no proposal involving any increase in Educational expenditure in England or Scotland may be adopted without the previous authority of the Treasury." (35) Fisher stressed three points.(36) First, he declared that arrangements entered into in 1881 should continue to apply in 1903 ... "to all Codes, Directories, Rules and Regulations whatever affecting finance." Second, he complained that the 1881 agreements had not been carried out ... "in their entirety ...

for some years.” Although recognising that to do so would entail extra work for those concerned, he believed, nevertheless, that ... “this would be more than counterbalanced by the accuracy of financial control, which would result ...” . Finally, Fisher pointed to a need for the Treasury to be informed about changes in every aspect of education policy and ... “on all the changes which *prima facie* had a financial effect.”

Admittedly, Fisher’s instructions were meant primarily for the Board of Education. At the same time, he prevailed on the S.E.D. to continue observing them. (37) Prior agreement for the release of his letter was sought from Sir Robert Morant, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, and from Sir Henry Craik. A comment by Reginald Welby about their reactions is revealing. “Morant”, he wrote, “is decidedly in favour of our sending this letter which he thinks will strengthen his hand appreciably.” In a footnote the writer added: “Sir H. Craik concurs.” (38) Replying formally to the Treasury, Craik did indeed confirm that ... “my Lords have noted and will, to the utmost of Their power, comply with the line of procedure suggested...”. (39) But this ‘line of procedure’, both in the Minute and in Fisher’s salvo, contained an implication extending beyond the formal orbit of financial accuracy: that the Treasury, albeit under monetary pretext, also ostensibly claimed authority to share in decisions affecting the conduct and content of schooling. By acquiescing with Fisher’s instructions - apparently without consulting colleagues - both Morant and Craik indicated that they understood this; and, moreover, given expectations of useful dividends, that they were prepared to condone such an extension of Treasury authority over wider aspects of the educative process.

This kind of control practised by the Treasury and the concomitant, ingratiating reaction to it emanating from the S.E.D., contained little that was likely to create serious ripples in the relationship between the two departments. That relationship, however, was part of a more complex pattern. In a different setting, and by exercising what Dodds had referred to as its ‘undiminished authority’, the Treasury could provide a serious challenge to the independence and power of the bureaucracy of the S.E.D. Such a challenge began in 1900, its main focus directed at the question of conditions of service for senior administrators of the Department and

members of the Inspectorate. It contained two related aspects: first, the Treasury's unwillingness to grant special salary awards to the Department's Secretary and Assistant Secretary; and second, its refusal to ratify an S.E.D. wish to apply a civil service principle known as 'added years' to Examiners and Inspectors. The two issues had their roots in the Superannuation Act of 1859 and in a subsequent Treasury minute of 1894. Section four of the 1859 Act (40) stipulated that the Treasury could ... "from Time to Time ..." appoint to civil offices in the public service men with ... "professional or other peculiar Qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the Public Service ..."; and, by the same token, when computing superannuation allowances, grant to the civil servants concerned a number of years in addition to those actually served. But in the Minute of July 3, 1894 the Treasury amended the terms laid down in the above clause of the 1859 Act; declaring that, although everyone appointed both as Examiners in the S.E.D. and as H.M. Inspectors of Schools in Scotland would continue to be classified under section four of the Act, this would be ... "without any addition of years."

The Minute, nevertheless, went on to say that

... for the due and efficient performance of the duties of those offices, professional and other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily acquired in Public Service are required and that it is for the interest of the public that persons should be appointed thereto at an age exceeding that at which public service ordinarily begins. (41)

It was the contradistinction between the deletion of the 'added years' concession and the retention of the requirement for qualifications 'not ordinarily acquired in Public Service' which formed a basis for misinterpretation and, ultimately, a prolonged dispute between the S.E.D. and the Treasury.

The first stage of that dispute, namely, the approval of a special salary award to the Department's most senior administrators, began in May 1900 when Treasury sanction was sought as part of a process of appointing two Assistant Secretaries for the S.E.D., both to be paid on a salary scale identical with that for officials of similar standing in the Board of Education. (42) Initially, Hicks Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to countenance the application. Scotland, he pointed out, was one-seventh the area of England. The total staff of the S.E.D. consisted of only one-

seventh of those employed by the Board of Education, while costs in Scotland, however, were higher than those south of the border. (43) Nevertheless, eventually, and somewhat reluctantly, the Treasury agreed to appoint one Assistant Secretary and one Senior Examiner with a rank of Acting Assistant Secretary. (44) This latter appointment, perhaps not unexpectedly, proved to be a temporary expedient; and the question of assigning a full Assistant Secretary for the Department arose again in March 1904, with Craik notifying Sir George Murray, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, that he wished to retire early and link his retirement to a proposed re-organisation of the Department's executive. (45) This plan was not opposed. Although Craik was ineligible to receive a full pension, it was agreed, after discussions within the Treasury, that he should be given a compensation allowance. Nonetheless, the Treasury made it clear that such an allowance was to be provided on a personal basis only ... "and we have given express notice that this will not be continued." (46) Even so, formal approval for this concession was not granted until November 1904, (47) with some Treasury men even at that stage persisting to argue that ... "the effect is to allow Sir. H. Craik to reckon service as if he had been appointed at the age of 19."(48)

Sanctioning Craik's application for early retirement at least enabled the S.E.D. to begin re-structuring its hierarchy. The Treasury accepted the principle of giving the Department a second Assistant Secretary and, furthermore, locating the post in Edinburgh; a development, according to Austen Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ... "to which both you and he [the Secretary for Scotland] attach so much importance and which you tell me is so generally desired in Scotland and by Scottish members." (49) Clearly the government understood, or wished to persuade itself, that there were advantageous political gains vested in the appointment. Unfortunately, during the preparatory stages, the S.E.D. introduced an additional dimension into the discussions: a need to offer the position to an experienced person with high qualifications, rather than relying on an internal promotion from a junior grade. Accordingly, to attract someone of high calibre, the Treasury was asked to agree to award a salary in excess of the existing scale, and to do so by using the machinery provided under Section IV of the Superannuation Act of 1859. (50) The request was

unacceptable. Granting it, in Murray's opinion, would be ... "out of the question. It would be quite contrary to present practice." (51) Craik retorted not only by invoking the Treasury Minute of 1894, stressing, the specific reference to qualifications ... "not ordinarily to be acquired in the Public Service ...", (52) but also by broadening the issue and claiming parity of status between the S.E.D. and the Board of Education. (53) Neither argument impressed Sir George Murray, who pointed out that the post would normally be filled by internal promotion ... "and it can therefore hardly be said to require 'peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the Public Service...':" (54) Moreover, he continued, a claim for parity between officers of the S.E.D. and those of similar standing at the Board of Education could not be treated seriously because any pension granted to Examiners and Inspectors of the S.E.D., appointed after July 3, 1894, was governed by provisions of the Treasury minute of that date. (55) Finally, he declared, the Minute of 1894 was ... "a reference to an office, not to a particular holder of it." (56) Concluding these exchanges, the Treasury refused to budge; and the S.E.D. failed to gain any special emoluments for its new Assistant Secretary. (57) Consequently, George Macdonald was appointed at a salary level below that which he earned in the University of Glasgow.

Evidently, therefore, at the end of his tenure in the S.E.D., and regarding matters of immediate and direct relevance to the bureaucracy of the Department, Craik had been unable to pierce some aspects of Treasury obfuscation. On the combined issues of amending contractual obligations, re-structuring the administrative machinery of the S.E.D., providing suitable financial inducements to attract men of experience to positions of seniority in its secretariat, and establishing the viability of the principle of parity between the Department and the Board of Education, the extent of his success was limited. While the S.E.D. seemed to have presented its views in a somewhat lacklustre, repetitive form, the Treasury, pursuing its own peculiar interests, had advanced its arguments with almost cavalier-like disdain for both minutiae and nuances. But the lack of vitality shown by the Department, with its failure to emphasize conclusively the discrepancy between intentions in the extant Superannuation Act of 1859 and the policy of operating a Minute based partly on an unchanged portion of that Act and partly on an amended section of it, was quite

insufficient to dent the Treasury's bland assumption of its right to control financial outflow while, at the same time, restrict any devolution of responsibility to what it considered to be a subject department.

Not until 1918 did the question of remuneration for senior secretaries of the S.E.D. re-emerge as a contentious issue. In November of that year Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland drew the attention of Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to what had been since 1886 the totally static nature of financial rewards for Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries at the Scottish Office. While their respective maximum salaries had remained at £1500 and £1000 per annum, payments to those of similar grades in English departments, Munro pointed out, had risen appreciably. (58) Law shared his concern and agreed to raise the maximum for Scottish officers also to £1800 and £1200 per annum. (59) Munro reacted by requesting similar increases for both Struthers and Macdonald. (60) While Law expressed no initial opposition, (61) Sir Thomas Heath, by then one of the Treasury's Joint Permanent Secretaries, mindful of the scorpion of precedence, counselled caution before approving a higher salary for an Assistant Secretary. At the same time, he reflected that it was ... "probably hopeless to resist the proposal as regards Sir John Struthers, but we might of course make it personal to him." (62) Nevertheless, both men ultimately received the amounts specified. (63) Struthers was also awarded a war bonus so taking his salary up to £2,200 per annum by May 1920. (64) No such addition was given to Macdonald, although W.N. Bruce, his counterpart at the Board of Education, with an existing salary of £1500 per annum, was considered eligible to receive a further gratuity. Munro's protest, with its stress on ... "considerations of equity..." was ineffective. (65) Bruce, so Bonar Law argued, had had ... "extra responsibilities ... cast upon him owing to the special difficulties in which the Board of Education were placed as a consequence of emergency arrangements made during the war." (66) Had the S.E.D., and Macdonald in particular, been faced with similar 'extra responsibilities'? The question, seemingly, was not asked; but it was clear that the Treasury was not prepared - in financial terms at least - to equate the Assistant Secretary in the Edinburgh Office of the S.E.D. with someone of identical Civil Service rank in the Board of Education in London.

In 1920 as in 1904, therefore, the Treasury was unwilling either to attach special emoluments to conditions of service of the most senior officers in the S.E.D. or to comply with any plea for parity of status between the English and Scottish departments of education. Within the same context, however, there was a second dimension, namely, the question of applying the civil service principle of 'added years' to Examiners and Inspectors. Negotiating on this issue proved to be a protracted process, containing a more sustainable challenge to the authority of the Treasury. Moreover, it was an issue that was not confined to the bureaucratic machinery of government but one which contained implications for the whole system of education. The importance of an Inspectorate had been stressed as far back as 1834. "I think in constructing any system of general education", wrote Professor Pillans of the University of Edinburgh to the parliamentary Select Committee on Education, "inspectors would be most important and valuable, I would say indeed an almost indispensable part of the machinery." (67) Following its creation in 1840, the State Inspectorate moved gradually from what had been its initial 'assisting' role into one which began to exercise considerable influence on the processes of learning and teaching in schools. Acting as the servant of the Committee of Council, the Inspectorate disseminated ideas on the content of the curriculum and teaching methods, examined children, and had direct influence on the appointment of teachers. As its functions widened, so did the need for more personnel. To overcome this difficulty, and following the establishment of the S.E.D. in 1872, some men with relatively little experience were appointed to fill vacant posts. Reactions to this trend were increasingly unpopular. (68) Consequently, by the 1880s, the Educational Institute of Scotland, for example, was stressing a need for experienced inspectors. "The work of inspection is now of so highly technical a character", it reported to the S.E.D. in 1888, "that only those who have had practical experience in teaching are fit to be entrusted with it;...". (69) By the end of the century it had become the Department's policy to try to appoint inspectors who could combine experience with scholarship. One important issue in making such appointments, however, was the question of promotion, remuneration and conditions of service. W.W. McKechnie, for example, when offered a post in the Inspectorate in 1901,

hesitated before accepting because of the loss of salary that he would incur on vacating his post as a Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. (70) Balancing these requirements of the S.E.D. against the conditions for both Crown and Civil Service staff appointments was, therefore, a difficult problem to resolve satisfactorily. Men with relevant educational experience could not be found within the Service. Consequently the Department had to adopt a policy of taking experienced personnel from outside, thereby discounting the normal maximum age levels (usually twenty seven) for first-time appointments to government posts or, as MacKinnon Wood, the Secretary for Scotland in 1913, pointed out in a Supply debate, with specific reference to the Inspectorate, do one of two other things. "You must", he stressed, "add some years for superannuation purposes or you must increase the salary. That is not a matter entirely under our control; it is a matter with which the Treasury has to deal, and the Treasury entertain very strong objections to adding any years to superannuation That is a difficulty." (71) It was the dilemma, present in these conflicting factors, and the essential role of the Inspectorate within the school system as well as within the administrative structure of the organising machinery of education, that formed the background to the controversy about the question of 'added years'.

Although the controversy over the question began in August 1904, with Craik exploring the possibility of having the privilege of 'added years' granted to a few individuals, its source - as with the debate on extra emoluments for the senior secretaries - lay in section four of the Superannuation Act of 1859, together with two dependent Treasury minutes; the first in 1859 granting five 'additional years' to H.M. Inspectors, and the second in 1863 extending the privilege to Examiners. Both sets of minutes continued to operate until January 1889 when the S.E.D. was informed that they had been suspended on the last day of the preceding November and that, accordingly, the concession of 'added years' for Examiners and Inspectors appointed after that date no longer applied. (72) Two factors governing this suspension created a basis for confusion, with much of the responsibility for it being caused by the Treasury. First, the Minute of December 20, 1888, containing the formal notification of the decision to suspend the concession of 'added years' was, as Gurney Masterman, sometime Financial Secretary to the Treasury was to admit at a later date ... "very

obscurely worded..." and, therefore, capable of being ... "misunderstood." (73) Second, there was a close correlation between the Minute and a debate on Civil Service Estimates which had taken place in the House of Commons on November 30, 1888. In that debate G.J. Goschen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had made specific reference to the question of 'added years'. "There was", he argued

no class of case which had given the Treasury more trouble and difficulty than this particular claim. The Government had had to resist not only personal claims but others put forward by large and powerful bodies and associations for the reward of professional and special service. If the House of Commons chose to accept proposals by which these professional additions should be swept away altogether, there would be no hesitation whatever on the part of the Government to introduce such proposals... . The Government would examine this ... and he trusted that they would be able to submit satisfactory proposals to the House of Commons with regard to it... . (74)

No such proposals were presented to the Commons. Therefore, no legislation to abolish the professional additions was passed. Consequently, by 1904, (75) Craik assumed quite justifiably that the Treasury had agreed to extend the privilege of 'added years' to those Scottish Examiners and Inspectors appointed to their posts after 1889, and that they had been guaranteed the same conditions of service as their counterparts in England.

The Treasury, however, responded negatively, with Sir George Murray referring Craik to that part of the Minute of 1894 abolishing the 'added years' distinction for Examiners and Inspectors in Scotland. (76) On the instructions of Graham Murray, the Vice President of the S.E.D., Craik replied by questioning why there was no ... "exact similarity of treatment between the officers of the Board of Education and this Department ... ", given that until 1894 they had ... "stood in exactly the same position as regards an addition of years, but also upon the consideration that the duties of, and the qualifications for the posts in question are identical." (77) No convincing answer to this query was provided by the Treasury. Sir George Murray, in a short letter on December 6, 1904, merely indicated that there was ... "no sufficient reason for rescinding or modifying ..." the 1894 minute. (78) Unable to overcome its resistance, even with the support of the Vice President, and on the eve of his retirement, Craik, therefore, suffered another blow at the hands of the Treasury by

failing to extract the concession he had striven for. This failure, taken in conjunction with the general attitude of the Treasury, provided further substance to those within the Department - and even some of its critics such as Professor Laurie and Principal Donaldson - who suspected that London thought of the S.E.D. not simply as a separate department from the English Board of Education but as an inferior one.

That such an impression had been created became clear when the question of 'added years' regained prominence in 1913. Not surprisingly, after nearly a decade, there had been organisational changes. Both the S.E.D. and the Treasury had lost their earlier protagonists. Struthers had replaced Craik. George Murray had retired in 1911 and Thomas Heath had been appointed as one of the Treasury's Joint Permanent Secretaries. Furthermore, the Liberal party, with a substantial majority among Scottish MPs, had been in government since 1906. In themselves, these changes need not necessarily have altered attitudes. Yet it soon became apparent that Struthers, in marked contrast to Craik, was determined to exercise a greater degree of rigour and persistence when pursuing the 'added years' question. Equally, despite occasional touches of combative tones, the Treasury was to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Department and conduct its discussions with it in a more studiously diplomatic vein.

Indirect evidence suggests that contacts between the Treasury and Struthers about awarding additional years to inspectors had been in progress before 1913. In a letter dated January 10, he expressed anxiety about one specific aspect of inspectorial appointments: that no-one below the age of thirty should be chosen because ... "the logic of facts ..." had fixed that as the minimum age for appointees. But without the concession of 'added years', none over that age would qualify for a maximum pension on retirement. A refusal to grant an addition, therefore, could only ... "aggravate substantially what is already a very grave injustice." Psychologically, too, Struthers clearly felt that there was an equally significant point. "Even if the Department thought it judicious to make the experiment of appointing comparative youths", he continued "public opinion in Scotland would not tolerate it for a moment." (79) This was no hypothesis. In his standard history of the Scottish Inspectorate, Bone gives an example of critical public reaction to new appointments within the

service. Thus:

There are in the ranks of the Inspectorate too many inexperienced youths, who are visiting our schools in order to serve their apprenticeship to the work, and who are learning their business from those who can never be appointed to the position they hold. (80)

He goes on to point out how the Department took a different perspective. "It is most important that we should lay great stress in the selection on the scholarship of the candidate", wrote Struthers to the Vice President

for in Scotland we have no separate staff of Inspectors for Secondary Schools and it is essential that we should have on the ordinary staff men whose right to pronounce upon the most advanced teaching in our schools is beyond question. It is also a fact that reputation for scholarship goes further than anything else to secure the respect even of the ordinary teacher. (81)

Clearly, Struthers' argument in January 1913 suggests that he had not succeeded in convincing the Treasury of a need either to provide a financially attractive career structure for trainee inspectors or to guarantee any retrospective additional payments to those in senior positions. Furthermore, although there was a slight indication of a change in attitude, with an admission of past inequity between English and Scottish inspectors, the Treasury was still not prepared to make an exception for the S.E.D. ... "even if there were any grounds for supposing it to be desirable." (82) In a piece of characteristic Treasury logic, supporting part of the theses put forward both by Beer and Heclo and Wildavsky, Masterman added : "We should at once be inundated with similar demands." But what compounded the S.E.D.'s dilemma, and strengthened its argument in favour of a re-examination of the legislation on 'added years', was that in 1906 the Treasury had extended the 'addition of years' privilege to English inspectors appointed after 1905. Struthers, therefore, maintained that a similar extension ought to be granted to the Scottish Inspectorate. Only if this were done, he warned in June 1913, could the S.E.D.

... feel themselves justified in proceeding with their proposals for the gradual discontinuance of the office of Junior Inspector and the appointment to the office of His Majesty's Inspector of persons of not less academic standing but more mature years and greater educational experience. (83)

Despite this firm tone, the injustice noted in January remained. Following a

meeting with Heath in August 1913, Struthers submitted the case of the S.E.D. in writing on the ninth of September. Referring directly to three inspectors - Fraser, Lobban and Robertson - together with one ex-inspector - himself - he stated the Department's objections to the Treasury's general argument. His exposition had four main strands. First, the S.E.D. had always assumed that all inspectors in post before 1884 qualified for the addition of years and that they had been ... "appointed in good faith on this understanding." Second, the Auditor General as far back as 1886 had supposed the Department to have been created only in 1885 and that the 1859 Minute had applied to inspectors within the English Education Department alone. (Moreover, not only did the Auditor General seem unaware that the S.E.D. had been created in 1872 but also that the Scottish state inspectorate, from its inception in 1840, had been indivisible from that for England and Wales, thereby predating the Department by thirty-two years.) Although, declared Struthers, the error in these assumptions had been drawn to the Treasury's attention, no response had been received by the S.E.D. Third, all H.M. Inspectors were crown appointees. Therefore any certificate from the Civil Service Commission under an Order in Council was inapplicable to them. Fourth, and last, Struthers asked for a new warrant

... dating retrospectively to 1872 and placing the office of Inspector of Schools in the Scotch Education Department, created at that date, under Clause 4 of the Act of 1859 with an addition of five years precisely in the same way as was done by the Warrant of 1859, in the case of Inspectors of Schools under the Committee of Council of Education, which Committee, it may be noted, was not specifically designated for England but exercised its function both in England and Scotland. (84)

Not until December 31, 1913 was the Treasury's inquiry completed. In an internal response Masterman admitted that there had been ... "incorrect impressions in the past ...". but while it was clear that the S.E.D. had been established in 1872, there was only one Secretary for the Committee of Council up to 1885. So, 'technically', the foundation of the separate office of the Department dated only from that year. The Treasury accepted, however, that its Audit Office had been ... "quite unaware that 1872 marked any alteration of moment" or that a number of men appointed to the Inspectorate between 1872 and 1885 had received the professional addition ... "without question ...". Both Lobban and Robertson had become

inspectors before 1885. Fraser and Struthers had joined them by 1890. The Treasury, therefore, agreed - with some hesitation - to award the distinction of 'added years' to the entire quartet. "If the Audit Office challenge the awards, we can reply that, while the question is one of doubt, we consider that public faith is pledged in the particular cases." (85) The decision was relayed to the Department on January 10, 1914. (86)

So, for the S.E.D., the immediate result of the discussions was favourable. Admittedly, they established no general principle and the 'addition' was viable only in the specific cases that were considered. But even a minimum gain created a precedence that the Department could use if and when it thought it feasible to do so. Nonetheless, the basis for such action was weak. Why? First, the extension of the concession in 1906 had been granted to the English Inspectorate alone. Second, in his internal memorandum of December 31st, Masterman advised that the formal letter to Struthers should simply say ... "that we will give the four men concerned the addition: we need not issue any Minute or commit ourselves on the application of the Minute of 1859." (87) Was this deliberate omission used simply in order to terminate exchanges about detail that would have had no material effect on the successful result gained by the Department? Or was it that the Treasury considered a re-examination to be irrelevant because it knew that imminent legislation to amend the 1859 Superannuation Act was well-advanced; and, moreover, that this legislation contained a proposal to repeal section four of the Act - the foundation of the S.E.D. case to retain the 'added years' clause in the conditions of service for Examiners and Inspectors? (88) In other words, did the Treasury deliberately withhold information from the Department so that, at a later date, it could use it, if required, in order to take pre-emptive action to restrict any further erosion of its authority over Scottish educational administrators?

Such action proved to be unnecessary, but it was not long before the effect of the new Superannuation Act became evident. Having been encouraged by the decision to grant 'added years' to a selected group of inspectors in 1914, Struthers, instructed by Munro, submitted an application in July 1920 (89) on behalf of examiners and inspectors appointed between 1894 and 1905. (90) The Treasury

found it ... "a very difficult case to meet." (91) Equally, there was genuine sympathy for the claimants. In a letter to Sir Malcolm Ramsay, the Controller of Establishments, Sir Robert Russell Scott (soon to succeed him in that post) felt that the addition of years should ... "have applied equally to officers in the English and Scottish Departments. I do not see how anyone can justify the different treatment which has been meted to the two Departments." But he feared that, because of the repeal of section four of the 1859 Act, it was ... "no longer practical politics to attempt to remove the anomaly." (92) Ramsay wrote in these terms to Struthers on February 4, 1921. (93) Challenging the decision, Struthers asked for the minute of 1894 to be rescinded, so that the 1920 applicants could be placed in the same position as those who had been granted the addition in 1914. (94) This request led a sceptical Treasury to consult Cecil Owen, its Official Solicitor. (95) He confirmed that rescision was impossible. (96) Despite his unequivocal judgment, the S.E.D. continued to pursue its particular objective. In September 1923, supported by the attitude of the Whitley Council, (97) G.W. Alexander, the newly-appointed Departmental Assistant Secretary, raised a possibility that the 1859 Act, apart from granting 'additional' years, could also ... "withdraw the privilege once accorded ...". (98) The Treasury underlined a need to have written opinions from its counsellors ... "because they [the S.E.D.] will demand to see our legal advice and will ask for contemporary advice, and their grievance is so acute that I should not like them to suspect us of being afraid or unwilling to consult the Solicitor now (especially as the old opinion was not a written one)." (99) Owen's conclusions on February 1, 1924, re-affirmed his earlier view. (100) Alexander's hypothesis was rejected. (101) Effectively, this ended the Department's hopes of any possible revision. The question, however, re-emerged briefly in 1929 when, in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service (The Tomlin Commission), the staff side of the Whitley Council drew attention to what it felt to be the severity of Treasury control over Civil Service staff; suggesting that ... "the Treasury's scrutiny of expenditure was unimaginative and destructive and gave rise to friction between the Treasury and Departments and that this friction militated against efficiency." (102) Furthermore, the Institution of Professional Civil Servants, in a short statement to the Commission, singled out conditions of retirement for civil servants, referring specifically to the

matter of 'added years' and to what it described as the 'anomalous' position of the Scottish school Inspectorate. (103) Criticising the Treasury for depriving the Inspectorate of ... "a substantial advantage..." enjoyed by their English colleagues (104), it recognised nevertheless, that the Treasury's attitude was ... "technically correct". But, reflecting that grievances could not be removed if technical difficulties remained, the Institution urged, ... "despite the deep-rooted aversion displayed by the Treasury...", that new legislation should be introduced, with parity between English and Scottish inspectors being given ... "sympathetic consideration." (105) The Commission rejected these criticisms, expressing general satisfaction with the system of Treasury control and seeing no justifiable reason for relaxing it. (106) William Adamson, the Secretary for Scotland, on the other hand, sympathised with the views of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants. In a letter to Philip Snowdon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he pleaded for a change in the regulations. (107) His request was unsuccessful, with Snowdon taking a pessimistic view of any possibility of retrospective legislation. (108)

Much of the bureaucratic relationship between the S.E.D. and the Treasury was shaped by directions imposed on the Department, thus limiting the extent of its independence. But in their long-term relationship, there was one idiosyncratic element, capable of bringing succour to both of them. That element was the ancient office of the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. As a recent historian of the Scottish Office has observed, the Remembrancer was, technically, a part of the Treasury - its 'man in Edinburgh'; and as such had been ... "encouraged to be ever watchful,... critical of estimates of expenditure ... prepared for the Treasury and of any tendency to extravagance." (109) When requested by Whitehall, he produced reports on any aspect of Scottish government finance. Yet although he was the Treasury 'man', he was by no means its unctuous servant. When asked in 1903 to inquire why £100 had been included by the S.E.D. in the estimates for 1904-05, the Remembrancer, Sir Kenneth MacKenzie of Gairloch, took a reasonably independent view of the request. "The Secretary for Scotland", he noted,

resides not far from Edinburgh, and is therefore frequently in his office here at no cost to the public, and the under secy. is also able to come here at the expense of the Congested Dists.

Board of which he is a member. There is no doubt that the system of all the officials of this Dept. being permanently in London is very unpopular in Scotland, and as you can readily understand, it is very inconvenient in many ways to the public who attend to educational business. The advantage and convenience of personal interviews are great, and save an immense amount of trouble, time and correspondence. (110)

The Treasury accepted his advice and approved the estimate.

It was not so in October 1917. Perth School Board had applied to the S.E.D. for a loan of £1200 to meet the cost of renewing and repairing the drainage system in seven schools. The Department allowed the work to proceed, thus clearly displeasing the Treasury which found the S.E.D. attitude ... "rather casual about the need for ... authority for Capital expenditure which will involve borrowing ...". (111) The Remembrancer was asked to investigate. He saw no reason for providing a loan and suggested the money could be recouped by increasing the school rate. (112) Clearly this suggestion was too extreme for both the Treasury and the S.E.D. They came to an agreement and the loan was granted. (113)

* * * *

Maintaining a reasonably viable method of financial allocation was another area of common concern for the S.E.D. and the Treasury. When circumstances made it inevitable, this concern obliged both of them to intervene in the machinery of local education authority control. Their intervention was not necessarily caused by careless accounting or profligate spending. Quite often it was a manifestation of weakness or irrationality in the structure and organisation of the system. An indication of such weakness was evident in two related aspects of educational administration: first, in anomalies within the machinery of school board rating; and second, in the growing dependence of the poorer school boards on additional sources of funding such as the 'necessitous' grant. The S.E.D. and the Treasury became increasingly involved in attempts to resolve some of the more urgent aspects of these two problems. This involvement gave their inter-departmental relationships an overtly political quality in addition to their more traditional bureaucratic connection.

In 1902 all Scottish schools, except private and charitable foundations, were

under the control of parish or burgh council school boards. Each board was responsible for administering every state school located within its geographical boundary and area of jurisdiction. The schools included not only those providing the statutory period of compulsory education but also those containing higher departments, together with higher class schools under the management of school boards as well as institutions providing instruction under the continuation class code. Part of the cost of this whole operation was borne by the ratepayers, with a percentage of that cost extracted from the general parish or burgh rate and subsequently passed on to the school board. The remainder of the money, as noted in the preceding chapter, came from central government sources. But annual changes in the levels of some of the funds, or their diversification to non-educational channels, could be a source of irritation to school board administrators; (114) so also could the differences in rates levied by each local authority and the alterations that they could make in their annual assessments. Unlike the English practice, however, where the occupier of a property was usually responsible for paying the whole rate, the system in Scotland was normally based on the sharing of payment between occupiers and their immediate landlords. (115) But, as the Royal Commission on Local Taxation pointed out, there was an additional factor present in the Scottish method. Whereas county authorities levied rates of precisely equal proportion between owners and occupiers, parish and burgh councils distinguished between types of properties. Unoccupied dwellings were generally assessed for the owner's rate alone; if tenanted, the actual rate levied on the occupier could often exceed that paid by the owner. The Commission recognised the intrinsic confusion within this irregular pattern. (116) It was in the context of such confusion that a dispute developed between the S.E.D. and the Port Glasgow School Board. Reaching its conclusion in 1902, it involved not only the Department and the Board but also the Treasury.

Two sections of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, together with an amending Act in 1897, provided the basis for the dispute. First, section 44 of the 1872 Act declared that when a deficiency occurred in the school fund of a parish or burgh, that deficiency was to be made good from the local rate, with the responsibility for the payment being divided equally between owners and occupiers. Second,

section 67 of the same Act established parameters for school boards to enable them to claim an additional parliamentary grant if the level of the school rate levied in any parish led to a deficiency in the total amount produced. (117) In the dispute with Port Glasgow, the S.E.D. contended that the owners' rateable value was ... "the only stable factor in calculating the school rate ..." (118) and that its concern was not ... "with the amount taken from individuals but only with the amount levied from the community as a whole." The School Board, on the other hand, asserted that the sole criterion for additional revenue was based on ... "a rate in fact actually levied and calculated on the rateable value, one half on owners and one half on occupiers." Given these differing principles, the Department calculated that the additional grant should be based on a school rate of eight and a half pennies per pound, while the Board rested its calculation on a rate of nine pennies per pound. (119) It was the Board's claim, and the Department's refusal to sanction it, which crystallised the disagreement.

The immediate precursor of the conflict was a deficiency in the revenue of the Port Glasgow School Board between 1897 and 1899. To rectify this deficiency the Board asked the parish council to take action by levying an additional rate while, at the same time, claiming its own entitlement to the extra parliamentary grant. (120) Finding the substance of the claim unacceptable, the S.E.D. first consulted the Lord Advocate. While supporting the idea of testing the question in law he, nevertheless, gave no formal legal opinion. Indeed, as Craik observed in a letter to Sir Francis Mowatt, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, in February 1900 he was not asked for one ... "as this might perhaps fetter the action of the Lord Advocate or any one who appeared on his direction to argue the case for the Department." (121) To try to resolve the problem without taking legal proceedings, Craik outlined the background to the disagreement, stressing how special payments to school boards were regulated not by Departmental codes or minutes but by statutes. (122) Mowatt's response tallied with the course suggested by the Lord Advocate. But he insisted that in any court proceedings ... "the parties who contest the established interpretation of your Department should make the first move in the matter." (123) Clearly, he felt that this would give an important psychological advantage to the defendant in that the onus of proof would lie with the initiator; and, moreover, that the

case put forward by the defence would be ... "the one more favourable to the Exchequer." (124) By June 1900 the S.E.D. was willing to accept that a decision should be sought via a special case, with the expenses to be shared equally between the Department and the Port Glasgow School Board. The Board objected to shared costs; (125) so the Treasury consented to have the whole sum defrayed by the Department. (126)

The action was heard in the Court of Session on February 28, 1902, with Graham Murray, the Lord Advocate, appearing for the Department and Thomas Shaw for the School Board. Judgment was given against the S.E.D. Its construction of the 1872 Act, namely that ... "the only stable factor in calculating the school rate is the rate imposed on owners ..." was rejected by the presiding judge, Lord Adam, as ... "an entire fallacy." "Now", he added, "seeing that the rate is imposed by Act of Parliament on occupiers as well as owners, the rateable value of a parish must necessarily include the occupiers' valuation as well as the owners." (127)

This case, as Lord McLaren, another member of the Court, commented, was not about ... "a question of contract or of legal right, but of the administration of a public grant ...", and it was ... "reasonably clear that the parish councils could not have obtained a decision under any form of ordinary action." (128) By reaching that verdict, the Court did not - indeed without an Act of Parliament could not - necessarily remove the dichotomy between parochial and county systems of rating in Scotland. However, the result helped to resolve a specific problem that affected the relationship not only between the S.E.D. and the Port Glasgow School Board but with other boards also. Many had maintained that the question at issue was not one for the Department to interpret but that it was one to which they were entitled to have a legal opinion. The Port Glasgow decision provided this. (129) Moreover, it drew attention to one important point emphasised by Craik in his letter to Mowatt on February 15, 1900, namely, that the Department was not simply an agency operating a form of educational government by means of circulars and minutes. (130) Finally, this case provided evidence of how the Treasury, by using a somewhat circumspect method, could retain its power over other departments. Because its own hierarchy had failed to find a satisfactory solution to the problem, it directed the S.E.D. to work through the

machinery of the law. By accepting this direction, and not opposing the conditions for conducting the case, the Department - by implication - was recognising that superior authority of the Treasury, while also enabling it to sustain that authority.

One positive outcome of the Port Glasgow verdict was the attempt made to try to rationalise the system of additional funding for school boards. At the end of the nineteenth century, as it has been noted earlier, financing Scottish education had become ... "extraordinarily complicated." (131) By 1903 the S.E.D. was administering a number of small grants. This was a wasteful and time-consuming process, and the question of replacing them had already become part of a more general discussion about re-structuring the entire educational system. An example of these grants was that provided for 'necessitous' School Boards. The grant available to these boards in 1903-04 was £54,000. But for 1904-05 the Department was faced with rising expenditure, incurred partly as a result of a growth in average attendances under the terms of the Education (Scotland) Act 1901, (132) and partly because of additional payments ... "due to the indirect results of the Port Glasgow decision...". (138) To overcome these increases Graham Murray was advised, in the context of the forthcoming 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill, that the 'necessitous' school board grant should rise to at least £60,000. (134) The Treasury did not oppose this estimate.(135) Nonetheless, the proposal to include the £60,000 with a general aid grant was, in the opinion of Thomas Heath, unacceptable ... "for a good many reasons."(136) Heath brought into focus the Treasury's balancing act containing both bureaucratic requirements as well as political over-tones. Were the 'necessitous' school board grant to be added to the general aid grant, confusion, he pointed out, might be caused because the principle underlying both types of grant operated not only in Scotland but also in England and Ireland. By using Ireland as an extra dimension, Heath feared that, in merging the grants available to Scotland, the Treasury ... "would arouse the suspicions of the Irish and make them claim a corresponding addition to their grant - and we should never be able to persuade them that they were not being swindled - probably it would mean motions in the H. of C. and much expenditure of public time even!" (137) Accepting what the Treasury clearly felt to be the political logic in the argument, Graham Murray consequently decided not to

press for the £60,000 to be included in the Scottish general aid grant. (138) But in his introduction to the 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill, he also revealed that without agreeing to abolish the formal category of 'necessitous' school boards, as English education authorities had done already, ... "we should not have got our money out of the Treasury...". (139) Useful though it may have been, the benefits from the 'necessitous' school board grant were limited. Eligible boards employed it to fulfil minimum requirements and maintain essential services rather than expand educational opportunities, with some boards - notably in the Highlands - relying heavily on the grant to stave off bankruptcy.

Providing for the additional needs of such boards was a growing concern for the S.E.D., and in the wake of the controversy engendered by the passage of what had become the English Education Act 1902, that concern was to be shaped as much by administrative constraints dictated from the Treasury as by the increasing pressure of political forces. (140) In both contexts the focus of attention was a formula for a general aid grant.

Even before the English Education Bill had received the Royal Assent, Craik was urging Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Scottish Secretary, to press for additional finance for the S.E.D.; but, significantly, by means of a memorandum to the Cabinet rather than by direct consultation with the Treasury. (141) A draft form of a document was prepared by December 1902, advising the Cabinet to ... "preserve a similarity in the proportion between Imperial aid and Local effort..." in Scotland as well as in England while, at the same time, drawing attention to ... "the contrast between the liberality shewn to Ireland and the very restricted grants to Scotland." (142) Charles Ritchie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, rejected the S.E.D. argument, pointing out that ... "grants to both Scotland and Ireland must be arrived at as same proportion of the lump sum to be given to England without any reference to the English system of allocation." Moreover, he added, with a touch of arrogance, ... "you will consider our objections well founded and will be prepared to accept your share on the basis of school population. Any other basis would lead to endless difficulties." (143)

To the S.E.D., the Chancellor's concern about 'endless difficulties' seemed little short of obstructionist. It was his use of school population as the determining

criterion which was exacerbating the financial problem in Scotland. As Lord Balfour pointed out, the burden of running most schools, including many voluntary institutions, was borne by the rates. Therefore, in his opinion, the sum available for Scotland's general aid grant, ought to be calculated not upon the basis of school population alone but on the combined factors of school population and rateable values. And he warned that, if not resolved amicably, ... "any apparent unfairness to Scotland ..." evident in an adopted policy on general aid grant ... "may aggravate such discontent as already exists, and lead to a combination of different political elements in opposition to the arrangement." (144) While not abandoning his original stance, Ritchie, in a somewhat more emollient mood and conscious of a need to have the final draft of the Minute pass through the cabinet without causing a major rift in government policy, urged Lord Balfour to ... "adhere to this method of calculation [i.e. the basis of school population only] for fixing the initial amount of the Grant to Scotland..." while hoping that a basis for amending the regulation could be provided at a later date. (145) Treasury approval of the 1903-04 general aid grant, for a period of six months, followed in March 1903. (146)

These exchanges between the Secretary for Scotland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, conducted in a political rather than in an organisational context, resolved the immediate problem of fixing a general aid grant for 1903-04. However, the formal criteria for administering the grant on a more permanent basis needed to be established. Sturthers put forward his views in two Departmental memoranda. The first, on March 12, 1903 stressed a need to pay particular attention to small schools where children could be ... "at all stages from the alphabet to the beginnings of Latin or Mathematics." He underlined the desirability of providing expenditure relief to schools where there was diversity of attainment, a necessity for specialist women staff, and where teachers for planned supplementary courses would be required if such courses were to be ... "a reality." In his second memorandum of April 29, 1903, (148) while admitting that resources for secondary education had not been fully used, he believed that ... "by giving this relief to elementary education we shall be placing School Boards in a better position to face any additional expenditure for secondary education that may be really necessary." His arguments formed the core of the

Departmental minute, approved by the Cabinet in May 1903, (149) confirming that the funds allocated for the general aid grant were to be used for elementary education according to the size and staff complement of each school.

Dissatisfaction with this decision was apparent by June 1903. In a Memorial to the Prime Minister, thirty-four MPs, including fourteen Unionists, expressed fears that the sum allocated would be ... "almost entirely used for the relief of rates ..." and not to supplement building grants or finance technical schools. (150) To Craik, this criticism clearly indicated that they had not understood the Minute. "If you were to take away the relief to Ratepayers", he wrote to Lord Balfour, "you would find objections of a rather more serious kind raised. There are at least 4 or 5 of the signatories who have urged over and over again this heavy pressure of rates. They have not really mastered the meaning of the Minute." (151) But the Dundee Advertiser had no misgivings. "The English Education Act of last year", it commented with direct, and enthusiastic, reference to the general aid grant, "has begun to disturb the local economy of many an English town and district, but to Scotland it brings a little shower of gold in the shape of a grant, if not exactly an equivalent grant." (152)

Once established, the general aid grant was renewed annually and incorporated into the Education (Scotland) Act 1908. The Act went some way to streamline the system of educational finance in so far as it gathered together into one statute a variety of different sources of income. Yet despite the streamlining, dissatisfaction with the system of financing remained. Criticism was directed at what was felt to be unfairness in the Treasury's proportional contributions to Scotland and England. "The half and half policy", declared Munro Ferguson during the debate on the Consolidated Fund Bill in March 1912, "is what we claim. The Treasury counterclaim against us is based on the fixed ratio of 1,100, namely that Scotland should only get a certain proportion of what is granted to England." (153) Furthermore, what was felt to be an imbalance between central and local contributions to Scottish education was also attacked, with stress put on the rapid rise in rates. (154) While Craik argued against the critics, declaring education to be ... "far more of an Imperial burden than it has hitherto been reckoned...", (155) MacKinnon Wood, the Secretary for Scotland, in summing up on ... "the terrible question of educational

finance...”, produced evidence to counter accusations of imbalance and inadequate imperial contributions. “As a matter of fact”, he stated, “I had the figures got out of the proportion which the Treasury does provide of the cost of education in Scotland, and I find three years ago it was 50.8 per cent, and the last two years 52 per cent. So that the amount provided by the Treasury is decidedly larger than the amount provided by the rates.” (156)

In spite of this statement, little could be done to eradicate the bias against the S.E.D. and what was sometimes interpreted as its coupling with the Treasury. It had been evident at a meeting of the Scottish School Board Association in 1910, (157) and in a delegation of MPs to meet Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in June 1912 (158). It remained so in a Supply debate in the Commons in 1913. (159) Why did the Department find it so difficult to satisfy its critics? First, the inheritance of suspicion was firmly grounded, and dated back at least to the foundation of the S.E.D. as a separate unit in 1886. Second, it was often treated as the scapegoat for increases in rates throughout Scotland although strong factors causing these increases, such as scattered population and the cost of building land, were beyond its control. Third, Struthers could be reticent in providing information lest it be used against the Department. When responding to criticisms from the Scottish School Board Association in 1911, he urged his recipient, Eugene Wason, to treat data given to him as private and confidential, otherwise it would ... “weaken very materially our case with the Treasury for obtaining further grants for education in Scotland.” (160) The practical effect of this attitude was that critics gathered material from a variety of sources and what they found was not necessarily always full or correct. When used, therefore, the assembled data could cause misunderstandings and lead to inaccurate conclusions. Fourth, differences between criteria used in England and Scotland were not always appreciated, particularly when comparisons were made with regard to funding. (161) The complexity of the grants had not been really abandoned in 1908. Ten years later, even the staff of the S.E.D. had difficulty in understanding them. Writing to M. F. Headlam of the Treasury in September 1918, J.W. Parker, Struthers’ Private Secretary, admitted that the division of grants into primary and secondary education categories ... “is one which has always baffled us.” Additional grants, such

as those under section 67 of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act caused particular problems. It was, concluded Parker, ... "impossible to disentangle the exact proportion of voted money which goes to Primary and Secondary education respectively." (162)

* * * *

With regard to the question of conditions of service for senior members of the S.E.D. secretariat, it was bureaucratic considerations that, to a considerable extent, determined the impact of the Treasury on the Department. On the other hand, disagreements between them on issues relevant to local authority funding had stronger political connotations. In both contexts, and especially in their attempts to defend the perimeters of their respective powers and levels of authority, some of the inherent weaknesses in the two departments came to the surface. But the Treasury, in addition to these two aforementioned roles, also played a distinctive part as an appellate in claims brought against local education authorities. In this particular context, the S.E.D. tended to take a somewhat subsidiary position. The claims themselves depended upon two Acts of Parliament: the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1889 and the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. Under relevant sections from both Acts, (163) local education authority officers were entitled to claim compensation from their employers if their offices were abolished; or if conditions in the Acts were modified by the Authorities, the individuals concerned could appeal direct to the Treasury for a reconsideration of the decisions. At least three such appeals were made after 1920.

The first appeal, submitted to the Treasury in 1920-21 was on behalf of Hood and four other former officers of Renfrewshire school boards. (164) All had been part-time clerks and treasurers to six different boards. (165) Each had had deductions made from their compensatory awards. These deductions included a cut of 25% for part-time service and 10% for clerical assistance. Giving judgment, the Treasury confirmed that the percentage reduction made for part-time work was normal practice according to the regulation, but felt that only 5% should have been taken for office expenses. (166) The local authority did not contest the verdict.

While partial loss of recompense was the central concern in Hood's appeal,

that of John Falconer, former clerk to the Secondary Education Committee of the Kincardine Education Authority (167) was made because of that Authority's refusal even to consider his application for compensation. Citing the 1889 Act, the Authority justified its decision on the grounds that two years had elapsed after Falconer's departure and before the submission of his claim. Therefore, according to the Act, the delay was sufficient to invalidate any application. (169)

When consulted initially in January 1922, the Treasury seemed doubtful of its ability to act. "To admit this Appeal", it was suggested, "would be truly a case of assumption on the part of the Treasury of the jurisdiction of a Court of first instance - a jurisdiction we clearly do not possess." (170) Following referral to the Procurator General in March 1922, (171) the Treasury was informed that, on the contrary, not only had it ... "a jurisdiction to entertain the appeal ..." but a duty to do so, because the local authority's refusal to listen to the claim constituted a formal judgment. (172) In spite of this advice - and clearly disconcerted by it and by the absence of any kind of official adjudication from the Kincardine Education Committee - the Treasury continued to maintain that it ... "should not be compelled to function by reason of the Council's default." (173) However, after further consideration, it informed Falconer in June 1922 that his claim did not come ... "within the meaning of Section 120..." of the 1889 Act, and that consequently the local authority's refusal to award compensation was ratified. (174)

Unlike the appeals against Renfrewshire and Kincardine, that of Thomas Young for the loss of his post as Secretary to the Governors of Dollar Academy was more complex. (175) Apart from this position, his portfolio contained other appointments such as that of a clerk or secretary to the Tillicoultry School Board, (176) the Clackmannan Fever Hospital, three local authority water and lighting committees and the Tillicoultry Building Company. (177) When considering Young's claim for loss of office at the Academy, however, the initial aim of R.M. Allardyce, Clackmannan's Director of Education, writing to the Secretary of the Treasury in November 1923, was to establish if Young had been a full or part-time officer, given that he was also ... "if not an actual, at least a potential beneficiary in respect of the other education post mentioned...". (178) The Treasury concurred with this view.

(179) After exchanging a series of letters, (180) the local authority was convinced that Young's appointment at the Academy had in practice been part-time; so, his claim for compensation would be ... "adequately met..." by an allowance of 75% of the full rate.(181) The Treasury found the existing evidence insufficient and requested additional material. (182) Both the Authority (183) and Young himself (184) supplied it. By June 1924 his ... "disingenuous answers" ... confirmed the Treasury's doubts. "He is", noted F.H. Slingsby, Assistant Principal, "one of the few really 'twisty' appellants we occasionally come across." (185)

Not until September 26, 1924 did Clackmannan's formal consideration of Young's application take place. (186) His claim was rejected as invalid according to the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. Therefore he was awarded no compensation. Both the S.E.D. and the Lord Advocate's Office agreed with this decision. (187) Nevertheless, on October 20th Young appealed against it. (188) The Treasury consulted the Lord Advocate (189) and asked for advice on one of two possible solutions: either to decline to judge the case because it was outside the terms of the relevant Act of Parliament; or to entertain the appeal but award no compensation. The Lord Advocate's Office responded on October 27th. (190) Young's appeal under the 1918 Act was ... "misconceived..." because he was not an ... "existing officer ..." under that Act. Moreover, the contractual position between him and the Authority was not a matter for the Treasury. "The jurisdiction of the Treasury on appeal is purely statutory and cannot be extended by any contract of parties." Consequently the Treasury had ... "no jurisdiction to entertain Mr. Young's appeal, and ought to reject it. To entertain it and award nothing would be to arrogate jurisdiction where none exists." Young was informed on November 4, 1924, and the case was closed. (191)

* * * *

The impact of the Treasury on the S.E.D. had many dimensions, each shaped by the forces of tradition and the needs of authority. Elements discerned by Boyle and Clark, especially the Treasury's sense of superiority, surfaced whenever they were allowed to do so. But, while the level of Treasury insularity was marked at the beginning of the century, with Craik being none too successful in penetrating its obfuscation, a greater degree of understanding and cooperation in its relationship

with the S.E.D. was becoming evident by 1914. Thereafter, far from undermining morale in the Department, the determination of its senior administrators not to be trampled upon by Treasury obstructionism - bureaucratic, legal and political - gained momentum; and in its wake the S.E.D. earned a measure of genuine respect. Nevertheless, the function of the Treasury as the key-stone of central government bureaucracy remained. Implicit in that function, however, was an inherently false dichotomy, namely, that there was a clear distinction between bureaucratic control and political authority. In practice, on the other hand, as illustrated by issues such as the allocation and guarantee of emoluments and superannuation rights for senior S.E.D. officers, and the provision and deployment of special grants to school authorities, there was no evident demarcation line between the exercise of bureaucratic administration and the pursuit of political goals.

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2. Bridges, Lord. The Treasury, London 1964, pp. 40-41.
3. Heath, Sir Thomas. The Treasury, London 1927, pp. 132-33.
4. First Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission 1875, C-113, p.23.
5. Letter from J.R. Dasent (sometime Assistant Secretary to the Board of Education) to Henry Craik, 11.7.86 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/78.
 Welby objecting ... "quite unnecessarily, I should say, to the form in which you convey the wishes of My Lords Do you think you could have the letter re-written, sprinkling 'I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Council for Education in Scotland' all over it? I am bound to say that I have read the [S.E.D] letter very carefully, and do not myself see that any very great modification of the phraseology is necessary, but I am obliged to do what I am told."
6. Memorandum from Craik to the Vice President, 12.7.86, in ibid.
7. Memorandum, 13.7.86 in ibid. Initialled by 'D'. This was the Earl of Dalhousie, Vice President of the S.E.D. and Secretary for Scotland. In the same year the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Sir George Trevelyan and A.J. Balfour also held the two posts.
8. Welby quoted in Bridges, op. cit., p. 222.
9. ibid., p. 223.
10. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4S. vol. 78, 20, 1. 00 col. 32 as quoted in Macleod, R.M. Treasury Control and Social Administration, London 1968, p. 40.
11. Clark, C. The State and Economic Policy in Public Administration, vol.X, 1932, p. 261.
12. Beer, S. Treasury Control, London 1956, pp. 16-17.
13. ibid., p. 76.
14. ibid., p. 77.
15. ibid., p. 111.

16. Hecló, H. & Wildavsky, A. The Private Government of Public Money, London 1974, p. 48.
17. ibid., p. 50.
18. Davidson, R. Treasury Control and Labour Intelligence in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain in The Historical Journal, vol. 28, no. 3, 1985, p. 721.
19. Macleod, op. cit., p. 25.
20. ibid., p. 39.
21. ibid., p. 53.
22. ibid., p. 54.
23. Wright, M. Treasury Control 1854-1914 in Sutherland, G. (ed.) Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government, London 1972, pp. 218-20.
24. ibid., p. 223.
25. ibid., pp. 224-5.
26. Peden, G.C. The Treasury as the Central Department of Government, 1919-39 in Public Administration, vol. 61, 1983, p. 373.
27. ibid., p. 376.
28. ibid., p. 385.
29. Lowe, R. Bureaucracy Triumphant or Derided? the Expansion of the British Civil Service, 1919-39 in Public Administration, vol. 62, 1984, p. 292.
30. ibid., p. 291.
31. ibid., p. 308.
32. There were four different Secretaries for Scotland between the re-foundation of the office in 1885 and the end of 1887. Not until Lord Balfour of Burleigh became Secretary in 1895 did any real stability begin to attach itself to the office. Three further changes between 1903 and the end of 1905 threatened to weaken the base built by Lord Balfour. As the Secretary was also Vice President of the S.E.D. these constant variations did little good to the conduct of education policy. Without the stability provided by Craik and Struthers, the S.E.D. would have found it even more difficult to offer a credible alternative to voluntary institutions.
33. Hanham, H.J. The Creation of the Scottish Office, 1881-87 in the Juridical

- Review, December 1965, p. 233.
34. Appendix to the Third Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1913, (The Macdonnell Commission), Cd. 6740, p. 155, qq. 19,081-082.
 35. Treasury Minute of 1881 as quoted in a letter from W. Hayes Fisher of the Treasury to the Secretary to the Board of Education, 20.3.03 in P.R.O. T/9951/7333.
 36. Letter from Fisher to the Secretary to the Board of Education, 20.3.03 in ibid.
 37. Letter from Fisher to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 20.3.03 in ibid.
 38. Memorandum by R.F.W[elby], 16.3.03 in ibid.
 39. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 28.3.03. in ibid.
 40. P.G.A. 1859, 22 & 23 vict., Superannuation Act 1859, Ch. 26, Sect. IV.
 41. Copy of Treasury Minute, 3.7.94 in P.R.O. T 164/1/12
 42. Letter from Lord Balfour of Burleigh to Spring Rice, 14.5.00 in P.R.O. T1/9589 B/17617.
 43. Letter from Hicks Beach to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 24.5.00 in ibid.
 44. Letter from Francis Mowatt to the Secretary of the S.E.D. in 19.6.00 in ibid.
 45. Memorandum by Sir George Murray, 25.3.04 in P.R.O. T1/10459/10794.
 46. Letter from Murray to Craik, 28.3.04 in ibid.
 47. Letter from Murray to Craik, 21.11.04 in ibid.
 48. Memorandum by I.P.C. of the Treasury to Murray, 16.11.04 in ibid.
- The financial consequences of Craik's retirement were considered in some detail. His office was not being abolished, and, therefore, he was ineligible to receive an additional pension under Section 7 of the 1859 Superannuation Act. Early retirement would give him a normal pension of £950 per annum. "If he stays two years his pension would be £1,000. But if he goes now we shall lose £1,350 and the two men under his successor will draw £950 and £1,000 p.a. If we keep him they will start at £850 and £900."
- Memorandum to Murray, 25.3.04 in ibid.
49. Letter from A.C[hamberlain] to Sir Henry C[raik], 31.3.04 in ibid.
 50. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 22.8.04 in ibid.
- Craik suggested that the appointee should be given a professional addition

of seven years.

51. Memorandum by G. Barstow of the Treasury, 23.8.04 in ibid.
52. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 6.10.04 in ibid.
53. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 14.10.04 in ibid.
54. Letter from Murray to Craik, 17.10.04 in ibid.
55. Letter from Murray to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 8.11.04 in ibid.
56. Letter from Murray to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 6.12.04 in ibid.
57. Internal Treasury memorandum by G[eorge] B[arstow], 3.12.07 in P.R.O. T1/10784/4435.

"Sir Henry Craik, I understand, always laid great stress on the importance of keeping the headquarters of the Scotch Educ. Dept. in London, so as to be in touch with Ministers during the session and also - I suspect - with the view of keeping Scotch educationists at arms length.

With the appointment of Mr. MacDonald a new era began, and the tendency is likely to be increasingly in the direction of moving to Edinburgh Unless the move leads to an increase of staff, which is not impossible, I think the Treasury can raise no objection, and some saving should be secured in rents in London."

58. Letter from Munro to Law, 25.11.18 in P.R.O. T1/12307/15073/19.
59. Letter from Law to Munro, 16.12.18 in ibid.
60. Letter from Munro to Law, 23.12.18 in ibid.
61. Letter from Law to Munro, 7.1.19 in ibid.
62. Internal Treasury Memorandum from Heath to Hewby, 1.1.19 in ibid.
63. Letter from Law to Munro, 7.1.19 in ibid.
- Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Munro, 17.4.19. in ibid.
64. Letter from Ramsay to Struthers, 17.8.20 in P.R.O. T162. Box 23. File no. E1533.

The Treasury committee appointed to advise on emoluments attached to principal posts in the Civil Service consisted of Asquith, Lord Colwyn and Sir Joseph Maclay.

65. Letter from Munro to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 8.5.19 in P.R.O.

T1/12307/15073/19.

66. Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Munro, 26.5.19 in ibid.
67. Evidence given to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the State of Education, 1834, q. 515 as quoted in Bone, T.R. School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966, London 1968, p. 14.
68. Educational News, 24..8.78 as cited in ibid., pp. 84-85.
69. op. cit. in ibid., p. 131.
70. op. cit. in ibid. pp. 159-60.
71. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 56, 4.8.13, cols. 1107-08.
72. Letter from Craik to the Treasury, 11.8.04 in P.R.O. T164/1/11.
73. Note by G[urney] M[asterman], 5.7.13 in ibid.
74. Parl. Deb. H.C. 3s. vol. 331, 30.11.88, cols. 633-34.
75. Letter from Craik to the Treasury, 11.8.04 in P.R.O. T164/1/11.
76. Letter from Murray to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 10.10.04 in ibid.
77. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 14.10.04 in ibid.
78. Letter from Murray to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 6.12.04 in ibid.
79. Letter by Struthers, 10.1.13 in ibid.

The name of the recipient is not given, but it was probably Thomas Heath. Struthers begins with reference to a serious difficulty about a letter to Struthers from Heath. This latter letter is not in the file and all attempts to trace it ended in failure.

80. Educational News, 2.11.06 as quoted in Bone, op.cit., p. 160.
81. Minute of March 13, 1906 from S.E.D. files as quoted in ibid. p. 161.
82. Internal Treasury Memorandum by G[urney] M[asterman] to Barstow, 6.3.13 in P.R.O. T164/1/11.
83. Letter from Struthers to the Secretary of the Treasury, 4.6.13. in ibid.
84. Letter from Struthers to the Secretary of the Treasury, 9.9.13 in ibid.
85. Internal Treasury Memorandum by G[urney] M[asterman], 31.12.13 in ibid.

The gap in the Treasury's knowledge about the founding of the S.E.D. and the Scottish Office is strange. Sir George Murray, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury from 1903 to 1911, had been on its staff since 1880, and had

also been private secretary both to Lord Rosebery and W.E. Gladstone.

Given their respective roles in the founding of the Scottish Office, he would have had intimate knowledge of events and of the exact status of the S.E.D. at that time.

86. Letter from Bradbury of the Treasury to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 10.1.14 in ibid.
87. Internal Treasury Memorandum by G[urney] M[asterman], 31.12.13 in ibid.
88. P.G.A. 1914, 4 & 5 Geo. 5, Superannuation Act 1914, Ch. 86.
89. Letter from Struthers to the Secretary of the Treasury, 31.7.20 in P.R.O. T164//1/11.
90. Covering letter from Struthers to the Secretary of the Treasury, 1.11.20 in ibid., enclosing a list of Inspectors and Examiners appointed between January 1, 1894 and September 1, 1905.

They were as follows:

Inspectors: Jamieson 1896	Wattie 1897	Smith 1899
Thomson 1899	Young 1900	Millar 1901
Macdonald 1901	Clark 1902	Philip 1903
McKechnie 1903	Andrew 1903	Fleming 1903
Fraser 1904.		

Examiners: Johnson 1894 Cornish 1899

91. Internal Treasury Memorandum by L.J. H[ewby], Assistant Secretary, 27.1.21 in ibid.
92. Internal Treasury Memorandum by R[obert] R[ussell] S[cott] to Sir Malcolm Ramsay, 31.1.21 in ibid.
93. Letter from Ramsay to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 4.2.21. in ibid.
Ramsay was the second son of G.G. Ramsay, sometime Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. He was also the cousin of Katharine, Duchess of Atholl, Unionist MP for West Perth and Kinross from 1923 to 1938 and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education from 1924 to 1929.
Ramsay was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. Assistant

Secretary to the Treasury, 1914-19. Controller of Establishments 1919-21.
Became Comptroller and Auditor General in 1921.

94. Letter from Struthers to the Secretary of the Treasury, 9.2.21. in ibid.
95. Internal Treasury Memorandum from Cross to Solicitor, 12.2.21 in ibid.
96. Internal Treasury Memorandum from Cecil Owen to the Secretary of the Treasury, 25.4.21 in ibid.

The effect of the repeal of Section 4 of the 1859 Superannuation Act and its replacement with Section 5 in the 1914 Superannuation Act was that ...
“except as to transactions past and closed, Section 4 must be considered as if it had never existed.” Therefore the Treasury had no power to issue a warrant under it, or to revoke one issued in the past.

Owen's memorandum formed the basis of a formal letter from Ramsay to Struthers, 30.4.21 in ibid.

97. Extract from a meeting of the Departmental Whitley Council, 14.10.21 in ibid.
The Council ... “is of opinion that the Treasury, having had powers which it appears to have used unequally, and having lost these powers by the operation of Section 5 of the Superannuation Act, 1914, is in justice bound to take practical steps to redress the inequality.”
98. Letter from Alexander to Stocks of the Treasury, 24.9.23 in ibid.
99. Internal Treasury comment by Stocks to Upcott, undated, in ibid.
100. Letter from Cecil Owen to Stocks, 1.2.24 in ibid.

Owen puts the question in a wider context by referring to the Statutes in general terms, noting that before 1889 ... “the old rule of construction applicable to Statutes passed before 1889 is that if a Statute gives power to do an act such as making a regulation or order and the person to whom the power is given makes a regulation or order he is then *functus officio* and cannot again make a further order under the power given by the Statute unless, of course, either expressly or by implication, the Statute otherwise provides.” It was not uncommon before 1889 to introduce into Statutes ... “some words designed to avoid this difficulty...” such as ‘from time to time’.
“The whole tenor of the Section [Section 4, 1859 Superannuation Act]

seems to be to place in the hands of the Treasury a power of dealing with the matters covered by section 4, subject to the approval of Parliament, and I think that a Court would be unwilling to adopt, unless the necessity for doing so were clear, a construction, the effect of which might be to hamper and embarrass the Treasury in the proper exercise of their function under section 4, particularly in a case in which another construction had been acted upon for so many years.”

101. Letter from Stocks to Alexander, 29.2.24 in ibid.
102. Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1929-31 (The Tomlin Commission), Cmd. 3909, p. 170, para. 587.
103. Statement submitted by the Institution of Professional Civil Servants in Appendix XI to the Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1929-30, London 1930, pp 78-79.
104. ibid., para 275.
105. ibid., para 276.
106. Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1929-31, op. cit., p. 171, para 590.
107. Letter from Adamson to Snowden, 17.2.30 in P.R.O. T164/1/11.
108. Letter from Snowden to Adamson, 26.2.30 in ibid.
109. Gibson, J.S. The Thistle and the Crown, Edinburgh 1985, p. 18.
110. Reply from Kenneth Mackenzie, 11.9.03 regarding increased provision in Estimates 1904-05 for S.E.D. visits to Scotland in K.& L.T.R. E801/55.
111. Memorandum from the Treasury to the Remembrancer, 16.10.17 in K. & L.R.R. E801/63.
112. Reply from MacKenzie to Leith Ross of the Treasury, 19.10.17 in ibid.
113. Letter from Heath to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 27.11.17 in ibid.
114. An anonymous, undated memorandum in S.R.O ED 14/224 draws attention to one example of a diversification of funds to non-educational channels, as caused by an outbreak of foot and mouth disease or swine fever among cattle. Under the terms of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) (Pleuro-Pneumonia) Act of 1890 (P.G.s. 1890, 53 & 54 VICT. Ch. 14) and the

Diseases of Animals Act of 1894 (P.G.S. 1894, 57 & 58 VICT. Ch. 57), parliament authorised the allocation of sums of money as compensation to farmers who had been forced to slaughter animals. If the amount of money available was insufficient, the balance was to be obtained from the residue grant for education as specified in section 2(iii) (b) of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, thus reducing the sum available to education.

The Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1898 changed this arrangement. Thereafter, the excess sum required for the pleuro-pneumonia account was charged against the 'equivalent' grant under section 7(5) of the Education and Local Taxation (Scotland) Act of 1892. "The 'unholy alliance' between technical education and swine fever was thus dissolved."

Memorandum on Local Taxation (Scotland) Account in the Final Report in the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation 1902, Cd. 1067, Appendix Part II, p. 87.

115. Final Report Scotland in op. cit. p. 22.
116. ibid., p. 23.
117. P.G.A. 1872, 35 & 36 VICT, Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, Ch. 62.
118. The Scottish Law Reporter, vol. XXXIX, 1901-02 pp. 405-09.
119. ibid.
120. ibid.
121. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 15.2.00 in P.R.O. T1/9535A/10362.
122. ibid.
123. Letter from Francis Mowatt to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 22.2.00 in ibid.
124. Memorandum by Francis Mowatt, 19.2.00 in ibid.
125. Letter from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 12.6.00 in ibid.
126. Letter from Mowatt to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 12.7.00 in ibid.
127. The Scottish Law Reporter, loc. cit.
128. ibid.

129. Memorandum from Craik to the Secretary of the Treasury, 15.2.00 in P.R.O. T1/9535A/10362.
130. This kind of criticism was not new in 1900, and it was to be heard periodically thereafter. During the Supply Debates in 1913 Craik, by then an MP, reacted to it thus:
- “The Hon. Member complained of changes being carried out by Minutes of the Department. Does he think every change should be carried out by an Act of Parliament? ... On what conceivable plan does the Hon. Member propose that the Department should proceed except by Minutes? If the Minutes are not discussed here, whose fault is it? The fault of the Hon. Member opposite and his colleagues. ... Either he wishes that there should be no changes in education ... or else he supposes we cannot change an item in the Code without an Act of Parliament. Surely we can do something without an Act of Parliament. If you have got a Department that cannot manage its business, why do you not turn it out? But, if you have got a Department that can manage its business, leave that business to it and do not keep on with this everlasting carping criticism!”
- Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 56, 4.8.13, cols. 1063-64.
131. Scotland, J. The History of Scottish Education, vol. 2, London 1969, p. 36.
132. Letter from Struthers to Heath, 25.1.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/20.
133. Note from Apperson to Craik, 4.2.04 on the reverse side of a letter from George Murray to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 29.1.04 in ibid.
134. Memorandum by Struthers to the Vice President, 18.12.03 in ibid.
135. Letter from George Murray to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 29.1.04 in ibid.
136. Letter from Heath to Craik, 19.2.04 in ibid.
137. ibid.
138. Letter from Craik to Heath, 25.2.04 in ibid.
139. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 132, 28.3.04, col. 877.
140. Letter from Morant to Craik, 21.2.02, in S.R.O. ED 7/5/7.
- This letter reveals some of the stress felt by Morant. He refers to constant summonses to the House, to No. 10 or to Devonshire House. “I have

repeatedly endeavoured to come in to see you to tell you how things were going and have been repeatedly prevented by imperative summonses elsewhere." He also refers to Hicks Beach laying down conditions ... "all directed against encouraging or taking into consideration educational local expenditure of any kind: hence nearly all reasonable proposals were wasted, as wd. others have been however wisely contrived by any committee."

In addition to the personal factors, the letter also indicates that Morant was keeping Craik informed about the preparation of the English Education Bill.

141. Memorandum from H.C. to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 22.11.02 in ibid.
142. Draft memorandum for Cabinet - for consideration, 2.12.02 in ibid.
143. Memorandum from Ritchie, undated, but with a covering letter dated 21.1.03 in ibid.
144. Memorandum from Lord Balfour of Burleigh to Ritchie, 6.2.03 in ibid.
145. Memorandum from Ritchie to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 21.2.03 in ibid.
146. Memorandum of arrangements between the Secretary for Scotland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the General Aid Grant to be given to Scotland in respect of the grant to England under the 1902 Education Act, 6.3.04 in ibid.
147. Minute by Struthers, 12.3.03 in ibid.
148. Minute by Struthers, 29.4.03 in ibid. Underlining by Struthers.
149. Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 28 May 1903 providing for the Distribution of the Genral Aid Grant, Cd. 1618.
150. Memorial to A.J. Balfour, 25.6.03 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/7.
 Twenty Liberals signed the Memorial. They were as follows: Asquith (Fife), Black (Banff), Buchanan (Perthshire East), Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling District), Craig, (Govan), Crombie (Kincardine), Dewar (Inverness-shire), Dunn (Paisley), Haldane (Haddington), Leng (Dundee), McCrae (Edinburgh East), Murray (Edinburgh-shire), Pirie (Aberdeen North), Shaw (Hawick), Sinclair (Forfar), Tennant (Berwick), Ure (Linlithgow), Wallace (Perth-City), Wason, E. (Clackmannan), Wason, J. (Orkney & Shetland).
 The fourteen Unionists who signed were:

Arrol (Ayrshire South), Bignold (Wick), Campbell (Glasgow & Aber. Univ),
 Denny (Kilmarnock D), Gordon (Elgin & Nairn), Maconochie (Aberdeenshire),
 McIver (Edinburgh West), McKillop (Stirlingshire), Orr-Ewing (Ayr D),
 Reid (Greenock), Smith (Partick), Thorburn (Peebles & Selkirk),
 Tuke (Edin. & St. And. Univ.), Wilson (Falkirk).

151. A comment by Craik to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 30.6.03 on the reverse side of a covering letter by Denny accompanying the Memorial to Balfour, 29.6.03 in ibid.
152. Dundee Advertiser, 5.6.03 in ibid.
153. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5S, vol. 36, 25.3.12, col. 148.
154. "During recent years the burden on the local ratepayers for educational purposes has been growing at an enormously rapid rate."
 Murray Macdonald in ibid. col. 155.
155. ibid., col. 151.
156. ibid., cols. 155-6.
157. In the previous ten years, so the Association was informed by John Smith, Chairman of the Govan School Board, the increase in local rate contribution to education had been 60%, but the government grant had risen by only 35%.
 As reported in a letter from William Cook of Tillicoultry to Eugene Wason MP, undated, in S.R.O. ED 7/5/22.
158. Report of a Deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 18.6.12 in ibid.
 Lloyd George in response argued that Scotland got a larger grant in proportion to its population than either England or Ireland. But he had to control any demand for an increase from Scotland because that demand could not be confined to Scotland.
159. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 56, 4.8.13, cols. 1075.
160. Letter from Struthers to Wason, 22.2.11 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/22.
 In this letter Struthers responded to John Smith's statistics concerning the percentage rises in local rate contribution to education and that of the government grant. He argued that the figures quoted, covered only the

grants to primary education. The official statistics for the previous ten years, according to Struthers, were : an increase in the local rate contribution of 55% and in the government's grant to School Boards 49%.

161. Letter from Henry Higgs of the Treasury to Struthers, 11.4.12 in ibid.
Wishing to know why the cost of public education was higher per child in Scotland than in England and Wales.
Letter from Alexander of the S.E.D. to Higgs, 3.9.12. in ibid.
Differences between the English and Scottish systems of education were so great that exact comparisons were impossible. E.g. Annual grant to Scotland included grants for higher grade schools which in England would be classified as secondary. Scotland also had 5% - 6% more pupils over the age of 12 in school than England had.

162. Letter from J.W. Parker to M.F. Headlam, 18.9.18 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/22.

163. P.G.S. 1889, 52 & 53 VICT., Local Government (Scotland) Act 1889, Ch. 50.

Sect. 120: 1 "Every existing officer ... entitled to compensation ... who ... suffers any direct pecuniary loss by abolition of office ...

4 "If a claimant is aggrieved by the refusal of the county council to grant any compensation , ... [he] may, within three months after the decision of the council, appeal to the Treasury".

P.G.A. 1918, 8 & 9 GEO. 5, Education (Scotland) Act 1918, Ch. 48, Fourth Schedule, Sect. 11.

164. Appeals by five officers, against the Renfrewshire Education Authority, for Compensation in Loss of Office, 1.12.20 to 19.3.21 in P.R.O. T 164/6/3.

165. The appellants were:

John Hood, Clerk & Treasurer, Port Glasgow School Board.

John Baird Stirling, Clerk to Paisley Landward School Board; Treasurer to Paisley School board; Secretary to the Endowment Commissioners.

166. Hood and Others versus Renfrew Education Authority, 24 2.21 in ibid.

The following annual allowances, payable quarterly from October 1, 1919, were awarded by the Treasury:

Hood: £99:15:0 Stirling: £132:2:11 Fife: £72:6:11

Dunlop: £33:4:1 Stewart: £30:4:0.

167. Case of John Falconer versus Kincardine Education Authority, 19.1.22 to 22.6.22 in P.R.O. T 164/19/7.
168. Letter from J. Miller, Executive Officer, Kincardine Education Authority, to Falconer, 13.1.22 in ibid.
169. Letter from Falconer to the Secretary of the Treasury, 19.1.22. in ibid.
The authority refused to admit the claim because it was ... "not timeously lodged...". Falconer informed the authority on June 28, 1920 of his intention to claim compensation. But ... "due to an oversight arising from the pressure of other work in connection with other appointments..." he allowed an interval of over two years to elapse.
170. Internal Treasury Minute by Trickett, 28.1.22 in ibid.
171. Letter from G.F. Carter of the Treasury to Norman Macpherson, S.S.C. Edinburgh, 10.3.22. in ibid.
172. Letter from Norman Macpherson to the Treasury Solicitor, 18.3.22. in ibid.
173. Internal Treasury Memorandum by Trickett, 10.4.22 in ibid.
174. Letter from G.C. Upcott, Treasury Assistant Secretary, to Falconer, 21.6.22 in ibid.
175. Case of T.J. Young, Late Secretary to the Governors of Dollar Academy versus Clackmannan County Education Authority, 28.11.23 to 5.11.24 in P.R.O. T164/42/8.
176. Letter from Allardyce to the Secretary of the Treasury, 28.11.23 in ibid.
177. Letter by Allardyce, 3.6.24 in ibid. Recipient not named.
178. Letter from Allardyce to the Secretary of the Treasury, 28.11.23 in ibid.
179. Letter from Upcott to the Clackmannan Education Authority, 11.12.23 in ibid.
180. Letter from Upcott to the Clackmannan Education Authority, 28.2.24 in ibid.
Letter from Upcott to Young, 28.2.24 in ibid.
Letter from Young to the Assistant Secretary, Superannuation Division of the Treasury, 13.3.24 in ibid.
181. Letter from Young to the Assistant Secretary, Superannuation Division of the Treasury, 29.3.24 in ibid.

182. Internal Treasury memorandum by F.H. Slingsby, 2.4.24 in ibid.
183. Letter by Allardyce, 3.6.24 in ibid.
184. Internal Treasury Memorandum by F.H. Slingsby, 5.6.24 in ibid.
186. Letter from Allardyce to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, 26.9.24 in ibid.
187. Comment by Trickett, addressed to Twentyman, 1.10.24 at the foot of a memorandum from Alexander to Trickett, 30.9.24 in ibid.
188. Letter from Young to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Superannuation Division, 20.10.24 in ibid.
189. Letter from Cecil Owen to Norman Macpherson, 20.10.24 in ibid.
190. Opinion by H.P. MacMillan, 27.10.24 in ibid.
191. Letter from Upcott to Young, 4.11.24 in ibid.

CHAPTER VII

Education In the Highlands

At the end of Queen Victoria's reign the image of life in the Highlands of Scotland was dominated by three general factors: complex geomorphological patterns, an inheritance of economic dislocation and social unrest, and, finally, a vulnerable indigenous culture. What distinctive attributes did these three characteristics contain?

The first factor, an inhospitable natural environment, defied the objectives of decision-makers. Lying to the north of the boundary fault linking the estuaries of the Clyde and the Dee, the Highlands form an amorphous area, where the broad plateaux of the Grampian and Monadhliath mountains contrast with the sharper ridges to the west; while the Atlantic coastline, narrow and indented, is straggled with myriad islands and scattered townships. Throughout, levels of rainfall vary; making it possible to pass ... "from an almost unbelievable luxuriance of vegetation to tundra; from mild oceanic conditions to the rigours of a sub-Arctic climate...". (1) Whereas even the mainland lacks substantial acreage of soil suitable for large-scale arable farming, the islands - particularly in the Outer Hebrides - suffer not only from an excessive abundance of coastal sand-dunes trimmed with narrow fringes of machair but also from peaty, waterlogged interiors.

Much of the economic life of the region in 1900 was rooted to the croft and the sheep-fank, to the grouse-moor and the deer forest, to fishing and, when other things failed, to the magnetism of migration. Communications were difficult. Many isolated communities had no proper roads. Elsewhere, severe gradients, bogs, rock-falls and a variety of passing-places turned travel, especially to the north and west of the Great Glen, into a precarious and sometimes dangerous activity. Admittedly, the development of railways brought some relief; but projects were often bedevilled by rash speculators, rivalry between companies, opposition from some landed proprietors and spectacularly difficult engineering problems, some of which had a direct effect on children's schooling. (2) Even so, the railway system created by 1901 with western coastal termini at Kyle of Lochalsh, Mallaig and Oban, provided a useful

setting for possible economic expansion and educational initiative.

Apart from natural obstructions, many parts of the Highlands in 1900 suffered also from a history of land 'development' and dislocation of social patterns. From the early days of the Clearances until the passing of the Crofters' Act in 1886 landowners, or their factors, had used both ingenuity and violence to try to gain maximum benefits from their estates. To crofting communities the consequences were severe, ranging from marked decline to total annihilation. Although changes in land utilisation could not guarantee any substantial economic gains for developers, the policy of exploitation decidedly weakened much of the indigenous culture and, in so doing, created a residue of permanent bitterness. (3) Recent research on the Clearances has stressed the complexity of the issues. Richards notes that the failure of some diversifying schemes simply confirmed ... "the fundamental intractability of the problem..." (4), while Campbell suggests that land changes, in certain districts, ... "were more gradual than has been assumed." (5) Gray, in his somewhat severely economic analysis, maintains that the Clearances ... "represented not the wayward greed of a small group of anti-social expatriates, but the total impact of the powerful individualism and economic rationalism of industrial civilisation on the weaker semi-communal traditionalism of the recalcitrant fringe." (6) Smout, on the other hand, in a wider-ranging and more sympathetic account, draws attention to the crofting community's reaction which, in emphasizing the superior values of the home rather than the advantages of increased wealth, ... "utterly conflicted with the landlord's view ... that the land was the absolute property of the owner." (7) Where the process of converting arable land into grazing for sheep was forced through, an indelible mark was left on the psyche of the crofter who concluded that the philosophy of 'improvement' led only to ... "a brutal betrayal of traditional custom and belief." (8) The Crofters' Act, by attempting to ensure security of tenure and limit the power and authority of landowners, guaranteed at least some kind of future for crofting. But the Act had its critics, notably John Murdoch, who stressed its failure to crush landlordism, and so enable land to be redistributed and restored to crofters. Nevertheless, as Hunter admits in retrospect, ... "whatever its inadequacies, the Act served ... to

maintain much that would otherwise have been lost." (9)

Allied to these tensions created by the combined pressures of an unsympathetic physical environment and the vestiges of prolonged economic and social unrest, a third feature gave the Highlands in 1900 a unique quality: its fragile Gaelic culture. The vulnerability of Gaelic, even in its habitat, was evident, victim of a decline in the struggle against national forces and human antipathy. (10) Only through usage could its survival be guaranteed. For decades, attitudes towards the language had been ambivalent. Alexander Stewart of Moulin, at the end of the eighteenth century, was confident that ... "industry and good order are not incompatible with the use of Gaelic and of tartan philabegs...". (11) Yet, within fifty years, Thomas Knox, the powerful Chamberlain of Lewis, suggested, on the contrary, that ignorance of English was ... "the great barrier..." against all advancement. (12) The foundation of the Gaelic Society of Inverness in 1871 and the formation of An Comunn Gaidhealach in 1891 redressed the balance and presented a somewhat more positive attitude to the language - albeit one imbued with vestiges of patronage and romanticism. In addition, by stressing the relevance of Gaelic to the community in general, John Murdoch attempted to re-invigorate a more constructive attitude towards linguistic diversification. "The language", he wrote in 1879

and what it contains are worthy of being preserved for the sake of the people whose they are. And it is not as a matter of mere sentiment that we advocate this preservation ... [but because] ... the self respect and the race respect which the preservation and cultivation of our language and love promote in our people are like fresh currents of life let into their veins ... to fit them better for all the duties devolving upon them as individuals and as clansmen. (13)

Regrettably, by the end of the nineteenth century, bureaucracy compounded by migration, inertia, snobbery, and a sense of shame, was sapping the initiative of Murdoch and others. Notwithstanding some bland encouragement from Sir Henry Craik, the indifference, and sometimes open hostility, of local authorities was creating a subordinate role for Gaelic in schools. In a clash with English, the language of commerce and government, an acidic elixir of dilution and obeisance provided no antidote to gradual decline.

These three environmental factors had, by 1900, helped to project a distinctive picture of life in the highlands of Scotland. Each was to remain an active force, reflecting attitudes, determining priorities and shaping policies. In few areas of government was their combined influence to be as potent a force as that experienced in education; in no part of the Highlands was the provision of education, its control, management and expansion, to be as intractable a problem as in the counties of Inverness and Ross and Cromarty; and nowhere in these two shires were politicians, administrators, teachers, parents and children forced to confront impediments as awkward as those found within some of the insular parishes.

* * * *

The administrative structure of education in the Highlands between 1901 and the 1918 did not differ in matters of general principle from that found in lowland counties and urban areas of Scotland. Nor was the format of public control at variance with what existed elsewhere. Each Highland county had a complement of school boards relative to the size of its population and number of parishes. Although there were minor fluctuations between the two census returns of 1901 and 1911, boards were not affected. Inverness-shire, for example, retained thirty-seven of them although its population dropped from 90,104 in 1901 to 87,272 by 1911; while Ross and Cromarty continued to have thirty-five in spite of the freak rise of 1.2% in population from 76,450 in 1901 to 77,364 in 1911. Apart from the burgh of Inverness, with its population of approximately 25,000, all other communities in the north and west of Scotland counted their inhabitants in hundreds or, at most, in a few thousand; ranging from some like Glenshiel with 339, Applecross and Arisaig with 1440 and 1571 respectively, a relatively compact Kingussie with around 2,464, to the very scattered parishes in Lewis such as Barvas, Lochs and Uig with their population of 6953, 4750 and 4462. (14) But while the cities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh or Glasgow had a wide choice of candidates able to stand in school board elections - philanthropists, academics, doctors, lawyers and clerics - Highland parishes, with the possible exception of Inverness, found themselves invariably short of people with a comprehensive range of experience and knowledge. Triennial elections for the

Inverness board returned a high degree of clerics, together with a small coterie of lawyers, traders like clothiers, fishmongers and coal merchants, or the occasional housewife. Parishes such as Kingussie relied on a more restricted range of personnel - ministers of religion, small farmers, a craftsman and a merchant, and sometimes the manager of a large hostelry. Isolated townships like Applecross had virtually no choice beyond ministers of religion and farmers. In a few rare cases landed families - notably Macpherson - Grant at Insh and Alvie and MacKintosh at Moy - were active members of their local school boards. (15)

With this rather narrow range in local executives, some of the consequences felt in local communities were not unexpected. Many elections, as shown in the accompanying table of data from contrasting areas (Table 1), went uncontested; and there were a number of failures - a trend which exacerbated the existing low level of interest. (16a) In very small parishes the management of individual schools came increasingly under the control of a few individuals. Healthy debate, therefore, was restricted. (16b) Administratively, the school boards may have been, as Paterson maintains, ... "close to the people ...". (17) On the whole, however, the people displayed remarkably little concern for board activities. Commenting on this problem, a correspondent from Shetland, writing to the Secretary for Scotland in 1908, stressed how parents felt helpless and even ... "educationally disfranchised ..." in local contests although, paradoxically, able to take a fuller part in parliamentary elections. (18) Furthermore, not only school boards but also other organisations of local government suffered from the same impediments. Parish councils in Barra, North Uist and South Uist, for instance, ceased to function in 1906 because of a very high level of resignations among elected members. New elections proved abortive and two permanent officers of the Local Government Board for Scotland, together with a solitary serving parish councillor, had to be authorised to carry on the duties of the respective councils for a temporary period. (19)

While the maintenance of local autonomy and the continuation of an active role by the community was of crucial importance to the process of democratic government, trends such as those noted above presented education authorities -

Table 1

Results of School Board Elections from Selected Areas 1900-09

COUNTY	No. of Sch. Brds.	1900			1903			1906			1909		
		C	U	F	C	U	F	C	U	F	C	U	F
Aberdeen	92	39	48	4	40	46	5	49	39	2	49	39	2
Argyll	46	22	21	3	15	27	4	15	24	3	15	24	3
Banff	25	11	11	3	11	10	4	13	12	-	13	12	-
Dumfries	45	10	31	4	17	24	4	15	29	1	15	29	1
Fife	70	25	43	2	21	45	3	30	38	1	30	38	1
Inverness	37	13	22	2	16	19	2	19	17	1	19	17	1
Lanark	50	23	23	3	24	25	-	24	24	1	24	24	1
Peebles	14	1	13	-	3	11	-	3	10	1	3	10	1
Perth	79	16	59	3	24	49	5	27	48	2	27	48	2
Perthshire	23	10	13	-	10	13	-	10	12	-	10	12	-
Ross	35	19	13	3	19	15	1	16	17	2	16	17	2
Sutherland	13	6	5	2	8	5	-	9	4	-	9	4	-

C: contested; U: uncontested; F: failures

NB: Not all results were available when the tables were compiled.

(Ref: 16a)

particularly in Highland areas - with formidable logistical problems. Moreover, any changes in the organisation of education were likely to have repercussions more serious in isolated rural districts than in large centres of population. The dilemma was clear. Against the background of severe natural hazards and grossly inadequate communications, a desire not only to keep local elements in management but also to encourage parental interest in schools had to be balanced against the need to create a more efficient, professional system of organisation, as well as establish a foundation for the expansion of educational opportunities. Much of the debate was conducted in the context of the physical environment. It was pointed out, for example, that on the west coast ... "an island constituted a parish...". (20) If two or more islands such as Iona and Mull or Coll and Tiree were united to form a district education authority, holding meetings could be exceedingly difficult. (21) Exercising proper administrative control over some small schools in Ross and Cromarty was already a problem, and if a new format based on a county authority became the accepted pattern in Sutherland, local opinion could hardly be represented, given a scattered population of 20,000 spread over an acreage of 1,296,000. Any educational unit based on such areas would become ... "absolutely unworkable." (22) Furthermore, a parish-based authority acted ... "as a healthy check on the laxity of conduct of teachers in outlying districts ...", (23) and the abolition of such a system would not only be very expensive but would also encourage children to stay at school and, therefore, create, in the opinion of MacKintosh of MacKintosh, ... "a nation of short-sighted, pallid clerks, and not labouring men for the land." (24) On the other hand some school boards, like Urquhart and Glenmoriston, favoured the idea of a larger administrative unit because it would help to remove ... "most ... educational grievances." (25) Larger organisations, it was stressed, were more efficient. More equitable systems of rating could be formed. (26) Disputes between neighbouring parishes could be prevented. (27) Not surprisingly most school boards tended to oppose changes in organisation if changes implied a transfer or loss of control. Some authorities - occasionally - raised no objection to transfer when it was determined ... "solely by educational considerations", but they gave no precise account of what they had in mind. (28)

Professional bodies, too, favoured larger units. Even the E.I.S., however, warned that the ... "danger of an unduly large area is that the work of administration would almost of necessity fall into the hands of officials and this everyone would deprecate."(29)

* * *

Most organisations possess some useful protecting mechanism. In any attack from predators, whether reformist or reactionary, arbiters of all systems, including education, use these mechanisms to emphasize the value of existing criteria and established practices. They do this in a variety of ways: by stressing success, efficiency, popularity and, above all, by appealing to what is usually termed 'the common good'. Seldom, however, will it be admitted that the essence of their argument lies in a desire to maintain self-interest and preserve a power base. Neither the defenders of Scottish school boards nor the budding mid-wives of a system of enlarged authorities subscribed openly to any belief in personal self-advancement. Nonetheless some of their ambivalent attitudes towards changes in methods of administration, especially in discussions on the possible adoption of new, enlarged areas of control, contained elements of cant and opportunism. But in comparison with some who ran school boards in lowland and urban parts of Scotland, those in the Highlands seemed least concerned with the trappings of power. Unfortunately they were also the individuals who were obliged to administer locally an education service based upon a national pattern; and, more so than in any other part of the country, they were forced to do this on the least satisfactory levels of financial support from the rates.

The S.E.D. was not unaware of the problem. In 1888 the Department had stressed how increasing difficulties in administering the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 in the Highlands were serious enough even ... "to threaten the very existence of the schools". (30) The core of the issue lay in the doubtful ability and - sometimes - the unwillingness of many parish councils to provide sufficient funds to support school boards. Certain boards, notably in the Outer isles, had suffered extensively from a dearth of essential finance. They had adopted questionable administrative practices like the raising of bank loans in order to try to overcome fiscal imbalance, a

method regarded by Henry Craik as ... "at once illegal and extravagant." (31) In addition, some boards, aware of parental poverty, agreed to dispense with fees rather than apply for payment from parochial authorities. By abandoning these useful sources of revenue, the boards, in the opinion of Craik, committed not only illegal acts but also imposed on themselves a financial burden shouldered in other parts of Scotland by the parents. Furthermore, Craik complained, the payment of rates in Highland areas was too often left to landowners alone; ... "such a state of things", he concluded, "must sooner or later ... break down the whole system upon which local and Imperial taxation and administration are based." (32)

In an attempt to resolve the worst aspects of these problems, a Minute was issued by the Committee of Council in December 1888. It contained special provisions applicable only to parishes in the counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland. These provisions stipulated that wherever a parochial board failed to allocate its dependent school board the sum of money necessary to overcome financial deficiencies in any school fund, an additional 'special' grant was to be paid by the S.E.D. At the same time, the Department appointed three managers, one of whom had to be the senior H.M.I. for the district, to take charge of the management of each school. (33) Commenting later on subsequent developments relating to the 'special' Highland minute, John Struthers observed that the extent of the additional grant to impecunious boards depended entirely of course on ... "the necessities of the case" . But it was, he believed, a device which had provided many boards - possibly for the first time - with a reasonably sound financial basis. (34)

Not everyone shared this view. John Dewar, Member of Parliament for Inverness-shire, was critical of the effectiveness of the Highland minute. Pointing out that the average rate for education throughout Scotland was 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the pound, he contrasted this with variations in his own constituency, where one parish had an education rate of 4s 0d and another a total parish rate of 13s 4d . While accepting that the special minute had eased matters, he suggested that most Highland parishes were relatively still poor. (35) Evidence shows that, in general, Scottish rates of

assessment per pound rose between 1898 and 1914. The effect of this rise, however, was far more drastic in Highland than in lowland counties, with the most severe strain being experienced by insular parishes in Inverness-shire and Ross and Cromarty. All rate increases were passed on to the school boards. Between 1900 and 1914 the gap between the lowest and the highest school rates in Scotland widened. For example, in 1901 it lay between 1½d and 2s 9d in the pound. By 1907 the range extended from 1d to 3s 9d. In 1910 it stretched between 1¼d and 8s 0d in the pound and by 1914 the limits lay between 1d and 5s 9½d. Only in principal cities were gaps in the rate increases not too significant. In contrast, the rates levied by small Highland school boards varied enormously. That for the school board district of Insh remained fairly low throughout the pre-first world war era, being 3d in 1901, rising to only 4d by 1907 and remaining at that level until 1914. Inverness burgh had a rate of 1s 8d in 1901 and 1s 11½d by 1914. On the other hand, school boards in the Outer Isles showed more dramatic leaps and higher levels. The island board of Barra, both in 1902 and 1904, was rated as 8d in the pound. By 1907 it had jumped to 3s 9d, dropping to 2s 10½d in 1914. But it was in three school boards on Lewis where the greatest flux occurred. In Barvas the rate of 9d in the pound was levied in 1901. This rose marginally to 1s 0d in 1904, plunged to 1d in 1907 and climbed sharply up to 5s 9d by 1914. Similarly the rate of the Lochs School Board dropped from 1s 0d to 4d between 1901 and 1907 and then escalated to 3s 9d by 1914. In the whole of Lewis only the school board rate of Stornoway enjoyed relative calm, with a slow rise from 1s 2d in 1901 to 2s 5½d by 1914. (36)

These erratic variations created a genuine problem, both for schools and for the S.E.D. Each community's educational needs was at the mercy of fluctuation and unpredictability within its own financial domain. Administrators and educationists, however, were required by law not only to balance economic necessities against the higher idealism and political pragmatism upon which a national system of education had been built, but also to ensure that that system functioned efficiently, and provided the kind of intellectual diet considered to be appropriate for the maintenance and

development of a civilised society. Therefore, they had to be answerable to organisations outside their own limited empires; organisations which could, when required, apply pressures for change. In this context neither the S.E.D. nor the school boards could remain cocooned in a cloak of administrative and managerial exclusiveness.

Of the public bodies exercising authority over general matters of government in the Highlands, the Local Government Board for Scotland (L.G.B.) was probably the most powerful. The Board was aware of the burden of rates on the poor and that few had suffered as severely as those living in the Outer Hebrides. In 1906 it carried out an inquiry into the question of Hebridean rates and its report, presented to parliament, provided a rather grim analysis of existing conditions. (37) In Lewis it found that high rates were caused partly by low rents and partly by having ... "frequently on the croft, one house ... sometimes even two houses, owned and occupied by cottars or squatters, which are not included in the Valuation Roll, and in respect of which neither rent nor rates are paid". Yet, cottars enjoyed the local amenities. (38) The report went on to draw a distinction between rates payable by crofters, other non-crofting tenants and the proprietor of the island, Major Duncan Matheson. The total assessment imposed on three of the parishes - Barvas, Lochs and Uig - was £5,351:9:5 ½ d. Of this, Major Matheson paid £4330:19:0, and the other ratepayers £1020:10:5 ¼ d. In contrast, the bulk of the rates levied in the remaining parish and burgh of Stornoway were paid by the general ratepayer. Throughout Lewis, the combined total rates extracted from ordinary payers was £5011:8:5d, with Major Matheson's own additional contribution being £4976:4s:0d. In concluding their survey on Lewis the commissioners stated that, given the resources available, the ... "rates cannot be said to be unduly burdensome on the crofters ...". In cases of hardship, appeals against assessments were possible. "The average crofter, however, "they suggested, "is quite able to pay the local rates." (39) But they did agree that, without the additional Highland grant from the S.E.D. to the parishes of Barvas, Lochs and Uig, their rates ... "would long ere ... have been unbearable." (40) In a separate section, and with particular reference to education, one of the commissioners noted that from 1874,

when compulsory school rating began, the increase in the total annual parish rating levels in Barvas had risen from 4s 4d to 16s 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the pound by 1905. (41) Out of this he felt that the sum allocated for education, and its increase from 6d in 1896 to 1s 0d by 1905 was ... "not abnormally high." (42) Yet he wondered if it was necessary, in order to get a true impression of the pressures on local authorities, to question whether rentals in insular parishes bore ... "a smaller relation to the means of the ratepayers than they [did] in the mainland." Were rents, together with rates, he asked ... "a greater burden in the Lews parishes than in parishes of a similar character on the mainland." (43)

The commission's report on Barra, North and South Uist and Harris presented an even more disturbing picture. Education, found Sheriff Fleming, provided evidence of considerable mismanagement. He pointed out, for example, that the estimated expenditure on schooling in Barra, without including the assistance of the Highland grant, was £213:0:0 in 1905 and £283:0:0 for 1906. And yet in preceding years the average expenditure per annum had been about £70:0:0. The sudden and substantial increase had arisen because of a need to spend over £2000:0:0 on school buildings and houses for teachers. "These sums", stated Fleming, "they are able to meet by borrowing, but the interest on these loans and the instalments of repayment mean a considerable addition to their annual expenditure." Moreover, he continued, the parish council in Barra in 1904-05 had failed to assess in full for what was required. Consequently it had had to borrow an additional sum of £88:0:0 from the bank. Because of this overdraft, and other requisitions, expenditure for 1905-06 included ... "not only the exceptional demand for the year but carried forward balance of the demand for the previous years." Fleming condemned the methods used by both the parish councils and the school boards; and he concluded that not only had they ... "taken very little trouble to ascertain the true facts ... before proceeding to act as they did ..." but that their conduct had also seemed ... "the more inexplicable in consideration of the fact that those two bodies consist, to a large extent, of the same individuals." (44)

How did the Department react to these revelations? Struthers felt that the

report of the Board provided potentially useful material for future dealings with school authorities. (45) On the other hand, the draft copy of the report, which he had received in advance of publication, clearly displeased him, and no part of it more so than Fleming's general conclusions on school rates. The policy of the S.E.D., wrote Fleming,

... in requiring buildings of a class possibly not unsuited for a wealthy mainland parish to be erected in these islands where they seem palatial in their surroundings, and to be equipped with the most approved system of gravitation water and sanitary appliances in a county where such things are practically unknown, and to be completed with a walled-in playground on a bare hill-side, must of necessity cost a great deal of money. (46)

Struthers found this passage utterly objectionable - but not because of the value judgments contained it. Preferring not to comment on the accuracy of Fleming's interpretation of S.E.D. policy, (but clearly wishing to do so), he informed Sir Reginald Macleod of the Scottish Office, without hesitation, that ... "I think you will agree with me that this passage ought to be deleted in the event of the report being published. It is unusual", he added, "for a person appointed by one Government Department to undertake to explain the policy of another Department without previous conference and agreement with that Department." (47) Macleod concurred. "The Reporter", he wrote, "has given facts and impressions but when this report comes to be published by a Sister Department remarks of the kind which can only be of the latter nature are inappropriate." (48) The 'impressions' were indeed deleted. The published document merely noted that school rates in Barra, the Uist and Harris were high ... "and must continue high until the loans for school buildings have been paid off. As the cost of building in these parishes is much greater than on the mainland", it concluded, "the burden is so much the more increased where it is less easily borne."(49)

Departmental sensitivity notwithstanding, it was evident that the S.E.D. was becoming increasingly anxious about the rates issue. An internal departmental memorandum, penned a few months before the publication of the Local Government Board inquiry had drawn attention to the ... "very striking disparity..." between the

policies of different parishes. The key factor in any school rate, it said, was the ... "liability of a School Board." Throughout Scotland there were three categories of county rates. The cheapest form of education was provided in urban areas. Most Highland authorities were placed in the highest and most heavily rated group. Although parts of Argyll and Ross had low rates, the cost of education in them was high. Schools had to be built and maintained even though attendances were small.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It was not surprising, therefore, for Struthers to be told, during the passage of the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1908, that ... "an agitation labeled [sic] economy would carry a sweeping majority against increased rates..." and that the creation of enlarged education authorities would resolve the rates issue. ⁽⁵¹⁾ Although sympathetic to possible hardships he feared, in response, that it would be ... "very hard indeed to convince the average member of Parliament ... that a district with high valuation per head of population deserved special consideration. The point of view which appeals to them is exactly the opposite...". ⁽⁵²⁾

Clearly, therefore, the structure of management coupled in the system of rating contained factors limiting the maintenance of existing provision as well as the possible expansion of education in the Highlands. It is, however, the prime responsibility of any executive, once in office, to initiate action. To facilitate this process and make it effective, an administrative network is created. As the ideas of the initiator develop momentum, so the bureaucratic machinery of the administrator acquires its own complexity. When the two processes fail to relate to each other, control weakens. In the ensuing period of growing frustration and incompatibility, ideas may be jettisoned or, alternatively, the stronger of the two partners may attempt to lead the other.

Scottish education by the early decades of the twentieth century seemed, in some respects, to be moving towards this trap. Political heads of the Scotch Education Department tended to be transitory figures, while key positions in the bureaucracy were occupied by long-term career administrators. Neither had any specialist knowledge of the Highlands and even fewer of them possessed a sympathetic understanding of the psychology of the Gaelic highlander. ⁽⁵³⁾ Both

operated a state service in need of reform. Unfortunately, at all levels, the political will to generate reforms was weak. Furthermore, the bodies which needed to be changed were the same as those responsible for devising, approving and applying proposed changes. Consequently, these obstructions, coupled with the difficulties created both by the environment and by the idiosyncracies of history, left the S.E.D. and the school boards in the Highlands to work within a limited framework, answerable to the super-structural authorities of national and local government. Inevitably, the process of education suffered. Manifestation of this suffering were found in many parts of Scotland, but few in such extreme form as those in the Highlands and in three key aspects of schooling: staffing, accommodation and attendance; health; and expansion of educational opportunity. But in Highlands there was also an additional - and unique - quality forming part of the educational experience: the Gaelic dimension.

* * * *

Insufficient staffing had been for decades a characteristic of many schools in the Highlands. Coupled with this problem was the question of efficiency, professional competence and reliability. At Insh in 1903, for example, the contract of the teacher had to be terminated because of his assault on the school cleaner. (54) Within four years the head teacher at Kinlochlaggan school was removed to an asylum in Inverness because of conduct ... "quite unbecoming a teacher of youth...". (55) Less than twelve months after his appointment in 1917 as headmaster of Applecross school, Alexander Stuart, a Glaswegian, was dismissed, with the support of the S.E.D. and under the terms of section 21 of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908, for what was judged to be ... "his defiance of the authority of the Board." Late in opening the school, but closing it early, he was accused of ill-treating his pupils with punishment ... "so severe that many cases had to be sent to the local doctor for cure." (56) Sometimes, as on the isle of Eigg in 1908, parental pressure was strong enough to ensure the dismissal of a teacher for incompetence. When the local board dallied in carrying through the final stage, the parents complained to the S.E.D. which, in its turn, reminded the board that ... "recent reports on the school ... have not been very satisfactory." (57) But boards were occasionally inconvenienced by

teachers who accepted appointments and later rejected them in favour of better posts elsewhere. (58) Such occurrences, when reported to the S.E.D., elicited no particular sympathy. The Department merely pointed out, as it did to the Portree school board in 1913, that any solution for that kind of problem rested with local management. Examples of such conduct were ... "probably of fairly frequent occurrence, and while inconvenience is caused to the Board, one cannot help sympathising with the teacher's position." (59)

While the above instances indicate teacher unreliability, school boards could be equally guilty of using arbitrary methods of dismissal and ignoring the validity of teaching contracts. Pressing the government on this issue, the E.I.S. requested measures to ... "procure an unbiased Court of Appeal for Teachers." (60) Pursuing the issue, the S.E.D. sought clarification from the Local Government Board, and with particular reference to the rights of appeal of Medical officers of Health, Inspectors of the Poor, and Sanitary Inspectors in the event of their dismissal by local authorities.(61) Struthers was informed that ... "the mere existence of the power to check dismissals deters local authorities from making attempts to dismiss for insufficient reasons." (62)

Keeping open small schools in remote and insular parishes, with insufficient resources and inadequate machinery, was a perpetual difficulty. The Inspectorate offered its advice. It was suggested that more pupil-teachers could be used; but the idea was dismissed. Such apprentices, pointed out H.M.C.I. Robertson, often lacked both the mind and the character to stimulate scholars. While welcoming the government's additional grants, he believed that it would have been better to have had the grant used ... "in securing and retaining teachers of a higher type rather than a greater number of them." (63) Enlarging administrative areas to increase rateable outlay was another possibility. (64) This idea, put forward by another member of the Inspectorate, Munro Fraser, was clearly too controversial and politically sensitive. Less contentious was a proposal to pay more adequate salaries to teachers in the Highlands, and at the same time, give them closer parity with their colleagues in the south. (65) But it was recognised that boards ... "with a school rate already pretty high

are reluctant to add to their liabilities.” (66)

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Much of the recruitment and retention of teaching staff in the Highlands depended on the quality of school buildings and housing. On Harris in 1897 scattered population and access problems had caused severe strains ... “in this heavily burdened parish ...”. (67) Lack of school heating gave one visiting inspector a considerable surprise. “I found ink”, he wrote, “frozen on the benches next to the fire place.” (68) Some authorities tried to use guile to bring about improvements. Anticipating a change in the format of local control, the Kingussie school board in 1906 delayed adding new classrooms to the High School. Departmental pressure forced its hand, and J.L. Robertson was sent to open ... “spacious additions...” in 1907. (69) Fluctuating population, too, affected classroom accommodation. Increasing in Lewis, declining on Skye, the uncertainty ... “combined with the severe strain on local resources ...” caused local boards to construct ‘composite’ buildings ... “which are less expensive.” (70) Growth in coastal fishing towns, as in Mallaig after the arrival of the railway in 1901 and in the wake of immigration by east coast fisherman, led to demands for more teaching space. (71) Similarly, the boarding-out of pauper children from southern Scotland turned native-born children in some communities into minority groups. Re-building had to take place to cater for these wavering elements and school boards had to accept the responsibility for carrying it out. (72) In addition, provision of housing for teachers compounded their difficulties. Barra school board, for example, had to provide houses at Castlebay, but trusted that this would ... “induce their teachers, who often find it difficult to obtain suitable quarters, to remain in their service.” (73) And the Harris school board cooperated with the Congested Districts’ Board to build a school house at Northtown in 1907. (74) Generally, though, the standard of accommodation for both schools and housing remained poor, and this was often reflected in low pupil attainment and academic underachievement.

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Indifferent staff and inadequate accommodation affected levels of

attendance in isolated parishes as well as in urban areas like Inverness. A persistent theme in some districts before 1900 was frequent absences for potato gathering, herring fishing, peat cutting and stormy weather. (75) "Holiday taken, but not given", was the cryptic comment of one headmaster. (76) But there was S.E.D. suspicion, following inspectorial visits, that parents, at certain times of the year, were keeping their children at home deliberately, especially if they had to walk long distances over footpaths ... "which are in the winter season often impassible [sic]." (77) A complaint from the Inverness County Committee about attendances at Torrin, Skye, in 1921 led to an invitation to a member of the committee to visit the area in order to see the difficulties and thus have them ... "more fully understood." (78) Health, too, was another relevant factor. At Arisaig in 1907 it was reported that long periods of whooping cough and scarlet fever had caused at least 25% of scholars to attend school for less than 75% of the time. (79)

What sanctions were applied to try to overcome these deficiencies? First, head teachers could bring pressure on parents; but without backing, this could have only marginal effects. Second, and more effective, was action by administrators. The Convener of Inverness Finance Committee in 1902 urged parents to provide ... "what should be one of the chief inducements..." to their children - the prizes of scholastic training. Within two years he was reporting considerable improvements in attendance at all the burgh's schools, with the exception of the secondary department of the High School, where the average attendance for the financial year ending in April 1904 was 143 out of a total of 244 on roll, thus enabling the school to maintain its ... "unenviable pre-eminence as the worst-attended school ...". (80) By far the most efficacious measure for raising the attendance was the use of Article 19(b) of the Scotch Code. Under this article, payment of grants to schools with persistently poor attendances could be suspended - as happened at Arisaig in 1907. Supervision, or disallowance of the grant under this section of the code, could, as Macdonald noted, have ... "a salutary effect ..." although he found some schools committing irregularities such as removal of names from school rolls in order to ensure that they could claim the maximum grant under the code. (81) But the S.E.D. was not entirely happy about this

Article. Reflecting on the problems of attendance, Struthers remarked that average attendance payments ... "do grave injustice to the poorer districts and to efforts to provide instruction for comparatively few." (82)

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Another feature of the development of education in the Highlands, and one which had important repercussions for the relationship between education and other areas of public control and management, was health. It was an aspect forming part of that persistent drive for large scale social changes which had been one of the more distinctive legacies passed on from the mid-nineteenth century. Alleviating poverty, eradicating excessive injustice, raising standards in housing and public health came to be accepted as desirable objectives in their own right. That they were also a means of advancing working standards and creating a more buoyant economy could not be ignored. Tradition sometimes obstructed the tactics of the reformers. The authority of parliament to legislate in such matters was questioned as were the motives of local initiators. Critics of proposed changes ... "hated to be taxed for the provision of services which they still regarded with some suspicion." (83) But while active idealists emphasized the beneficial effects of social amelioration, one of the more successful catalysts creating a greater awareness of the need for improved standards in the general health of the public came from the growing evidence of poor levels of physique among recruits to the British army fighting in the South African wars. Concern with this issue undoubtedly assisted the architects of the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1908 to propose general powers to school boards to use money from the school fund "for the preparation and supply of meals..." in schools and also to establish an optional medical examination for pupils ..." except where the Department ... thinks it necessary that it should be undertaken." (84)

These developments made amends for previously unsuccessful attempts by members of the infant parliamentary Labour party to establish some kind of statutory school provision for welfare. (85) In a Scottish context, however, the real progenitor of the welfare aspects of the 1908 Act was the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) published in 1903. (86) Among its more significant

recommendations the Commission called for thorough sanitary inspection, proper methods of ventilation and cleansing, the appointment of county medical officers of health as consultants to school boards, and for the feeding of pupils. On this last point the Commissioners were indecisive as to whether a voluntary or a statutory provision should be made. (87) In this respect their attitude simply illustrated the rather delicate political nature of the subject and its relationship with rates and the general cost of supplies.

Much of the evidence gathered for the report came from urban and lowland areas; but its recommendations were to apply throughout Scotland. Did these recommendations have much bearing on conditions in Highland schools? In the light of growing public awareness about the relationship between standards of health and educational performance, was pressure put on education authorities in the Highlands to institute reforms? If so, what was the nature of this pressure and from where did it come?

In a large geographical area, with variations in terrain, climate and communications, conditions could not be uniform. Nevertheless, the worst excesses were not confined to the more remote parishes. Aspects causing particular concern were, first, the combined problem of water and sanitation and, second, the question of feeding school children. Water supply in some districts was unreliable. For example, at Urquhart and Glenmoriston the supply to the parish school came from a spring, free of charge, and granted on the instructions of the Earl of Seafield in 1873. A dispute between the Seafield estate and the Urquhart School Board began in 1881 over a question of sharing the water between the school and the manse. When repairs were required to be carried out in 1901 it became clear that no formal agreement to supply water had been entered into the by school authorities, so the board was forced to install a system at its own expense. (88) On Eigg, scholars had to carry water uphill to the school. (89) Parents at Insh found eels in the school's water supply. Although the school board installed a filter system, it broke down within six months. (90) Sanitation had more disturbing deficiencies. At an infant school in Inverness the floor of the closets sloped away from the drain. In the burgh's High

School, during wet weather, urinals and closets had ... "mixed water and urine ... standing in the back parts of the urinal to a depth of about one inch, so that any child using the seats would have its boots soaked in the mixture." Urinals used by the senior boys were small and caused congestion ... "though not the same mess [as with young children] as their habits are better." (91) An inspectorial report on Balmacara school revealed that ... "the ordure in one of the offices is exactly where it was two years ago." (92) Lavatories in some schools in Caithness and Sutherland were ... "so primitive and physiologically so absurd that the older pupils, particularly the girls, are unable to use the offices at all." (93)

The other cause for concern was the feeding of children. Voluntary effort had been taking place before 1900, but it had often to rely on haphazard donations.(94) Moreover philanthropy ... "very often relieves the parent of work that he ought to do." (95) But the diet in the home could be of poor quality. On being asked if children in the west Highlands had ... "given up porridge and broth, which used to build up the constitution, and gone in for tea and slops ...", Dr William Bruce agreed that this was so. (96) Volunteer feeding in schools, therefore, was seen as one method to counteract such deficiency. (97)

Attempts to eradicate the worst of these excesses came both from within the education system and in the form of pressure from without. In the report of the Royal Commission it had been stressed that school boards ... "should have the command of medical advice and assistance ..." and that specialist medical and sanitary staff should be appointed to the S.E.D. team .(98) Reacting to these recommendations, the Department, through the Inspectorate, developed a positive interest in school health. Emphasis was laid on the connection between good ventilation and academic performance and on the importance of ... "filtering scientific... conceptions of hygiene through all classes of society." (99) Particular concern in the Highland was focussed on cleanliness of buildings. Success came only slowly, with one inspector noting that ... "the attempt to make the floors thoroughly clean is like trying to wash an Aethiopian white." (100) Medical inspection of children could be equally unrewarding. At Applecross in 1912 parental opposition kept children away from school following an

alleged report of a discovery of vermin by the medical officer. The problem developed into a conflict between the parents and the head teacher and gradually into one between the head and the school board. The S.E.D. absolved the board from any parental accusations of responsibility for events. Eventually, the head resigned, retracted the resignation within days, but had it confirmed. As for school meals - a more sensitive political issue - the Department continued to encourage school boards in the Highlands, and elsewhere, to think in terms of voluntary effort but ... "without cost to public fund." (101)

Pressures from sources outside the control of school boards and the S.E.D. were rather more effective in counteracting health irregularities and in encouraging the improvement of conditions in schools. Medical Officers of Health, for example, had power to make frequent school visits. G.A. Lang in Inverness used these powers effectively and wrote detailed, sometimes quite startlingly critical reports, when he found matters that were medically unacceptable. Authority for these visits was located in the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1897 and in the Local Government Board for Scotland. The Act gave the Board, in all matters of public health ... "the central authority ..." with powers "to inquire into the sanitary condition of any district..." and inspect ... "all schools and school children ... just like all other institutions." (102) Following its inquiry into sanitary conditions in Lewis in 1905, and its revelation of general standards of hygiene and sanitation far below what would have been tolerated in the worst slums of urban areas, the Board instructed all sections of local authority in Lewis, including the school boards, to take prompt and efficient action to remedy the worst facets of the problems. (104)

Paradoxically, in spite of the efforts of the Board, the S.E.D., the Inspectorate, and individual medical officers to try to establish improved standards in public and private health, success was slow. In at least some parts of the Highlands people remained impervious to the enthusiasm of the authorities. Reporting to The Treasury in 1913, (105) the Highlands and Islands Medical Service Committee noted that in South Uist the produce of the croft, apart from potatoes, was not used except to be sold for cash. Fifty per cent of children went to school ... "on a breakfast of tea

and loaf bread...". (106) Despite warnings about rotting teeth causing diseased jaws and even tuberculosis, (107) children were abandoning oatcakes in favour of ... "softer substitutes." (108) While administrators and doctors detected defects, apathy, carelessness and poverty counteracted their success. Nevertheless while drawing attention to the insignificant level of the Treasury grant of £7,500:0:0 for necessitous children in Scotland, the Committee greeted it ... "as a step in a direction which is of vast importance to the well-being of the community." (109)

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In reviewing an article on the key role of classical languages in education, written by Professor George Ramsay in the winter of 1912, (110) The Scotsman felt that he had presented his arguments ... "with cogency, with moderation, and with ... a considerable degree of success...". (111) But, noted the Dundee Advertiser: "Like porridge, Greek does seem to have lost charm for the Scot." (112) Within a few months W.J. Gibson, Rector of the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, was examining the curriculum in more general terms, with particular reference to secondary education in Lewis. (113) In addition, however, his examination also contained some mild criticism of what the author felt was a lack of inspectorial concern for higher education in rural primary schools. (114) Together, these two contributions by Ramsay and Gibson provided a useful platform for an increasingly popular topic and for the organisation promoting it: the Association for Securing Higher Instruction in Scottish Rural Schools. Founded in 1912, the Association pressed for a return to older Scottish patterns of schooling when ... "education of a sterling character was open to all ranks of her people...". As Anderson points out, it was a subject that ... "clearly struck a chord in Scottish public opinion ...". (115) With encouragement from some MPs, such as Munro Ferguson and Eugene Wason, and galvanised into action by Professor John Harrower of the University of Aberdeen, the Association spearheaded an attack on S.E.D. restructuring of post-primary education in thinly-populated rural areas. Responding to what were said to be complaints about loss of access and educational opportunities, together with ensuing expense and inconvenience, the Association carried out a survey among Aberdeenshire schoolmasters to try to determine the

extent of the loss. (116) The Department felt that it could not ignore this kind of development. McKinnon-Wood, the Vice President, was briefed with some statistical data for a public response intended to refute Harrower's ... "misnaming the policy of the Department a policy of 'centralization' and representing in season and out of season that it means the prohibition of the teaching of secondary subjects in primary schools." (117) Additionally, the Department agreed to meet a deputation from the Association. That meeting took place on April 10, 1913. (118) On the following day Struthers replied in some detail to the Association's criticisms of the Department. Centralization, he stressed, did not mean that recognition of a school as a 'centre' implied that ... "there and there alone in that district was higher education to be given." Where access was difficult, school boards had to provide some form of feeder service. This was done, Struthers pointed out, in Lewis which had only one secondary school but twenty-six other establishments carrying on some form of higher education. (119)

These two meetings did not end the exchange of views. Ramsay supplied the Department with data on schools in different parts of the Highlands, but the accuracy of his information was questioned. (120) In addition, the Association was encouraged by the Court of the University of Glasgow, but in a statement so bland that it managed to be complimentary both to the Association and the S.E.D. (121) Even so, the Department had an ally in the United Free Church which wished ... "to draw men ... away from the disgracefully prejudiced and misleading and futile line taken up by Ramsay, Harrower and Co's. precious 'Association'...". (122) By relying on trust and confidentiality, Andrew Scougal, Secretary of the Church's Education Committee - and a former Inspector - allowed Struthers access to the draft copy of the annual report of that Committee so that he could comment and offer advice which would be beneficial to the two men in their attempts to dampen public criticism of the Department's policy on higher education in rural schools. (123) "You", wrote Scougal, "kindly gave us facts up to date: and those we simply pass on, for the confusion of the ignorant and the prejudiced." (124)

While the Association's main thrust was against what it saw as a decline in

higher education in rural primary schools, the real problem in the Highlands was a lack of adequate provision for secondary education. At the end of the nineteenth century the three counties of Argyll, Inverness and Ross had only four secondary schools each. (125) In spite of bursary schemes, the number of available places was low. Between 1908 and 1909 each parish in Inverness-shire, for example, with a population below 1,500, could offer only one intermediate bursary, and even those with a population of 4,000 and above could offer only four. (126) As the accompanying tables indicate (Tables 2 and 3), very little had changed by 1918-19. (127) Competition for these and every kind of bursary was severe. (128) Pupil success depended to a considerable extent on support given by teachers and managers. Theoretically secondary education was available for all; but - as Gibson admitted - the reality in Lewis at least was different. (129) Struthers conceded this. In correspondence with Principal MacAlister, concerning ordinances and bursary regulations for the preliminary examination at the University of Glasgow, he observed that bursaries tended to go ... "in undue measure to the pupils of the better-staffed and better-taught schools - to be found, as rule, in the wealthier districts...". Even there, he confirmed, the advantages went to comparatively well-off pupils ... "whose home influences and atmosphere reinforce the school training." (130) Few in the Highlands had these advantages. One attempt, however, was made in 1913 to try to extend provision. An Comunn appointed a committee to examine the possibility of founding not only a technical college but also a university and a teacher-training centre in Inverness by diverting funds from the Highland Trust. (131) While the scheme was looked upon as ... "a sheer waste of money ...", (132) the S.E.D. saw in it at first .. "a lever to secure improvement..." in the efficiency of the Trust. (133) In the end nothing came of the proposals. Struthers felt that ... "not only is the project visionary and impracticable but its ultimate success, if that were possible, would be a thing to be deplored rather than otherwise." (134)

* * * *

Staffing, accommodation and attendance; problems of sanitation and physical health; provision for post-primary work: each of these elements formed part

Table 2 Scheme for regulating the Distribution of Intermediate Bursaries during the Session 1908-9.

No.	Parish or School Board	Population	No. of Schools	No. of Bursaries
1.	Insh	317	1	1
2.	Small Isles	495	3	1
3.	Alvie	515	3	1
4.	Croy	579	3	1
5.	Glengarry	722	2	1
6.	Laggan	738	3	1
7.	Moy	761	3	1
8.	Dores	835	4	1
9.	Bracadale	872	3	1
10.	Kilmuir	948	2	1
11.	Daviot	999	4	1
12.	Arisaig	1079	4	1
13.	Stenscholl	1185	3	1
14.	Abernethy	1279	4	1
15.	Petty	1291	2	1
16.	Kirkhill	1296	3	1
17.	Kilmonivaig	1435	3	1
18.	Glenelg	1475	6	2
19.	Ardersier	1594	1	2
20.	Snizort	1649	4	2
21.	Sleat	1665	7	2
22.	Boleskine	1766	6	2
23.	Urquhart	1828	6	2
24.	Kingussie	1895	3	2
25.	Kiltarlity	1919	6	2
26.	Duthil	1995	4	2
27.	Kilmorack	2007	5	2
28.	Strath	2152	7	2
29.	Barra	2545	5	2
30.	Portree	2781	8	2
31.	Duirinish	3367	8	2
32.	Kilmallie	3797	6	3
33.	North Uist	3891	13	4
34.	Harris	5271	11	4
35.	South Uist	5516	11	4
36.	Inverness (Landward)	5808	8	4

(Ref: 126)

Table 3 Scheme for Regulating the Distribution of Intermediate Bursaries for Session 1918-19.

No.	School Board	Population (Census 1911)	No. of Schools	No. of Bursaries
1.	Insh	291	1	-
2.	Small Isles	396	3	-
3.	Glengarry	590	1	-
4.	Alvie	564	3	-
5.	Moy	668	3	-
6.	Laggan	754	3	1
7.	Dores	781	4	1
8.	Bracadale	805	2	1
9.	Kilmuir	887	2	1
10.	Daviot	907	4	1
11.	Stenscholl	1077	3	1
12.	Croy	1101	3	1
13.	Abernethy	1228	4	1
14.	Kilmonivaig	1234	4	1
15.	Kirkhill	1237	3	1
16.	Arisaig	1176	5	1
17.	Petty	1263	2	1
18.	Sleat	1373	7	1
19.	Glenelg	1638	6	2
20.	Urquhart	1675	6	2
21.	Snizort	1694	5	2
22.	Kiltarlity	1856	5	2
23.	Boleskine	1804	6	2
24.	Ardersier	1913	1	2
25.	Duthill	1943	4	2
26.	Strath	1959	7	2
27.	Kilmorack	2094	6	2
28.	Kingussie	2199	3	2
29.	Portree	2431	8	2
30.	Barra	2620	6	2
31.	Duirinish	3093	8	3
32.	North Uist	3677	14	3
33.	Kilmallie	3704	7	3
34.	Inverness (Landward)	3736	7	3
35.	South Uist	5383	14	4
36.	Harris	5449	11	4
				57

NB: From numbers 1-5 inclusive there were no bursaries in 1918, and from numbers 6-10 there were no bursaries in 1919.

Method of Allocation:

Population not exceeding 1500 (13 S.B. areas)	1 Bursary
Above 1500 and less than 3000 (12 S.B. areas)	2 Bursaries
Above 3000 and less than 4000 (4 S.B. areas)	3 Bursaries
Above 4000 (2 S.B. areas)	4 Bursaries

(Ref: 127)

of the characteristic pattern of education and social life throughout the Highlands of Scotland between the death of Victoria and the advent of the first world war. But the manifestation of their close interaction was experienced at its most forceful and least ambiguous in the Outer Hebrides, especially in Lewis. Of all the parishes granted additional financial support under the terms of the Special Highland Minute of 1888, only three in Lewis - Barvas, Lochs and Uig - together with four on Skye, were continuing to receive this aid by 1910. Increasing concern about the implications of this grant for the management and control of education was being felt by the E.I.S. In 1908 the Institute began collecting data on the conditions of schooling in Lewis. Its report, issued in 1910, was directed at the S.E.D. (135) Much of the dissatisfaction and frustration felt by the Institute towards the policies and attitudes of the Department, not only in Lewis but also in large parts of the Highlands - and even beyond - seemed to seep into the report. Six major critical conclusions were stressed. First, conditions in school buildings with regard to cleaning, water supply and general sanitation were bad ... "and in some cases dangerous." Second, fuel to heat schools should be supplied by the boards rather than carried to school daily by children. Third, staffing in too many schools was ... "deficient to such an extent as to imperil educational efficiency." Fourth, salaries were .. "unduly low ...", with unjustifiable irregularities between teachers in Barvas, Lochs and Uig and those in Stornoway. Fifth, the system of management was unsatisfactory. The S.E.D. representative had to satisfy the Treasury against over-spending, preserve a balance between school boards and teachers and encourage educational development; while, at the same time, ... "exercise an economy so strict that it can with difficulty, if at all, be distinguished from parsimony." Finally the Institute pressed for a substantial increase in school rates, for squatters to be made to contribute to the costs of education and, pending reform of the rating system, for the special grant to be maintained - and even increased.

How did the S.E.D. react? Initial response came from J.L. Robertson in his capacity both as a senior inspector and also as the Departmental nominee on the managing body of the three school boards named in the report. (136) He agreed that

further economies were impossible. Raising salaries to a level comparable with schools in the South would be ... "entirely beyond the capacity of these Boards." Staffing, admittedly, was a difficult problem to resolve satisfactorily. More fully-trained and efficient teachers were required. "It is easy", declared Robertson, "to get an unsatisfactory teacher into Lewis: it is difficult to get him out...". The Commission's criticism of the management was rejected as being liable to distort the relationship between the Department and the boards. And as for the heating - the objectors were confined to - ... "a few non-natives."

Additional response from the Department came in August 1910 when Lord Pentland, the Vice President and Secretary for Scotland, paid a visit to Stornoway during a holiday cruise. Meeting representatives of the three boards of Barvas, Lochs and Uig, he expressed in somewhat patronising terms his belief that ... "they had little to fear from outside criticism of their administration so long as they did their duty." Financial aid to school boards generally was, he said, under consideration. When staffing was plentiful the Boards would find ... "that they had acted wisely in being patient." (137)

The Scotsman, in an editorial, regretted that the visit had not taken place earlier. Although amateur investigators tended to ignore local conditions, it felt that the indictment of the E.I.S., both on the managerial ability of the boards and on the role of the Department, was a grave matter. (138)

Predictably the school boards rejected the case of the E.I.S., (139) and the Medical Officer of Health for the parishes found the strictures on water supply and sanitation to be ... "reckless and unfounded." (140) Nevertheless the Institute pressed its attack further by issuing a second memorandum in September 1910. Most of it reiterated the arguments put forward in the original report, but stressed that its action in Lewis was ... "intended wholly to increase the efficiency of education and improve materially the position of both teachers and pupils." (141)

Charles Orrock, Chairman of the three boards of Barvas, Lochs and Uig responded in October 1910, in letters both to Pentland and to Educational News. (142) Rejecting the accusations of the E.I.S., Orrock reported that some of its

interviewers had been exceedingly perfunctory in their investigations, that joint management with the Department had been beneficial, as had delay in appointing teachers. Carrying peat to schools was an old-standing tradition, while he felt that the boards were ... "not inclined to face, even if they could, the affliction of theoretical or urban standards to rural conditions."

Following these letters, the E.I.S. seemed to terminate its investigations. Within three years, however, it returned to the attack on the S.E.D. The Lewis branch of the Institute issued a statement (143) accepting that geographical disadvantages, poor social amenities, remoteness, monotony and mental strain were taken for granted by teachers in the island; but it questioned the inadequate levels of salary. At the same time, in a separate statement, (144) the national executive of the Institute pressed for more enlightened views on higher education in rural areas, improved coordination and correlation between levels of administration, and better promotion prospects for teachers. Response to these criticisms within the Department was slow. Writing to the Vice President in April 1914, (145) Struthers displayed little sympathy with the plea for increased salaries, and any implied comparisons between teaching and other professions such as medicine were dismissed with impunity. No satisfactory remedy would be possible without changing the system of appointing teachers, he maintained. Lewis received large subsidies from the Department, but rates were high and financial rewards low. Consequently the school boards on Lewis could employ ... "only the leavings of the profession ..." or those ... "of unsteady habits who have drifted to the Lews as a last resort."

* * * *

By 1900 the established pattern for administering and financing education in Scotland was no longer really effective, nor could positive responses to society's changing needs be forthcoming without reforming schools and re-structuring the curriculum. In the Highlands, however, Gaelic gave this educational system an added dimension, providing administrators and practitioners with an issue of fundamental importance for some communities but one which was almost totally irrelevant to others, especially to those living in areas outside the shrinking boundaries of Fior

Ghaidhealtachd.

Recent research has stressed the decline in the use of the Gaelic language, following the clearances and agricultural depressions, and coupled with ... "attitudes accumulated over centuries of cultural and linguistic conflict." (146) The percentage of Gaelic speakers in the core counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland dropped consistently between 1881 and 1921. (147) Much of the responsibility for this decline, evident in all Gaelic-speaking districts throughout Scotland, has been attributed to the inferior status accorded to the language within the educational system. Schools used forms of curricula - such as History with an English bias - irrelevant to Gaelic communities. (148) Shaw Grant, with reference to his own experience in pre-1914 Stornoway, has pointed out how Gaelic-speaking business-men tried to ... "divest themselves of Gaelic...", (149) while bilingual teachers ... "approved without question the anti-Gaelic policies they were asked to pursue." (150) Half a century later Martin Macdonald reflected that what Portree Secondary School had offered to him was ... "essentially an alien plan to tap us for another community Our Gaelic community could take us no further than the fank or the fishing boat or the hill, it was implied. Nor was it encouraged to." (151) Derick Thomson, nevertheless, maintains, there was a dilemma for the education authorities after 1872 in so far as Gaels had to be prepared for working in districts outside the Gaeltachd; and ... "some recent educational theorists have forgotten the powerful logic of that position, but few Highland teachers, and especially Headmasters, could afford to forget it." (152) Crichton Smith, on the other hand, brooks no compromise on the issue. "There is", he writes, "no question that a language holds a community together in its various manifestations, and that to have to learn a new language in order to be educated at all is a dangerous and potentially fatal attack on that community and those who form part of it." (153) In contrast, MacKinnon has drawn attention to a more popular - if somewhat less rigorous - facet of Gaeldom by referring to the success of organisations such as An Comunn Gaidhealach in promoting what he terms the non-political aspects of Gaelic culture as found in festivals like the Mod. "No doubt", he says "the neutral stance of the Gaelic movement at the turn of the

century provided its strength." (154) But was it neutral ?

During the first two decades of the present century a number of organisations with an interest in Gaelic responded to central government's plans for education. The Greenock Highland Society, during the debates on the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1904 pressed for additional support for Gaelic by the S.E.D. (155) Similar sentiments were expressed by the Glasgow - Ross and Cromarty Benevolent Association (156) and the Glasgow-Inverness-shire Association. (157) The Highland Trust spoke of districts with ... "thousands of children ..." arriving at school age unable to speak a word of English. Moreover, it went on to draw a parallel between Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland and other multi-lingual parts of the Empire such as Malta where the Colonial Office required children to be taught in their vernacular ... "and the same principle has been applied in India." The existing education code in Scotland, the Trust believed, failed to recognise the needs of Gaelic-speaking children and provide them with ... "the same benefits from education as children who use the English language as their vernacular." (158) Of all these organisations though, the two most influential were the Gaelic Society of Inverness and An Comunn. The Gaelic Society, through its meetings and its published Transactions, gave considerable moral as well as financial support to Gaelic. "Not only has it stimulated research", declared W.J. Watson, Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh, "but it has also helped to increase the prestige of the Gael at home and abroad, and especially has it helped to increase our own respect for our language and our history." (159) An Comunn, however, with its nation-wide organisation, probably carried more political weight in so far as it had the ability to gather together and to lead a variety of organisations working on behalf of the Gaelic community. Its Education Committee was to take an active part in the campaign to include specific proposals for Gaelic in what became the Education (Scotland) Acts of 1908 and 1918.

Even if a stance of political neutrality by Gaelic cultural groups were accepted, no such role could be attributed to local government and professional organisations. In all areas of public policy - including the Gaelic question - their reactions were overtly political and flexible. The Convention of Royal Burghs, at its annual conference in

1905, expressed no surprise at the enthusiasm for Gaelic in the Highlands. But while the Lord Provost of Dundee observed that the Boers were exacerbating linguistic divisions in South Africa, his counterpart from St. Andrews believed that ... "if you teach boys to speak French and German, that equips them far better for the battle of life than teaching them Gaelic." (160) Similarly many Highland school boards were somewhat ambivalent in their support for the language. Both the Stornoway and Inverness boards were to reject arguments in favour of compulsory Gaelic advocated by An Comunn during the passage of the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1908. (161) Some boards allowed Gaelic to be used - albeit with rather eccentric stipulations. In Glenbrittle, for example, religious education was to be given in Gaelic ... "on alternate days...". Bible reading was to be in Gaelic but the catechism in English ... "as they understand that better." (162) Occasionally, too, reactions towards Gaelic by individual members of local school boards could ruffle relationships with the S.E.D. For instance, in 1901 the Duke of Atholl complained to the Secretary for Scotland about the attitudes of a government inspector who ... "does all he can to oppose and cry down the Gaelic." The Duke requested his removal ... "to the low country where his ears would not be annoyed by the sound of Gaelic." (163) Craik, in his response, was equally forthright. He felt the Duke's letter to be ... "very silly and ill-considered." He went on to declare, and perhaps unwittingly betray the Department's preferred approach to methods of teaching Gaelic, that if the Duke wished to encourage ... "the study of an interesting but (so far as Perthshire is concerned) vanishing language, the proper way to do so is by means of a bursary or a prize at the University." (164) Lord Balfour of Burleigh, in his reply to the Duke, feared that, in some parts of the Highlands, the use of Gaelic ... "as the only domestic language interposes a serious barrier to the well-being and prosperity of the rising generation." (165) As for the hapless inspector, his interjection was seen as ... "a mere 'lubricator' for the routine work of the examination...". (166) Of all the professional and educational authorities, the sternest opposition to Gaelic came from the E.I.S., notably at local levels. While W.J. Watson, at the annual conference of the E.I.S. in 1903, pleaded on behalf of including Gaelic in the Leaving Certificate, (167) local branches were less

sympathetic. Noted the retiring chairman of the Wester Ross branch in 1906: ... "our chief and most important duty is to impart an English education to our pupils. Should we wish to teach French, Gaelic or any other language ... it must not interfere with the all-important English." (168)

Although interested partisans had drawn the attention of successive Secretaries for Scotland for the need to establish a more definitive role for Gaelic in Highland schools, it was the passage of the Education (Scotland) Bills of 1908 and 1918 that provided the sustained publicity for the cause. The initial impetus for Gaelic to be included in the 1908 Bill came from the Education Committee of An Comunn. It put forward three proposals. First, Gaelic should be taught in Gaelic-speaking areas (an imprecise definition), with instruction given both in language and literature. Second, a special grant should be allocated to school boards to enable them to appoint Gaelic-speaking teachers and that this grant ... "should be a first charge on the sums to be expended in Highland districts." Third, ... "participation in this residue grant shall be conditional on adequate provisions being made...". (169)

The three proposals generated much interest. Considerable response followed their circulation. Church authorities - Roman Catholic, United Free Church and the Church of Scotland - indicated their support. (170) Predictably many branches of An Comunn found them acceptable. (171) Nevertheless, there were exceptions. For example, William MacKay, an An Comunn trustee, founder of the Gaelic Society of Inverness and a member of the burgh's school board, opposed any form of compulsion, because of its concomitant problems such as the staffing of schools and increasing pressures on the rates. (172) Similarly Principal MacAlister of the University of Glasgow found compulsion unacceptable. (173) School boards were lukewarm in their support for the proposals with some, such as Bowmore, Glengarry, Port Ellen, Tarbert-Argyll, Balquidder, Dingwall, Eddrachillis and Golspie opposing compulsion while the boards of Barvas, Lochs and Uig emphasized that the formal teaching of Gaelic would curtail time devoted to English. (174) Press reaction was equally hostile to compulsion, and to many of the proposals generally. The Glasgow Herald believed they would bring no benefit to the Gaelic language and regarded any

comparison with Welsh as invalid. (175) The Aberdeen Free Press (176) and the Inverness Courier (177) were against compulsion. While the Educational News (178) feared the proposals interfered with the local autonomy of school boards, The Scotsman suggested that the problems of education in the Highlands could not ... “be removed or resolved by the sentiments of admiration for vanished or vanishing greatness and beauty ... or provision being made for instruction in the Gaelic tongue.”(179)

Parliamentary support for the An Comunn proposals were not over-enthusiastic either. (180) Put forward in amendments to the 1908 Bill by Lamont (Liberal - Bute), the Standing Committee found little favour with them. Craik (Conservative - Glasgow & Aberdeen Universities) felt compulsion to be impracticable and Dewar (Liberal - Inverness-shire) noted the inadequacy of teacher-supply in the Highlands. But Morton (Liberal - Sutherland), Bignold (Liberal - Wick), Munro-Ferguson (Liberal - Leith) and Jones (Liberal - Arfon) spoke in their favour. Sinclair, the Secretary for Scotland, underlying the burdens implicit in any compulsion, devised an additional alternative amendment placing the teaching of Gaelic on a voluntary basis provided the minimum requirements of the code were fulfilled. In accepting the revised form, compulsion was rejected by the Standing Committee and the amendment passed. To Craik the change was ... “merely shop window dressing.” At the Report stage of the bill, the amendment in favour of providing funds for Gaelic-teaching was debated. Lamont stressed the urgent need for financial assistance and improved staffing. Ainsworth (Liberal - Argyll), Pirie (Liberal - Aberdeen North), Weir (Liberal - Ross & Cromarty) and Boland (Irish Nationalist - Kerry) supported him, but Sinclair reasoned in favour of the continuation of existing grants to local authorities rather than create a new central fund. Lamont’s amendment was defeated by 192 votes to 109.

When the question of the status of Gaelic re-emerged in the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1918, the form and phraseology of proposals allowed more room for discussion and compromise. They were regarded as being more ... “elastic...”, and capable of providing a reasonable basis for bilingual education in the Highlands similar

to that found in Wales, Ireland, Quebec and South Africa ... "where language problems have, by generous state provision, been successfully surmounted." (181) An Comunn urged provision for future education authorities in the Highlands to establish schemes of instruction for Gaelic and to distinguish between those schools where the use of the language would be essential and others where it would be available ... "if desired." (182) Support for the idea was sought from Highland societies. When a delegation of religious denominations met Munro, the Secretary for Scotland, they underlined a need for parish ministers in Gaelic-speaking areas to be able to preach in the vernacular. (183) But this unity was tempered by the Vicar Capitular, Bishop MacKintosh of Fort William, who opposed compulsion. (184) The Inspectorate also urged against compulsion. Munro-Fraser stressed there had been no change since 1907 ... "and if anything is done by legislation to interfere with the present freedom of choice possessed by School Boards in regard to the teaching of Gaelic, I believe it will be regretted." Alluding to Ireland and Wales he noted that, in the former, Gaelic was linked to separation, and in the latter nationality was ... "so strong that it craves for expression in a manner that would not, I believe, command itself to Highlanders. The result is, I believe, very indifferent English speaking in North Wales". (185) Similarly Robertson, reporting on Lewis, said there was reaction against any form of ... "interference with the work of the schools." He felt local authorities should be allowed to choose. (186) Press reaction, too, was no more enthusiastic than in 1908, with The Glasgow Herald feeling that any forcing of Gaelic on English-speaking children, or employing only Gaelic-speaking teachers would be, ... "retrogressive and susceptible of working mischief...". (187)

The debate on the Gaelic question in the House of Commons was sponsored by Morton (Liberal - Sutherland) and seconded by Macpherson (Liberal - Ross & Cromarty). The latter, a Gaelic speaker, wished the language to be regarded as an essential subject but regretted that school boards ... "do not regard it as their duty out take the initiative. They look for that to my Lords of the Education Department ...". He drew the inevitable parallel with Wales and asked for similar privileges to be given to children in the Highlands. (188) Support for the Gaelic case came from Maclean

(Liberal - Peebles & Selkirk), Holmes (Liberal - Govan), Whyte (Liberal - Perth), Boland (Irish National - Kerry) and Wilkie (Labour - Dundee). Two members - Craik (Conservative - Glasgow & Aberdeen Universities) and Pringle (Liberal - Lanarkshire North West) - opposed the amendment. However, Munro, on behalf of the government, accepted the inclusion of the amendment into the bill. Gaelic, therefore became a compulsory subject in the elusive Gaelic-speaking area. Education authorities, on the other hand, were given no additional financial or staffing resources to implement policy and a declared intent was often to remain unfulfilled.

Throughout these nearly two decades of publicity and controversy emanating from the precarious position of Gaelic in its imprecise heartland, what role was played by central bureaucracy? Following strong recommendations from the Napier Commission, the S.E.D. had recognised Gaelic as a specific subject in 1885 and had passed the responsibility for implementing this decision onto the school boards. Durkacz suggests that this devolution was used in order ... "to avoid acrimony..." (190) The Department, however, retained a sensitive interest in the Gaelic question. Twenty-one years later, in March 1906, it agreed to provide a sum of £10 to every school in the Highlands where a Gaelic-speaking teacher gave ... "instruction both in Gaelic and English ...". (191) In reality, this decision ended any kind of covertly circumspect role played by central bureaucracy in the linguistic issue. And, furthermore, the growing popularity and pressure from public debate was sufficient to ensure that the S.E.D. would have to begin to take a more active part either in the promotion - or even demotion - of Gaelic. Of course, the granting of additional funds made the S.E.D. answerable to the Treasury for the manner in which such funds were deployed. It became impossible for the Department, therefore, to maintain a passive stance.

The special grant of £10 was not given without establishing Departmental safeguards. One aspect of such safeguards was an inquiry carried out by the Inspectorate between late February and early March 1906. (192) This inquiry, and the subsequent publication of the Minute of March 1906, provided not only statistical data but also some indication of the attitudes to Gaelic among relevant members of the

Inspectorate. The inquiry was carried out by five senior inspectors. They were asked to gather numerical data on two specific aspects: first, to provide a list of schools attended by pupils whose vernacular language ... “outside the school...” was Gaelic; and second, to state if they also spoke English. Additionally, the inspectors were required to indicate those schools where there was at least one Gaelic-speaking teacher. Collation of the data revealed confusion rather than reassurance. Robertson advised that further official guidance to accompany the Minute was necessary. Was the grant available only to those schools where children could be classified as Gaelic speakers on enrolment? Or could it be allocated to institutions providing instruction in Gaelic to pupils with only a minimum or even no knowledge of the language? (193)

In his reply Struthers gave clear guide-lines to be followed by the Department. No grant was to be given ... “unless a substantial section of the pupils are genuinely Gaelic-speaking...” before entering a school. Teachers had to have ... “a native knowledge of Gaelic ... and use it to instruct the pupils.” Moreover, he added, while a teacher could use time in teaching literature to Gaelic-speaking pupils on supplementary courses ... “we will most emphatically not pay for such instruction of non-Gaelic speaking pupils only. We must not have Gaelic treated as the old ‘specific’ subject Latin or French.” (194) To this extent, therefore, the Department had already moved forward since the acrimonious correspondence between Craik and the Duke of Atholl in 1901.

Departmental concern with the success or failure of the grant experiment was not, however, shelved. By February 1907 (195) the Inspectorate was invited to propose amendments to the Minute of March 1906. Munro-Fraser pointed to evidence of a continuing belief ... “sedulously fostered by unofficial persons...” that the grant would be given for teaching Gaelic as a specific subject. (196) Robertson confirmed this trend, adding that there was ... “a recrudescence of the more unreasonable type of Gaelic agitation ...”. This, he feared, was likely to be ... “very bothersome...” but needed to be resisted. (197)

Confirmation of the misuse of the £10 grant came when F.H. Lindsay, one of the Department’s three senior examiners, studied the effects of the grant in

December 1907. He presented an unsatisfactory conclusion, noting that very few school boards had used the grant to obtain Gaelic-speaking teachers and that ... "in most cases they have been content to go on as before and to accept the £10 if paid as a welcome windfall." There was no guarantee that vacant teaching posts would be filled by Gaelic-speaking teachers. Furthermore, the grant seemed to be paid even when headteachers did little more than speak occasionally in Gaelic to senior classes while leaving younger children in the hands of non-Gaelic speaking assistants. (198)

The Inspectorate, following its report to Struthers in February, and with Lindsay's additional evidence, met in December 1907 to re-examine the question of the grant. Its conclusions were unequivocal. (199) First, native Gaelic-speaking teachers should be employed where Gaelic was the sole language of the youngest children. Second, school boards should retain the right to appoint teachers and this right should not be ... "abridged by any regulation of the Department." Third, bilingual teaching in junior classes should be encouraged. Fourth, the grant should be refused ... "where a spiritless attempt was made to teach Gaelic to older and non-Gaelic speaking pupils on the lines of the old 'specific' subjects either from pecuniary motives or from a belief that the resuscitation of the Gaelic languages was a bounden duty in all districts that are geographically Highland." Finally, the Inspectorate agreed that, if the £10 grant was insufficient to attract Gaelic-speaking teachers to the Highlands, it ought to be increased.

Within two months, Struthers requested a further report on the £10 grant.(200) Ostensibly this was required as part of his preparation to meet the deputation from An Comunn in connection with proposals for the emerging Education (Scotland) Bill of 1908. Again, he stressed a need to know the number of schools where Gaelic was ... "really necessary as a means of instruction in the various subjects taught." The Inspectorate responded with considerable celerity. (201) Munro Fraser considered it essential to have Gaelic-speaking teachers in 24 schools and that they could be used very effectively in another 72 schools. Robertson made no division and listed 96 schools. Macdonald, on the other hand, believed ... "it often advantageous for a teacher to know Gaelic, but does not think that there is any case in

his district where it is necessary.” Finally, McKechnie thought there were ... “probably no schools where it would be a serious matter not to have a Gaelic-speaking teacher.”

This response from the inspectors, reported by Lindsay, is remarkable as much for evidence of inspectorial attitudes as for the accompanying statistical returns. Macdonald’s district included the whole of Sutherland and the insular school board districts of Inverness-shire, while McKechnie covered Wester Ross. Consequently, both men were responsible for schools in key Gaelic-speaking communities. In his memorandum to Struthers, Lindsay drew attention to these omissions, noting that Macdonald ... “might safely have given 24 schools in North and South Uist ...” and that McKechnie could have listed at least some schools in Applecross, Gairloch, Lochalsh and Lochbroom.” Struthers agreed. With the addition of about 30 schools, Lindsay calculated that the four counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland had a total of approximately 230 institutions where it was considered advisable for the youngest children to be taught by Gaelic-speaking teachers. Nevertheless, in a revealing comment containing more than a touch of Departmental circumspection, Lindsay remarked that ... “in every one of these cases a Good English speaking teacher will get better results without using a word of Gaelic than a bad teacher who can speak Gaelic and probably does so too frequently.” Finally, in another memorandum accompanying the detailed list of schools from the four counties, (202) Lindsay suggested that since the £10 grant remained part of the terms of the General Aid grant, the Department ... “should be prepared to state whether any specified school would be *prima facie* eligible for such a grant, [and] this we could do without difficulty.”

By 1918 this degree of self-confidence within the S.E.D. was less pronounced. A Departmental memo, (203) neither signed nor dated, argued that in Gaelic-speaking areas, the new local authorities envisaged in the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1918 would be the bodies to decide where languages were to be compulsory or optional, and if a local authority

... by any chance does not see fit to carry out what is said to be its duty there is no real power in the Department to compel them to do it. The only effective remedy in the case of a recalcitrant authority would be to deprive them absolutely of their powers

for the time being, and for the Department to step in and administer at their own hand the scheme which they thought the proper one. Any such proceeding is, of course, out of the question.

Moreover, Departmental opposition to pressures from over-enthusiastic advocates of Gaelic seemed to be based on a fear of being tied down by ... "other bands of enthusiasts who will want the local authority to be compelled to make provision for the teaching of their favourite subject...". Eventually, therefore, the memorandum's author concluded, the whole Code would have to be reassembled, thus depriving local authorities of their freedom of choice and initiative.

These exchanges reveal something of the nature of the delicate balance in the affinity between the S.E.D. and the Inspectorate as well as that between central and local authorities. In a larger context, however, they also draw attention to the more general relationship between the authority of centralised bureaucracy and the freedom of public representatives to discuss major issues concerning the state direction and control of information. At Question Time in the House of Commons on June 3, 1908, Lamont asked the Secretary for Scotland to provide details of individual schools in each Gaelic-speaking county which had a teacher capable of reading and writing in Gaelic. Sinclair's reply was clear. Such a return, he said, could not be made ... "in the form asked for without making special investigations." All he did was to provide total figures for these schools in Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland claiming the Gaelic grant in 1907-08. (204) Within two weeks, Lamont repeated his question in a wider form, requesting where the government felt Gaelic-speaking teachers were ... "considered necessary and desirable ...". Again, Sinclair maintained that the question was unanswerable in so far as each case lay ... "within the discretion of the school board of the district ..." and that ... "it would serve no good purpose to make a return stating merely the Department's opinion on the point." (205) The same topic recurred in January 1913. In a written parliamentary answer McKinnon-Wood, at that time Secretary for Scotland, replied that any ... "question of the extent to which Gaelic shall be taught in schools in Scotland is one for determination primarily by the school board of each district, who in this matter it is

presumed will be guided by the wishes of their constituents...". (206) Yet in at least two of these examples detailed information was available, collected in 1906 and 1908. Did Struthers, therefore, fail - deliberately or by accident - to inform his political superiors? Were succeeding Secretaries of Scotland simply stalling when dealing with the Gaelic issue in the Commons? If so, why? Was the question so politically sensitive that a disclosure of data could be used by opposition parties to try to topple the government? Given the comfortable majorities enjoyed by the Liberal administration, particularly during its first term in office, such a possibility was inconceivable. So, were answers to the parliamentary questions indications of distaste with, or lack of interest in, Gaelic? Alternatively, were they illustrations of the utter unimportance of the issue, not only to the S.E.D. but also to the greater majority of Scottish MPs? Or do they simply confirm Smout's interpretation (207) that it was people - as individuals - and not necessarily the Department, who were the real Gaelic antagonists?

* * * *

History, geography, geology and climate in the Highlands of Scotland combined to challenge all prepared plans and policies, no matter how imaginative their intent or beneficial their declared aims and objectives. Education throughout the region between 1900 and 1918, particularly in the two counties of Inverness and Ross and Cromarty, suffered from an inheritance of an old-established system of organisation no longer capable of withstanding pressures for reform or of appealing to the mind of the mass of the body politic. Controlled to a considerable extent by tight, yet unreliable, levels of finance from local sources, and with a centralised machinery almost equally circumscribed by the forces of the Treasury, school boards had at their disposal little more than an irreducible minimum to build, staff and maintain their schools while, at the same time, having to ensure that they fulfilled requirements laid down by other government administrative bodies possessing either advisory or mandatory powers. Unique among all other regions in Scotland, the Highlands had a distinctive and - to the Anglicised majority - an alien, foreign culture. The S.E.D. grappled with this phenomenon and with what it felt to be the eccentricity of the Gael.

With the exception of a rare few in the Inspectorate, neither the Department as an organised instrument of government nor John Struthers, its permanent administrator, really understood or took much interest in Gaelic culture except in some of its more outward frippery. The mind of the Gael and, most significant of all, his language - fragile, and at the mercy of attack even in the core of its own domain - was beyond his comprehension. Yet, the charge that Struthers ... "was a notorious anglicizer ..." (208) and, therefore, implicitly anti-Gaelic is unjustified. More than anything else he was an administrator, answerable to his political masters and to the mandarins of the Treasury, with a mind concerned almost exclusively with the machinery of organisation and having little sympathy with any element which failed to fit into a set pattern, or which threatened to imbalance the skeleton of his tightly-controlled empire.

References

1. O'Dell, A.C., & Walton, K. The Highlands and Islands, Edinburgh 1962, p.37.
2. Nock, O.S. The Highland Railway, London 1973, pp. 65-66.
 "The line ... to the Kyle ... lay through typical Highland country, which meant heavy gradients, cuttings blasted through solid rock, the crossing of peaty and treacherous moorlands ... there was opposition to the route by some landowners in Strathpeffer Sir William MacKenzie proved implacably hostile, and through his opposition the whole enterprise hung fine It was the only case in the Highlands of Scotland where the selfishness and short-sightedness of influential landowners seriously affected the development of railways."
 Thomas, J. The West Highland Railway, Newton Abbot 1984, p. 136.
 "The education of the children living in isolated houses along the line presented a problem to the authorities At one period the children were picked up from their homes in Argyllshire ... and taken all the way across the western corner of Perthshire to their classrooms in Fort William, Inverness-shire In a school week they spent sixteen hours travelling and covered some 425 miles."
 Arisaig and Moidart School Board Minutes 1895 - 1918 in H.R.A. 5/24/1.
 12.12.1899 ... "irregular attendance at Glenfinnan School ... on the part of 'navvy' children ... , it is only since the importation of 'navvy' children the Department has had reason to complain of the attendance."
 15.2.1900. Railway operations severely damaging Glenfinnan School and cutting off the water supply. The school board taking steps to obtain compensation from the Company or the contractors.
 9.5.1901. Serious damage done to Glenfinnan School by railway operations ... "failing settlement within a reasonable time ... legal proceedings at the Board's instance should be taken."
 3. Smith, I. Crichton. Towards the Human, Edinburgh 1986, pp. 13-70.

4. Richards, E. A History of the Highland Clearances, London 1982, p. 498.
5. Campbell, R.H. Scotland since 1707, Oxford 1971, p. 176.
6. Gray, M. The Highland Economy, Westport, Connecticut 1976 (reprint), p. 246.
7. Smout, T.C. A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950, London 1986, p. 68.
8. Hunter, J. The Making of the Crofting Community, Edinburgh 1976, p. 215.
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Withers, C.W.J. Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981, Edinburgh 1983, Ch.10.
11. Old Statistical Account, vol. XII (reprint 1977), p. 763.
12. Evidence given to a Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament on Emigration in 1841 as quoted in the Report to the Secretary for Scotland by the Crofters Commission on the Social Condition of the People of Lewis in 1901 as compared with Twenty Years Ago, 1902, Cd. 1327, p. xxiv.
13. The Highlander, 22.8.79 as quoted in Hunter (1986) op. cit., p. 154.
14. Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland
County of Inverness, 1912, Cd. 6097 - XIX, pp. 1160-61.
County of Ross & Cromarty, 1912, Cd. 6097 - XXX, p. 1958.
The freak rise in Ross and Cromarty was caused by a visit of the Royal Navy to the Firth of Cromarty on Census day, and ... "but for the presence of these ships, the county population would have been ... 4.0 per cent ... less than the census population of 1901."
15. Inverness Courier, 23.3.00, 31.3.03, 23.3.06.
Applecross School Board Minutes, 1903, in H.R.A. 5/2/1.
Kingussie School Board Minutes, 1900 in H.R.A. 5/21/2.
Insh School board Minutes, 1900-10, in H.R.A. 5/20/2.
- 16(a) Table 1.
School Board Elections 1900 in B.C.C.E.S. 1900, Cd. 171, p.152.

School Board Elections 1903 in R.C.C.E.S. 1903, Cd. 1593, p.146.

School Board Elections 1906 in R.C.C.E.S. 1906, Cd. 2943, p. 97.

School Board Elections 1909 in R.C.C.E.S. 1909, Cd. 4779, p. 49.

- 16(b) Letter from J. Annan Bryce to James Bryce, 23.12.06 in MSS. Bryce Adds. 10.

Part of his letter provides data on what was a general problem in isolated rural communities in northern Scotland. It also gives an interesting reflection on the attitude of a newly-elected Liberal MP towards classes in the community he represents. Bryce refers to Dr Shorter (?) as being ... "the only doctor in Glengarriff. He is a good little man, and practically the only man of education at Glengarriff ...". I can quite believe that another magistrate is wanted at Glengarriff, as Simon White whom he [the doctor] mentions is the only magistrate now living there, and our landlord at the Castle is constantly drunk, and often away."

17. Paterson, H.M. Incubus and Ideology in Humes, W.M. & Paterson, H.M. (eds) Scottish Culture and Scottish Education, Edinburgh 1983, p.202.
18. Letter from Andrew White, Schoolhouse, Whalsay to Sinclair, 10.1.08, in S.R.O. ED 14/50.
19. Twelfth Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland 1907, Cd. 3470, pp.xxx-xxxii.
20. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 135, 13.6.04, col. 1519.
21. Letter from J.W. Melles to the Lord Advocate, 27.4.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/28.
22. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 135, 13.6.04, col. 1506.
23. Moy and Dalarossie School Board Minutes, 7.5.04, in S.R.O. ED 14/29.
24. Letter by MacKintosh of MacKintosh in The Glasgow Herald, 25.12.17.
25. Letter from Urquhart School Board to the Secretary for Scotland, 15.4.07 in S.R.O. ED 14/46.
26. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 135, 13.6.04, col. 1523.
27. Alvie School Board Minutes, 1898-1910 in H.R.A. 5/18/2.
Insh School Board Minutes, 1900-1910 in H.R.A. 5/20/2.

op. cit. 1900-1919 in H.R.A. 5/20/3.

Kingussie School Board Minutes in H.R.A. 5/21/2.

A dispute concerning payment for children from Alvie, being educated at Kingussie, began in 1873. Although legal action was resorted to in 1906, the dispute was still unresolved in 1912. At the same time a similar dispute, a by-product of the Alvie-Kingussie argument, was carried on between the Alvie and Insh School Boards.

28. Inverness Burgh School Board Minutes 1918, in H.R.A. 5/7/12.
29. Editorial in The Educational News, 23.4.04.
30. R.C.C.E.S. 1889, C-5800-1, p. xxxvi.
31. Copy of a letter from Craik, 27/8.11.88 to the School Boards of Barvas, Lochs, Uig and Harris in op.cit., Appendix, Part I, p. 97.
32. ibid., p. 98.
33. Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 21.12.88 in ibid, pp. 102-03.
34. Memorandum from Struthers to the Secretary for Scotland, 13.12.06 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/6.
35. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 134, 2.5.04, cols. 196-97.
36. Annual Reports by the Accountant for Scotland.
 Report for the year ending May 1901 in the Twenty-ninth Report 1902, Cd. 1150, pp. x, 24-25, 36.-37.
 Report for the year ending May 1904 in the Thirty-second Report 1905, Cd. 2751, pp. 24-25, 36-37.
 Report for the year ending May 1907 in the Thirty-fifth Report 1908, Cd. 4112, pp. viii-ix, 24-25, 36-37.
 Report for the year ending May 1910 in the Thirty-eighth Report 1911, Cd. 5644, pp. viii-ix.
37. Reports of the Local Government Board for Scotland on the Burden of the

Existing Rates and the General Financial Position of the Outer Hebrides,
1906, Cd. 3014.

38. op. cit., p. xxxi.
39. ibid., pp. xxxii-xxxiii.
40. ibid., p. xxvi.
41. ibid., p. xxxvi.
42. ibid., p. xlii.
43. ibid., p. lxvii.
44. ibid., p. xiii.
45. Letter from Sturthers to Sir Reginald Macleod of MacLeod, 3.5.06 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/6.
46. Copy of Extracts from the Draft Report by Sheriff Fleming on the Financial Position of Certain Parishes, January 1906 to the Secretary of the Local Government Board in ibid.
47. Letter from Struthers to Sir Reginald Macleod, 3.5.06 in ibid.
48. Letter from Macleod to Struthers, 3.5.06 in ibid.
49. Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland 1906, Cd. 3014 in op. cit., p. xiii.
50. Memorandum on Inequality of School Rates from F.H. Lindsay to Struthers, 21.2.06 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/22.
51. Letter from John Munro, Chairman of the Lorn Ironmongery and Yacht Depot, Oban to Struthers, 14.2.08 in S.R.O. ED 14/50.
52. Letter from Struthers to Munro, 19.2.08 in ibid.
53. Balfour, Lady Frances A Memoir of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, London 1924, pp. 73-74.

“B of B’ was no Highlander, but he had a half amused insight into their natures ... [and] ... as we have said, despotism, whether in Church or State, is the only thing that suits the Islanders. He did not like maladministration in any form, and he was quite aware that the Celt has always a keen eye to making money out of the management or mismanagement of ‘a Board’.”

54. Insh School Board Minutes, 1900-10 in H.R.A. 5/20/2.

55. Laggan School Board Minutes, 1901-18 in H.R.A. 5/22/5.

Although certified as insane, the cause of the insanity was not stated. The Board appointed the Head Teacher's wife - herself a certificated teacher - to run the school for a temporary period and hoped ... "that in the Providence of God he [her husband] may in due course be restored to health." He was not, and his contract was ended on Feb 18, 1908, five months after the original certification. His wife's appointment was terminated on the same day, but she was allowed to remain in the Schoolhouse until May 1, 1908.

56. Applecross School Board Minutes 1915-19 in H.R.A. 5/2/2.

Stuart was appointed to Applecross in April 1917 and began his duties in June. The Board's dissatisfaction with him became clear by October 1917, following absence at the funeral of a brother - who had failed to die! He established a relationship with a female assistant teacher ... "and they went together frequently and alone into the dwelling house ... His private relations with her the Board have no means of knowing." He failed to bring his family from Glasgow or occupy the Schoolhouse; but he claimed payment for an occupier's county and parish rates. From March 1918 the Board repeatedly asked for Stuart's resignation, and sent copies of the correspondence to the S.E.D. He was dismissed in June 1918 but appealed against the decision. Correspondence between the Board and H.M.I. J.L. Robertson continued until April 1919. No dates given beyond that date.

57. Small Isles School Board Minutes 1906-19 in H.R.A. 5/28/1.

58. Letter from Ronald Macdonald, Clerk and Treasurer of Portree School Board to Struthers, 4.1.13 in S.R.O. ED 18/1555.

Macdonald, Isobel A Family in Skye 1906-1916, Stornoway, 1980.

This book, written by Macdonald's daughter, gives an interesting account of the family's history from the late nineteenth century, in the context of social and political change.

Macdonald was the son of a crofter, educated at the University of Glasgow,

graduating in law. He became a bank manager, factor to the estates of Lord Macdonald, and eventually partner in the law firm of Macdonald and Fraser, Portree. He acted as clerk of the Portree school board. Married Elizabeth Blair Coats, a member of the Paisley family.

When the law firm moved its location in the 1970s, most of the records of the Portree School board were left behind in the old buildings. No trace of them has been found.

59. Draft letter from Struthers to Ronald Macdonald, written, but undated, on the reverse side of Macdonald's letter to Struthers, 4.1.13 in S.R.O. ED 18/1555.
60. Letter from the Fife branch of the E.I.S. to Asquith, 10.5.06 in S.R.O. ED 14/66.
61. Letter from A.D. Kerr (on behalf of Struthers) to the Local Government Board for Scotland, 5.2.08 in S.R.O. ED 14/65.
62. Letter from A. Murray, Local Government Board for Scotland to Struthers, undated in ibid.
63. R.C.C.E.S. 1904, Cd. 1974, p. 275.
64. ibid., pp. 275-76.
65. ibid.
66. R.C.C.E.S. 1901, Cd. 586, p. 572.
67. R.C.C.E.S. 1898, C-8909, p. 422.
68. R.C.C.E.S. 1901, Cd. 586, p. 547.
69. Kingussie School Board Minutes, 1905-17 in H.R.A. 5/21/3.
70. R.C.C.E.S. 1907, Cd. 3521, p. 443.
71. Education (Scotland) Northern and Highland Divisions, General Report for 1909, Edinburgh 1910, p. 5.
72. Education (Scotland) Highland Division, General Report for 1911, Edinburgh 1912, pp. 6-7.
73. R.C.C.E.S. 1905, Cd. 2521, p. 414.
74. R.C.C.E.S. 1908, Cd. 4085, p. 468.

75. Torrin (Skye) School Log Book 1898-1900 in H.R.A. 5/3/125.
76. Breakish, Broadford School Log Book, 31.5.00 in H.R.A. 5/3/112.
77. Laggan School Minutes, 17.2.02 in H.R.A. 5/22/5.
78. Skye School Management Committee, File No.2, 1921.
79. Arisaig and Moidart School Board Minutes, 20.9.07 in H.R.A. 5/24/1.
80. Inverness Burgh School Board Minutes, 6.5.02 in H.R.A. 5/7/3.
81. R.C.C.E.S. 1907, Cd. 3521, pp. 445-6.
82. Paper B, Secretary's Plan for the Distribution of Grants, to Sinclair, 24.2.06 and to Macdonald, 2.3.06 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/22.
83. Ferguson, T. Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914, Edinburgh 1958, p. 12.
84. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1908, Memorandum Explanatory of the Provisions of the Bill, Cd. 4051, May 1908, p.1.
- For a useful discussion on the growing importance attached to physical education for children see; Thomson, I.. The Origins of Physical Education in State Schools in Scottish Educational Review, vol. 10, no.2., 1978 pp. 15-24.
85. Education (Provision of Meals) (Scotland) Bill, 1906, 6 EDW. 7 [Bill 92].
86. Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1903, Cd. 1507, vol. 1.
87. op cit., pp. 28-37.
88. Urquhart and Glenmoriston School board Minutes, 27.11.01 in H.R.A. 5/16/3.
89. Small Isles School Board Minutes, 20.1.11 in H.R.A. 5/28/1.
90. Insh School board Minutes, 9.7.11 in H.R.A. 5/20/3.
91. Inverness Burgh School Board Minutes, 1903-05, vol. 4, in H.R.A. 5/7/4.
92. Lochcarron School Board Minutes, 24.8.08 in H.R.A. 5/11/3.
93. R.C.C.E.S. 1907, Cd. 3521, p. 443.
94. Alvie School Board Minutes, 16.4.06 in H.R.A. 5/18/2.
- The clerk of the Board was instructed to write to the MacKintosh of MacKintosh, reminding him of his non-payment, during the previous two

years, of a subscription to a soup-kitchen fund. In 1902 The MacKintosh and his wife had agreed to subscribe £5:0:0 per annum to this fund. Greeting the project with enthusiasm, he wrote: "Feed the body before the mind. If you want any Rabbits for the Kitchen let Fraser at Dunachon or MacBain at Inchreach know and quote this letter. The brutes are better making soup, 'as they can well do', than upsetting lairds and tenants or barking trees."

95. Evidence by Struthers in the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1903, Cd. 1508, vol. II, p. 9, q. 130.
96. Evidence by Bruce in ibid., p. 195, q. 5376.
97. Evidence by Struthers in ibid., p. 9, q. 133. Not all deficiencies could be counteracted by an improved diet alone. Nonetheless, Struthers had great faith in proper feeding. Thus: "Have you considered the question of children in country schools, who come long distances and arrive at school very wet, and sit in wet clothes all day? Do you not think that is rather a serious matter as regards health? I dare say its is. There, again, I should think if the children are well fed they can stand a good deal of that sort of exposure without any sort of ill consequences." Struthers had a reputation for his interest in the physical well-being of children. Not only did he give evidence to the Royal Commission, but he also served as a member of a committee inquiring into physical deterioration (Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, Cd. 2175), and was chairman of another committee examining physical education in the school curriculum (Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Education 1904, Cd. 2032). Despite this interest in physical education, he clearly failed to make a connection between sitting in wet clothing and the growing incidence of tuberculosis in rural areas. His assumption in the answer given to the Royal Commission's question seems, therefore somewhat naive.

Grant, J. Shaw Discovering Lewis and Harris, Edinburgh 1987, pp. 204-5.

"When the Lewis schools had their first medical inspection in 1912 ... it

revealed that the children's resistance to diseases such as consumption had been undermined in the classroom by cold, hunger and sodden garments. A decade later Lewis and Harris had the highest rate of tuberculosis in Europe."

98. Report of the Royal Commission, Cd. 1507, op. cit., p. 37.
99. R.C.C.E.S. 1908, Cd. 4085, p. 473.
100. R.C.C.E.S. 1907, Cd. 3521, p. 443.
101. Applecross School Board Minutes, 5.3.12. in H.R.A. 5/2/1.
102. P.G.A. 1897, 60 & 61 VICT. Public Health (Scotland) Act, Part I, Sect. 5,6,15.
103. Report to the Local Government Board for Scotland on the Sanitary Condition of the Lews 1905, Cd. 2616.
104. Eleventh Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland. 1906, Cd. 2989, p. Lvi.
105. Report to the Lords Commissioner of H.M. Treasury of the Highland and Islands Medical Services Committee. 1912, Cd. 6559. The committee, chaired by Lord Forteviot (formerly Sir John Dewar), included J.L. Robertson and Charles Orrock, Chairman of the Lochs, Barvas and Uig School Boards.
106. op. cit., p. 10.
107. ibid., p. 19.
108. ibid., p. 11.
109. ibid., p. 31.
110. Ramsay, G.G. Living and Dead Languages in The Teachers' Guild Quarterly, March 15, 1912.
111. Editorial in The Scotsman, 23.3.12.
112. Editorial in the Dundee Advertiser, 1.4.12.
113. The Scotsman, 20.1.13.
114. Letter from Struthers to Gibson, 1.1.13 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/32.
Gibson, on the suggestion of J.L. Robertson, had sent the draft copy of his Scotsman article to Struthers. In spite of criticism from the Inspectorate, Struthers greeted the article in warm tones. He suggested that the article,

after some re-casting, should be published in The Scotsman, and that he would help Gibson in his preparation.

115. Anderson, R.D. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland, Oxford 1983, p. 241.

116. Letter from John Harrower to the Secretary for Scotland, 8.8.12 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/32.

117. Letter from Struthers to McKinnon-Wood, 21.8.12. in ibid.

Data given on provision in Aberdeenshire referred to seven schools (not including the burgh of Aberdeen) with full five-year secondary courses, eleven intermediate schools with three year courses, five primary schools presenting pupils for the Intermediate Certificate with preparation wholly in the schools and twenty-two schools giving one or two years of the intermediate course before passing the pupils on to centres for further study.

118. ibid.

The Departmental committee meeting the Association included the Secretary for Scotland, the Lord Advocate, Struthers, Macdonald and Alexander.

The Association's deputation represented academic, clerical and educational opinion including Professors Ramsay and Harrower and Dr. John Kerr of Allan Glen's School, Glasgow.

119. Interview between Struthers and the Association, 11.4.13 in ibid.

120. Examples of parish and other elementary schools where secondary subjects used to be taught but had been discontinued by the Department were provided in a document by Ramsay, 16.4.13 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/33.

Schools in Inverness-shire included Glendale, Vattin, Duisdale, Borrodale, Achnasheen and Kilmorack.

Those in Ross-shire included Alness, Poolewe, Gairloch, Ferintosh, Muir of Ord, Achiltibuie. Argyll schools noted were Ballachulish, Salen (Mull), Clachan (Kintyre), Tighnabruaich, Dervaig, Jura, Ardrishaig.

Ramsay noted that some schools still taught secondary subjects ... "but it is

complained that they are not recognised by the Inspectors.” At Vattin they had been ... “stopped by Mr. Robertson...” and at Ferintosh ... “killed by neglect”.

Memo from Macdonald to Robertson, 6.5.13 in ibid.

Requesting information about Ferintosh and Vattin. Robertson’s reply on the reverse side of the memo indicated that neglect at Ferintosh was the result of a gradual decline of popular interest and not due to official discouragement.

On Vattin: “I have the Teacher’s express statement that the ‘higher teaching’ was not ‘stopped’ by me...”. (Underlining by Robertson).

121. Report adopted by the Court of the University of Glasgow with regard to Higher Instruction in Scottish Rural Schools, February 1914, in ibid.
122. Letter from Andrew Scougal to Struthers, 13.4.14 in ibid.
123. Letter from Struthers to Scougal, 21.4.14. in ibid.
124. Letter from Scougal to Struthers, 24.4.14 in ibid.
125. Argyll: Bowmore, Campbeltown, Dunoon, Oban.
Inverness-shire: Fort William, Inverness, Kingussie, Portree.
Ross & Cromarty: Dingwall, Invergordon, Stornoway, Tain.
126. Inverness-shire Secondary Education Committee Minutes in H.R.A. 5/2/3.
127. Inverness-shire Secondary Education Committee Minutes in H.R.A. 5/2/6.
128. Letter from the E.I.S. to Munro, 8.5.18. in S.R.O. Ed 14/85.
Provision ... “does not adequately meet the conditions that must be fulfilled in any well-organized system of education suited to the requirements of Scotland.”
129. The Scotsman, 20.1.13.
130. Letter from Struthers to The Principal, University of Glasgow, 13.1.08 in MacAlister MSS., 73389.
131. Proposed Highland College: Meeting of the Provisional Committee, 6.12.13 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/34.
132. Memorandum from Robertson to Struthers, 31.12.13 in ibid.
133. Memorandum from Macdonald to Struthers, 5.1.14 in ibid.

134. Memo from Struthers to the Vice President, 10.1.14. in ibid.
 This was not the first attempt to develop technical education in the Highlands. The Congested Districts Board, albeit at a fairly rudimentary level, had put forward a scheme for technical training both for boys and girls (Second Report of the Congested Districts Board for Scotland, 1900, Cd. 177, pp. vi-viii). Limited success had been achieved by 1909 (Eleventh Report of the Congested Districts Board for Scotland 1909, Cd. 4620, pp. xxvi-xxvii). In 1906 at the annual conference of An Comunn, a plan was put forward for the development of a broad scheme for technical education in the Highlands. The initiator discussed his ideas with Macdonald and Struthers. Struthers favoured developments on the Danish model of Folk High Schools. But he stressed the need for voluntary initiative ... "not by bribery - a mere soulless Department can do all that - but by argument, by reasoning, by putting higher ideals before the people...". (Struthers to Macdonald, 13.2.06 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/8).
135. Letter from the E.I.S. Secretariat to the Secretary for Scotland, 26.7.10 in S.R.O. ED 7/8/2.
136. Memorandum from Robertson to Struthers, undated, in ibid.
137. Visit by Lord Pentland to Stornoway in The Scotsman, 31.8.10 in ibid.
138. Editorial in The Scotsman, 31.8.10 in ibid.
139. Statement by Barvas, Lochs and Uig School Boards with reference to Lord Pentland's visit, August 30, 1910 in ibid.
140. Memorandum by Medical Officer of Health of the School Boards of Barvas, Lochs and Uig parishes to the Chairman of the School Boards of the aforementioned Boards, undated, in ibid.
141. Memorandum from the E.I.S. to the Secretary for Scotland, 30.9.10 in ibid.
142. Letter from Orrock to Pentland, 31.10.10 in ibid and in Educational News, vol. 35, 11.11.10, pp.1195-98.
143. Memorandum from the Lewis branch of the E.I.S. to the Secretary for Scotland, May 1913 in S.R.O. ED 7/8/2.

144. Memorandum from the E.I.S. to the Secretary for Scotland, 23.6.13 in ibid.
145. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 24.4.14 in ibid.
146. Durkacz, op. cit., p. 226.
147. Withers, op. cit., p. 213.
148. Stephens, M. Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe, Llandysul 1976, p. 64.
149. Grant. J. Shaw The Hub of My Universe, Edinburgh 1982, p. 28.
150. ibid., p. 35.
151. Macdonald, Martin I. John Equals Ian QE D in Royle, T. (ed.) Jock Tamson's Bairns: Essays on a Scots Childhood, London 1977, p. 53.
152. Thomson, D.S. Gaelic in Scotland: Assessment and Progress in Haugen, E., McClure, J.D. & Thomson, D.S. Minority Languages Today, Edinburgh, 1981, p. 12.
153. Smith, I. Crichton. op. cit., p. 37.
154. MacKinnon, K. Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community, London 1977, p. 1.
155. Memorial from the Greenock Highland Society, 29.3.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/25.
156. Letter from the Glasgow - Ross and Cromarty Benevolent Association to Graham Murray, 8.4.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/26.
157. Memorial from the Glasgow-Inverness Association to Murray, 14.5.04 in S.R.O. ED 14/29.
158. Memorial from The Highland Trust to Murray, 24.6.04 in ibid.
159. Speech by Watson as printed in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, vol. xxxiii, 1925-27, p. 256.
160. Report of the Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 4/5.4.05 in S.R.O. 14/39.
161. The Inverness Courier, 19.6.08.
162. Log Book of Glenbrittle School, 1907 in H.R.A. 5/3/31.
163. Letter from the Duke of Atholl to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 29.7.01 in S.R.O. ED 7/1/80.

164. Memorandum from Craik to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 30.7.01 in ibid.
165. Letter from Lord Balfour of Burleigh to the Duke of Atholl, undated, in ibid.
166. Letter from Thompson to Stewart, 17.8.01 in ibid.
167. Speech by Watson, Inverness Royal Academy, to the E.I.S. Annual Conference, December 1903 in Inverness Courier, 1.1.04.
168. Inverness Courier, 1.6.06.
169. Memoranda, May 1908 in S.R.O. ED 14/76.
170. ibid.
171. ibid.
172. Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, vol. xxvii, 1908-11, p. 43.
173. MacAlister, D. Gaelic in Highland Schools in Inverness Courier, 7.7.08.
174. Memoranda, June 1908 in S.R.O. ED 14/76.
175. The Glasgow Herald, 6.6.08.
176. The Aberdeen Free Press, 25.5.08.
177. Inverness Courier, 19.6.08.
178. Educational News, 29.5.08.
179. The Scotsman, 18.6.08.
180. Material in this paragraph is based on Macleod, M.K. The Interaction of Scottish Educational Developments and Socio-Economic Factors on Gaelic Education in Gaelic-Speaking Areas with Particular Reference to the Period 1872-1918, Ph.D., Edinburgh 1981, pp. 322-25.
181. Letter from McDougall of Glasgow to Munro, 2.3.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/84.
182. Letter from An Comunn to Munro, 2.7.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/87.
183. The Scotsman, 11.7.18 in ibid.
184. Letter by Bishop MacKintosh, 18.7.18 in ibid.
185. Letter from Munro Fraser to Struthers, 20.7.18 in ibid. Underlining by Fraser.
186. Memorandum by Robertson, with a covering letter, to George Macdonald, 8.7.18 in S.R.O. Ed 14/88.
187. The Glasgow Herald, 31.7.18 as quoted by Macleod (1981) op. cit., p. 337.
188. Speech by Macpherson during the Grand Committee stage of the Education

(Scotland) Bill, 1918, as printed in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, vol. xxxv, 1929-30, pp. 174-75.

- 189. The remainder of this paragraph is based upon Macleod, op. cit., pp. 340-41.
- 190. Durkacz, op. cit., p. 179.
- 191. Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, March 19, 1906, cd. 2888, Sect. C. (2).
- 192. Memorandum from Struthers to Munro Fraser, MacDonald, McKechnie, Robertson and Smith, 20.2.06 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/9.
- 193. Inquiry from Robertson to Struthers, undated, in ibid.
- 194. Reply from Struthers to Robertson, 22.5.06 in ibid.
- 195. Memorandum from Struthers to the Inspectorate, 24.1.07 in ibid.
- 196. Memorandum from Fraser to Struthers, 26.1.07 in ibid.
- 197. Memorandum from Robertson to Struthers, 2.3.07 in ibid.

When the Minute of 1906 was re-issued on March 9, 1907, the phrasing in Section C(2) as quoted in the text against reference 191 above, had been strengthened. In 1907 the Gaelic-speaking teacher was expected ... "to have made effective use of his knowledge of the language ... " and not, as in the 1906 version, to have ... "given instruction..." . (Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, March 9, 1907, Cd. 3387, Sect. C(2).

- 198. Memorandum from Lindsay to Struthers, 6.12.07 in S.R.O. ED 7/5/9.
- 199. Report of a conference of H.M.Is in Aberdeen, 14.12.07 by Robertson in ibid.
- 200. Memorandum from Lindsay to Struthers, 5.2.08, giving a summary of the returns by the Inspectorate in ibid.
- 201. Memorandum from Lindsay to Struthers, 5.2.08, giving a summary of the returns by the Inspectorate in ibid.
- 202. Memorandum from Lindsay to Struthers, accompanied by a detailed list of schools, 19.2.08 in ibid.

Interestingly, counties considered to be outside the core of Gaeldom - such

as Perthshire and Bute - were not thought to be sufficiently important to qualify for the special grant. But there is evidence that Gaelic was still being taught in many districts of Perthshire in 1910. These districts included Balquhider, Callander, Crainlarich, Rannoch, Strathtummel, Strathyre and Struan.

An Deo-Greine, vol. vi, 1910-11, pp. 118-20.

203. Memorandum on Gaelic, undated and with no author in S.R.O. ED 14/87. The content makes it clear it was written in 1918 during the preparation of the Education (Scotland) Bill. Its tone suggests that the recipient was Robert Munro, while the style seems closer to that of Macdonald rather than Struthers.
204. Parl. Deb. H.C. 4s. vol. 190, 3.6.08, cols. 54-55.
205. ibid., col. 1053.
206. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 46, 7.1.13, cols. 1019-20.
207. Smout, op. cit., p. 219.
208. Macleod, op. cit., p. 301.

CHAPTER VIII

Scottish Education in the Context of the First World War

On Thursday, November 21, 1918 the Royal Assent was given to the Education (Scotland) Bill. Ten days earlier, at 5.00 a.m. on Monday, November 11, in a railway carriage located near the village of Rethondes, on the edge of the forest of Compiègne, some eighty kilometres to the north-east of Paris, an armistice had been concluded between a German delegation, headed by Matthias Erzberger, and Marshall Foch, Commander in Chief of the allied armies. Within six hours ... "the cannon-fire ceased along the Battle front from the Dutch marches to the mountain ramparts of Switzerland." (1) On the following day David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, speaking to a small gathering of Liberal party supporters assembled at 10 Downing Street, declared that ... "there could be no possible justification for prolonging the life of this Parliament. The formidable problems of the future could not be settled by a moribund Parliament." (2) That parliament had been elected in December 1910. Although steered by the Liberals, the administration was obliged to rely on the wayward support of Irish Nationalist MPs. Moreover, as the results of a number of by-elections held between February 1911 and July 1914 testify, there was, outside Westminster, clear evidence of the extent of the government's unpopularity. (3) Nonetheless, the outbreak of war on August 4, 1914 caused no immediate changes to be made at the centre of political control. "But", as John Mackintosh has pointed out, "it soon became evident that in face of a national emergency no government could lead the nation on a party basis." (4) Even so, it was not until May 1915 that a coalition was formed. This was done without dissolving parliament although the existing mandate was only seven months short of its period of maximum tenure. Labour, as well as Conservative MPs were appointed to the reformed cabinet. Asquith remained Prime Minister, (5) but within less than two years, further changes took place. Increased dissension over the conduct of the war threatened to fracture the delicate relationship between key members of the cabinet. What Stephen Roskill has called ... "the long gestating crisis..." reached a climax at the end of November

1916.(6) Asquith resigned. Bonar Law tried, but failed, to form a new administration. Lloyd George, the only other viable candidate, was assured of sufficient support to enable him to take charge of a restructured government. This he did on December 7, and this second coalition remained in power until the dissolution of parliament on Friday December 13, 1918.

Throughout the span of four years and three months between August 4, 1914 and November 11, 1918 the government had one over-riding concern - prosecution of the war, so as to bring it to a successful and swift conclusion, in the interests both of the allied powers and world peace. This did not mean that parliament eschewed all other responsibilities. On the contrary, it continued to play an active, progenitorial role in the field of political and social reform. The passing of two major Education bills in 1918, for example, was but one instance of its interest in domestic legislation. The significance of this interest was made clear by H.A.L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, at the beginning of the debates on the Education Bill in the summer of 1917. "When a measure of far-reaching social importance is introduced by a Coalition Government in the height of a general European war and at a late stage of a busy and anxious Session", declared Fisher, "I feel that the House is entitled to assurances ... that the Bill is urgently demanded and connected with the circumstances of the War;" He went on to stress that the planned legislation was ... "prompted by deficiencies...", such as the abuse of juvenile employment, and by the need to ... "repair the intellectual wastage ... caused by the War;"... . (7) Similarly, in June 1918, albeit in somewhat less magisterial tones, Robert Munro, the Secretary for Scotland, when introducing the second reading of the amended version of the Education (Scotland) Bill, seemed clear in his belief that he could not ... "conceive any topic which is more vitally bound up with the great problems of reconstruction which lie before us than that of education." (8) Over two decades later, in the midst of the second world war, R.A. Butler, also President of the Board of Education, voiced similar sentiments. "Hammered on the anvil of this war", he told the House of Commons during the early stages of the debate on the Education Bill of 1944, "our nation has been shaped to a new unity of pride and purpose. We must preserve this after victory is won, if the fruits of victory are to be fully

garnered, and that unity will, by this Bill, be founded where it should be founded in the education and training of youth." (9)

Politicians, therefore, seemed to be aware of some genuine ameliorative tendencies which were being brought to the surface under war-time conditions. Scholars, too, have drawn attention to the same phenomenon. David Butler, for instance has judged war to be ... "so often the midwife of reform." (10) This thesis has been developed by Arthur Marwick. "The will to action", he writes, with particular reference to parliamentary interest in social reform at the time of the first world war, "was enhanced by the contemporary collectivist experience, by the need to appease the working class and the desire to accord its members some of the privileges of citizenship, and above all by the ... supreme struggle which brought out Britain's defects in the physical well-being of her people..." (11) Martin Pugh, however, adopts a different perspective. With regard to social reforms, he maintains that ... "the Edwardian period ... left a far deeper impression than the dramatic, but ephemeral, expedients of 1914-18." (12) This judgment is severe in so far as it ignores the passage of important measures after 1911 - such as the National Insurance and Shop Bills. Moreover, as Abrams has argued, the government's plans for post-war changes were ... "not just noble rhetoric." (13) The Ministry of Munitions, he points out, "had been forced to interest itself in a wide range of welfare projects...", (14) while the Ministry of Reconstruction cultivated ... "a general sense of purpose, a vision of a 'more harmonious' social order, an ideology of reform." (15) Nevertheless, Abrams admits that even at ... "the very end of the war there was no simple machinery within the War Cabinet for getting decisions on home affairs." (16) Reconstruction committees, as the Ministry itself conceded, were created not to initiate or supervise revolutionary measures but ... "to pick up broken threads, to renew old habits and traditions, to go back as far as possible to the social and industrial situation as it existed at the outbreak of the war." (17) This expression of a sense of continuity, of the idea that what the government was attempting to do in the later stages of the war was - among other things - to initiate reforms it had been contemplating before 1914, was alluded to by Robert Munro when he introduced the Education (Scotland) Bill in December 1917. "The main object of the Bill", he told the Commons, "is to effect a

further improvement in the provision of education for all classes of the population and to make that provision available to residents in remote and isolated districts.” (18) Within six months he further reminded the House that Scots needed ... “no Commission to inform us of the urgent improvements in education which are required, and which are really in some cases overdue.” (19)

The 1918 Education (Scotland Bill) was, therefore, the product of a parliament conditioned by war; a parliament, moreover, that was planning for peace-time retrenchment and reform, but the intentions of that parliament were also influenced by what Stevenson has termed ... “tapped currents of social thinking which antedated the war ...”. (20) In other words, the Bill, apart from having its passage influenced by the processes of war, was also the product of cultural patterns predating that war; patterns that shaped the mores of British, and more specifically, Scottish society. What were they?

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In examining the cultural map of European - including British - society on the eve of the first world war, Robert Wohl has discerned four key elements: ... “the official culture ... consecrated by academies, [and] taught in schools...”; forms of ‘popular’ folk culture as displayed in music, dress and dance; an emerging mass culture found in newspapers, magazines, music halls and the infant cinema; and finally a growing body of modern thought challenging attitudes and practices prevalent in the ‘official’ culture. (21) In addition, among the pre-eminent influences that had established a substantial position in the mainstream of politics in Great Britain from the closing decades of the nineteenth century, there was another element which, by 1914, was playing an increasingly forceful role in the cultural life of British society - imperialism. Paul Kennedy, in The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, has suggested that the growing popularity of the imperial ethic enabled ... “many acute observers in the late nineteenth century [to sense] the direction in which the dynamics of world power were driving.” (22) Great Britain’s position in this flow seemed impregnable. The country was very rich. It controlled a large empire; an empire protected by myriad military garrisons and naval bases. Yet despite commanding an abundance of pyrotechnics, Kennedy notes that British authority rested upon a somewhat fragile base. Its share of

the world's total manufacturing output, for example, was 22.9 per cent in 1880 but only 13.6 per cent by 1913. For the same years, output in the United States rose from 14.7 per cent to 32.0 per cent, while the increases in Germany went from 8.5 per cent to 14.8 per cent. (23) Industrialisation apart, Britain also suspected the thrusting belligerence of Tsarist Russia, and was becoming rather nervous of the European scramble for territory in Africa while, at the same time, being preoccupied with her own colonial wars, notably the Boer war. (24) Each of these trends, therefore, provided a direct challenge not only to British supremacy but also to the stability of society in Great Britain.

This was not all. From the late 1890s as George Steiner has suggested ... "deep tremors [were] quivering through the fabric of the European political and social order." The Dreyfus affair, the murder of Elisabeth of Austria-Hungary, the birth of Zionism, the Messina earthquake and the Titanic disaster had been felt by many to be ... "omens of a larger ruin." (25) An additional factor which helped to fan this sense of insecurity, as well as creating a base for false confidence, was evident in the growing interest in theories about national and racial origins. One of the most popular discourses on this theme in Great Britain was The Origin of the Aryans by Isaac Taylor, Dean of York Minster and an honorary graduate of the University of Edinburgh. First published in 1889, and using questionable data about the sources of racial characteristics, Taylor puts forward a variety of hypotheses about the relative superiority of European races. (26) In a British context he gives, by cautious implication, a superior rank to the English, a view not shared by Havelock Ellis who concluded in a Study of British Genius, that ... "with England as the standard ... Scotland has far more than her share, Wales rather less and Ireland far, far less." (27)

These theories about national origins and racial characteristics began to be featured in school text books, such as Arabella Buckley's History of England for Beginners. (28) Thus was established a potentially damaging source of influence on the process of education. Nor was fiction left untouched; with an increasing number of stories containing plots built upon notions of British supremacy. In addition, some of these plots focussed attention on a particular theme, namely, the growing danger to that supremacy emanating from Germany. The Riddle of the Sands by Erskine

Childers, for example, described the building of a German naval base in the North Sea in preparation for an invasion of Great Britain, (29) and the humour in Hilaire Belloc's short poem, The Three Races, published in 1907, was by no means entirely facetious.(30)

Together with political developments since 1890, the growing publicity given to the themes noted above began to lead people to conclude that the so-called 'gentlemanly values' to which British society attached some importance were under an increasing threat, and that that threat came from Germany. Moreover, it was felt that the nation which Great Britain had looked upon as its ... "amiable and rather coarse country cousin ... [was turning]... into the barbarous Hun, a creature that would stop at absolutely nothing to gain its brutish ends." (31) A growing emphasis on this fear, as Stuart Wallace has shown in his detailed study of a selected number of British academics between 1914 and 1918, (32) came from distinguished, reputable scholars, many of whom had been students at German universities. Some, such as Walter Raleigh, Professor of English at Oxford and formerly in the University of Glasgow, became exceedingly strident in their denunciation of Germans. (33) Others, notably James Bryce, tried to preserve some integrity, despite being drawn into government propaganda. (34) Yet more, like Sir Henry Jones, ... "condemned as mouthing 'the pure milk of Prussianism' ...", (35) embarked on a series of public lectures in support of the war effort, but holding, nonetheless, that ... "the war was the outcome of the errors and selfishness of all nations, from which Britain had not been free." (36) A few, especially Bertrand Russell, were to speak out against the war and the anti-German wave, and to suffer for their criticisms, (37) while a number of German-born scholars, or those of Germanic extraction, were either dismissed from their posts or resigned. (38) Summing up the dilemma faced by many academics, Geoffrey Best felt that they ... "let war time passions rob them of the academic standards and values there were supposed to stand for : objectivity, good debating manners, fidelity to truth." (39) To a certain extent, though, the anti-German hysteria was a reaction, not necessarily against Germany as a country but against ... "the Prussian idea of the State as the corrosive ingredient in the denial of British liberties." (40) This reaction was not confined to Conservatives. As the war progressed, Liberals were equally offended by

what they felt was the 'unprecedented' scale in the growth of state activity in Great Britain. (42) The general suspicion of such activity was summarised succinctly by Havelock Ellis. "The Englishman", he wrote, "regards the State as he regards his trousers, as useful indeed, even indispensable, scarcely to be worshipped." (42)

By 1914, therefore, the ethic of imperialism coupled with increasing degrees of extravagant jingoism, had seeped into the main strands of British culture. The outbreak of war in August provided an immediate, open challenge to those strands; to the four elements singled out by Wohl; and to 'tapped currents of social thinking'. What were the consequences?

First, many of the leading writers of the period, such as Wells, Conan Doyle, Kipling and Bennett, ... "immeasurably surprised and shocked by the fiery consequences of the shots at Sarajevo...", (43) began to write propaganda which eventually came under government control, and was directed from Wellington House by Charles Masterman, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The main task of these contributors was to present 'official' accounts of the war and, in particular, ... "ridicule and discredit the voice of protest..." coming from some of their contemporaries such as Shaw and Russell. (44) But while the material they produced toned down the more hysterical outpourings which had been characteristic of propaganda in the early stages of the war, the long-term consequences of their efforts were less salutary. Language, in Wohl's opinion, lost some of its power; words such as 'honour' and 'glory' were devalued; (45) and previous confidence in the authority of the written word was undermined. (46)

Second, what Wellington House did in one format, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee did in another. It presented, through paintings, posters and photography, a visual image of Britain at war, an image full of idealism, of country lanes, thatched cottages and rolling pastures, defended - paradoxically - in one poster by a Scottish soldier. (Fig. 1). (47) But the products of the committee were not entirely free of Commons criticism, both of the nature of the visual appeals and their intended direction. (Fig. 2). (48) Together with cartoons, (49) the constant use of the Union Jack - ... "infinitely adaptable, ... ready in a moment to drape an allegorical matron, [or] cover the corpse..." (50) - and heavily censored photography, (51) much of the visual

YOUR COUNTRY'S CALL

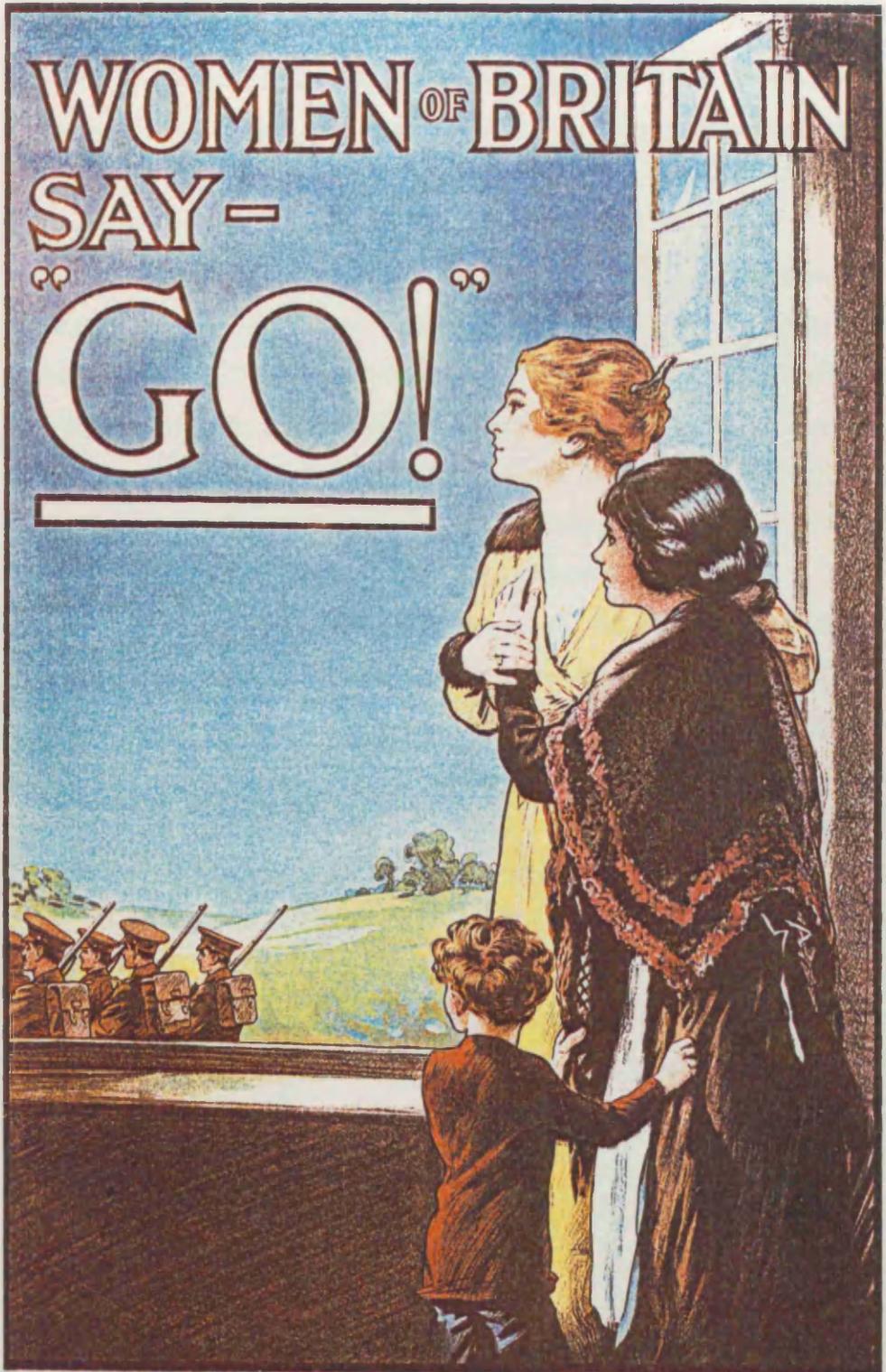


Isn't this worth fighting for?

ENLIST NOW

Fig. 1: Your Country's Call

Reproduced from First World War Posters by J. Darracott and B. Loftus



Published by the PARLIAMENTARY RECRUITING COMMISSION, London. Poster No. 35

Printed by HILL, SOKEN & Co. (L.P.A. Ltd.), Grays, Essex, London, N. R. 1914. 11.11

Fig. 2: Women of Britain say - "Go!"
Reproduced from What Did You do in the War, Daddy?

arts suppressed reality. This, according to Jones and Howell, ... "came easily enough to a generation brought up in nineteenth century prudery which drew a veil not only over sex but also over the fact of death (though it was unrestrained about its trappings - mourning and monuments were lavish)." (52)

Third, Music halls provided an abundance of popular songs and ballads. These often presented the war, as Brophy and Partridge have illustrated, in satirical terms, full of mock heroism and concentrating on the military system, the officer class, celebrations of drink, and the pleasures of sex. (53) Nevertheless, as Terraine points out, there were also ... "songs of homeless men, involved in exceptional and distressing circumstances, the songs of an itinerant community continuously altering with itself under the incidence of death and mutilation." (54)

Terraine's judgment leads on to a fourth, and totally different dimension in the cultural pattern of the country. A minority of writers, mainly poets, usually on active service, reacted to the propaganda and carnage with a marked degree of sensitivity and revulsion. "Music-hall gaiety, Fleet Street bluster, bellicose sermons and military propaganda", notes Winter, had "so clouded the atmosphere of wartime Britain that soldier-writers made it their business to clear the air by telling the truth about the war,...". (55) The work of Brooke, Owen, Thomas and Sassoon, therefore, was in sharp contrast to the clamour of much that appeared in the popular press. (56) Nevertheless, Rutherford argues, some of their writings also express ... "first of all a naive enthusiasm for war and then, after the shock of battle experience, an overwhelming sense of disillusion...". (57) Furthermore, Terraine suggests, while ... "the moods and frames of mind of the war-poets ... are not untrue, ... they are true only of particular moods and particular frames of mind at certain times...". (58) But they were consistent in one of their main themes - their indictment of ... "the old men of the Army, Church and Government who send young men to their death ...", (59) a theme well-illustrated by Owen, for example, in the last stanza of *Dulce et Decorum Est*, which ends with the admonition:

My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie : Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori. (60)

Similarly, in his concluding couplet of *The Parable of the Old Man and the Young*, the Old Man, asked to offer a ram for sacrifice, refused, and so

... slew his son,
And half the seed of Europe, one by one. (61)

What was true of the best poets could also be applied to the serious artists. While Frank Salisbury's painting of John Cornwell V.C. (Fig. 3) presented an imaginary and highly idealised account, the scheme of Official War Artists, begun in 1916, enabled painters and illustrators of ability to interpret the battlefield in more realistic terms. Murihead Bone, for instance, drew ... "with pictorial dignity ... the aspect of ravaged buildings and wasted landscape." (62) While Farr finds him presenting destruction ... "in sober impartial detail ...", (63) no such criticism could be applied to Christopher Nevinson. He ... "permits no falsifying of the facts; he shows us the reality of the thing, the broken debris of the war-machine, the pain and the suffering and, above all, the relative insignificance of the individual pawn in this mighty war game." (64) Similarly Paul Nash, in his landscapes, showed ... "the abomination of desolation"... and ... "presented the Earth as a tortured and violated entity." (65) Both, as Sillars observes, ... "took a more cynical stance towards the war and the system of values it aimed to perpetrate." (66) (Fig. 4).

Most of the serious poets and artists came from similar educational backgrounds. Their intellects had been honed on what Wohl has termed the 'official culture'. The philosophical basis of this culture, in which various 'para-political' or 'para-military' organisations, such as the Boy Scouts or Boys' Brigade, played a part, showed its full potential at the outbreak of the war. A useful example of the attitudes of mind created in those who went direct from school or university into the fighting services is evident in N.S. Norway (Nevil Shute)'s autobiography. He was a pupil at Shrewsbury. Following the declaration of war, he felt his future had been decided for him. "For the remainder of my time at Shrewsbury", he writes

I don't think I had the slightest interest in a career or any adult life; I was born to one end, which was to go into the army and do the best I could before being killed. The time at school was a time for contemplation of the realities that were coming and for spiritual preparation for death, and in this atmosphere the masculine,



Fig. 3: John Cornwell V.C. on H.M.S. Chester
by
Frank O. Salisbury
Reproduced from Art and Survival in First World War Britain by S. Sillars



Fig. 4: The Doctor
by
C.R.W. Nevinson

Reproduced from Art and Survival in First World War Britain by S. Sillars

restrained services in the school chapel under Alington played an enormous part. The list of the school casualties grew every day. Older boys that we knew intimately, ... left, appeared once or twice resplendent in new uniforms, and were dead. We remembered them as we had known them ... as we knelt praying for their souls in chapel, knowing as we did so that in a year or so the little boys in our own house would be kneeling for us. (67)

The passage lacks any attempt to present a dramatic impact. It is simple and direct; the encroaching fate being accepted with a marked degree of fatalistic resignation. There is tacit acceptance of the values projected, of respect for duty to God and service to the mother country. That Shute was a pupil at a leading English public school is, in this context, of no particular significance. Similar concepts formed the basis of the curriculum, both overt and hidden, in the academies, burgh and parish schools of Scotland; concepts that were inculcated either through a study of classical language or via more simplified instruction in the vernacular as well as in the general tenor of discipline and organisation within institutions.

Elsewhere, too, as the war progressed, there was evident concern about the need to place particular emphasis on specific features of the curriculum, notably on the teaching of citizenship. For example, a broadsheet advocating a study of patriotism was prepared by a society headed by Lord Sydenham and T.C. Fry, Dean of Lincoln. This society believed that the educational system was failing in its duty to teach what it felt to be the true ideals of nationhood, contrasting the situation between Great Britain and Germany where the ... "political outlook and moral sense [of Germans had been] perverted to prepare them for war". Schools, the society urged, should implant what it termed 'true patriotism' in the teaching of history, geography, poetry, music and art. (68) To press the society's case, Fry sought an interview with Struthers. (69) While the latter was willing to have an unofficial discussion about ideas for stimulating patriotism, he saw no ... "good purpose to listen to speeches of a general character...". (70) Individual school boards or teachers, Struthers stated, were free to propose courses in citizenship. If approved by the Department, such courses could become part of the curriculum, but only in designated schools or in specified classes. (71) By implication, at least, the Secretary of the S.E.D. seemed to be aware of the unsalutary effects on education of a bland acceptance of the principle which

of the unsalutary effects on education of a bland acceptance of the principle which Owen was to question - 'Dulce et Decorum est pro patria mori'.

The first world war, more so than its successor, ... "represented", therefore, as Bergonzi has written, "a far more radical crisis in British civilization. In particular it meant that the traditional mythology of heroism and the hero, the Hotspurian mode of self-assertion, had ceased to be viable; even though heroic deeds could be, and were performed in abundance." (72) Much of the philosophy projected by the artefacts of the period, in writing, song and in the visual arts, pre-dated the war, and although the war-time sentiments peddled were British in form and intent, the image projected was usually English. This seems strange, particularly as Scottish participation in the hostilities was, relative to population, higher than that in England." (73) Yet, as Harvie has pointed out, the culture of Scotland was ... "quite distinct from that of England." (74) The school, for instance, had played a more significant role in Scottish history, and the Scots had ... "accustomed themselves to literacy, endowed it and organized it." (75) Provision for higher education was also more abundant in Scotland than in England. Despite these advantages, much of the image of the war in Scotland was put over in a guise similar to that of the worst levels of jingoism in England, except that it contained a Scottish flavour, with much use made of native kitsch by the popular press and by entertainers such as Sir Harry Lauder. (76) The popularity of Kailyardism among ... "general middle class readership..." (77) had created, Harvie suggests, ... "acute awareness among Scottish intellectuals of the power of parochialism and the mediocrity of its cultural values..." (78); values that seemed to provide little real stimulation and encouragement for writers with genuine creative talent.

Was this why Scotland, despite its educational advantages, produced hardly any English-medium poets of the first rank from among those who were on active service in the war? Could it be that the nature of the curriculum, and the general ambience of the educative process in Scottish schools, helped to atrophy real creative talent? Or was it that, even after a century, the influence of Burns on Scottish poetry was still too overpowering to enable modern writers to break away from the mould which he had created? (79) Harvie singles out two Scottish poets of some merit writing in English: Charles Sorley and E.A. MacKintosh. (80) There were others; not apart

from MacDiarmid - major figures in a poetical context, but undoubtedly creators of verse above the levels of chauvinistic jingoism. These included John Buchan (81) and two exiled Scots, Charles Murray (82) and Robert Service. (83)

In one respect, however, the general dearth of good first world war Scottish poetry written in English was compensated for by contributions in Gaelic. Much was written, little published; then or since. The best of it, according to some authorities, equals the work of Owen and Sassoon. (84) Two, noted by Thomson, were Murdo Murray and John Munro. Both were Lewismen, both graduates of the University of Aberdeen, and both were in the army. Although influenced by their English contemporaries, their work set new standards in Gaelic. (85) Similarly, in Welsh and Breton, (86) the war seemed to evoke a more poignant response from poets using their particular vernacular rather than among their fellow-nationals writing in English or French. Why was it that within the same nation, having a common history, identical institutions in politics, religion and education, a separate linguistic inheritance brought forth a markedly different response in a crisis?

* * * *

Within less than forty-eight hours after hostilities had begun in August 1914, Bonar Law predicted that it would not be a ... "small struggle." On the contrary, he believed it could be ... "the greatest, perhaps that the country has ever been engaged in It is Napoleonism once again. Thank heaven, so far as we know, there is no Napoleon." (87) The Scotsman thought this ... "an apt description...". (88) In retrospect, the ensuing conflict was, of course, far more destructive than that which had terminated in 1815. Moreover, it was the first of its kind in modern times in which the leaders of the participating powers were obliged to rely not only on professional armed forces but also on a substantial percentage of the civilian population. Effectively, therefore, no sector of that population, children included, could have remained entirely immune from the consequences of the massed mobilisation of resources. How did the deployment of these resources, with the accompanying mixture of tragedy, glamour, discomfort and privation, affect the more staid but essential process of education in Scotland? In its annual reports, the S.E.D. paid regular attention to three of the vital elements in that process: accommodation,

attendance and staffing. What kind of problems did these elements present to education authorities and how did they deal with them?

By 1915, as a result of ... "the general uncertainty...", and the rising cost of labour and materials, some school boards had begun to postpone building projects.(89) Commenting on this trend when the war was over, the Department calculated that, whereas the average annual expenditure on school buildings in each of the five years ending in May 1914 had been £461,000, that for 1917 was only £49,803. Summing up the repercussions of this decrease in spending, the Departmental report for 1920 concluded that the volume of building between 1914 and the end of 1919 ... "amounted to less than the output of one and half normal years." (90) In addition to this reduction, but often without any detailed prior consultation, local authorities found their schools being requisitioned so as to be used either as barracks or as hospitals. Adjoining institutions were sometimes obliged, therefore, to share their premises. Such a trend led to the use of a 'double-shift' system for classes. Consequently, according to one inspector, some children, by the end of the war, had lost ... "practically one year of instruction." (91)

If less of a problem in logistical terms, the question of attendance had a more serious connotation in the context of learning. As noted in the preceding chapter, with particular reference to the Highlands, this issue pre-dated the war, with school registers containing absences caused by factors, such as the weather, which were ... "beyond the control of man...". (92) In addition, specific work patterns, like that of the ... "general flitting of farm servants..." had an unsettling effect on attendance levels.(93) Inevitably, however, the exigency of war-time conditions exacerbated existing difficulties. By 1916 there was a marked increase in the use of child labour, thus leading to ... "wholesale exemption [from school] of older children, more particularly for agricultural work." (94) Wages paid to juveniles ... "formed no small temptation to parents ..." to have their children granted such exemption. (95) And where this was impossible, part-time employment might be found so that they ... "came late to school, tired and worn out with early rising ... [and] ... often too sleepy to profit by the instruction." (96) Despite these disincentives, and the moral dilemmas created by conflicting demands made on society, the task of maintaining regular

attendance, coupled with that of strict application of academic studies, could still be secured, in the opinion of Chief Inspector F.R. Jamieson, through the ... "interest and personality of the teacher." (97) Regrettably, however, the war presented the controlling education authorities with two problems regarding that 'interest and personality'; first, a shortage of individuals; and second, a growing dissatisfaction with inadequate financial rewards. How did the government deal with these two inter-related issues?

In their study of conscription, Adam and Poirer have shown that, at the beginning of the first world war, there was virtually no difficulty attached to general recruitment into the forces. The army was ... "overwhelmed by the chaotic enthusiasm of the nation." (98) During the early part of August 1914, for example, the average figure for enlistment per week was 75,000. By September, this had risen to 116,000. Thereafter it dropped to 35,000. (99) But as the war progressed, voluntary enlistment was revealed to be both inefficient and insufficient. Consequently, in 1916, mass conscription was introduced with, unfortunately, little adequate pre-planning. "Because of the enormous demands for men both to fight a war of attrition and to work in the factories, mines and farms", the authors point out, "it was necessary to learn how best to establish priorities and appropriately allocate the shrinking manpower pool." (100) Often, this was not done, with the result that ... "an army hungry for soldiers [captured] in its nets many of the absolutely wrong men." (101) Faced with these conflicting trends, how did the S.E.D. respond?

During the early stages of the war, teaching was classified as a reserved occupation. Nonetheless, on August 14, 1914, in Circular 463, the S.E.D. advised school boards and managers of secondary schools to assure their teachers that, should they go on active service, their posts, salaries, and pension rights would be protected. (102) Within months, the Department was obliged to take a different form of action by preparing a measure to counteract what was becoming a growing shortage of teachers. In March 1915 it issued Memorandum 239, containing proposals to local authorities as to what they should do in order to deal with rising numbers of unexpected vacancies in schools. (103) These proposals included the re-employment of staff who had retired and, where necessary, taking on members of the

community who had ... “adequate knowledge...”, but who were otherwise ... “technically unqualified...”. An accompanying confidential statement, addressed to the Inspectorate, (104) drew attention to three points left out of the Memorandum. First, that the published document contained ... “all that can justifiably be said in public...”. Second, despite a shortage of staff in some schools, there were others with a complement ... “beyond requirements...”. Finally, as the problem of finding an adequate number of fully-qualified teachers was not likely to be either long or permanent, a “... literal fulfilment...” of the Code was not thought to be necessary in every case.

Although the S.E.D. was not known for its demure reactions to criticism, it tended, like most government departments, to use circumspect tactics to try to achieve its objectives whenever it felt it necessary to do so for the sake of self defence. The method did not always work; and this was an occasion when it misfired. First, the ‘confidential’ statement to the Inspectors was leaked to the Penicuik School Board. (105) A Departmental inquiry failed to reveal the identity of the perpetrator, (106) and no evidence has been found to suggest that it was an authorised leak. Second, within a month of the publication of the Memorandum, its contents were denounced in a joint letter from the E.I.S. and the Scottish Class Teachers’ Federation (S.C.T.F.) as an ... “ill-advised document...” which ... “could be so turned as to prick Scotland’s proud boast of equal educational opportunity for every deserving boy and girl.” Teachers, the letter pointed out, had not been consulted before its publication, and they were ... “not prepared to accept under the specious guise of emergency regulations ... anything that would tend to lower permanently, or even for a time, the status of their profession.” (107)

In a swift and direct response to this attack, Struthers stressed that there was a need to use ... “a favourable opportunity for putting the E.I.S. - or rather some aggressive leaders of it - in its place.” (108) As for the S.C.T.F., it was branded as ... “impudent...” by Macdonald. Moreover, he thought it would be ... “a tactical mistake to lose this opportunity of showing it up.” Therefore, he advised Struthers to pass the correspondence to the press. (109) This he did, but not before J.P. Croal, Editor of The Scotsman, had been contacted and had declared himself ... “strongly in favour”...

of publication - provided he could be given the copies well in advance so as to have time to prepare a leading article! (110) The Scotsman's attitude, its defence of the Department and, even more so, its criticism of the professional associations was condemned by the E.I.S. as an example of "naked and unashamed ..." malice, while ... "in the unscrupulousness with which it suppresses the true and suggests the false, it would put to shame even a German Chancellor." (111)

Clearly, the Department had touched a raw nerve, and not without some justification did the E.I.S. react so volcanically. It was, after all, the most powerful among the guardians of the status of teachers. It had both a right and a duty to defend and uphold the standards of entry into the profession. So had the S.E.D. Yet, in this instance, it appeared to temporise with its responsibilities. Why? In defending his actions, Struthers speculated that the real object of the E.I.S. and S.C.T.F. was to ... "use the present stringency ... as a lever for securing better salaries all round." (112) Without proof, such an argument was mere conjecture. He did, however, have a solid case for getting more teachers, so as to allay the growing seriousness of the staffing problem; and acquiring them, if necessary, by resorting to criteria which, in normal circumstances, would have been professionally unacceptable. How serious therefore, was the teacher shortage by the summer of 1915? According to the Department's published data, there were approximately 844 teachers, including 83 headmasters, on active service. (113) But it should be noted at this point that the statistical data is rather contradictory. In a memorandum to the Vice President, written in April 1915, Struthers maintains that about 1,000 teachers were required each year in order to balance the wastage caused by factors other than the loss of manpower for combat service. The approximate figure of 844 in the published report, and what was quoted as the exact statistic of 898 in the communication to the Vice President, was, therefore, regarded by the S.E.D. as being in addition to the wastage of 1,000. (114) A year later, out of 3,536 teachers of military age, 2,200 had either joined up or were about to do so. (115) By 1917 it was reported that ... "of the eligible teachers, more than half are now on military service." (116) So, in order to fill the vacancies, the proposals in Memorandum 239 were applied. Colleagues of those who had joined up shared the burden in schools. To them were added retired teachers returning to duty.

Contracts of those about to be pensioned off were extended. Ministers of religion were used. Women teachers, long since debarred through marriage, were re-employed. (117) Summing up the general tendency in the Western division of the S.E.D., Chief Inspector Munro Fraser observed that out of twenty-one schools with a total staff of 156 men and 303 women in 1914, there were only 86 men by 1917, whereas the numbers of women had risen to 361. (118)

As war-time conditions led to abnormal reductions in teaching staff, with irregular measures being applied to counteract emerging problems, so too, did those same conditions aggravate what were, by 1914, inadequate levels of financial rewards for teachers. A uniform pattern of national salary scales existed neither in Scotland nor in England and Wales. In his account of changes in the teaching profession south of the border, Gosden has drawn attention to the fact that retail price levels rose by approximately nine per cent between 1910 and 1913. (119) Further increases of around 40 per cent above the 1914-norm had fed themselves into the system by 1916. (120) The ensuing discontent, therefore, was enough for H.A.L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, to appoint a committee to examine the structure of teachers' salaries and the principles on which that structure was based. (121) Pressure to appoint a similar body for Scotland began to be applied on the Scottish Secretary. (122) Already, however, some form of relief action had been taken by the S.E.D. In response to requests from sources like the E.I.S., the Department had received Treasury sanction to institute a bonus system, guaranteeing small increases to individual teachers whose salaries were below £160 per annum. (123) By March 1917 this bonus had cost £32,991. The Department admitted, however, that the actual amount of extra expenditure shouldered by school boards and managers was ... "considerably in excess ..." of this figure. (124) A similar scheme in England and Wales was found to be equally inadequate. The Treasury, therefore, decided to tackle the problem on a national basis by awarding additional grants both to the Board of Education and the S.E.D. In accordance with the principle of equivalency, Scotland was to receive a sum of approximately £500,000 of which a substantial part - £350,000 - was to be devoted to improving teacher salaries ... "without necessarily imposing ... a corresponding contribution from rates." (125) Even so, their approach to the problem

was only a temporary expedient. The need for a more permanent solution was clear. Hence Fisher's appointment in June 1917 of a committee to examine the whole question of teacher salaries in England and Wales.

Munro's response to requests to set up a similar body in Scotland was, at first, very cautious, for he maintained that such a committee ... "would not achieve any practical result unless and until local authorities with much wider rating areas are substituted for the present school boards." (126) Sir Edward Parrott, Liberal MP for Edinburgh South, had little patience with this kind of attitude, urging the S.E.D. to press ahead with an inquiry ... "or the teachers must proceed to set up their own scales and try to enforce them by trade union methods." Throwing a soupçon of encouragement to Munro, he suggested that, in forming a committee, he would be ... "swimming with the tide and not against it. The nomination of members and the scope of reference would be solely in your hands and I am certain that your acquiescence would be considered an act of grace that would sweeten relations all round." (127) Eventually, Munro relented. With Treasury approval and E.I.S. agreement, the formal departmental decision to institute an inquiry was taken on July 10th. (128)

Sir Henry Craik was appointed chairman of the committee, but not before rival candidates had been scrutinised. (129) Choosing other members proved to be a fractious and disputatious exercise, far removed from any 'sweet relations', (130) and reflecting not only a need to have a balanced team, representing different scholastic levels and an equitable geographical distribution, but also a clear appreciation and understanding of the status and force of relevant power groups within the professional associations. The choice of a suitable representative for rural areas, for example, proved difficult. (131) More intractable was the attempt to agree on the relative merits of John Strong, President of the E.I.S. as well as Rector of Edinburgh's Royal High School; J.A. Third, Rector of Speir's School, Beith and Convener of the Joint-Salaries body; and Alexander Emslie, Rector of Ayr Academy. Leaving Strong off the committee might not ... "be expedient." (132) Third's absence would ... "only accentuate and perpetuate" ... feelings of discontent; (133) while Emslie's candidature was necessary because he had ... "the confidence of the extremists in

the West." (134) In addition to having to weigh the merits of these three, the Department was also asked to appoint representatives from bodies such as the Glasgow Society for Women's Suffrage, the United Irish League, and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association. (135) According to Struthers, Munro, ... "rather against my advice but after consultation with Craik...", did indeed take a representative from the Catholic teachers. (136) With such divergent pressures, and even non-consultative action by his political master, it was not surprising that the S.E.D. Secretary at one point, feared that the committee might not be set up. Ultimately, despite his pessimism, the compilation exercise was completed by July 30. (137)

Very quickly, Craik imposed his formidable personality on the committee's deliberations. With its diverse membership, a firm approach may very well have been essential. But it caused G.W. Alexander, the Department's sole representative on the inquiry, to complain to Struthers ... "that the Committee have so far swallowed anything the Chairman put in writing; and also the said Chairman finds it most difficult to abandon his own point of view." (138)

Craik also expressed his point of view about salaries during a Commons debate on Scottish estimates. Declaring that ... "the dark spot..." in Scottish education had been the underpayment of teachers, he deprecated the dominance of the missionary spirit which assumed that teachers were ... "supposed to abandon all the ordinary desires and comforts of life." "We have spent too much on the paraphernalia and the outside", he observed, "and we have not spent enough upon the essential - an improvement of the teacher's salary." (139)

And what of the proposals put forward by the Craik committee? Its report was published in November 1917. The general direction of the inquiry had been determined ... "not solely, nor even mainly, as one involving the interest of a single profession, but as one vitally affecting the welfare of the whole community". But it had accepted that an adequate supply of teachers could not be guaranteed without fair salaries and attractive prospects. (140) The committee had looked at three key aspects affecting teachers' salaries: the length of the training period for different levels of teaching; the academic standards required for recognition; and finally, the

nature and the responsibility of duties to be performed. It had noted the wide variations in salaries offered by different school boards and what were, in many instances poor career prospects, especially for men with only ... "adequate capacity...". Apart from recommending increases in salaries, the committee held that equal scales for similar levels of teaching were 'desirable' throughout Scotland; and that placement on such scales would depend upon the nature of training and experience. (141) In conclusion, the committee reported that it did not think its scheme could be implemented unless controlling areas were to be extended and until central government would agree to provide substantial financial assistance. (142) Formal approval seemed to have been given, therefore, to the view of the chairman, as he had expressed it in the Commons. Equally, Struthers' attempt to influence the committee at one stage was pounced upon. He had advised Alexander that any expectation of increased funds from the state was ... "absolutely without justification." (143) The committee ignored his advice.

The Craik report was published on the eve of the introduction of the Education (Scotland) Bill, but Munro had made it clear, before agreeing to set up the inquiry, that a new method of paying teachers' salaries was not a matter to be treated in isolation from the bigger question of the general reorganisation of the system of educational administration. As a result, despite an occasional prodding in the House of Commons, (144) and the application of the Craik principles by some school boards, no nationally-agreed pattern for salaries could be approved until the government's Bill had become law. (145)

Within this clash of opinion about staffing and salaries there emerged once again, therefore, the tenuous nature of the relationship between the S.E.D. and the teaching profession. But their disagreements contained more than a whiff of pique. Like strutting peacocks defending the perimeters of their respective areas of interest and authority, the two sides were inclined to ignore a need for cool cogitating over the finer points of decisions. Their differences, evident in efforts being made to prevent accommodation and levels of attendance from falling below what could be regarded as minimum acceptable standards necessary for schools to function, were, however, symptomatic of the stress of war. So, to this extent, hostilities were having a

deleterious effect on the mechanics of education. On the other hand, while the quality of essential services suffered a partial deterioration, the war's influence was not totally destructive. In her commentary on Beatrice Webb's diary, Margaret Cole discusses the changes which took place in British society from the winter of 1916 to that of 1918. "By late 1916", she writes, "the original impulse of 1914 which sent hordes to the recruiting offices had almost died away; ... the realities were the Conscription Acts , [and] the fearful slaughter on the Somme...". Consequently, ... "men's minds began to question whether the struggle must be fought to a finish, and whether anything would really be gained thereby." (146) One manifestation of this questioning was a growing concern for the future shape of education. In its most comprehensive form, it was not a process which was tied exclusively to a pre-occupation with the mechanics of institutions; and, to a degree at least, the deprivations of war were instrumental in encouraging a re-examination of some of the other elements which made up the educational experience. In Scotland, this re-examination focussed particular attention on three of these elements: first, on the structure of the educational system and the deployment of its powers of control and administration; second, on the boundaries of existing provision in schools; and, finally, on opportunities in 'continuation' classes for those up to the age of eighteen. Discussing these three aspects, in the light of the ideas and principles on which they had been built, provided not only an antidote to the emotionalism which had gripped so many since the beginning of the conflict in 1914, but also created a framework for the introduction of proposals that were to lead to the eventual passing of the Education (Scotland) Bill in November 1918. What were the fundamental aims of the architects of the Bill? On what kind of criteria were they based? And in what context was the debate on them conducted?

* * * *

The Scottish Secretary, in his introduction to the first version of the Education (Scotland) Bill, brought into the House of Commons on December 17, 1917, outlined the government's intentions. (147) First, it wished to streamline the machinery which controlled the system of schooling because the existing format was an inadequate basis not only for extending secondary education but also for providing

a more effective framework for continuation classes. This streamlining would be carried out by forming larger administrative units to replace the school boards. Accompanying this change would be a rise in the school-leaving age to fifteen, an obligation on those between fifteen and eighteen, who were not in full-time education, to attend continuation classes, and a placing of restrictions on the after-hours employment of those under fifteen years of age. Second, the method of financing education in Scotland would be improved because it had become ... "unsatisfactory, cumbrous and, indeed, obsolete." Therefore, instead of continuing to rely on coded grants, the government intended to establish one centralized fund, from which aid could be given ... "proportionate to the expenditure incurred..." but with a higher allocation provided for those local authorities carrying a ... "disproportionately heavy burden...". Third, the standard of education provided by many schools in the voluntary sector was known to be inferior to that given in the state-controlled institutions. Consequently, the government believed it was time to assist voluntary establishments, regardless of their religious affiliations, so that their scholars also could have ... "their natural birthright of equality of educational opportunity." Lastly, to foster a more active public interest in education, an advisory council would be set up, representing a wide spectrum of opinion, and able to 'assist' the government in the creation and development of policy.

These aims reflected views which had already featured in a growing public debate about the state of education in Scotland. This debate had gathered momentum from the spring of 1916, and had developed within two inter-related contexts; one, British; and the other Scottish. In the British context, an urge to reform education had been encouraged, first, by the formation of the Reconstruction Committee in March 1916, second, by a number of parliamentary debates in the summer of the same year; and, finally, by the publication in March 1917 of a report dealing with the relationship between the education and employment of juveniles.

As formed initially in March 1916, the Reconstruction Committee was a ... "committee of the cabinet." Consequently, because its membership was made up almost entirely of civil servants, the names of those serving on it could not, at least according to the Prime Minister, be divulged. Nor was he willing to give out any

information about the kind of inquiries which the Committee proposed to undertake. (148) In reality its progress as an initiating body was not particularly swift, and its achievements before Asquith's resignation in December 1916 were, on the whole, slight. Yet, despite its indifferent performance, the new government under Lloyd George did not discard it. On the contrary, in February 1917, the Committee's membership was enlarged. It was no longer composed entirely of civil servants. (149) Nor was it, in Beatrice Webb's trenchant phrase, filled with ... "retired officers, retired admirals and generals with a couple of Countesses and a few philanthropists thrown in...". Instead, the new format of the Committee was made up of ... "young and vigorous persons with the Prime Minister as Chairman...". (150) In this amended state, its task was to ... "coordinate thinking about post-war social problems ...". (151) But Mrs. Webb soon decided that it would not be capable of ... "surviving long enough to accomplish anything...". (152) Moreover, she was not the Committee's sole critic. Some Scottish MPs, for example, also had a poor opinion of its performance, especially its lack of expert knowledge about Scotland and Scottish affairs. "Up to the present", remonstrated W.M.R. Pringle, Liberal member for Lanarkshire North West, "there is no indication that the problems of Scotland have ever entered into the minds of the ministry at all." (153) The government, too, was critical of the Committee's performance. It found no difficulty in disbanding it and setting up in its place the Ministry of Reconstruction. As such, the new ministry began to provide a useful impetus to social reformers. One of its committees was to produce a report which was to serve as an inspirational beacon to adult educators in many parts of the world for decades after its publication in 1919. (154)

While the concept of the Reconstruction Committee was not devoid of merit, the second factor influencing the drive towards educational change, and one providing Scottish education with a more direct boost, was that made up of three parliamentary debates that were held in the summer of 1916. The first of these debates, devoted to the general theme of 'training the nation', began in the Lords on July 12, and was initiated by Lord Haldane. In what Ashby and Anderson have called ... "a masterpiece of close argument...", (155) he reflected at length on the educational state of the nation, pleading, among other things, for improved provision

for those with ... "every aptitude..." (156), while observing that Great Britain, unlike some of its continental neighbours such as Germany and Switzerland, suffered from a ... "want of experts." (157) Out of 2,750,000 between the ages of twelve and sixteen, Haldane pointed out, nearly 1,100,000 got no education beyond the age of 13. From the remaining 1,650,000 only 250,000 received proper secondary schooling. (158) And he called for urgent action to reorganise the structure of the administration of education. "The avenger of our remissness in the past is upon us", he declared, "and we have to act at once." But he wanted no Royal Commission. That kind of a body, he believed, was ... "an opiate to send restless people to sleep..." (159) Both the Archbishop of Canterbury (160) and Lord Curzon agreed. (161) So did the government. Nevertheless it accepted that there was a need to set up an inquiry, ... "closely bound up ..." with the Reconstruction Committee, to review, among other things, plans for national education, not ... "forgetting the experience to be gained from the Scottish system..." (162)

At the same time that the Lords were exploring suitable parameters and testing their viability, the House of Commons was engaged in two successive debates on Civil Service estimates. The first of these, in mid-July 1916, dealt with the estimates of the Board of Education. This debate, however, was not limited to financial matters. Wider aspects of education were considered. Demands for a modernisation of the system were made. Tribute was paid to Haldane's effort ... "in sounding the loud timbrel..." in support of educational reform. (163) The extent of the provision of secondary education in Germany received some grudging admiration. (164) But a warning was sounded against allowing the Board of Education ... "too firm a grip..." on activities. "Many of us believe that it is owing very largely to the fetters which are imposed by the State itself upon German teachers in the schools, and upon German professors in the universities", observed Sir Philip Magnus, "that the conduct of the War by Germany has been attended with results so deeply deplorable." (165) On the other hand, the traditional belief in the virtues of Scottish education were stressed, particularly how in rural areas ... "it has always tapped the brains of its parish." (166) And as with Haldane, so with Craik. He, too, warned against appointing a large commission of inquiry, preferring instead a small committee. Much,

he said, should be left to the schools. "Do not attempt", he warned, ... "to make them the mere creatures of an official system by driving them into one single mould." (167) Here, surely, was a form of veiled criticism of his successor at the S.E.D.

The other estimates debate was that on Scottish education. Taking place early in August 1916, it followed the pattern of its English counterpart by calling for an inquiry into the state of education in Scotland. In his fleeting appearance as Scottish Secretary, H.J. Tennant confirmed that a body, designed to examine ... "the existing provisions for education on a national scale"... would contain Scottish representation. But he was against appointing a separate review for Scotland. "It is desirable", he said, "that there should be no divorce in that respect as between the different parts of our country." (168) Asquith supported this view; (160) while other Scottish MPs, such as MacCallum Scott, greeted it with only tepid enthusiasm. (170)

The third influential element, within a British context, helping to create a climate amenable to educational reform, was the report of the Lewis Committee on the relationship between the education of juveniles and the challenges in employment that were likely to face them in the post-war period. Although appointed by the Board of Education, the Committee's report, when published in March 1917, (171) was, as will be illustrated at a further stage, not without significance for Scotland. During its inquiries the Committee had noted that attendances, both at day and evening schools had shown ... "lamentable shrinkage". It found parental attitudes towards control in the home to be too "relaxed", while "exceptionally" high wages were creating ... "habits of foolish and mischievous extravagance." (172) Evidence on behalf of the S.E.D. was given to the Committee by G.W. Alexander, one of the two Assistant Secretaries. Drawing attention to what he regarded as poor encouragement given to evening schools in Scotland, he noted that out of 947 authorities, only twenty had formulated any byelaws for compulsory attendances for those between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. While pointing to commendable advances in attendance at voluntary evening classes in Edinburgh, the city, he stressed, continued to have ... "over 5,000 adolescents outside the influence of any systematic educational agency. The problem presented by these will require most careful consideration when normal times return." (173)

Among its main recommendations, the Committee's report emphasised the need to have compulsory Continuation classes for all under the age of eighteen because ... "the period of maximum danger to health and character"... was not over before that age. (174) To be really effective, the report suggested, the classes would have to be held in the day-time, at some point between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m., with the total annual hours of attendance being ... "not less than 320...". (175) Employers would be obliged to give their juveniles ... "the necessary facilities ..." to enable them to go to classes, although the report recognised that farmers were ... "less advanced..." in their attitudes towards education than urban employers. (176) Summing-up its philosophy, the Lewis Committee believed that a ... "handrail is required over the bridge which crosses the perilous waters of adolescence and it is this that a sound system of Continuation Classes may help to provide." (177)

Each of these elements - the Reconstruction Committee, the parliamentary debates on the 'training of the nation' and on the civil service estimates, and the Lewis report - helped to highlight a need to re-examine criteria for education as well as its administration and practices. The advice which they produced revealed, moreover, a genuine consensus about educational problems on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border while, at the same time, drawing attention to the limited degree of inter-dependence that was present in the relationship between the two respective systems of education. Inevitably, however, because the discussion generated by the above factors was conducted in a British context, and on broad, general lines, it could not do much more than offer inspiration or establish guide-lines. Admittedly, this kind of contribution was by no means unimportant. But, for Scotland, only in a more distinctly Scottish setting could detailed steps towards legislation be planned. What, therefore, was the nature of the Scottish dimension in the debate leading to the passing of the Education (Scotland) Bill in 1918?

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As the spirit of Reconstructionism swept through Westminster in the summer of 1916, those in Scotland who wished to see changes introduced into the educational system began to bring their ideas to the attention of the S.E.D. Three groups in particular were quite active: the Scottish Education Reform Committee

(S.E.R.C.); the Roman Catholic church; and, lastly, Labour and other socialist-related organisations.

S.E.R.C. was a federal body representing the interests of the E.I.S., the Secondary Education Association for Scotland and the Scottish Class Teachers' Federation. In July 1916, its secretary, Hugh Cameron, in the wake of the establishment of the Reconstruction Committee, pressed Struthers for an invitation to S.E.R.C. to be represented on any government sub-committee that was likely to be set up to plan for post-war educational changes. (178) The latter responded sympathetically to Cameron's approach and complimented S.E.R.C. on the manner in which it was taking up educational questions ... "in a systematic way...". (179) But, at the same time, Struthers was warned by D.M. Cowan, Headmaster of North Kelvinside High School, Glasgow, that it would be ... "positively harmful..." to those with an interest in reform if the Committee opted for action which might contradict the intentions of the Department. Cowan went on to put forward his own views about the kind of administrative changes he wished to see applied. Included among them was a desire to have education not only controlled by a county or town council but also linked to the administration of other local government services such as public health. (180) While agreeing that education could not ... "really flourish *in vacuo* ...", Struthers was not a little apprehensive about this latter proposal, in case it might encourage others to be even more radical in their suggestions. So he asked for the reply to Cowan to be treated as ... "personal in the very strictest sense...". (181) Struthers' fears were, indeed, not without substance. A letter from Cameron to D.T. Holmes, Liberal MP for Govan, (182) pressing S.E.R.C.'s case for county-controlled authorities, a national council for Scotland, national salary scales (the Craik committee on salaries had not been thought of let alone conceived), a rise in the school-leaving age to fifteen, compulsory part-time 'continuation' education, and a reduction in the size of classes was followed quickly by an unproductive meeting between Cameron and Struthers, with Cameron pressing for a government committee to inquire into Scottish education and Struthers doing ... "my best to throw cold water upon his zeal." Struthers feared that such a committee ... "would probably hinder rather than help the realisation of the chief ends which teachers had in view." (183) He had little success

for, on November 21, 1916, a deputation from S.E.R.C. met Tennant, and put forward the same ideas. While the Department remained largely non-committal in its reaction, The Scotsman criticised S.E.R.C.'s behaviour as well as some of its proposals. Referring to the Committee's hectoring stance as one of needless alarm, the paper suggested that ... "the desideratum of the moment..." was for an education policy to be considered in the context of Great Britain as a whole. The time for ... "peculiarities...", it believed, could be postponed. (184)

A similar interest in educational reform, especially with regard to the future of its schools, was evident among Roman Catholics. The influential Catholic newspaper, The Glasgow Observer, was very critical of the Reform Committee's proposal in favour of having education placed under larger authorities. (185) County councils, the paper feared ... "would practically rob the Catholic ratepayers of the representation they at present secure on School Boards." Moreover, the Boards were valuable because they served as attendance authorities, both for their own institutions and also for denominational schools. Their abolition, therefore, could increase the costs of maintaining voluntary institutions. Consequently, Catholics should, The Observer believed, ... "fight to the death against any legislative changes which ... would deprive the Catholic body of the small measure of protection and security which the School Board system affords." And only if granted proportional representation, it declared, might Catholics ... "passively concur..." with any change made to the fundamental structure of the educational system. In response, Struthers confined the main thrust of his comment to what the paper had said about proportional representation, considering it to be little more than a disguised plea in favour of the cumulative vote, an aspect of the franchise - in the context of school boards - which he considered to be ... "thoroughly objectionable..."

Despite The Glasgow Observer's faith in the 'small measure of protection' offered by the attendance officers of the school boards, the Catholic authorities were showing increasing signs of concern as to what was likely to happen to their schools under any new legislation. For example, on March 17, 1917, the Bishop of Galloway told Struthers that there was much dissatisfaction among Catholics in Scotland over what they regarded as the unequal distribution of money for education extracted from

rates and taxes. The consequences of this inequality, the Bishop pointed out, were that Catholic schools and their teachers were suffering hardship. (186) This hardship was evident, for instance, in the shortage of fully qualified staff; a problem offset to some extent by an intensive use of pupil teachers. Ensuring adequate salary scales was another difficulty. In an effort to try to improve these scales, a petition requesting an added bonus of 40% was presented by Catholic teachers to Tennant shortly before his departure from office. (187) Nine months later further attention was drawn to differentials between the salaries of Catholic and Protestant teachers. (188) Commenting on these aspects, Treble writes thus: "Until 1918 the pattern of Catholic education was exclusively shaped by the Church's decision, in the wake of the 1872 Education Act, to provide, wherever possible, Catholic schools for the children of her adherents." (189) By 1917 such exclusiveness, without at least some state support, lacked realism.

Aware that new legislation on Scottish education was being prepared, John Toner, Bishop of Dunkeld, wrote to Munro in March 1917 to ask how Roman Catholic schools were likely to be affected. (190) His request was followed, at the beginning of May, by another letter in which he made it clear, after having negotiations with two leading school boards, that it would be ... "quite impossible to bring our schools in any way under the jurisdiction of the School Board system." (191) How did the S.E.D. react to this information? Its attitude was revealed in two memoranda written in May. The first, on May 11th, (192) considered the future not only of Roman Catholic schools but also those of other denominations. A need for legislation was accepted. Three main points were stressed. First, that there could be no state grants to any school which could not be defined as public under the terms of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. Second, that managers of all pre-1872 voluntary schools could transfer their properties to local education authorities by sale, lease or some other - unspecified - method. Lastly, the curriculum and staffing of all transferred schools would be determined by the state authorities, but with the guarantee of protection for religious affiliations. The second memorandum, dated May 25th (193) contained Struthers' detailed interpretation of the position taken by the Catholic authorities with regard to their educational problems. What they desired, he suggested, was to ...

“retain absolute control [over their institutions] ...without any interference by outside authorities and at the same time to receive their share of the rates or an equivalent in additional grants special to Catholic schools.” However, Struthers believed that managers of Catholic schools were not united in their views about public control. Consequently, he advised Munro ... “to take a fairly stiff line ...” on the question of financial assistance. At the same time, he was not opposed to any transfer of Catholic schools to the public sector, and with a guarantee of safeguards for religious instruction. But he warned the Vice President about the possibility of strong reaction within Scotland. Therefore ... “it would be a *sine qua non* that you should have reasonable expectation that such a measure [i.e. the transfer of Catholic schools to public control] would at least be acquiesced in if not heartily approved by the Roman Catholic community...”. In conclusion, added Struthers, Catholic opinion would have to deal not with parochial school boards but with larger authorities ... “in which local prejudice would be much less accentuated.”

This second memorandum was followed, on May 28, 1917, by a meeting between Munro and a deputation of senior members of the Catholic Education Council, consisting of Archbishop Maguire, Bishop Toner and Lord Skerrington. In his study of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, Brother Kenneth states that Struthers' analysis of the views of the Catholic authorities was, at that stage, ... “as accurate as one could wish for ...”. And he goes on to say that, in the light of this analysis, the deputation could ... “hardly have been left in any doubt as to the intentions of the government...”. (194) But, as has been pointed out, the problem of voluntary education, in relation to the state, was not one which was confined to the Catholic authorities. The S.E.D., therefore, when meeting delegations from different religious groups, had to ensure that it kept alive the multi-denominational aspect of the question, and did not commit itself to any unilateral decision.

While S.E.R.C. had pressed for some modestly radical changes, and the Roman Catholic authorities had tried to balance their need for financial assistance from the state against their desire to retain control over their institutions, expansion of state provision for education was the keynote of socialist organisations. At its annual conference in Falkirk in April 1917, for example, the Scottish Trades Union Congress

(S.T.U.C.) passed a resolution in favour of a thorough reform of Scottish education, including the implementation of demands for nursery schools, raising the school leaving age to sixteen, enforcing compulsory attendance at day continuation classes for all up to the age of eighteen and, lastly, reducing the size of classes in other schools to thirty. (195) Within four weeks Munro met a delegation of Labour members of school boards. Struthers, however, was uneasy about the meeting, advising his minister to listen but to be ... "rather reserved as to any undertakings." Furthermore, he regarded the group as of little importance, dismissing its eighty or so individuals out of the total membership of all schools boards as being very small, and considering its views to be ... "a rechauffe of various programmes which have been put forward by other 'Advanced parties'." (196) But the views of the group were very close to those of the S.T.U.C. Moreover, the meeting with Munro proved to be a harbinger of further pressure on the Department. Between mid-June and early July it received a considerable number of letters and representations from groups of the Labour party, the Independent Labour Party, Cooperative Societies, Trades Councils and Trade Unions. (197) All supported the kind of programme advocated by the S.T.U.C., with particular emphasis being placed on the necessity of keeping children at school until the age of sixteen. (198) In the context of the times, this was not surprising. Many committed socialists, and most of their leaders, were taking an active interest in adult education, as witnessed the popularity of the classes of John MacLean, the Plebs League, the Central Labour College and the steps being taken to found a Scottish Labour College. That this interest spilled over into a concern for the education of children was in no way unusual. Of all political groups, socialists were the ones that probably had the clearest understanding and appreciation of the concept of education as a life-long process.

By the late spring of 1917, therefore, an impetus to encourage official action, so as to prepare the way to reform Scottish education, had taken shape; aided not only by the enthusiasm of the central legislature at Westminster but also by increased pressure being applied on the S.E.D., such pressure emanating from sources which had a direct interest in the scope and nature of any reforms that might be proposed. Furthermore, the effects of the change in government during the previous December,

with Robert Munro replacing Tennant as Secretary for Scotland, were starting to bring enhanced vigour, and a more positive attitude, into the conduct of public affairs. An indication of this new vitality, with particular reference to Scottish education, began to emerge in March 1917 when Struthers presented Munro with a draft document outlining what he felt should be the general trend in future educational development.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ His main proposals were as follows: areas of administration should be enlarged with voluntary institutions being transferred to public control; a full programme of education for adolescents should be planned; existing sources of finance should be consolidated into one central fund; and some form of an advisory body representing local authorities as well as other groups with a concern for education should be established. Finally, Struthers believed it was essential to have clear coordination between all levels of education, and to have designated reforms brought in by legislation and not by circulars or some other modes of instruction such as changes in the codes.

Much of what was put forward was not new. Some of it, as illustrated previously, had been included in the abortive Education (Scotland) Bills of 1904 and 1905; and it had much in common with the programme advocated by S.E.R.C. in the autumn of 1916. However, at this stage, the S.E.D.'s intentions appeared to be mainly exploratory. At the beginning of May 1917, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made it clear that he ... "would prefer..." proposals on Scottish education to go to the cabinet in the form of a draft bill rather than in that of a discussion document. ⁽²⁰⁰⁾ So, the Department was obliged to accelerate the process of formal preparation for such a bill. This it did in three memoranda between early May and mid-June 1917.

The first memorandum, on May 9, ⁽²⁰¹⁾ looked at the framework of Scotland's educational system. Struthers advocated a need to reduce the number of education authorities, base the future pattern of administration either on the *ad hoc* method or on that used in England and Wales, and exercise control at county level rather than at that of the parish. The new education committees, which he envisaged, would be composed largely of elected county councillors, with burgh representation, and a small number of non-elected specialist nominees. Where required, district sub-committees could be appointed. It was expected that this new format, by replacing

existing school boards and secondary education committees, would, therefore, provide improved coordination between all levels of the educational system, facilitate the expansion of secondary education and help to rationalise the structure of teachers' salaries. But Struthers admitted that the changes could lead to a loss of intimate contact between the controlling bodies and individual communities. Nonetheless, he did not think that such a loss would be very detrimental because he felt that the local interest ... "means first and foremost the interest of the Ratepayer, and so far as that interest being favourable to educational development it is just the reverse."

When formulating his argument, Struthers had looked back at the development of education in Scotland since 1872, using what he saw as the weakness in the school board system in order to strengthen the Department's case in favour of fundamental changes, as well as to 'educate' his political master, whose knowledge and experience of the machinery operating Scottish education, given that he had been in office for only five months, and that he had had no previous detailed experience in the field, could not have been anything other than scanty. Furthermore, he also made it clear that he did not think the Education Bill which was being planned was likely to be anything more than an instrument to ... "focus discussion...". Finally, he warned Munro that ... "if we begin by putting in the Bill proposals which are probably more in accord with the popular, though decidedly indefinite, view of the moment, we shall be committed irrevocably to a course of action which I am convinced is not in the best interests for the future of a national system of Education for Scotland".

So, the first memorandum, detailed and yet rather pessimistic in tone (possibly indicating that the Department felt itself being hustled, to some extent, by the cabinet decision to have a draft bill rather than a discussion document) was followed, on May 16 by another. (202) The second one dealt with finance. Evidence examined in the fifth and seventh chapters, with particular reference to the passing of the 1908 Education (Scotland) Bill and to the problems of providing education in rural, especially Highland, areas, has shown that the existing system of financing Scottish education, through a combination of funds direct from the Treasury and a mixture of

local taxes and equivalent grants, was no longer really adequate to cope with the increasing complexity of the demands being made on local authorities. And, as illustrated above, rising inflation and the pressures of war were exacerbating existing difficulties by, for example, kindling the expectations of teachers. Even more unattractive to the Department, therefore, was the prospect of having to cope with the repercussions of structural reform without, at the same time, changing the methods of financing education. Struthers emphasized, however, that devising a new system of funding for Scottish education, imperative though that had become, would be problematic. He gave two reasons for this. First, education authorities would need to be convinced of the benefits that would accrue to them if the existing structure of funding were changed. Second, and rather more delicate - at least in the context of the power politics of central government administration - would be the struggle to surmount opposition from the Treasury with regard to the principle of equivalent grants. Despite the rationalisation which had taken place in 1908 ... "the Treasury", Struthers argued, "has always shewn a reluctance to accept this principle of equivalent grant, and there is even yet no real certainty as to what they may do in a particular case." He went on to point out that an attempt to streamline the system had been part of the Finance Bill of 1914, but that the outbreak of war had scuppered the plan. But a possible way out of the impasse, he suggested, would be to insert, with modifications, in the Education (Scotland) Bill, the particular clause from the 1914 Finance Bill. Such a move would give Scottish education the ... "legislative security ..." of a single fund which could then ... "be applied in the way best suited to the interests of Scotland without being obliged to follow English precedent."

The final memorandum, dated June 12 1917, (203) concentrated on the question of appointing an advisory council. Struthers referred to the idea as it had been put forward by Douglas and Jones in 1904, but considered that, while their suggestions had merit, they could not have been applied successfully because of the inherent ... "inadequacy and incapacity..." of the school boards. However, after an ensuing interval of thirteen years, he now believed that the idea could be re-examined in the light of ... "the assumption that we succeed in forming strong local authorities for county areas...". It was envisaged that membership of the council would be drawn

from three main sources - the new local authorities, teachers, and the central administrating bodies. Following reorganisation, Struthers calculated that the number of new local authorities would be reduced to around forty. This would enable each authority to have individual consultations with the Department. While teachers usually regarded existing school boards as their ... "natural enemies...", they often saw the S.E.D., so its Secretary believed, as a vehicle to ... "issue instructions..." to those boards; instructions, moreover, which were partial to the interests of the teachers! An advisory body, therefore, would be looked upon by teachers ... "as giving them two strings to their bow." As for the central administrative body, Struthers admitted that the relationship between it and an advisory council could become ambiguous. In the existing situation the S.E.D. could initiate reforms. Nonetheless, with regard to important questions ... "it takes good care to ascertain as far as possible what their reception is likely to be". School boards passed on their views about particular issues to the Inspectorate, while the Department, when planning to introduce changes, sent out draft memoranda to school board managers before submitting them to parliament or adopting them in regulations. By using these methods, Struthers maintained, the S.E.D. could keep ... "in thorough touch with the drift of educational opinion in Scotland." (Of course, as the fracas about memorandum 239 has shown, the information chosen to be 'sent out' could be rather selective.) Summing-up his argument in favour of an advisory council, Struthers believed it should be a consultative body, with about fifteen members, having the confidence of local authorities and teachers, and acting as ... "a kind of Privy Council to the Department, [with] its whole proceedings therefore regarded as confidential..."

These three submissions from Struthers to Munro put into concrete form the S.E.D. case for a general reorganisation of Scotland's educational system. The Department's Secretary used his considerable knowledge and long experience to press for radical changes. Clearly, however, both the tone of the language used and the strong, almost uncompromising, nature of the way in which he shaped the argument, indicated that he was aware of the controversial nature of the reforms which he was advocating. It was not simply that he wished to abolish the system of school boards established after 1872, but that this abolition signalled a direct attack on a

tradition of schooling within, and under the control of, the community, which pre-dated 1872. In this context, therefore, what Struthers had in mind was little short of revolutionary. On the other hand, by looking at the existing provision for education, the practical difficulties imposed by the war, and, even more so, the kind of challenges likely to arise in the post-war period, especially with regard to trade and economic expansion, Struthers realised that, without a considerable restructuring of the educational system, the machinery required to prepare and develop the talent that would be necessary to cope with post-war development could not be created. He was, of course, paying close attention to ideas already propounded both at Westminster and in Scotland; ideas reflecting a desire for fundamental changes to be carried out in the structure and administration of education. Equally, he was conscious of a requirement for the S.E.D. to remain on an even keel when confronted by those who had a constitutional and moral right to contribute to the processes of decision-making: political parties, other government departments - notably the Treasury, local authorities, professional associations, religious and reforming bodies, the press, as well as the ubiquitous general public. But, as Struthers had put it to Munro, the intention was to encourage 'discussion'.

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No full discussion about any educational reforms could start until the Education (Scotland) Bill had been brought into the Commons. Following the long summer recess, Munro told the House that work on the Bill was ... "well advanced...", but that an exact date for its introduction could not be given. (204) By early November little had changed. Visible dissatisfaction with the apparent lack of progress began to be expressed. Labour and trade union organisations demanded action, with some of them sending their protests and resolutions to H.A.L. Fisher, (205) ... "a remarkable tribute ... " to his reputation, or ... "possibly a calculated snub..." to Munro, according to Stocks, (206) rather than an innocent administrative error. The E.I.S., on the other hand, went direct to the highest level in the government, sending a letter to the Prime Minister on November 28 (207) expressing ... "grave disappointment..." at the delay. At the same time, the Institute reminded Lloyd George of a meeting he had had with its representatives in 1911 - ... "a very pleasant memory..." - as well as apologising for

disturbing him ... “at a time when your first thoughts must be for the safety of the Empire, and no less for the preservation of civilisation...”. No evidence has been found to suggest that these pressures had any influence on the S.E.D., but it is clear the Department had completed a memorandum for the Cabinet by November 24, (208) and the whole bill, in draft form, by November 29. (209) Cabinet approval was given to it on December 14. (210) Three days later its contents were revealed to the Commons. The ‘discussion’ could begin.

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“There may be a difference of view with regard to certain of these provisions”, stated Munro, during his introduction to the Education (Scotland) Bill on December 17, “but all my Scottish colleagues, I know, urgently desire to have an Education Bill for Scotland, and the time is propitious for attaining that desire.” (211) Some of his colleagues felt otherwise; and the London correspondent of the Aberdeen Free Press observed that the Commons gave it ... “a tepid reception.” (212) What was the general view of the Scottish press? The Dundee Advertiser thought the Bill indicated Munro's courage, and that it was not ... “the courage of ignorance.” But it questioned the wisdom of discarding the principle of control by an *ad hoc* body ...” at a time like this, when democratic claims are certainly not likely to diminish...”. (213) The Scotsman, on the other hand, believed that the major administrative changes proposed in the Bill would be favoured by the majority of ... “competent authorities ...”. Nevertheless, it, too, had doubts about the viability of some of the clauses, especially those dealing with continuation classes and an advisory council. And it was afraid that the kind of interruptions ... “by a few malcontents...”, during the introduction of the Bill, signalled imminent opposition; although it hoped that the views of “the wreckers ...” would not prevail. (214) Of Scotland's national newspapers, The Glasgow Herald was by far the most enthusiastic in its support. “The Scotch Office”, it declared, “has taken its courage in both hands and submitted to the country bold and comprehensive plans.” (215) And how did the country react? A survey of opinion carried out by the Herald, revealed different points of view. (216) For instance, John Smith, chairman of the Govan School Board, thought abolition of *ad hoc* control could be ... “a fatal mistake...”, but Sir Charles Cleland, Vice-Chairman of Glasgow's School

Board, considered the Bill to have been constructed ... "on the right lines." Two professors at the University of Glasgow, Robert Latta, and John Phillimore, supported the establishment of large education authorities, while Alexander Darroch, Simon Laurie's successor at Edinburgh, believed that the success of such authorities would depend to a considerable extent on their ability to use the powers of cooption. Finally, two key members of the major professional associations, Neil Snodgrass and John Strong, accepted that large areas of control ... "would have an immense influence for good." On the whole, therefore, the preliminary verdict on the Bill was one of encouragement without effusion. How did the more formal response of organised bodies compare with this verdict?

The judgement of some of them mirrored that given in the press. Unequivocal support for the Bill, like that provided by Snodgrass and Strong, for example, was reciprocated by a number of local branches of the E.I.S., (217) and by the Convenor of the Institute's Rural Teachers' committee. (218) But the Institute's retiring president, Hugh Cameron, reported that teachers considered the Bill to be no more than ... "fairly satisfactory." (219) Others seemed more enthusiastic. Neither the secondary education committees of Dunbarton and Sutherland nor the general councils of the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh saw much to criticise in the government's intentions. Similarly, the Dundee branch of the W.E.A., the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation and the town councils of Banff and Edinburgh seemed to be satisfied with what the Bill had to offer. (220) On the other hand, despite the government's intention to put the administration of education into the control of county-based authorities, county councils themselves were rather ambivalent in their support for the measure. The Association of County Councils, as well as some of its individual members, including Forfar, Midlothian, Perth and Orkney, thought the timing of the introduction of the Bill 'inopportune'. (221) In addition, a number of county council convenors from different parts of Scotland were divided in their reactions. One convenor, Scott Plummer from Selkirk, went so far as to suggest that the choice of an administrative pattern for local control was largely an academic question. The real power, he believed, lay with the S.E.D. Consequently, it did not matter ... "whether the local education authority ... be the Tweedledum of a committee of the county

council or the Tweedledee of a parish school board." (222) In contrast to this amalgam of qualified support and unenthusiastic acceptance, there was firm opposition to the Bill from school boards, parish councils, left-wing political organisations as well as from more conservative-minded bodies such as the Scottish Council of Agriculture and the Mining Association; (223) while, as noted above, those running denominational schools were, if not outrightly critical, at least rather apprehensive about the government's intentions.

Such was the initial reaction to the government's proposals. What were the main features of the debate that followed, and which ended with the successful completion of the passage of the second Education (Scotland) Bill in November 1918? How did that debate help to bring into focus some of the main trends in the process of decision-making in Scottish education? And what kind of role was played in that process by central government, other relevant organisations, and individuals? An examination of three of the general issues may enable some conclusions to be drawn: first, the proposal to establish county-based units for educational administration, elected by means of a non-specialized ballot; second, the projected increase in the provision of part-time continuation classes for those between the ages of fifteen and eighteen; and third, allocating some form of state support for denominational schools.

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The government's decision to change the underlying pattern of the local administration of education from that of a parish-based school board to a new form of educational unit built on a county structure was not new. Preceding governments had made similar proposals. But whenever legislation intended to dismantle the existing structure had been introduced, as for example in 1904 and 1905, it had been contested severely, and the force of the opposition had been strong enough to terminate prematurely the passage of such legislation. The strength of the commitment to the existing structure was no less apparent in 1918. As in the previous decade, opponents of the Bill were almost united in seeing the administrative clauses both as a ploy to abolish an established, but by no means hated, form of local control and, what was more significant, as an attack on a particular philosophy of education rooted in the principles of democracy and in Scottish history. The government,

however, believed that substantial changes were necessary, not only in the interests of efficiency but also in order to harmonise education with other facets of local government, and fit it in with imminent changes to be carried out in the system of the franchise. The 1917 Education (Scotland) Bill, therefore, by creating new county-based local authorities together with those in the scheduled burghs of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and with education controlled by a general committee rather than by an elected *ad hoc* body was seen, by the central authority, as a major step forward towards brushing away what was felt to be an outdated mode of organising schooling.

The kernel of the attack on this intention came from those who were most closely involved in running the existing system and from those who considered that that system was, to a considerable degree, a practical manifestation of their political principles. A member of the Glasgow School Board, for instance, believed that a change to county control would be undemocratic. (224) This view was shared by Thomas Johnston, Editor of Forward and a future Scottish Secretary of State, who suggested that the Bill was ... “simply an attempt to abolish actual or potential Labour or democratic representation.” (225) A similar opinion was held by the I.L.P., and encapsulated in a resolution by its Kilsyth branch that the Bill was ... “an unwarranted interference with the democratic control of School Boards.” (226) The Scottish Cooperative and Labour Council agreed with these sentiments and urged MPs to reject the government’s proposals. (227) And critical reactions also came, rather surprisingly, from county councils. The Earl of Mar, convenor of the Clackmannan council was against abolishing school boards as well as the *ad hoc* method of election. (228) So were the convenors of the Forfar (229) and Shetland (230) councils who objected to educational administration being added to the work of County Councils. Their colleague, Maclachlan of Maclachlan, convenor of Argyll, did not oppose the government in principle, but he believed that scattered communities should be given a form of devolution to district committees. C.B. Renshaw from Renfrewshire supported this suggestion. (232) But the convenors of Dumbarton, (233) Berwick (234) and Linlithgow (235) councils generally welcomed the Bill while Andrew Lindsay from Sutherland thought it was ... “a bold and generous attempt to bring an

educational system into line with those of our great world rivals in arts and commerce.”(236) Not so the maverick MacKintosh of MacKintosh, convenor of the Inverness-shire council. He thought the Bill was unnecessary, that its passing would have grave, expensive consequences; and, being war-time, people in any case ... “don’t want to be troubled with such matters just now.” (237)

How did the central authority react to these criticisms? The S.E.D. had no doubts about the need to abolish the existing format of local education administration. Electing bodies on a restricted range of subjects led, it believed, to the real questions being left to be dealt with by central government. The forces of democracy had found a better source of expression in the national parliament rather than in a local setting because at Westminster ... “nobody has ever thought of having education divorced from the general interests of the nation and referred to a body of men specially chosen...”. In the administration of education the Department feared that a crisis point had been reached, ... “and that ... if we are forced to drop the idea of a general local authority with education as one of its functions, and adopt an *ad hoc* authority, we shall put back the hands of the clock by at least a generation”. (238) Struthers pressed on with his attack on the critics by means of a series of memoranda to Munro. Furthermore, he utilised the willing support for county-based control that came from John Strong, newly elected as president of the E.I.S. Having received a rough draft of Strong’s presidential address, he used the opportunity to try to get the Institute to modify some of the opposition to the Bill coming from the Labour party, whose support he clearly regarded as being very important for the future development of Scottish Education. “Is the maintenance of the *ad hoc* principle generally in local administration”, he asked, “consistent with the real interests of the working classes?” He believed not; adding that ... “matters which most vitally concern ... [them] ... are administered by hole - and - corner bodies on which ... [they] ... have a representation which is either nil or inadequate.” Labour, he said, would have to accept the pattern of county-controlled authorities as indispensable and, therefore, ... “bend their energies ...” to secure the change, with arguments for it having ... “to be reiterated in season and almost out of season before the popular mind is cleared of certain strong prepossessions.” (239)

What was the basis for these alleged prepossessions? Stocks (240) has suggested that two factors contributed to the attitudes of left-wing organisations towards the administrative changes proposed in the Bill: first, a fear that they would lose the opportunity to share in local decision-making; and second, that what Struthers referred to as the ... "alleged Toryism and unprogressivism ..." of county councils (241) was an image full of reality to those from working-class backgrounds. Accepting Stocks' thesis, but looking at the question in a broader historical context, it is possible to see other elements combining to colour the attitudes of so many who opposed the Bill. A number of commentators, for example, have drawn attention to the way in which the first world war changed the relationship between individuals and the state, notably in the field of industrial relations. Both Wrigley (242) and Wald point to how Labour leaders began to take an active role in government, thus providing them with ... "a fund of experience that could be exploited for electoral purposes." (243) But, at the same time, the war brought in a considerable extension of state control over industry and the economy in general. This extension, argues Cronin, ... "set in motion a powerful and complex dynamic in the relations between workers, employers and the state." As a result, there was fostered, among left-wing groups, an ambivalent attitude towards the utilisation of state machinery with ... "neither the Labour party nor the unions ..." being ... "wholeheartedly in favour of the extension of state activity wrought by the war and envisaged by many as the basis of reconstruction." (244) Christopher Harvie supports this view; pointing out how centralisation was resented by socialists in Scotland. (245) One manifestation of this resentment was the industrial unrest on Clydeside, notably over the question of munitions. "What made a munitions worker in late 1915", according to Melling, "was not the work on his bench or hull, but the coercion of the state and his struggle against it." (246) But was it real coercion or only perceived to be so? Maclean has suggested that, despite the application of controlling powers by central government, ... "the 'state' was no monolith." (247) Yet the belief among socialists that it was, enabled opposition to be mounted against all forms of centralisation. No distinction was drawn between the different locations in which the centralising tendencies were believed to be active. The Labour party itself, and educational groups like the Labour colleges,

just as much as bodies at the other end of the political spectrum, were condemned whenever local control was abandoned in favour of larger administrative units. (248) Not surprisingly, therefore, any changes which were proposed for the structure of educational machinery, especially if they entailed a move away from a community-based direction in favour of a county-controlled system, and a system, moreover, lacking in any form of managerial appointments made by an *ad hoc* method of election, was bound to be looked upon by many in Scotland not merely with suspicion but also as an objective to be resisted.

The government, however, was not prepared to admit, in public at least, that resistance was a problem. The Bill, declared Munro on January 24, 1918 was ... "viewed with growing favour ..." in Scotland. (249) This response at Question Time in the Commons belied the real situation. Criticism of the Bill by the Provost of Newburgh, Fife, was, according to J.P. Parker, Struthers' private secretary, ... "very mild in tone as compared with some we are getting." (250) And as the volume of adverse comment rose, so did the levels of sensitivity in the S.E.D. These were further exacerbated by what Struthers considered to be lukewarm reaction and misleading commentary from Liberal MPs. He found their views on the third clause of the Bill, as put forward in an interim report at the end of February, to be ... "a travesty so glaring that it must be due either to a very careless and superficial reading of the terms of the clause or a deliberate intention to prejudice the further consideration of the Bill by the Liberal members." (251) Clearly, though, there was further consideration, for it led Munro, by the end of March, to withdraw his opposition to the use of the *ad hoc* principle. (252) Boards and councils, unions and parties had struggled to remove that opposition, but it was a shot from the legislators which bunkered it; and did so, moreover, without any formal debate. Munro's capitulation appeared to take Struthers by surprise. Even so, he had ... "to swallow his disappointment." (253) And he it was, with his advisers, rather than Labour and other opponents of the Bill, who had to 'bend their energies' in search of an acceptable solution. This they did, and produced an answer in a memorandum to Munro on May 9. After exploring a number of possibilities, such as retaining the existing system - ... "a counsel of despair..." - or having *ad hoc* in the counties and *ad omnia* in the four

large cities, they plumped for an *ad hoc* county authority with a number of electoral divisions, each having proportional representation, thus ensuring that minorities, including Catholics, would be represented ... "in any district where their number count for anything." (254)

This decision was incorporated into the Education (Scotland) Bill which was brought into the Commons on June 18, 1918. Opening the second reading, Munro admitted that he had had to ... "bow to public opinion, as I understand it." (255) The Glasgow Herald felt it was ... "a regrettable concession ... to a clamorous minority...", (255) but the Aberdeen Free Press (257) and The Scotsman seemed satisfied with it. (258) How did the House react? With almost unanimous approval; Munro being congratulated for restoring the *ad hoc* principle ... "in preference to what I may be permitted to call ... the omnium gatherum method.." (259) Nor was there much opposition against adoption of the county as the unit of administration. Gulland, admittedly, found the concept ... "quite alien to the Scottish nature." (260) And although Barnes (261) and Adamson (262) pointed to the additional expenses that would fall on working men attending meetings, both Younger (263) and Greig (264) considered the decision to be the harbinger of change to come in the general format of local government. An attempt to reopen the question in the Grand Committee, by introducing a motion to 'delimit' authorities, was defeated by thirty-six votes to five, with ten abstentions. (265) Had the attempt succeeded, according to Munro, it would have inflicted ... "a death wound..." on the Bill. (266) The Scotsman agreed, holding that the measure had come through its most difficult obstacle. The county, without special areas, it believed, ... "keeps alive the possibility of the unification of local services under a single authority, to which Mr. Munro looks forward as a natural development in local government." (267)

The greater part of this debate on the reforming of the administrative structure of Scottish education had concentrated the minds of all concerned on the future of the parish-based school boards. But there were, in addition, two subsidiary aspects forming a part of the total context of the organisation of education - the interests of the burghs and the relevance of the proposed Advisory Council. Neither was passed by.

In his role as chairman of the Convention of Royal Burghs, Henry Keith, Provost of Hamilton, tried to ensure that burgh representation on the new organising bodies would be strong enough to counterbalance the interests of the landowners. (268) While treating his plan with respect, both the S.E.D. and the Scottish Office were unwilling to adopt it because it would have added an intermediate tier to the structure of local government, thereby weakening the position of the county-controlled body. Keith's idea, nonetheless, singled out a desire for a degree of independence among some of the burghs, notable Leith, Paisley and Greenock. Under the Bill, they were to lose whatever freedom they had, with Leith being incorporated into Midlothian, and Paisley and Greenock into Renfrewshire. Each, not unexpectedly, considered this proposed change to be a form of demotion. To avoid this, Leith requested to have all burghs with a population in excess of 50,000 (Leith had 83,000) placed on a footing similar to that of the four largest cities. (269) The S.E.D. appreciated the problem; but, with special reference to Leith, knew that it ... "would be still more hostile to being thrust in with Edinburgh...". (270) After meeting a deputation from Leith and Paisley on May 21, the Department agreed to accept Leith's case, but declined to do so with regard to Paisley and Greenock. While the status of both burghs qualified them for separate treatment, the Department felt that ... "the county has a very strong claim to some say at least in the management of their schools and institutions." (271) A later Commons motion against the decision was withdrawn because of lack of support. (272)

The other general feature of the administrative machinery outlined in the two Education Bills was the proposal to establish an Advisory Council. The Department saw the idea as an experimental method of gathering ... "prevailing opinions..." on educational questions in Scotland. But, as such a council would have no authority to interfere with the legitimate constitutional authorities, the critics, especially at Westminster, could not take it seriously. A body without authority, they said, could not be respected. Edward Parrott summed up much of the feeling against the government's intention by condemning it as ... "the creature of the Department.."; (274) ... "a Departmental dug-out against a barrage of popular opinion". (275) Despite this lack of enthusiasm, the government's desire to establish the Council prevailed,

and it became an integral part of Scotland's educational machinery. As an ideal, it had some merit. But it had been established on criteria that were too imprecise to provide it with a firm base and clear direction. "As a prescription for future action", notes Young, "the advisory council clause proved quite inadequate." (276)

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The second issue to attract some attention during the debate about the government's proposals on Scottish education was the question of continuation classes and the plan to increase provision of such part-time classes for those between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Although the concept of continuation schools was not new in 1917, earlier attempts to develop them had not been treated with any marked degree of importance. There had not been, for example, any real relationship between the old evening continuation classes and their counterparts in the day schools. The latter, writes Mason, ... "implied an appointed duty upon fixed terms. The other was in the nature of a private venture undertaken on chance." (277) Nevertheless, by 1906, The Glasgow Herald was suggesting that, in applying the concept of 'continuing' education in most parts of Scotland ... "a very complete system of technical instruction could be set up ... at a comparatively small expense." (278) Two years later, however, Hector Macpherson questioned whether voluntary attendance at a continuation class could be anything other than a hindrance... "in that the average pupil is not able to cover a reasonably thorough and sustained course of work." He went on to press for some form of compulsion, especially for those between the age of fourteen and seventeen when ... "the true value of education begins to dawn upon the youth, who, at first, rebelling at compulsion, soon comes to appreciate its beneficial results." (279) The Lewis Committee, as discussed above, was also dissatisfied with the voluntary nature of existing provision, with Alexander giving a not very flattering account of attendances at continuation classes in Edinburgh. It was against this kind of background, therefore, that the government made its recommendations in the 1917 Bill.

Apart from raising the school-leaving age to fifteen, the Bill laid down that those between the age of fifteen and eighteen who were not in full-time education would be required to attend part-time continuation classes for at least 320 hours per

annum. Employers not releasing their young employees, so that they could attend classes at some point between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m. were liable to be prosecuted for not complying with the regulations. (280) What was the reaction?

A self-styled 'working man' from Lochgelly, deprecated the raising of the school-leaving age. Too much importance, he said, was attached ... "to the wild utopian schemes of a few working men's leaders ...". (281) The Breadalbane Agricultural Association agreed; brandishing the Bill generally as ... "highly contentious ...", especially the move to raise the school-leaving age when labour was scarce. (282) Equally opposed to the measure was the Scottish Council of Agriculture. In a memorandum to Munro on March 14, 1918, it attacked the proposal to raise the school-leaving age and impose obligatory attendance at continuation classes. (283) Such requirements, the Council believed, would be a handicap to young farm workers, denying them the opportunity to acquire skills, and relegating them to casual work only. Furthermore, the Council argued, the annual class contact period of 320 hours was too long, 240 or even 200 would be sufficient. Finally, it was suggested that local authorities should have ... "absolute power ..." to grant exemption from attendance at any class without having to refer the matter to the S.E.D. While the National Farmers' Union supported the Council, (284) Munro received at least one letter of encouragement. A representative of the Rural Institute Movement, writing to him in April 1918, hoped that he would not pay too much attention to the views of farmers. "You haven't heard what the women in the farm houses and cottages have got to say! And the child should be the first consideration, not agriculture." (285)

Were these criticisms from the farming fraternity totally self-centred? Not entirely. On the eve of the war, as Armstrong and others have pointed out, Britain produced only a fraction of what it ate. (286) A poor harvest in 1916, and the growing menace of submarine warfare, had further adverse effects on food production. Moreover, there was a general drift from the land into the forces, with horses remaining ... "unshod and broken implements and harnesses unmended...", (287) while those farm workers who remained on the land had often to work longer hours, and for less pay, than their industrial counterparts. (288) In addition, as Robertson has argued,

there were other, more permanent, factors which could have had a retrogressive effect on attempts to develop continuation classes in rural areas. There existed, she maintains, ... "a cultural gap..." between town and country. (289) This gap was symbolised by six factors, unique to rural life. (290) First, longer hours of work each day; no relaxation from a seven-day week, and little mechanisation. Second, marked differences between, as well as stratification within, separate skills; so that ... "cattlemen would refuse to allow ploughmen to handle their cattle...". Third, and especially relevant to the Lothians and Borders, the presence of a high proportion of women labourers. Fourth, a method of hiring farm workers at set times during the year. Fifth, tied cottages attached to the contract of work. Lastly, a system of annual flitting which ... "had unfortunate effects on children's formal schooling and possible educational advancement." And this advancement could also be curtailed in times of crises when the use of juvenile labour was ... "the first recourse of farmers who had long suspected that village children were in danger of being over-educated...". (291)

Apart from agriculture, the government's plans to expand continuation classes in Scotland were also scrutinised by industry, notably mining and shipbuilding. In January 1918 the Mining Association of Great Britain sent a deputation to the Board of Trade to discuss the question of classes in the context of both the English and Scottish education bills. (292) The main points to be resolved were the compulsory nature of the classes and the hours of attendance. Mining, it was pointed out by Adam Nimmo, leader of the deputation, might suffer if boys were withdrawn at inconvenient times in order to attend classes. While there was a right to learn, Nimmo believed that ... "if a boy is receiving the advantages of education it should not be made absolutely too easy for him to secure these facilities." In contrast to this view, the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation pressed the S.E.D. to extend educational facilities. (293) But as shipbuilding apprentices did not begin their training until they were sixteen years old, it was in the Federation's interest to have the gap between the end of formal schooling and the start of their engineering education filled by something beneficial. And as the starting age was higher than in other crafts, so the majority did not complete their training until they were twenty-one. The Federation, therefore, also asked that the upper age limit for compulsory attendance be raised, at least for the

best students, beyond the age of eighteen.

The timing of the government's response to these submissions from agriculture and industry varied. By the beginning of February it appeared that the S.E.D. was willing to accept the Mining Association's case in favour of moving the closing hour for classes from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. ... "if we are satisfied that a good case has been made out as regards either the particular industry or the particular locality." Moreover, in view of the consultations which had taken place between them, with regard to this particular issue, the Department also decided to ... "keep in line with the Board of Education on this point as far as may be possible." (294) This promise was not kept. Both hours of attendance and the compulsory age limit were reduced in the English Education Bill. No corresponding change took place in the Scottish measure. Two points were emphasised by the S.E.D. First, it possessed, and would continue to use - when necessary - the power to grant exemptions from attendance to the ... "dullard or the backward pupil..." who would gain nothing from additional attendance at full-time education. But the Department was not prepared to accept that agricultural skills, for example, needed to be taught at an early age; for ... "even in the most seemingly mechanical occupations, trained intelligence and general education tell decisively in the long run...". Second, the introduction of continuation classes would be gradual. Representatives of industry and agriculture would be consulted about local needs when classes were being arranged. But there would be no reduction in the total annual requirement of 320 hours of attendance, and no concession made to agriculture, for that ... "would be pounced upon by the coal owners...". (295) The kind of factors, noted above by Robertson, were not, therefore, used by the Department as convenient obstacles against changes.

Generally, the Commons welcomed the proposals for continuation classes when they were introduced in June, with only the disparity between English and Scottish requirements drawing some mild criticism. (296) Munro agreed in October to accept the case of the Mining Association's argument for more flexible hours. But an attempt to reduce the hours of attendance at classes for young farmers, as brought in by Lord Balfour of Burleigh during the Committee stage in the Lords, was

defeated. (298)

Apart from considering proposals for administrative changes, and developing machinery to expand continuation classes, the debate on Scottish education in 1918 also focussed attention on the condition of the voluntary schools. In doing so, the role of religious instruction in the curriculum emerged as an important political factor. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act had made it clear that no compulsion would be attached to the teaching of religious instruction in any of the public schools in Scotland. (299) Almost all voluntary institutions operating outside the state system, on the other hand, by the very criteria upon which they had been founded, practised no such freedom. Moreover, in return for their independence, they were obliged to rely on their own meagre financial resources in order to survive. Consequently, their buildings and scholastic equipment were often poor, their teachers badly paid and the tuition they provided rather inadequate. Proposals to rectify these deficiencies were put into the 1917 Education (Scotland) Bill.

Out of Scottish schools not under the control of school boards, the highest number - two hundred and seventeen - belonged to the Roman Catholics. Episcopalians had fifty-one schools; the Church of Scotland, three; and the United Free Church, one. In addition, there were forty-four non-denominational schools, including the practising schools at Training Centres. (300) The distribution of these schools varied. Nationally, those belonging to the Roman Catholic church, for instance, contained approximately one-seventh of the total school population of Scotland, while, in some districts, numbers varied between one third and one quarter. (301) Through no fault of their own, therefore, in the opinion of the S.E.D., Catholic children ... "were receiving an education much inferior in every way to that given in the public schools. This lower standard, to say nothing of the fact that they constituted a pariah class, was rapidly becoming a national danger...". (302)

The remedy proposed in order to resolve this 'national danger' was to bring the schools under public control. Despite the financial problems incurred by the Catholic authorities, it took a series of protracted discussions before the principle of state assistance was accepted. (303) Even so, many Catholics agreed to accept the

decision with a considerable degree of reluctance. At one stage, among both clergy and laity, there was a ... "cleavage of opinion..." about the wisdom of abandoning independence, (304) with the proposals in the 1917 Bill being looked at with a degree of ... "caution and some apprehension." (305) Much of this was the result of a concern about the selling or leasing of buildings. More significant, however, was the fact that acceptance of public control also carried with it an abandonment of the church's sole right to appoint teachers. But as a form of compensation, it was allowed to continue the supervision of the teaching of religious instruction to Catholic children.

While the Commons, during the second reading of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill, approved proposals to allow Roman Catholic schools into the state system, (306) an approval which surprised Struthers, (307) the agreement enabling the supervision of Catholic religious teaching to continue was to bring down the wrath of Presbyterianism on the government generally and on Munro personally. In so doing, the role of religious instruction in the curriculum emerged, once more, into the centre of the discussion about educational principles. The Catholic church had never lost sight of this. "The school", commented Munro Fraser, one of the government's most senior inspectors, "is the corridor of the Church; [and the place where] ... pupils are rooted and grounded in the 'faith'...". (308)

The first salvo was fired at a meeting of the Scottish Grand Committee in July 1918, by means of an amendment from Gulland to allow a specific reference about religious instruction to be inserted into clause seven of the 1918 Bill. Struthers believed it would be expedient and conciliatory to accept the amendment. Nothing would be changed, he said, except that religious instruction would become mandatory instead of being discretionary. (309) The conscience clause would not be abandoned. But the amendment was lost, being defeated by twenty-one votes to fourteen. (310) Commenting on the result, The Scotsman observed that the system of religious education ... "lends itself to the maintenance of a fiction ...". Schools were assumed to be non-denominational because religious instruction was left in the hands of local authorities. "For more than two generations", the paper's editor concluded, "that argument has deceived nobody." (311)

Far from dampening down enthusiasm, the defeat of the amendment helped

to accelerate controversy. Letters and resolutions, supporting the inclusion of a direct reference of religious instruction in the relevant clause of the Bill, poured into the Department from all parts of the country, with the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church sharing their objective with enthusiasm. (312) One correspondent even reminded Munro of his own background, and encouraged him to throw himself, his soul and his ... "pious remembrances of the Manse into the balance." (313) Resolving a dispute of this kind, however, required something more than the use of a government minister's soul. But for the S.E.D., any discussion on the place of religious instruction in schools contained, apart from its political connotation, a unique logistical problem. It was the only non-coded subject on the time-table, although freedom was given to ministers of religion to carry out periodic tests on children's knowledge of the Bible and the Catechism. Despite the special status of the subject, and because of the dispute, the S.E.D. decided that some form of assessment and evaluation of its place in the curriculum was necessary. Consequently, through the Inspectorate and the E.I.S., a survey of religious education in grant-aided schools, and those under secondary school management, was carried out, so as to determine if its teaching was ... "so inadequate as to be merely a mockery." (314) Apart from minor differences, the Inspectorate reported that instruction was given in most primary schools for approximately thirty minutes per day, and for at least three days a week. In secondary schools, on the other hand, little serious attention was given to the subject. (315) A similar picture emerged from the E.I.S. Only two school boards allotted no time to religious instruction in primary schools, while out of replies from one hundred and three boards, with regard to its position in secondary schools, forty-one said that no time was devoted to instruction.(316) Evaluating what they found, George Andrew, for example, felt that, although taught conscientiously, only in a small number of schools was it done ... "with the fervour and zeal required for making any very lasting impression...". (317) Much depended on the attitude of teachers. While public opinion was in favour of having religious education taught, F.R. Jamieson thought that ... "a good many of the younger teachers would willingly shirk the duty." (318) Perhaps the most accurate observation about its standing in schools was made by a Lanarkshire headmaster. Speaking to T.B. Lamb, he said that he saw ... "more strap-

swinging to inforce the knowledge of a God of Love and Mercy than for any other subject." (319)

As both the S.E.D. and Munro were part of the machinery of state government, this exercise could have rebounded on them. The subject about which the inquiry had been carried out was, according to law, free of any need for formal assessment. Moreover, by initiating an investigation the Department was ignoring advice it had given to Munro in July 1918, warning him to avoid giving any impression that the government was sanctioning a form of a state syllabus on religious instruction. The same point was emphasized by Macdonald at the beginning of October. Recognising the need for a solution, he had, nevertheless, little sympathy for the position of the protestant churches. Having transferred their schools to state control in 1872, without any stipulation about religious education, thus losing ... "their own tails in the theoretical, though not in the practical sense, they are now", maintained Macdonald, "somewhat alarmed at the idea of Roman Catholics strutting about within the national system ostentatiously waving their caudal appendages." (320)

Armed with its data from the Inspectorate and the E.I.S., and concerned about the mounting criticism of Protestant churches, Munro brought in a new clause on October 15, incorporating the preamble of the 1872 Education(Scotland) Act into his Bill so as to placate ... "any legitimate apprehension..." about the teaching of religious instruction. (321) The Commons was satisfied, and an attempt to re-open the question during the Committee stage in the Lords was defeated. (322) But, in return for a compromise solution, the Scottish Secretary received a denunciatory letter from one of his constituents, a Free Church minister in Dornoch, accusing him of yielding ... "to secular political clamour..." and to the requests ... "of Papists and Prelatists." "As a friend of your worthy father", he concluded, ... "I bitterly lament your conduct in this all important matter." (323)

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With the completion of the passage of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill, much of the immediate controversy about area administration, expansion of continuation classes and the viability of voluntary schools, as well as the status of religious instruction in the curriculum, died down. Some of the solutions adopted,

especially those affecting the pattern of administration, were to be transitory. That this was so, in the context of total war, was not surprising. But education was only one division in the machinery of government. Changes in some of the others, notably in the system of the franchise, had evolved slowly over decades while, on the other hand, the emphasis on centralisation was the product, to a large extent, of war-time conditions. The S.E.D., therefore, had to balance its legislative aims against the tension created by these divergent trends. So, despite a genuine sentimental attachment to the old school boards, no real expansion in educational provision in Scotland in 1917 would have been possible unless the need for radical measures to change the structure of the administration of schooling had been accepted. An opportunity to initiate changes had occurred in 1904 and 1905, but the pressures of public opinion, weaknesses in the legislation prepared, and the opposition of MPs had defeated the attempt. Although it had a large majority, the Liberal government could not take the leap required in its 1908 Education (Scotland) Bill. A decade later, in a different political context, the possibility of applying administrative changes in Scottish education was a reality. And there was, in 1917, as there had been in 1904, one unchanged element - the presence of John Struthers. In 1904 he had favoured administrative units for education which were larger than the parish-based school boards. During the preparation for the 1917 Education (Scotland) Bill, and in the discussions which followed its introduction, he appeared to have embraced a Gladstonian mission to demolish the school boards and usher in a new county-based system of administration. He guided Munro with almost fanatical explicitness and his preparation of the arguments, the marshalling of data, and the gathering of supporters, was very thorough. Inevitably, however, there was one thing beyond his grasp, namely, control of the legislature. Munro, the politician, was at the mercy of the unpredictable, almost fickle, nature of the political process. He was the final arbiter of decisions, the bearer of penultimate responsibility. It was not surprising, therefore, that his relationship with Struthers was not always the model that that between a minister and his chief civil servant is reputed to be.

If a compromise was forced on the government, with regard to the administrative structure proposed in its Scottish education legislation, the plans for

continuation classes were a little more successful. They were part of a trend which had been building up nationally, as seen in the growth of movements like the W.E.A., the university extension movement and the Labour colleges. But, in the case of rural Scotland in particular, the government had to struggle to get its ideas over. Nonetheless, among those who saw what the economic requirements of the post-war period were likely to be, there was an appreciation of the government's intentions in its drive to develop the concept of 'continuing' education.

Yet, of the three issues which formed a substantial part of the debate leading up to the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill, perhaps the most delicate was that of the relationship between denominational education and the state. Accepting control under the government enabled many voluntary schools to survive. Granting them a subsidy, however, helped to resurrect the serpent of intolerance. The question of the teaching of religious instruction in Scottish schools had been glossed over in the compromise of 1872. As a result, Scottish education had been remarkably free of the disputation which had had such a dominant effect on the passage of the 1902 Education Bill for England and Wales. This freedom, however, had been bought at a price. The Scotsman recognised this, and said so. Others, also understood it, and forced the S.E.D. to respond. In doing so, it kept its balance and did not turn religious instruction into a vehicle for official state propaganda, financed by the Department and condoned by the government.

* * * *

Although some of the problems inherent in the administration of Scottish education had been resolved in 1908, the system itself had remained largely intact. With the outbreak of war in 1914 a severe strain was imposed on it. Administrators, teachers and children had to undergo abnormal experiences. Essential elements in schooling, such as accommodation, staffing and time-tabling were subordinated to the demands of the military. At the same time, the discomfort of war and some of the economic consequences of the fighting, notably rising inflation, emphasized dormant weaknesses in the structure of the educational system, including those in the salaries and career patterns of teachers. These drawbacks encouraged reformers to look at what they thought would be the most significant problems to be tackled in the post-

war period. Within education in Scotland their attention focussed on areas of interest such as the local machinery for organisation and control, and provision for post-compulsory schooling. Sometimes, the quest for reform led to conflict between the administrators, the politicians and professional associations. Out of such a conflict emerged the ideas which formed the basis for the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. That Act was, essentially, a compromise. Not until a co-ordinated pattern for the whole of Scottish local government had been devised, and the will to initiate the relevant changes had been found, was the logical conclusion of the objectives put down by Graham Murray in 1904, realised. The 1918 Act was a stage in the process. It was not to be completed until 1929.

References

1. George, D.Lloyd War Memoirs, vol. VI, London 1936, pp. 3323-4.
2. The Times, 13.11.18.
3. Craig, F.W.S. British Electoral Facts 1885-1975, London 1976, pp. 47-8.
Liberals lost eleven seats in by-elections. All were gained by the Conservatives.
4. Mackintosh, J.P. The British Cabinet, London, 3rd edition, 1977, p. 364.
5. Anti-German sentiment ensured that Haldane was not re-appointed as Lord Chancellor. The Harmsworth brothers, Alfred and Harold (later Viscounts Northcliffe and Rothermere respectively) ran a long press campaign of vendetta against Haldane because of his known long-established association with Germany. Neither Asquith nor Grey did much to try to save him. Lloyd George's verdict on the affair is uncompromising: "His abandonment by men who were his devoted friends - at least by men to whom he was devoted - ... was one of the meanest betrayals in British history."
Source: George, D. Lloyd War Memoirs, vol. II, London 1933, as quoted in Cudlipp, H. The Prerogative of the Harlot, London 1980, p. 106.
6. Roskill, S. Hankey: Man of Secrets, vol. I, London 1970, p. 322.
7. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s, vol. 97, 10.8.17, col. 795.
8. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107, 26.6.18, col. 1075.
9. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 396, 19.1.44, col. 232.
10. Butler, D.E. The Electoral System in Britain 1918-1951, Oxford, 1953, p. 7.
11. Marwick, A. The Deluge, London 1965, pp. 294-5.
12. Pugh, M. Electoral Reform in War and Peace 1906-18, London 1978, p.179.
13. Abrams, P. The Failure of Social Reform: 1918-1920 in Past and Present, no. 63, 1963, p. 48.
14. ibid.
15. ibid. p. 49.
16. ibid. p. 50.
17. Ministry of Reconstruction, Reconstruction Problems, no. 1 (1918) quoted in

- ibid., p. 58.
18. Parl. Deb. H.c. 5s. vol. 100, 17.12.17, col. 1653.
 19. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107, 26.6.18, col. 1075.
 20. Stevenson, J. Planners Moon? in Smith, H.L. (ed). War and Social Change, Manchester 1986, p. 61.
 21. Wohl, R. The Old Cultures and the New in Cross, T. The Lost Voices of World War I, London 1988, p.3.
 22. Kennedy, P. The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, London 1988, p. 195. A paper-back edition of this work was published in March 1989. The page numbers in the later edition do not correspond with the original.
 23. ibid. p. 202.
 24. ibid. p. 226-27.
 25. George Steiner's review of Karl Kraus by Edward Timms in The Sunday Times, 18.11.86.
 26. Taylor, I. The Origin of the Aryans, London 1889.

p.78: "The old Celtic type, tall, powerful, red-haired, with a florid complexion, and inclined to freckle, may be recognised in some of the Scotch clans,...".

pp. 244-5: "The pure Teuton is phlegmatic in temperament, and somewhat dull of intellect; but is brave, warlike, and given to field sports and athletic exercises. He is a tall, flaxen-haired, large-limbed giant, fat and stupid... . It is a result of Teutonic conquest that the landed gentry of Europe ... preserve with singular persistency the physical characteristics and the mode of life of their remote ancestors. ... They are barbarians armed with the complicated appliances of civilisation. ... Matthew Arnold's fair-haired 'young barbarians', cricketers, deer-stalkers, or fox-hunters, but destitute of intellectual tastes, are noble types of the Teutonic race...".

pp.248-9: "Wherever the Teutonic blood is purest - in North Germany, Sweden, ... the Orkneys, the Lothians, Yorkshire, East Anglia - Protestantism found easy entrance The Welsh and the Cornishmen, who became Protestants by political accident, have transformed Protestantism into an emotional religion. ... England ... is neither Catholic nor Protestant but

Anglican."

27. Firchow, P.E. The Death of the German Cousin, London 1986, p. 27.
28. Buckley's book, first published in 1887, describes Britain's original inhabitants as ... "a small, dark-skinned, curly haired people called the Basques or Iberians... . There is even a small dark type of men among the lowest class of Irish and Welsh of today ...". as quoted in ibid. p.23.
29. ibid., p. 35.
30. Belloc, H. The Three Races in Cautionary Tales, London 1939, p. 127 as quoted in ibid., p. 22.

Behold, my child, the Nordic Man
And be like him as you can.
His legs are long; his mind is slow;
His hair is lank and made of tow.

And here we have the Alpine Race.
Oh! What a broad and foolish face!
His skin is of a dirty yellow,
He is a most unpleasant fellow.

The most degraded of them all
Mediterranean we call.
His hair is crisp and even curls,
And he is saucy with the girls.

Traces of these ideas continue in circulation, as in Song of Patriotic Prejudice by Flanders and Swann. Most of the verses end with a common refrain. Thus:

The English, The English, the English are best!
I wouldn't give tuppence for all of the rest!

The Songs of Michael Flanders and Donald Swann, London 1977, pp. 78-9.

31. Firchow, op. cit., p. 41.
32. Wallace, S. War and the Image of Germany, Edinburgh 1988.
33. "Walter Raleigh, predictably enough, remarked that in 'a portrait of eight German generals with the Kaiser' only two 'have European faces - the others are Kalmucks'".
Letter to G.S. Gordon, 17 Dec. 1914 in Raleigh, Letters II, 409 as quoted in ibid., p. 184.
34. Tulloch suggests that Bryce, despite his wide academic background and

diplomatic experience, was ... "quite unprepared for the retrogressive barbarism... " brought in by the war, and that the war ... "not only dented his faith in inevitable progress but set in progress a far reaching disillusionment with the basic tenets of democracy, ... and with the liberal presumption that knowledge and understanding would bring wisdom too."

Tulloch, H. James Bryce's American Commonwealth, Woodbridge 1988, p. 223.

Bryce was appointed chairman of a government committee, set up in September 1914, to investigate charges about German atrocities. The Committee's report, published in May 1915 - immediately prior to the sinking of the Lusitania - ... "constituted a general indictment ..." of German behaviour in Belgium, but failed to provide solid evidence to substantiate accusations. Tulloch suggests, however, that the report helped America's ... "slow shifting from the grounds of moral neutrality ..." towards its entry into the war in 1917.

ibid., p. 231.

Butenhuis takes a more severe line; holding that the Bryce report was itself ... "the origin of most of the gruesome stories which had such effective currency throughout the war ...".

Butenhuis, P. The Great War of Words, Vancouver 1987, p. 27.

Wallace provides a more balanced judgment. "It could not simply be assumed that, since some of the allegations were unproven and sensational, all the others had been greatly exaggerated."

Wallace, op cit., p. 179.

He admits that the report was ... "a blend of fact and fiction."

ibid., p. 181.

Equally he suggests that Bryce, ... - "whether he realised it or not - was caught up in the atrocity propaganda machine which fed the very desire for revenge which he was so at pains to oppose."

ibid., p. 185.

36. Hetherington, H.J.W. The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones, London 1924, p. 121.
37. Wallace, op. cit., pp. 114-5.
38. These included G. Shaafs and W. Steede, lecturers respectively at St. Andrews and Dundee, and Hans Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philosophy at Edinburgh. "Eggeling was in Germany in August 1914 and immediately resigned his chair. His high standing within the University (and perhaps the relief at his action) is shown in the long extract in the minutes of Senate regretting his departure."
Wallace, op. cit., p. 161.
Among the most tragic cases was that of Hermann Ethé, Professor of Oriental and Modern Languages at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth from 1875. One of Europe's most distinguished philological scholars, he was dismissed from his chair and hounded from the town ... "by a brute mass of townspeople, spurred on by public men..." braying for vengeance. He died at Reading in July 1917, ... "a casualty of war just as certainly as any young soldier killed at the Front."
Ellis, E.L. The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1872-1972, Cardiff, 1972, pp. 172-3.
39. Best, G. Review of Wallace, op. cit. in The Times Literary Supplement, 10.3.89, p. 241.
40. Freeden, op. cit., p. 30.
41. ibid., p. 27.
42. Ellis, H. The Triumph of Herbert Spencer in Nation, 3.3.17 as quoted in ibid., p. 44.
43. Butenhuis, op. cit., p. xv.
44. ibid., p. xvii.
45. Wohl, R. Impacts of War on European Culture in Cross, op. cit., p. 385.
46. Butenhuis, op. cit., p. xviii.
47. Sillars, S. Art and Survival in First World War Britain, London 1987, pp. 132-147.

48. The House of Commons was dissatisfied with ... "the kind of language and appeal" in recruiting posters, especially those directed at women ... "some of whom are widows with an only son [and who are asked] to tell their male relations to 'Go'!..." Tennant, for the government replied thus: "The psychology of the public, particularly in reference to the efficacy of advertisements, is a peculiar and recondite study, and those whose experience is widest will agree that unusual methods sometimes have to be adopted, but even those who have such experience will know that appeals for recruits must necessarily be advertised to meet the most varied tastes. Parl. Deb, H.C. 5s. vol. 72, 10.6.15, cols. 350-51.
- The poster referred to above was reputed to be the least liked by the men on active service. For a short, specialised study of the posters produced see Darracott, J. and Loftus, B., First World War Posters, London 1972.
49. Jones, B., and Howell, B. Popular Arts of the First World War, London 1972, pp. 14-15.
50. ibid., p. 20.
51. ibid., p. 24.
52. ibid.
53. Brophy, J. and Partridge, E. The Long Trail, London 1965, pp. 17-22.
54. Terraine, J. The Great War 1914-1918, London 1965, p. 15.
55. Winter, J.M. The Great War and the British People, London 1987, p. 290.
56. A selection of their war poems may be found in Cross op. cit. and in Silkin, T. The Penguin Book of First World War Poets, London 1985. One reaction to the jingoism served within the Music Halls was that of Sassoon's poem entitled 'Blighters'.

The house is crammed: tier beyond tier they grin
 And cackle at the show, while prancing ranks
 Of harlots shrill the chorus, drunk with din;
 'We're sure the Kaiser loves our dear old Tanks.'

'I'd like to see a Tank come down the stalls'
 Lurching to rag-time tunes, or 'Home, sweet Home',
 And there'd be no more jokes in Music-Halls
 To mock the riddled corpses round Bapaume.

Parsons, I.M. Men Who March Away, London 1965, p. 163 as quoted in Winter, op. cit., p. 290.

57. Rutherford, A. The Literature of War, Second (Revised) ed., London 1989, p. 65.

58. Terraine, J. in Greenwell, G.H. An Infant in Arms: War Letters of a Company Officer 1915-18, London 1972, p. xiii, as quoted in Rutherford, op. cit., p. 76.

59. Stallworthy, J. Wilfred Owen in Cross, op. cit., p. 77.

Commentators, both during the first world war and since, have criticised the performance of the British high command, especially that of the Generals.

Thus Robbins: "It has become commonplace to speak not of the wisdom of old generals but rather of their folly The scale of suffering in the First

World War prompts the easy reflection that generals were locked in a war of attrition and lacked the gifts which would enable them to find a way out. It has

been frequently stated that they lacked imagination More recently it has come to seem as if there was no swift and painless path to success that was only missed by obstinacy and stupidity."

Robbins, K. The First World War, Oxford 1985, p. 155.

A different perspective has been put forward by John Terraine. He points out that the generation of first world war commanders, ... "no longer young,

brought up in Victorian society and accustomed to a leisurely process of technical and social change ..." were the first of their kind to have to use

aviation, real under-sea power, the internal combustion engine, wireless telegraphy, chemicals and modern mass production. "The truth is that those

ruddy-cheeked, bristling-moustached, heavy-jawed, frequently inarticulate generals rose to challenge after challenge Neither Lee nor Grant ever

faced such problems. Even on the disconcerting 'empty battlefields' of South Africa, generals seemed able to transmit orders;... . In the Second

World War there were 'walkie-talkies'... . Only in the First World War were generals prevented from giving commands in battle."

Terraine, J. The Smoke and the Fire, London 1980, pp. 170-80.

60. Cross, op. cit., p. 78.

61. Owen, W. The parable of the Old Man and the Young as quoted in ibid., p. 80.
62. Orpen, W. (ed.), The Outline of Art, London(Newnes), 1938, p. 622.
63. Farr, D. English Art 1870-1940, Oxford 1984, p. 227.
64. Orpen's opinion in 1938 is supported by the more recent judgement of Meirion and Susie Harris. Thus: "Nevinson had experienced the horrors of war more fully than any other official war artist One memory ... haunted him all his life. In a railway shed near Dunkirk his unit found a group of French soldiers ... who had lain there unattended for over three weeks 'They lay on dirty straw', [writes Nevinson] 'foul with old bandages and filth ... with only a faint movement of the chests to distinguish them from the dead by their side. Those who had the strength to moan wailed incessantly - "Ma mère, ma mère!... . Que je souffre, ma mère!" The sound of those broken men crying for their mothers is something I shall always have in my ears. It was dark when we arrived. There was a strong smell of gangrene, urine and French cigarettes When a month had passed I felt I had been born in the nightmare. I had seen sights so revolting that man seldom conceives them in his mind".
- Harris, M & S. The War Artists, London 1983, p. 42.
68. 'The Teaching of Patriotism' in S.R.O. ED 7/1/40, n.d.
69. Letters from Fry to Struthers, 18.3.16 and 25.3.16 in ibid.
70. Letter from Struthers to Fry, 27.3.16 in ibid.
71. Letter from Struthers to the Rev. R. Burnett of Liberton, 20.4.16 in ibid.
72. Bergonzi, B. Heroes' Twilight, 2nd edition, London 19980, p. 17.
73. It is almost impossible to find accurate statistics on the number of Scots killed during service in the first world war because no clear criteria for such statistics were established at the time. The total figures, showing the approximate number of deaths for the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, as published in Hansard, is 744,702. Similar figures for some of the other participants are as follows: France, 1,385,300; United States: 115,600; Germany: 2,050,466; Austria-Hungary: 1,200,000.

Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 141, 4.5.21, cols. 1033-4. -

Official figures relating only to Scotland were never released. The authorities worked on a ratio of 1 to 10. Scottish MPs were dissatisfied with this criterion. Noted Hogge in January 1916: ... "from Scotland, whose population is only 4,000,000, over 400,000 men have joined the colours. If that proportion had been attained in England and Wales you would have had 4,000,000 from these countries alone."

Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 77, 11.1.16, col. 1493.

(The total enlistment figure up to the end of the war, published in 1921, was 6,211,427).

Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 141, 5.5.21, cols. 1251-2.

The total figure for Scots killed, as given in the report of a committee set up to consider founding a Scottish National War Memorial, is not exact either. The report says that ... "it is understood that the Scotsmen who have fallen may number 100,000".

Report of the Committee on the Utilisation of Edinburgh Castle for the Purposes of a Scottish National War Memorial, 1919, Cmd. 279, p.1.

The most recent figures for Scots killed in action, whose names are recorded in the Roll of Honour in the archives of the Scottish National War Memorial is 147,658. This figure, however, includes ... "all Scottish Regiments' casualties, irrespective of their places of birth; and all Scots men and women (by birth or descent) in all other Services, Corps or Units, including Commonwealth Forces."

Letter to J.H. Roberts from T.C. Barker, Secretary, Scottish National War Memorial, 13.3.89.

74. Harvie, C. No Gods and Precious Few Heroes, London 1981, p. 117.

75. ibid. p. 122.

76. One illustration of the kind of material that seemed to be popular was a poem entitled 'The Ladies from Hell', published originally in a New York paper.

The Prussians have named them "The Ladies from Hell; But they're
Gentlemen-Deevils and Hieland as well.
So bonnily dressed in their bonnet and crest, with the brow tartan

plaidie brooched over their breast.
 And the kilt swinging free of the strong, supple knee; Man, they're
 gallant to see; and I think you'll agree,
 As they step to the pipes, with their swagger and swell, they're the
 pick o' the laddies, the "Leddies fra' Hell."

There are ladies on earth and in Heaven as well; But the Germans
 must dance with the "Ladies from Hell."
 There are sixteen inch calibre butts out in France, And the "Ladies
 from Hell" will be leading the dance.
 So, its up with the rest, and it's over the crest, For a fling with Huns,
 fifty thousand abreast.
 To the skirl of the shell, they are stepping it well; They're the bells of
 the ball, are the "Leddies fra' Hell."

There's the fear of the Lord in the Ladies from Hell, They believe in
 the Bible (the bayonet as well),
 They are brave and reelegious, and faithful and strong, And they'll
 pray and they'll fight, and they'll march all day long;
 For the man who is right and who knows he is right, And believes in
 his God, is the man who will fight;
 So they'll win to Berlin, and to Heaven as well; For the Lord's on the
 side of the Ladies from Hell."

Inverness Courier, 28.6.18.

77. Harvie, op. cit., p. 124.

78. ibid., p. 129.

79. "For most critics the strongest vernacular flavour being ... re-tasted was the
 poetry of Robert Burns. The Victorian period produced a scunnbersome
 abundance of pallid limitations of Burns, with the imitators holding a distorted
 view of the national bard as [according to Gordon] 'an inspired ploughman,
 alternating between drink and sentimentality'."

Gordon, I.A. 'Modern Scots Poetry', in Edinburgh Essays in Scots Literature,
 Edinburgh and London 1933, p. 126 as quoted in Gifford, D. (ed). The
History of Scottish Literature, vol. 3, Aberdeen 1988, p. 358.

"As Kurt Wittig concluded, 'Burns had summed up a tradition, but since little
 was added to it, it rapidly became an exhausted stereotype'."

Wittig, K. The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh and London 1958,
 p. 253. as quoted in ibid., p. 359.

80. ibid.

For a detailed study of Charles Sorley see Wilson, J.M. Charles Hamilton

Sorley, London 1985.

81. A selection of their war poetry is located in
Young, D. (ed). Scottish Verse 1851-1951, Edinburgh 1952.
82. Murray, C. The Last Poems, Aberdeen, 1969.
83. Extracts from Rhymes of a Red Cross Man in The Best of Robert Service,
London 1960.
84. Oral evidence from D.A.M. Meek and D.A. Macdonald of the Department of
Celtic and the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
85. Thomson, D. An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry, London 1974, pp. 252-9.
86. There was a strong streak of romanticism in Welsh poetry written before
1914, much of it denoting the influence of writers such as Ruskin and
Rossetti. The war killed off most of this trait. Of the Welsh poets who served in
the war, W.J. Gruffydd was probably the most outstanding. Born near
Caernarfon, son of a quarryman; educated at Caernarfon County Intermediate
School and Jesus College, Oxford. Successively lecturer and Professor of
Welsh and Celtic Studies, University of Wales, Cardiff. Became M.P. (Liberal)
for the University in 1943 and held the seat until the University parliamentary
seats were abolished in 1950. His first world war poetry was in the same vein
as Owen's, with much criticism made of the 'old' men and based on his
experiences in the Royal Navy.

For works in Breton and a commentary see Higgins, I. Jean-Pierre Calloc'h in
Cross, op. cit., pp. 270-75.
87. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vols 65, 6.8.14, col. 2086.
88. Editorial in The Scotsman, 7.8.14.
89. R.C.C.E.S. 1914-15, Cd. 7928, p. 7.
90. R.C.C.E.S. 1919-20, Cmd. 782, p. 8.
91. R.C.C.E.S. 1917-18, Cd. 9091, p. 5.
92. R.C.C.E.S. 1913-14, Cd. 7392, p. 8.
93. R.C.C.E.S. 1914-15, Cd. 7928, p. 10.
94. R.C.C.E.S. 1915-16, Cd. 8278, p. 5.
95. ibid.

96. R.C.C.E.S. 1917-18, Cd. 9091, pp. 4-5.
97. R.C.C.E.S. 1919-20, Cmd. 782, pp. 6-7.
98. Adams, R.J.Q. and Poirier, P.P. The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain, London 1987, pp. 59-60.
99. ibid., p. 62.
100. ibid., p. x.
101. ibid., p. 251.
102. Circular 463: 'As to Position of Teachers Serving in Naval or Military Forces', August 14, 1914, in S.R.O. ED 7/8/3.
103. Memorandum 239: 'Memorandum as to School Staff', March 10, 1915, in ibid.
104. Memorandum to H.M.Is, 10.3.15 in ibid.
105. Memorandum from Struthers to Macdonald, 8.4.15 in ibid.
106. Memorandum from Macdonald to Struthers, 10.4.15 in ibid.
107. Letter from the E.I.S. and S.C.T.F. to the Secretary of the S.E.D., 6.4.15 in ibid.
108. Memorandum from Struthers to Macdonald, 8.4.15, in ibid.
109. Memorandum from Macdonald to the Secretary, 10.4.15 in ibid.
110. Letter from Macdonald to Struthers, 11.4.15 in ibid.
111. Letter from R. Dickson, President of the E.I.S. and N. Snodgrass, President of the S.C.T.F. in The Scotsman, 11.6.15.
112. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 14.4.15 in ibid.
113. R.C.C.E.S. 1914-15, Cd. 7928, p. 21.
114. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 14.4.15 in S.R.O. ED 7/8/3.
115. R.C.C.E.S. 1915-16, Cd. 8278, p. 3.
116. R.C.C.E.S. 1916-17, Cd. 8648, p. 4.
117. R.C.C.E.S. 1915-16, Cd. 8278, p. 4.
118. R.C.C.E.S. 1916-17, Cd. 8648, p. 4.
119. Gosden, P.H.J.H. The Evolution of a Profession, Oxford 1972, p. 27.
120. ibid., p. 36.

121. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 90, 15.2.17, cols. 827-8.
ibid., 19.2.17, cols. 976-7.
ibid., 21.2.17, col. 1350.
ibid., 22.2.17, col. 1456.
ibid., 1.3.17, col. 2149.
122. Parl. Deb., H.C. 5s., vol. 94., 8.6.17, col. 516.
123. R.C.C.E.S. 1916-17, Cd. 8648, p. 5.
124. R.C.C.E.S. 1917-18, Cd. 9091, p. 6.
125. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 92, 24.4.17, cols. 2203-04.
126. Parl. Deb., H.C. 5s. vol. 94, 8.6.17, col. 516.
127. Letter from Parrott to Munro, 11.6.17, in S.R.O. ED 7/9/1.
128. Memorandum by Struthers, 10.7.17, in ibid.
129. Memorandum by Macdonald makes it clear that a number of people were being considered. No names are given and there is simply a reference to the doubtful qualities of some of the suggestions made.
 Memorandum from Macdonald to the Secretary, 18.6.17, in ibid.
130. Letter from Macdonald to Struthers, 1.7.17 in ibid.
 George Andrew was considered a possible candidate for the committee because of his experience in rural areas, and his ability to work well with Craik.
 As for MPs: "If you have to take an M.P., avoid Parrott. Holmes would be better."
131. Memorandum from Macdonald to Struthers, 12.7.17, in ibid.
 Young, from Biggar, would have been suitable; but his health was indifferent. Pringle suggested, but might not appeal to rural teachers because of his connections with secondary schools. Fisher of Kelso, convenor of the Rural Committee of the Institute might be good, but he had no outstanding qualifications.
132. Letter from Macdonald to Munro, 25.7.17, in ibid.
133. Letter from Alexander Emslie, Ayr Academy; D.A. Farquhar, Craigton Higher Grade School, Peterculter; and George Murray, Dyce Public School to Struthers, 25.7.17, in ibid.

134. Letter from George Pringle, Secretary of the Secondary Education Association of Scotland to Struthers, 21.7.17, in ibid.
135. Letter from Struthers to Miss E. Kerr, 7.10.17 in ibid.
136. Memorandum from Struthers to Macdonald, 24.7.17 in ibid.
137. The list of members located in ibid., was completed on July 28 and published on July 30. Those appointed to the Committee were as follows:
- Sir Henry Craik (Chairman);
 G.W. Alexander (S.E.D.);
 Miss K.V. Bannatyne (Glasgow School Board);
 Rev. W.L. Wallace-Brown (Chairman, Alness School Board, Ross-shire);
 J. Clark (Clerk of Glasgow School Board);
 D.M. Cowan (Formerly Convenor of the Rural Committee of the E.I.S.);
 J. Craigen (Aberdeen Burgh Secondary Education Committee and a Roman Catholic);
 Miss E. Kerr (Vice President of the Teachers' Branch, United Irish League);
 J. Malloch (Director of Studies, St. Andrews Provincial Committee);
 J.L. Robertson (H.M.I.);
 Lt. Col. H.A. Rose (Chairman of Edinburgh School Board);
 R.H.N. Sellar (Chairman of Aberdeen Provisional Committee of Aberdeen County Secondary Education);
 Rev. John Smith (Chairman of Govan School Board and President of the Scottish School Boards' Association);
 N.S. Snodgrass (President of S.C.T.F.);
 J. Strong (Rector of the Royal High School Edinburgh);
 Miss Arabella Sutherland (Member of the Council of the E.I.S.);
 J.A. Third (Rector of Spier's School, Beith and Convenor of the Joint Salaries Committee of the three Association of Teachers);
 The Committee's Secretary: F.J. Armstrong.
138. Letter from Alexander to Struthers, 14.10.17. in ibid.
139. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 97, 8.9.17, cols. 430-31.
140. S.E.D. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Remuneration of Teachers in Scotland 1917, (The Craik Report), Edinburgh 1917, p. 3.
141. ibid., pp. 3-4.
142. ibid. p. 10.
143. Letter from Struthers to Alexander, 12.9.17 in S.R.O. ED 7/9/1.
144. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 101, 5.2.18, col. 2158.
145. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 106, 13.6.18, col. 2366.
146. Cole, M. (ed) Beatrice Webb's Diaries 1918-1924, London 1952, p. 101.
147. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 100, 17.12.17, cols. 1653-57.

148. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 84, 10.7.16, cols. 33-34.

But evidence suggests that education was to be one of its concerns. By May 1916 the Reconstruction Committee's Secretary, Vaughan Nash, was in contact with Selby-Bigge, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education. The latter outlined a case for appointing a small reviewing group to consider planning for post-war educational developments. The Reconstruction Committee accepted the idea and it was announced in the Commons on July 18. Lord Crewe was appointed chairman of the reviewing group. He proposed delegating much of the reviewing group's work to a sub-committee of experts. This sub-committee, chaired by Haldane, included both Selby-Bigge and Struthers. It met frequently from early October to late November 1916. On November 15 it brought out the first draft of a report for the full reviewing group. Among other things the report emphasized a need for compulsory continuation schools and larger education authorities. But the final draft of the report never reached the reviewing group. With the fall of the government in December 1916 both the sub-committee of experts and the reviewing group were disbanded.

Ashby, E. and Anderson, M. Portrait of Haldane, London 1974, pp. 135-142.

149. For a full list of membership see:

Mackenzie, N. (ed) The Letters of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, vol. III, Cambridge 1978, p. 81.

150. Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 19.2.17, as quoted in Cole, op. cit., p. 81.

151. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 81.

152. Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 22.2.17, as quoted in Cole, op. cit., p. 82.

153. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 96, 2.8.17, col. 2434.

154. For a discussion on the 1919 Report see:

Kelly, T. Two Reports: 1919 and 1973 in Studies in Adult Education, vol. 5., no.2, 1973, pp. 113-23.

155. Ashby and Anderson, op. cit. p. 135.

The authors provide an analysis of the speech in the context of Haldane's work for the Reconstruction Committee.

156. Parl. Deb. [H.L.] 5s. vol. 22, 12.7.16, col. 659.
157. ibid., col. 666.
158. ibid., cols. 675-6.
159. ibid., col. 679.
160. ibid., 19.7.16, col. 789.
161. ibid., col. 805.
162. ibid., 26.7.16, col. 946.
163. Parl. Deb., H.C. 5s. vol. 84, 18.7.16, col. 891.
164. ibid., col. 892.
165. ibid., col. 894.
166. ibid., col. 904.
167. ibid., col. 923.
168. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s., vol. 85, 9.8.16, col. 1159.
169. ibid., 21.8.16, col. 2263.
170. ibid.
171. Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War 1917 (The Lewis Report), Cd. 8512.
172. Report, op. cit., vol. I, p. 5.
173. Report, op. cit., vol. II, p. 51.
174. Report, op. cit., vol. I, p. 13.
175. ibid., p. 14.
176. ibid., pp. 19-20.
177. ibid., p. 12.
178. Letter from Hugh Cameron, Secretary of S.E.R.C. to Struthers, 7.7.16 in S.R.O. ED 14/96.
179. Letter from Struthers to Cameron, 11.7.16 in ibid.
180. Letter from D.M. Cowan to Struthers, 15.7.16 in ibid.
181. Letter from Struthers to Cowan, 21.7.16 in ibid., Underlining by Struthers.
182. Letter from Cameron to Holmes, 10.10.16 in ibid.
183. Memorandum by Struthers, 13.10.16 in ibid. Interestingly enough, Struthers asked Cowan to use his influence to keep S.E.R.C. on the "right lines", and

suggested that Haldane might be someone who could help in this respect. Cameron agreed and said S.E.R.C. had confidence in Haldane's "soundness". This pressure from the S.E.R.C. coincided with the regular meetings of the sub-committee of educational experts (Struthers included), chaired by Haldane, referred to in note 148 above.

184. The Scotsman, 4.11.16.
185. The Glasgow Observer, 11.11.16 in S.R.O. ED 14/99.
186. Letter from the Bishop of Galloway to Struthers, 17.3.17 in ibid.
187. Letter accompanying a petition from Scottish Catholic Teachers to Tennant, 7.12.16 in S.R.O. ED 14/153.
188. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 97, 8.8.17 col. 446.
189. Treble, J.H. The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978 in The Innes Review, vol. 29, 1978, p. 111.
190. Letter from the Bishop of Dunkeld to the Secretary for Scotland, 28.3.17 in S.R.O. Ed 14/99.
191. Letter from the Bishop of Dunkeld to the Secretary for Scotland, 5.5.17 in ibid.
192. Copy of a memorandum sent to the Vice President, 11.5.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/153. The author's name is not given, but it must be either Struthers or Macdonald.
193. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 25.5.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/99.
194. Kenneth, Rev. Brother The Education (Scotland) Act 1918 in the Making, in The Innes Review, vol. 19, 1968 pp. 103-05.
195. S.T.U.C. Annual Report. 1917, p. 74.
196. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 25.5.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/96.
197. S.R.O. ED 14/98.
198. Particular emphasis on this was laid by the Greenock branch of the National Union of Railwaymen. It was concerned about the two-year gap between the ages of fourteen and sixteen when those waiting for apprenticeships ...

“practically learn nothing but ill ...” .

- Letter from the Greenock N.U.R. to Struthers 3.7.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/159.
199. Draft memorandum for the Cabinet, from Struthers to the Vice President, 21.3.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/158.
200. Letter from Thomas Jones to Struthers, 3.5.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/159.
201. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 9.5.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/155.
202. Memorandum on the Education (Scotland) Fund by Struthers, 16.5.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/159.
203. Memorandum by Struthers 12.6.17, in S.R.O. 14/140.
204. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 98, 16.10.17, col. 14.
205. S.R.O. ED 14/97.
206. Stocks, J. Scotland's Ad Hoc Authorities in History of Education Society's Studies in the Government and Control of Education, 1970, p. 78.
207. Letter from the E.I.S. President, Convenor of the Parliamentary Committee, and the Secretary to David Lloyd George, 28.11.17 in S.R.O. 14/97.
208. First Draft of Memorandum for the Cabinet, 24.11.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/120.
209. Draft of the Education (Scotland) Bill, 29.11.17 in ibid.
210. Extract from the Minutes of the War Cabinet, 14.12.17 in ibid.
211. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 100, 17.12.17 cols. 1657-9.
212. The Aberdeen Free Press, 18.12.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/80.
213. Editorial in the Dundee Advertiser, 18.12.17 in ibid.
214. Editorial in The Scotsman, 18.12.17.
215. The Glasgow Herald, 18.12.17.
216. The Glasgow Herald, 19.12.17.
217. Summary of Representations and Amendments in S.R.O. ED 14/121.
218. Letter from A.C. Robertson to Munro 26.12.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/82.
219. Letter from Macdonald to Struthers 26.12.17 in ibid.

Teachers were reported as not being satisfied with the proposals for the Advisory Council and the financial arrangements. Macdonald told Cameron that they should not ... “waste their breath about [the Council and finance]. It

would need all the strength they could put into it to secure a satisfactory solution of the area question.”

220. Summary of Representations and Amendments in S.R.O. ED 14/121.

221. ibid.

222. Letter from C.H. Scott Plummer in The Glasgow Herald, 29.12.17.

223. Summary of Representations and Amendments in S.R.O. ED 14/121.

224. Letter from George D. Hardie in The Glasgow Herald, 1.1.18.

225. Letter from Thomas Johnston in ibid., 24.12.17.

226. Letter from W. Mowat, Secretary of the Kilsyth branch of the I.L.P. to Munro, 31.12.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/82.

227. Memorandum from the Chairman and Secretary of the Scottish Cooperative and Labour Council and the Scottish School Board Labour Members Committee to Scottish MPs, 31.12.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/102.

The Secretary later requested an interview with Munro. As he had already had a meeting with the Scottish School Board Labour Members Committee, he turned down the request. This refusal was not accepted by the S.C.L.C. It said that it was anxious to save the Bill ... “but your refusal to receive the most representative deputation that could be gathered together on the subject is not likely to conduce to this end.”

Letter from B. Shaw, The Secretary, to Munro, 22.2.18 in ibid.

Munro relented and addressed a deputation in Edinburgh on April 6, 1918, emphasizing the key points in the Bill such as the need for a uniform system of local administration with no separation of schooling authorities.

“Education, like the French Republic, should be one and indivisible.” He indicated that a simplification of local government in Scotland was bound to be ... “undertaken in the ordinary course of things at no distant date.”

Text of Munro's speech to the Deputation 6.4.18 in ibid.

228. Letter from the Earl of Mar and Kellie, Convenor of the County of Clackmannan in The Glasgow Herald, 24.12.17.

229. Letter from William Smith, Convenor of Forfarshire, in ibid., 28.12.17.

230. Letter from J.W. Robertson, Convenor of Zetland, in ibid., 7.1.18.

231. Letter from Maclachlan of Maclachlan, Convenor of Argyll, in ibid., 25.12.17.
232. Letter from C. Bine Renshaw, Convenor of Renfrewshire, in ibid., 27.12.17.
234. Letter from Charles Hope, Convenor of Berwickshire, in ibid.
235. Letter from Charles Chalmers, Convenor of Linlithgow, in ibid.
236. Letter from Andrew Lindsay, Convenor of Sutherland, in ibid. 1.1.18.
237. Letter from Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Convenor of Inverness-shire in ibid. 25.12.18.
238. Memorandum (private) to the Vice President, 20.12.17 in S.R.O. ED 14/142.
239. Letter from Struthers to John Strong, 3.1.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/83.
240. Stocks, J. Scotland's Ad Hoc Authorities in op. cit. pp. 78-9.
241. Memorandum (private) from Struthers to the Vice President, 29.12.17. in S.R.O. 14/159.
242. Wrigley, C.J. David Lloyd George and the British Labour Movement, Brighton 1976, pp. 232-4.
243. Wald, K.D. Advance by Retreat? The Formation of British Electoral Strategy in Journal of British Studies, vol. 27, no. 3., July 1988, p. 300.
244. Cronin, J.E. The British State and the Structure of Political Opportunity in ibid., pp. 218-20.
245. Harvie, C. Before the Breakthrough, 1888-1922 in Donnachie, I., Harvie, C. and Wood, I.S. (eds). Forward! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988, Edinburgh 1989, p. 25.
246. Melling, J. The Glasgow Rent Strike and Clydeside labour - some problems of interpretation, in Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 13, 1979, pp. 39-44, quoted at p. 41 and as cited in McLean, I. The Legend of Red Clydeside, Edinburgh 1983, p. 14.
247. McLean, op. cit., p. 14.
248. For a detailed discussion of this condemnation see Roberts, J.H. The National Council of Labour Colleges, M.Sc., Edinburgh, 1970, Ch. 5.
249. Parl. Deb., H.C. 5s. vol. 101, 24.1.18, cols. 1151-2.
250. Letter from J.P. Parker to Vivian Phillips (Asquith's Private Secretary) 19.1.18

in S.R.O. ED 14/82.

251. Memorandum to the Vice President, signed by Struthers but undated, in S.R.O. ED 14/159.

Struthers' reaction had been caused by the Interim Report of the Liberal Members' Committee, 22.2.18 in which the committee stated that the ... "powers of County Councils proper are confined to the fixing of the education rate, to the raising of loans and to the acquisition of land." The powers of the County Education Committee would be ... "confined to the provision of intermediate and secondary schools and to a veto on the dismissal of certificated teachers."

Interim Report of the Liberal Members' Committee, 22.2.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/157.

252. Letter from D.M. Cowan to Struthers, 23.3.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/85.

Refers to an ultimatum to Munro from Liberal members, insisting that *ad hoc* should be retained. The reply from Struthers was very guarded ... "not from any want of good will [but] that I think it better to refrain from making any observation on the situation as it has developed up to the present."

Letter from Struthers to Cowan, 28.3.18 in ibid.

By March 30 it was clear that Munro was prepared to concede the principle of *ad hoc* authority.

Letter from Sir Henry Cowan M.P. to Munro 30.3.18 in ibid.

253. Stocks, J. Scotland's *Ad hoc* Authorities in op. cit., p. 83.

254. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 9.5.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/159.

255. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107, 26.6.18 col. 1076.

256. Editorial in The Glasgow Herald, 21.6.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/100.

257. Editorial in The Aberdeen Free Press, 25.6.18 in ibid.

258. Editorial in The Scotsman, 28.6.18.

259. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107. 26.6.18 col. 1146.

260. ibid., col. 1129.

261. ibid., col. 1119.

262. ibid., col. 1156.
263. ibid., col. 1174.
264. ibid., col. 1183.
265. The Scotsman, 17.7.18.
266. ibid.
267. Editorial in The Scotsman, 18.7.18.
268. Memorandum from Struthers to the Vice President, 25.3.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/84.

Struthers refers to an interview between him and Keith where Keith's general plan was discussed. The main parts of it were : Burghs should have adequate representation on county councils. The S.E.D. should determine the proportion of county and burgh representation on education committees. Separate district education committees should be set up in all burghs with a population of over 20,000.

An undated memorandum, either from the S.E.D. or the Scottish Office accepted that Keith's idea for a separate education unit for burghs coincided with other local government divisions. But they would have the disadvantage of creating directly-elected subordinate authorities. These would weaken the position of the directly-elected county-controlling body.

Memorandum on Mr. Keith's Scheme (Education), undated, in S.R.O. ED 14/134.

269. Letter from D. Robertson, Town Clerk of Leith to the Secretary for Scotland, 5.4.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/105.
270. Memorandum to the Vice President, 10.4.18 in ibid.
271. Memorandum on Leith, Paisley and Greenock (Town Councils) undated, in ibid.
272. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 110, 16.10.18, cols. 148-9.
273. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107, 26.6.18, col. 1091.
274. ibid. col. 1150.
275. ibid. col. 1152.
276. Young, J. The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland 1920-1961, Ph.D.

Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 71-2.

277. Mason, J. A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education, London, 1935, pp. 107-8.
278. Continuation Classes in Scotland in The Glasgow Herald, 11.6.06.
279. MacPherson H. The Scottish Education Bill and Continuation Classes in ibid., 23.4.08.
280. Education (Scotland) Bill, 7 & 8 Geo. 5. [Bill 115] 17.12.17 Cl. 17, pp. 10-13.
281. Letter from William Stewart of Lochgelly to Munro, 14.1.18 in S.R.O. Ed 14/82.
282. Letter from the Breadalbane Agricultural Association to the Secretary for Scotland, 16.1.18 in ibid.
283. Report of the Scottish Council of Agriculture on the Education (Scotland) Bill 1917 with a covering letter from John Cuthbertson, Secretary, to Struthers 14.3.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/110.
284. Print of N.F.U. Findings on the Bill with a covering letter, 20.3.18 in ibid.
285. Letter from Mrs. C. Blair to Munro, 5.4.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/85.
286. Armstrong, A. Farmworkers, London 1988, p. 156.

"Four out of every five slices of bread were made from wheat abroad, and three from every five spread with imported butter. The British bought in four-fifths of their lard, two-thirds of their ham and bacon and three-quarters of their cheese. Yet there was an unquestioning faith in the Royal Navy's ability to keep open the channels through which these imports flowed..."

And, as Mackenzie states, the poem 'Big Steamers' by Kipling, first written in 1911 but appearing in school text books in the 1940s, ... "perfectly represented the supreme expression of this economic imperial relationship, ...". Thus:

'Oh, where are going to, all you Big Steamers,
With England's own coal, up and down the salt seas?'
'We are going to fetch you your bread and your butter,
Your beef, port and mutton, eggs, apples and cheese'.

...

For the bread that you eat and the biscuits you nibble,

The sweets that you suck and the joints that you carve,
They are brought to you daily by all us Big Steamers,
And if anyone hinders our coming you'll starve!

- MacKenzie, J.M. Propaganda and Empire, Manchester 1984, p. 187.
287. Symon, J.A. Scottish Farming: Past and Present, Edinburgh 1959, p. 214.
288. ibid., p. 216.
289. Robertson, B.W. The Scottish Farm Servant and his Union in MacDougall, I. (ed) Essays in Scottish Labour History, Edinburgh 1978, p. 94.
290. ibid., pp. 95-7.
291. Armstrong, op. cit., p. 164.
292. Deputation to Sir Albert H. Stanley, President of the Board of Trade from the Mining Association of Great Britain, 17.1.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/107.
293. Deputation from the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation to the Board of Education and the Secretary for Scotland, 28.2.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/112.
294. Memorandum from Struthers to Foster (Munro's PPS) 1.2.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/107.
295. Memorandum to the Vice President, undated, but with reference to a deputation meeting Munro on September 21 in S.R.O. ED 14/110.
296. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol 107, 26.6.18 col. 1125.
297. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 31, 5.11.18 cols. 191-2.
298. Parl. Deb. H.L. 5s. vol. 31, 5.11.18 cols. 1013-5.
299. P.G.A 1872, 35 & 36 Vict. Education (Scotland) Act 1872, Ch. 62, Preamble & Sect. 68.
300. A memorandum drawn up by an S.E.D. official giving the number of schools in Scotland not under the school boards, 8.4.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/153.
301. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107, 26.6.18 col. 1088.
302. Notes on the Bill for Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 24.10.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/130.
303. For a detailed discussion see Kenneth, Rev. Brother in op. cit.
304. Memorandum from Macdonald to The Secretary, 2.2.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/153.
305. Kenneth, Rev. Brother op. cit. p. 109.

306. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 107, 26.6.18 cols. 1087, 1095, 1099, 1120.
307. Notes on the Bill for Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 24.10.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/130.
Approval ... "to an extent which I confess surprised me personally, and the symptoms of dissent to the provisions of this clause [clause 18] which one saw in letters to the newspapers found scarcely an echo in the House."
308. Memorandum from Munro Fraser to The Secretary, 29.9.28 in S.R.O. Ed 14/138.
309. Memorandum: S.E.D. Standing Committee, 25.7.18 in ibid.
310. The Scotsman, 26.7.18.
311. Editorial in The Scotsman, 27.7.18.
312. S.R.O. ED 14/90-94.
The Free Presbyterian Church was not satisfied with the direct factual statement made by the Church of Scotland, which had most of its presbyteries simply passing resolutions in support of the inclusion of religious instruction as a formal subject. The Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church expressed its opposition in strong terms with an emphatic protest against what it saw as preferential treatment given to voluntary schools and declaring that it could not ... "possibly be held that the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion is of such national importance that it calls for such special treatment ...", while the appointment of supervisors for religious education in schools was ... "diametrically opposed to the constitution and religious feelings of this Protestant nation."
Resolution of the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, undated in S.R.O. ED 14/89.
313. Letter from the Rev. William Swan, South Leith Manse, to Munro, 22.8.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/91.
314. Memorandum from Macdonald to George Andrew, 20.9.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/138.
The same memorandum was also sent to other senior members of the Inspectorate.
315. Summary of replies from the Inspectorate in ibid.

316. The details supplied by the E.I.S. about the weekly allocation of time for instruction in schools were:

Primary Schools: 2 Boards allotted no time.
 3 Boards gave less than 1 hour.
 113 Boards gave 1 - 1.1/2 hours.
 109 Boards gave 2 hours.
 162 Boards gave 2 1/2 hours.
 26 Boards gave over 2 1/2 hours.

Secondary Schools: 41 Boards allotted no time.
 21 gave less than 1 hour.
 13 gave 1 hour.
 28 gave over 1 hour.

Letter from George Pringle of the E.I.S. to Macdonald, 24.9.18 in ibid.

This information brought a request from Struthers for the names of the two Boards which gave no religious instruction. "I need scarcely say that the names will not be divulged."

Letter from Struthers to Pringle, 1.10.18 in ibid.

Pringle could not guarantee to obtain what Struthers required because the information had been given in confidence.

Letter from Pringle to Struthers, 3.10.18 in ibid.

Despite confidentiality, Struthers remained interested.

Letter from Struthers to Pringle, 7.10.18 in ibid.

But the church authorities found that the terms of the inquiry made it ... "impracticable to give information in reference to particular instances."

Letter from Kerr, General Assessment Committee on Religious Instruction of Young, to Pringle, 5.10.18 in ibid.

317. Memorandum from George Andrew to The Secretary 27.9.18. in ibid.

318. Memorandum from F.R. Jamieson, 29.9.18 in ibid.

319. Memorandum from T.B. Lamb, 30.9.18 in ibid.

320. Memorandum by Macdonald to Struthers, 1.10.18 in ibid.

321. Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s. vol. 110, 16.10.18 cols. 110-2.
322. Parl. Deb. H.L. 5s. vol. 31, 5.11.18 cols. 100308.
323. Letter from the Rev. Ewan Macleod, Free Church Manse, Dornoch to Munro, 31.10.18 in S.R.O. ED 14/95.

CHAPTER IX

Education in Scotland 1919 - 1929 : Creation of a New Structure

Despite the cessation of hostilities in November 1918, little of the first half of the decade which linked the passage of the Education (Scotland) Bill of that year with the introduction of the measure on Scottish local government in November 1928 was distinguished by any marked sense of confident post-war recovery or smooth readjustment. The map of political control, for example, underwent a series of swift alterations. Although the Coalition, headed by Lloyd George, was returned to office in December 1918, its period in power lasted only until 1922 when the Conservatives, the largest single party within the administration, withdrew support for the Prime Minister. Thereafter, for two years, a number of short-lived ministries, including the first Labour minority government, filled the gap until the Conservatives, led by Stanley Baldwin, won a convincing victory in the general election of October 1924.(1) As the country underwent these frequent political changes, so industry entered a time of recession. The total export of British iron and steel fell from nearly 5,000,000 tons in 1913 to 2,223,000 tons by 1919. For the same period, there was an equally serious decline in the export of hardware goods, which dropped from approximately 1,000,000 tons in 1913 to only 285,000 by 1919.(2) In Scotland, heavy industries such as locomotive building saw their exports plunge from 450 in 1914 to only 150 by 1921, while the level of coal production in Scottish pits, having reached approximately 42,000,000 in 1913 slid to an average of only 30,000,000 tons per annum during the whole of the inter-war period.(3) Rising unemployment and industrial unrest accompanied these trends, while the housing problem, especially in Glasgow,

remained largely unresolved. How did central government respond to the challenge facing it?

By the autumn of 1920 its main objective was becoming clear. It was to project a direct attack on the question of national expenditure, so as to try to diminish the nation's rising debt. "Whilst recognising that there are many reforms that are in themselves desirable, in order to improve conditions in the United Kingdom," declared Austin Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a debate on national expenditure on December 9, 1920,

the Cabinet, having regard to the exceptionally heavy taxation which is the inevitable consequence of the War, the high cost of material, the trade reaction that has set in, and the emergency measures required to mitigate the hardships of unemployment, consider that to the extent that such reforms involve further burdens upon the Exchequer or the rates, the time is not opportune for initiating them or putting them into operation. It is an instruction, therefore, to all spending Departments that except with fresh Cabinet authority schemes involving expenditure not yet in operation are to remain in abeyance.(4)

In Scotland, the S.E.D. was undoubtedly one of the key 'spending departments'. The end of the war left it with some acute problems. Notable among them, for example, was the need to improve school accommodation. In the five years ending in May 1914, the total average capital expenditure per annum on school buildings had been £461,901. To recover lost ground and keep abreast of new requirements, the newly-established local education authorities would, by 1920, ... "have had ... to reckon with a total capital expenditure of over £3,000,000 a year..." on buildings alone in order to bring about necessary improvement by the end of 1924.(5) The scale of the total expenditure on Scottish education was spelt out by Robert Munro in May 1921. In a debate on a motion attacking the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, with particular reference to what was said to be the burden it had foisted on ratepayers, the Scottish Secretary accepted that there had been an increase of 72.5 per cent in educational costs between 1919 and 1921, with these costs rising from £6,266,109 in 1918-19 to £10,809,713 by 1921-22. Much of this, he argued, had

been spent on teachers' salaries, which had risen by 73 per cent, and on maintenance, which had increased by 78 per cent. (6) However, despite the extent of the costs attached to these two items alone, the S.E.D. felt by the end of 1920 that the new authorities had ... "accomplished much and taken the measure of what remains to be done." (7) They were not to be given time to develop their plans.

In response to the December directive from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the S.E.D. was obliged to take action. On January 18, 1921 it issued Circular 34. This Circular put the onus on local authorities to control their spending. Referring directly to the statement from the Exchequer, as quoted above, Struthers agreed that, while its arrow was directed principally at the authorities in England and Wales, the Chancellor had spoken in the context of a debate on national expenditure, and it ... "hardly needs to be pointed out that ... any restriction of educational expenditure by English local Education Authorities will have a direct and immediate effect upon the payments from the Exchequer into the Education (Scotland) Fund, and that unless Scottish Education Authorities accommodate themselves to the new situation, the effect upon local rates may be extremely serious." Consequently, Struthers emphasized, ... "prudence, and self-restraint are required if the difficulties that stand in the way of progress are to be removed." (8)

Struthers' reference to the effect of increased spending on the rates were not inopportune. A committee, chaired by Lord Dunedin (formerly Graham Murray), inquiring into problems of local taxation in Scotland, was to issue its report in May 1922, (9) and was to note that the change from parish-controlled school boards to county-based education committees had caused the amount required for education, following deductions from the central exchequer, to be ... "allocated against the various parishes in proportion to their gross valuation." The result of this change, the report pointed out, was ... "to create a most startling increase in the case of rural parishes." Particular attention was drawn to the effect created in the parish of Drymen,

Stirlingshire, where the amount of money needed for education, as raised from the rate, was £778 in 1918-19. During 1919-20 this increased to £4871 with a further jump to £7236 in 1920-21. (10) Parishes in other rural parts of Scotland fared not much better. At Crathie and Braemar in Aberdeenshire, for instance, the rate rose from £500 in 1918-19 to £3144 by 1920-21, (11) while at Gretna in Dumfries-shire the increase was from £630 in 1918-19 to £5030 in 1920-21. (12) "The great increase in a parish like Drymen," the report concluded, "is not ... only due to the increases in expenses, but to the fact that instead of ... running its own educational establishment it has become a member of a larger community with a larger population and more schools." (13)

Concern about national expenditure, and a general directive to deal with it, as exemplified in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement in December 1920 or, with specific regard to education in Scotland, as singled out in Circular 34, proved to be inadequate. The government was forced to take a more drastic step. It set up a committee under Sir Eric Geddes to examine all major facets of the nation's expenses and to make recommendations as to how they should be curtailed. Issuing its first report on December 14, 1921, the Committee suggested that a cut of £86,000,000 should be made in public expenditure, (14) and that, in an educational context, teachers' salaries should be reduced by five per cent. (15) The whole country, declared Sir Robert Horne, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a debate on the Committee's findings, was ... "in the most acute trade depression" (16) ... and was, therefore, ... "entitled to look with great gratification on the reception given to the Committee's report." (17) This was not how educationists in Scotland received the Geddes proposals. The E.I.S., for example, expressed a strong protest against the cuts suggested, with Professor Darroch, Chairman of the Edinburgh Education Authority, stating that a required reduction of thirty per cent in over-all expenditure was more than what had been expected. (18) The Scotsman, on the other hand, felt that

unpopular measures had to be taken in the interest of economy. Teachers, it observed, would have to take salary cuts or accept ..."retrenchment in numbers." (19)

What was the response of the S.E.D. to the Geddes report? In a 'note' from the Secretary of the Department to the Geddes Committee, (20) with particular reference to percentage grants in education, it was evident that a quiet, but steady, drive against over-enthusiastic spending had been taking place in the S.E.D. since the spring of 1919. In April of that year a Departmental Minute had been issued, declaring that, as from May 1920, each Education Authority would receive a grant ..."equal to a certain proportion of that Authority's approved expenditure. Normally this proportion shall be 50 per centum, but the Department shall have power ... to increase .. or conversely, if necessary, to reduce it." The full grant was to be paid only in the event of regular attendance, efficient instruction and ... "sufficiency of educational provision...". (21) In June 1920 another Minute ..." practically ..." destroyed the percentage grants for 1920-21. (22) As from April 1921 the percentage grants system disappeared completely. (23)

The real objective behind these changes became apparent with the publication of Circular 44 on December 13, 1921. The Circular's opening statement made it clear that changes were to be made in the system of examinations because the method of allocating grants had been altered. It then went on to justify the decision to abolish the qualifying and intermediate examinations because they were no longer required ..."as safeguards against over-hasty promotion." Moreover, it continued, ..."striving after the unattainable is as futile from the point of view of the State as it is cruel from the point of view of the individual." Access to full secondary courses, therefore, was to be available only to those ..."endowed by nature with the mental equipment ... to profit ..." from them. The remainder would be expected to make use of a less demanding

form of education while the authorities were to ..."bend their minds"... to provide what was required. (24)

Initial reaction to the Circular was not unfavourable. Professor A.P. Laurie, for example, felt it would help to advance Scottish education, (25) while The Scotsman thought it provided the ..."vital spark".. to the machinery set up under the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. (26) The President of the E.I.S., however, wondered whether the Circular was ..."a gift from the gods or from Sir Eric Geddes." (27) No such ambiguity existed in the minds of either Dr. J.A. Third, Director of Education for Ayrshire or of William Boyd, Lecturer in Education at the University of Glasgow. Third branded the Circular as a preparation ..."not for an educational advance, but for a 'cut' in the expenditure of the Department." (28) Boyd, on the other hand, ..."deplored the divisiveness that would result"... from the application of the proposals, holding that the school had to be made to ..."fit the pupil, not the pupil fit the school." (29) In one respect, however, this 'divisiveness' had been present for many years. For instance, before the outbreak of the first world war, the Association for Securing Higher Education in Scottish Rural Schools, as pointed out in a preceding chapter, (30) had been attacking the Department's plans to re-structure post-primary education in thinly populated rural areas, notably in the Highlands. These plans contained a part of the germ that went into Circular 44. Similarly, far from using the Circular as a basis to prepare cuts in educational expenditure, the Department, as suggested above, had already begun to apply such a policy before the publication of either the Circular or the Geddes report. Undeniably, what did begin in December 1921 was an open application of a drive in favour of economy. As Young has argued, ..."the new draft codes based on Circular 44 were consonant with a policy of cutting back, and when the codes were debated in Parliament, they were approved by supporters of the Government, who would have been in favour of any measure which would effect

economies." (31) Nonetheless, he goes on to point out, many Scottish MPs were highly critical of the new code. In a Supply debate on June 27, 1923, for example, the Solicitor General for Scotland had to face almost unanimous opposition to it from other Scottish members who spoke. Despite this, at the end of the debate the vote went in favour of the government, thus illustrating, in the opinion of the Scottish Educational Journal, how ... "when a Code, repugnant to almost every educationist in Scotland, was forced on an unwilling country by English votes, [it] showed conclusively that Scottish education was no longer master of its fate." (32) But while it may have been convenient for the Journal to attribute the government's success in a vote on Scottish estimates to the substantial support received from English MPs, the failure to prevent the successful application of the guide lines put forward in Circular 44 lay elsewhere. As Paterson has pointed out, a proper re-structuring of secondary education would have entailed ... "a fundamental re-appraisal of the nature of such education" ... and an attack on ... "the grossly restrictive academic tradition of the Scottish secondary school" Those with an interest in maintaining the status quo - the teachers and the universities - were unwilling to begin such a process of re-appraisal. (33) Consequently, the principles of the Circular and the new examination system remained intact.

* * * *

The system of administration was not left undisturbed either. The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act had established a new pattern of management. Criticism of this new pattern soon began to surface. Rural authorities, for instance, were quick to condemn it, considering its requirements to be ... "entirely unsuitable for rural areas" (34).... Much of this criticism was directed at increases in the educational rate. That the rate had risen sharply has already been illustrated above. This rise, however, according to Munro, was not caused by the Education Act, but, to a considerable

extent, by an increase in teachers' salaries and in maintenance. These two items, he argued, contained 83 per cent of the additional expenditure. Only the remaining 17 per cent, he concluded, was a direct result of the Act, and this amounted to ..."something less than 1d in the £ so far as the rates are concerned." (35)

One facet of the newly-established administrative structure required some form of modification: the system of Secondary Management Committees. The first attempt to change them was taken when a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords in June 1923 by Lord Novar (formerly Munro Ferguson), the Secretary for Scotland and, by then, a member of the Unionist party. Novar's Bill (36) was a short measure, aimed at reducing the number of statutory meetings of Education Authorities, notably in the Highlands. (37) During its Committee stage the Duke of Atholl widened the scope of the Bill by bringing in an amendment related to School Management Committees. These Committees had been set up under the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Each Committee contained a majority of nominated members representing local interest, and having powers and duties ..."in regard to the general management and supervision of the school or group of schools." (38) The extent of these powers had not been instantly appreciated. Gradually, it became clear that they contained elements likely to lead to clashes of interest between the Committee and their parent bodies. The attention of the S.E.D. was drawn to the problem. In April 1923 the Association of Education Authorities in Scotland, in a memorandum to the Department, pointed out that where a Secondary Management Committee had responsibility for both primary and secondary schools, such a Committee could act ..."entirely independent of the Authority." (39) As most of the Committees were ..."comprised mainly of coopted members who have no responsibility to the Ratepayers...", this was considered to be undemocratic. The source of the problem, namely section three of the 1918 Scottish Education Act, needed, therefore, in the opinion of the Association, to be amended. (40)

This was the basis of the Duke's amendment. He argued that where Committees with secondary schools were free of the control of parent bodies, friction developed. Eleven counties, he declared, had experienced problems ... "over every conceivable point"... - over curricula, attendance, religious teaching and finance. "In one case the school management committee refused absolutely to carry out acts of administration which had been agreed to by the county authority." Consequently, what was required, His Grace suggested, was for control to be given ... "to the properly constituted authority, the elected authority." (41) Lord Novar accepted the Duke's amendment, incorporating it in the Bill, hoping thereby to ... "get rid of what has proved a real danger, the growth of an *imperium in imperio*." (42) Reaction in the Commons, on the other hand, was less charitable. Opposition to the amendment was evident at Question Time on July 17. (43) In a debate that night, the Solicitor General for Scotland admitted that the relationship between the local authorities and the school management committees had become ... "rather ambiguous." Nonetheless, as the new clause was turning the Bill into a 'contentious' measure, the government had decided to delete it when the whole Bill went into the Committee stage. (44) In the event, the dissolution of Parliament caused Lord Novar's measure to be abandoned. The interest aroused in the management committees was not lost, however. Nor did Lord Novar underestimate their importance. But what he feared was a loss of full control over finance, by the Education Authorities, if the management committees acquired too much power. (45)

The question of the future of the Secondary Management Committees re-emerged in 1925. Concern about the ambiguity of their power was again brought to the surface, first, by the Association of Education Authorities in Scotland, whose arguments resembled their earlier stance; (46) and second, by Sir Henry Keith, who objected to the ... "quasi-independence"... of their status. (47) George Macdonald sympathised with Keith's objection, but noted how difficult it was to get governments

..."of any political complexion"... to introduce new legislation. In his experience those who had most control even over small legislative measures were the Whips, ..."whose one concern is to make the parliamentary machine run with the minimum of friction. But, "he added, with direct reference to the possibility of bringing forth a new bill to try to resolve the relatively minor, but contentious, issue of the management committees, "we in the Department will do what we can...". (48)

A draft Bill was indeed in preparation. Among those asked to comment on it was the Duchess of Atholl, Parliamentary Secretary to Lord Eustace Percy, President of the Board of Education. She drew attention to two important points. (49) First, although financial control lay with the Education Authorities, Secondary Management Committees could commit the Authorities to accept responsibility for Committee expenditure. Second, using her experience as convener of a local authority higher education committee, she declared how the powers of an Education Authority could be ..."fettered in regard to schools which are the crown of its educational system." The existing position, she added, ..."by which powers in regard to the most important schools are reserved to small local committees not representative of the ratepayers seems to me entirely contrary to the constitutional principles of government."

The Bill was finally introduced into the Commons on June 30, 1925, but the second reading did not take place until November. As Sir John Gilmour, the Scottish Secretary, declared, it was substantially the same measure as the one brought in two years earlier, except that the clause dealing with School Management Committees now formed part of the formal Bill. It went through both the Commons and the Lords at a rapid pace and with very little opposition, receiving the Royal Assent on December 22, 1925. (50)

Scottish education at the end of the first world war experienced a period of effective streamlining. Nearly 950 parish school boards were absorbed into larger units. Denominational schools came under state control. New powers were given to the local authorities. But, as with preceding legislation, the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act left schooling to be administered by specially designated bodies. It was to remain so only up to 1930. In June 1928 central government announced its plans for restricting the system of rating for agriculture and industry. (51) "The magnitude of these rating changes," it was stated in the White Paper published at the end of June, "must profoundly affect both the general structure of Local Government and Local Authorities individually." (52) Accordingly, those in Scotland would be reduced in number, and units of organisation enlarged. (53) Parish councils, public health and other services, including education, would be transferred to county councils or, in the case of the education authorities in the four largest burghs of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, to the town councils. *Ad hoc* education committees would be abolished. All the changes envisaged would begin to take effect on May 16, 1930. How were the changes proposed for Scottish education received? (54)

Not unexpectedly, with but little enthusiasm among those who ran the *ad hoc* education committees. Some, such as the chairman of the Edinburgh Education Authority, thought the proposals were a retrograde step. (55) Representatives from Selkirk, (56) Midlothian, (57) Argyll (58) and Ross and Cromarty agreed. (59) Glasgow's spokesman questioned the government's mandate for ..."revolutionary proposals...". (60) Similarly, George Duncan, chairman of the Aberdeen Education Authority, wondered if Parliament had called for the changes proposed in the White Paper or was it that ..."the genesis was in the permanent officials in London, who wished to concentrate the work of local government in this way." (61) Interestingly, though, both the chief executive of Edinburgh's Education Committee (62) and the convener of the city's Finance Committee (63) took a less partisan view of the

proposals, considering them to be generally on the"right lines". The clerk and treasurer of Ayr County Council went further, believing they would improve economy and efficiency as well as ..."give the rating authorities some measure of control over expenditure at the initial stage."(64) The response of the newspapers was fairly bland. "Not unexpected" was The Scotsman's comment; (65) while The Glasgow Herald (66) believed that the abolition of the *ad hoc* system was essential if the control of expenditure was to be unified. As for the ratepayers, The Scotsman summed up the reaction thus: "One of the most astonishing features of educational administration in Scotland is the supreme indifference of the general body of ratepayers to the whole subject of administration. They are interested in the amount of the education rate, and grumble if it rises; but their interest begins and ends there." (67)

Two aspects of the government's plans for education were singled out for attention: first, the question of the transfer of the control of education from the *ad hoc* bodies to county or town councils, and second, the retention of Church representation on education committees.

To the S.E.D., the unification of all facets of local administration was the key element in the Bill, overshadowing all argument used in support of *ad hoc* as a system of educational management. Consequently the Department feared that, if left out of ..."the full brotherhood of local services"..., education would become the poor relation. (68) The Association of Education Authorities in Scotland did not agree. At its meeting on September 28, 1928 it voted by thirty-seven votes to twelve in favour of retaining the *ad hoc* method. (69) The strength of this vote did not surprise Macdonald, who felt the result was ..."based upon two not unnatural human weaknesses"... - the threat of extinction and distrust of County Councils. (70) But while the Association received support from some of the largest municipal authorities, (71) others were less sure about its defence of the status quo. Education, it was pointed out in The Scotsman, was ..."now inseparably linked with the question of

housing, medical inspection and treatment".... (72) Moreover, in the opinion of a correspondent in The Glasgow Herald, the Authorities were providing little guidance by their defence of the existing system. "If a *non-possumus* attitude is all they have to show for their interest," declared the writer, "the wisdom of the country will measure them as mere cumberers of the ground." (73) In contrast, the E.I.S. welcomed the proposal to transfer control, voting by ten votes to one in its favour. "To the credit of the teachers," declared the Editor of The Scotsman, "be it said that arguments regarding mere professional interests were entirely absent from the discussion ... and that the considerations that weighed most were the good of education and of the child." (74)

When the Bill was introduced into the Commons on November 12, 1928, both the Aberdeen Press and Journal (75) and The Glasgow Herald (76) welcomed it. Reactions of MPs, on the other hand, was less congratulatory. "The human child, the most delicate mechanism in the world," declared Thomas Johnston, by now Labour MP for Dundee, "is to be united with sewage farms, public loans, trains, waterworks and so on." (77) The system of *ad hoc* control had served the country well. (78) Under the new arrangement, education would be placed in the hands of those without any specific interest in it, (79) whereas in reality it was something ... "too pure to be associated with sewers and gas committees".... (80) The new education authorities would be much larger than the existing committees, and attendance at meetings might be difficult, especially in the more isolated rural and highland areas. (81) The government, on the other hand, made it clear that any separation of education from other social services would be detrimental to its future development, especially if it were left out of what was going to be a consolidated rate for every section of local government. (82)

In addition to controversy over the proposal to phase out the *ad hoc* method of administration, fears were also expressed about the role of the churches in the processes of management. The Glasgow Observer, (83) for example, condemned the government's general plan because it would bring the system of proportional representation to an end, thereby reducing Roman Catholic influence. Cooption of members was seen as a possible way of resolving the issue. (84) But the scale of representation to be put forward later by the Catholic authorities was unacceptable to the S.E.D. (85) It found them to be too ambitious. Nonetheless the Department accepted that the whole question of representation was a sensitive area to all Roman Catholics and that they had a legitimate claim for continued representation on the new educational executive bodies. (86)

Opposition on religious grounds was not limited to Catholics. Presbyterians were equally concerned with the issue. To try to allay their fears, Gilmore met a delegation, led by Dr John White, at the end of October 1928. White pressed either for an additional clause to be inserted in the Bill, guaranteeing that religious instruction would remain a compulsory subject in the school curriculum, or for Presbyterians to be coopted onto the new committees. What was feared was ... "not a general lapse from Presbyterianism ... but a local wave of Labour and secularism." (87) Although reassured about the retention of the principle of 'use and wont', (88) White remained sceptical about the future status of the Protestant churches in the educative process. "We have become so tolerant," he stated, "that there is now a tendency on the part of politicians to treat us as a negligible factor." (89) In so far as White's general fear received support in the House of Commons, this was not so. (90) But both The Scotsman (91) and The Glasgow Herald (92) were against any attempt to make the teaching of religious knowledge a mandatory subject. Gilmour shared this view. (93) To appease his critics, he agreed to amend the relevant clause in the Bill, making it clear that education committees would provide at least two persons for selection as

representatives for non-transferable schools instead of one, as put forward in the original draft of the Bill. (94) The Glasgow Herald hoped the plan would work successfully. However, the Editor commented, "...if ... from time to time an ugly sectarianism rears its head ... the progenitors of the present idea, which they have pressed with pertinacity, may in the end be sorry that they did not leave well alone." (95)

Apart from the question of the transfer of central control and the role of church representation on committees, education played little part in the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Bill. Even when it was debated at Westminster, much of the argument was conducted in a manner reminiscent of the defence of the school boards in 1904, 1905, 1908 and 1918. But, as John Stocks maintains, there was less interest, generally, in the subject by 1928, and more empathy for a greater degree of integration of all major local government services. (96) The Times summed up the need for such integration and for the abolition of a multiplicity of independent administrative bodies. "Here, if ever" concluded its Editor, with general reference to the Scottish Local Government Bill, "there is a crying need for ... Ockham's razor. Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem [Entities are not to be multiplied beyond necessity] may well be taken as the cardinal principle of sound administration, and the reduction of the number of principal local authorities ... is almost of itself a complete vindication of the measure." (97)

* * * *

Educational development in Scotland between 1918 and 1929 went through an uncertain period. Ideas incorporated into the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act failed to be applied. Much of the failure of this application was governed by the disturbing economic consequences of the first world war. These consequences infiltrated most aspects of Scotland's social and political life. They were used by the

State as means to press forward with some specific plans which were by no means acceptable to all influential sections of the population. Reforms were introduced into key areas of educational provision, notably the school curriculum. It was believed by the senior administrators of the S.E.D. that such reforms would be beneficial for the majority. But, while the concept of encouraging academic excellence among the few may have been strengthened, the traditional 'ladder' of educational opportunity in Scotland, no matter how imprecise or uncertain its true nature, was narrowed. Accompanying this gradual change was the equally significant structural alteration carried out within the educational system. The drive for administrative reform, and for the abolition of the control of education by the parish, had begun in 1904. The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act accelerated this drive towards change by establishing an *ad hoc* form of management conducted at county level. In 1929 the process was completed with the passage of the Local Government (Scotland) Bill. Education in Scotland ceased to be an activity controlled by a special committee. Ockham's razor had won the argument.

References

1. The percentage of the Labour party's vote increased from 30.5 percent in 1923 to 33.0 per cent in this election on October 29, 1924. For the same years, the Liberal vote fell from 29.00 per cent to 17.6 per cent, and the party lost 119 seats. Conservatives were returned with 47.2 per cent of the total votes cast.
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Politically, this election was a watershed, in so far as it marked the stage of transition from Liberal to Labour dominance on the Left. Additionally, more Conservatives were returned than there were Liberals in 1906 and Labour in 1945, thus making it ..."the greatest party victory that modern Britain has ever seen."
Ramsden, J. The Age of Balfour and Baldwin 1902-40, London, 1978, pp. 265 and 206.
2. Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s, vol. 135, 9. 12. 20, col. 2484.
3. Harvie, C. No Gods and Precious Few Heroes, London, 1981, pp.40-41.
4. Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s, vol. 135, 9. 12. 20, cols. 2504-5.
5. R.C.C.E.S. 1922, Cmd. 1666, p.4.
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10. op. cit., pp. 21-22.
11. ibid., p. 48.
12. ibid., p. 50.

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16. Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s, vol. 151, 1. 3. 22, col. 430.
17. ibid., col. 427.
18. The Scotsman, 13. 2. 22.
19. ibid., 20. 2. 22.
20. First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, op. cit., pp. 123-4.
21. Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland April 11. 1919, Cmd. 118, p. 2.
22. First Interim Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, op. cit., p. 124.
23. ibid.
24. Circular 44, December 13, 1921 as printed in The Scotsman, 14. 12. 21.
25. The Scotsman, 17. 12. 21.
26. ibid., 13. 12. 21.
27. ibid., 29. 12. 21.
28. Scottish Educational Journal, 13. 1. 22, p. 26 as cited in Young, J. The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland 1920-61, Ph. D. Edinburgh 1986, p. 104.
29. ibid.
30. Chapter VII.
31. Young, op. cit., p. 119.
32. ibid., p. 121, and quoting from the Scottish Educational Journal, 28. 9. 23, p. 713.
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- 34 Resolution of a meeting in Edinburgh, undated, as quoted in Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s, vol. 141, 4. 5. 21, col. 1154.
- 35 ibid., cols. 1181-82.
- 36 The Bill, as introduced into the House of Lords, was not printed. The printed version is the one brought into the Commons. Education (Scotland) Bill, 5. 7. 23. [Bill 189].
- 37 Parl. Deb. [H.L.], 5s, vol. 54, 19. 6. 23, cols. 531-34.
- 38 Education (Scotland) Bill 1918, Clause 4, Section 2 as quoted in Parl. Deb. [H.L.] 5s, vol. 31, 5. 11. 18, col. 999.
- 39 Memorandum by the Association of Education Authorities in Scotland as to a proposed amendment to the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 with regard to School Management Committees, undated, in S.R.O. ED 14/171. A covering letter from W.H. Mill, Clerk of the Association to G.W. Alexander of the S.E.D. is dated 24. 4.23.
- 40 ibid.
- 41 Parl. Deb. [H.L.], 5s., vol. 54, 28. 6. 23, cols. 687-89.
- 42 ibid., col. 690.
- 43 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 166, 17. 7. 23, cols. 2033-35.
- 44 ibid., col. 2263.
- 45 Letter from F.O. Stewart, Lord Novar's Private Secretary to Walter Waring M.P., 30. 10. 23 in S.R.O. ED 14/169.
- 46 Memorandum from George Macdonald to the Vice President in preparation for meeting a deputation from the Association, 30. 3. 25 in S.R.O. ED 14/171.
- 47 Letter from Sir Henry Keith to George Macdonald, 10. 4. 25 in S.R.O. ED/167.

- 48 Letter (strictly confidential) from George Macdonald to Sir Henry Keith, 13. 4. 25 in ibid.
- 49 Notes on Proposals to limit the power of School Management Committees, undated, and without the author's name, in S.R.O. ED 14/175. A covering note, 17. 6. 25, gives the author as the Duchess of Atholl.
- 50 Parl. Deb. H.C. 5s., vol. 188, 26. 11. 25, cols. 1785-91.
Parl. Deb. [H.L.], 5s., vol. 62, 18. 12. 25, cols. 1642-44.
- 51 Proposals for Reform in Local Government in Scotland and in the Financial Relations between the Exchequer and Local Authorities June 1928, Cmd. 3135.
- 52 op. cit., p. 3.
- 53 ibid., p. 5.
- 54 ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 55 The Scotsman, 2. 7. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/235.
- 56 op. cit., 7. 7. 28 in ibid.
- 57 op. cit., 11. 7. 28 in ibid.
- 58 Northern Chronicle, 1. 8. 28 in ibid.
- 59 The Scotsman, 1. 8. 28 in ibid.
- 60 The Glasgow Herald, 7. 9. 28 in ibid.
- 61 Aberdeen Press and Journal, 11. 9. 28 in ibid.
- 62 The Scotsman, 2. 7. 28 in ibid.
- 63 op. cit., 2. 7. 28 in ibid.
- 64 Reform of Local Government by J. E. Shaw in The Glasgow Herald, 3. 9. 28 and located in ibid.
- 65 The Scotsman, 30. 6. 28 in ibid.
- 66 The Glasgow Herald, 3. 7. 28 in ibid.
- 67 Editorial in The Scotsman, 11. 7. 28 as located in ibid.
- 68 S.E.D. internal memorandum by J.W. Peck entitled 'notes: Advantages from Unification of Authority, 25. 9. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/228. Reference to the

..."full brotherhood of local services"... seemed to be popular. The phrase was also used by Macdonald in a memorandum to the Vice President on September 28 (S.R.O. ED 14/202) and by the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, at a Unionist demonstration in Glasgow on November 22 (The Glasgow Herald, 23. 11. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/235).

69 Special meeting of the Association of Education Authorities in Scotland, Edinburgh 26. 9. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/202.

70 Memorandum from George Macdonald to the Vice President, 28. 9. 28 in ibid.

71 Memorandum by J. Clark, Director of Education, Glasgow, 9. 10. 28 on the Government's Proposals for the reform of Local Government in Scotland in S.R.O. ED 14/229.

72 Local Government Reform in The Scotsman, 1. 10. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/235.

73 Letter in The Glasgow Herald, 29. 10. 28 in ibid.

74 Editorial in The Scotsman, 3. 12. 28 in ibid.

75 Aberdeen Press and Journal, 16. 11. 28 in ibid.

76 The Glasgow Herald, 16. 11. 28 in ibid.

77 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 223, 3. 12. 28, col. 884.

78 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 224, 5. 2. 29, col. 1641.

79 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 223, 3. 12. 28, col. 907.

80 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 224, 5. 2. 29, col. 1662.

81 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 223, 3. 12. 28, col. 887:

"During the time that a man will come from Barra to Inverness and back, another man can go from Inverness to London, spend the whole day in the City and go to the play in the evening before the first man has got from Inverness to Barra." Quoted by Thomas Johnston from a speech given by Cameron of Lochiel at a meeting of the Highland Parish Councils' Association at Inverness in July 1928.

82 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 224, 5. 2. 29, col. 1628-31.

- 83 The Glasgow Observer, 7. 7. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/216.
- 84 Memorandum by H.S. Hardy, 5. 9. 28 in ibid.
- 85 Memorandum by H.S. Hardy, 14. 12. 29 in ibid. Reporting on a visit to Gilmour by Archbishop Macdonald. Pressing for strong Catholic representation on committees. Needed more than one Roman Catholic member to cope with the Church's interest. Suggested three for Dundee and Edinburgh, the minimum for Aberdeen, three for Fife and Stirling. No exact figure put forward for Glasgow; but indicated that it ought to be more than any of the above.
- 86 Memorandum by H.S. Hardy on Roman Catholic representation on Education Committees, 13. 1. 30 in ibid.
- 87 Deputation from Churches to the Vice President, 18. 10. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/204.
- 88 Letter from Sir John Gilmour to Dr John White, 30. 10. 28 in ibid.
- 89 John White on Religious Teaching as quoted in The Glasgow Herald, 1. 11. 28 and located in S.R.O. ED14/218.
- 90 Parl. Deb. H.C., 5s., vol. 223, 3. 12. 28, col. 907 and 927.
- 91 Editorial in The Scotsman, 1. 11. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/218.
- 92 Editorial in The Glasgow Herald, 13. 11. 28 in ibid.
- 93 Letter from Sir John Gilmour to Dr John White, 30. 10. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/204.
- 94 Letter from Sir John Gilmour to Dr John White, 24. 1.29 in ibid.
- 95 Editorial in The Glasgow Herald, 8. 2. 29 in S.R.O. ED 14/218.
- 96 Stocks, J. Scotland's Ad Hoc Authorities 1919-1930 in History of Education Society, Studies in the Government and Control of Education Since 1860, London, 1970, p. 88.
- 97 Editorial in The Times, 15. 12. 28 in S.R.O. ED 14/235.

CONCLUSION

Education and Politics in Scotland in Perspective

The educational climate in Scotland between 1900 and 1930 was marked by a series of legislative and administrative reforms, initiated in the context of political and social change. At the beginning of the century, however, there was little to indicate the extent of the reforms that were to come. Most Scottish schools were managed by a firmly-established system of elected parish boards. Yet by 1930 the boards had been abolished and responsibility for running the schools transferred to burgh and county councils. This process ended what had been a protracted form of reorganization, begun in earnest by a Conservative and Unionist government in 1904. One important factor had retarded the pace of change - a strong degree of sentiment attached to the existing system of management. The roots of that system lay embedded in Scottish history, and dated back to some of the formal education measures passed by the Parliament in Edinburgh between 1600 and 1700. Thereafter, encouraged by local parish and burgh authorities, charitable organizations and individual benefactors, a network of schools was established throughout Scotland. Generally, both in character and location, they surpassed what was available in England and Wales. That this was so, reflected not only a positive Scottish commitment in favour of a national system of education, partly sustained by the state, but also an equally forceful English bias against such a notion. (1) Despite a brief interlude of active parliamentary interest in education during the period of the Commonwealth, (2) opinion at Westminster remained resolutely in support of the invincibility of schooling controlled by voluntary bodies. Only in the wake of industrial expansion and social upheaval did attitudes begin to be re-assessed. Out of the re-assessment came the creation of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839 and the state inspectorate in 1840. Not until the 1870s, however, did the first government-sponsored Education bills reach the statute book. While that for England and Wales concentrated merely on 'filling the

gaps' in voluntary provision, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act contained formal instructions to set up a unified system of schools, controlled by secular parish councils, and providing tuition which, contrary to the English and Welsh enactment, emphasized ... "educational rather than specifically religious concerns...". (3) In less than fifteen years a separate Scottish Committee of Council, with its own permanent secretariat, had been formed, and the newly-designated Secretary for Scotland appointed as its Vice President and effective political overlord. (The status and position of the Lord President as the titular head was retained, thus preserving a formal link between the Scottish Council and its English-based counterpart). Notwithstanding these developments, and the power given to board schools to foster both primary and post-primary teaching, the relationship between the latter and the form of secondary instruction given in higher class public schools was not clear. Nor could grant-earning certificates, awarded by the Science and Art Department, do anything other than add to the ambiguity. Nonetheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, a national system of schooling, controlled by central government and managed by popularly-elected local boards, had been established throughout Scotland.

Few questioned the criteria upon which this system had been erected. The devolution of responsibility from a centralized department of state to local boards, with implementation of policy shared between professional officers and elected managers, was accepted as a valid affirmation of the principle of public accountability. As such, it was defended with conviction. But when that central department, through its executive branch, began to wield its authority, so did criticism of its actions become more animated. What concerned many of those who took an active interest in Scottish education - MPs, academics, clerics, local councillors and so-forth - was that the S.E.D. appeared to have an increasing tendency to take decisions without paying what they considered to be sufficient regard to the susceptibilities of local opinion. In this particular context, the role of the Department's permanent secretary was often singled out for especial opprobrium. Behind their mistrust lay a suspicion that the Department, in its own interests, was slowly undermining the freedom of action and responsibility exercised by local school management; and, in so doing, threatening

the viability of democratic control. Furthermore, when parliamentary legislation designed to re-structure the administrative pattern of Scottish education was introduced in 1904, critics of the Department began to suspect that their fears were about to be vindicated.

On the other hand, as the executive arm of its parliamentary parent, the Department was required to administer policy decisions approved by Cabinet. Admittedly, such decisions were based largely, although not exclusively, on advice received from the Vice-President in consultation with his permanent secretariat. There was nothing unusual in this. Every department of state was run on similar lines; and, in a final analysis, each was answerable not to its critics, public opinion, or even Parliament, but to the Crown. Nevertheless, it was Parliament, with its multifarious activities, which mirrored the nation's general perception of the role of central government; and this role was not set in a vacuum. On the contrary, it altered according to demands made on it by the tenor of events and the passage of time. Until the middle years of the nineteenth century, for example, the profile of central government as an initiator of social reforms was not particularly high; voluntary effort rather than state action was its guiding principle. In no sense, therefore, was policy on welfare accorded a rank akin to that of foreign affairs. But by the early 1900s marked differences in attitudes and practices were becoming evident. Successive ministries, albeit at an uneven pace, had been taking a more active role in projecting social change. Moreover, as formal legislative measures were passed, so were they accompanied by an equally prominent rise in the powers of respective branches of the Civil Service. Consequently, central government was able to place tighter controls on the activities of regional or local bodies, thus increasingly constricting their semi-autonomous managerial responsibilities. This kind of trend did not necessarily mean that action by a state department of education, designed to restrict the activities of its complementary burgh or parish-based organization, was part of a deliberate attempt to fracture the democratic basis of local government. Conversely, while the achievement of a high level of efficiency may have been the central executive's objective, it is understandable that it might not necessarily have been seen as such by those who worked in small communities well beyond the boundaries of the recesses and

catacombs of Westminster and Whitehall.

What this study has attempted to show is that, by 1904, the parish-based management of education in Scotland was no longer adequate to withstand pressures building up against it; pressures, such as insufficient finance, emanating from the local environment just as much as ones imposed on that environment by outside bodies, notably central government in general and the Treasury in particular. As those pressures tightened their grip, and as the state extended its levers of control over local affairs, so did those who opposed this influence begin to resist it. It is the nature of that resistance, and its effects on the process of decision-making, which has formed the main underlying theme of this investigation. An analysis of the evidence presented here suggests that two general conclusions may be drawn. First, that decisions were affected by the pattern of the local management of Scottish education, a pattern built on the concept of a balanced partnership with the central authority. But, while it was acceptable in 1872, it was a pattern that was too fragmentary and rigid to cope effectively with the challenges that were facing the educational system by the early 1900s; and that this fragmentation and rigidity were hampering rather than assisting in the development of the ideal of educational opportunity which, historically, had been such a significant feature of Scottish society. Second, that as weaknesses at the local level influenced decision-making, so were these weaknesses further exacerbated by a gradual enhancement in the powers of central government; an enhancement that was necessary in order to overcome the resistance of local authorities, and thus ensure a successful transformation in the structure of Scottish educational government.

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The general concept of an educational partnership between central government and the Scottish local authorities had been put into concrete form by the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. That Act had provided the nation with a framework to develop a uniform and coherent network of schools. Thirty years later that framework had insufficient strength to withstand new demands being made on it. Retaining a

method of administration, with responsibility devolved from one central department to nearly a thousand school boards, was becoming, both in a managerial as well as in a school context, a somewhat incongruous exercise. No two school boards operated within an identical environment. Each differed in the nature of its area, terrain, population and resources. These variations turned the effective conduct of schooling, planned according to national criteria, into a needlessly cumbersome and expensive task. While some of the largest centres of population, such as Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow, had access to a reasonably wide choice of personnel who were capable and willing to stand as candidates in school board elections, others, in rural and highland areas, had often to rely on a very restricted range of volunteers. Without radical changes in the application of the framework, therefore, Scotland's system of education was likely to deteriorate.

Some, within central government, both at the legislative and executive levels, had begun, by the early 1900s, to grasp that changes were desirable. The process of reform, however, was slow. Part of the reason for this was a general wariness among local authorities about the intentions of the legislature and its secretariat. This suspicion was not new. Ever since the start of cautious experiments during Lord Melbourne's premiership in the 1830s, establishing and developing a reasonably equitable balance in the relationship between central and local government had always been a precarious exercise. This was not something peculiar to education. Rather was it a symptom of the traditional spirit of independence within small communities, an independence which could be guarded with much zeal and assurity. (4) For it has to be recognized that, to the majority of Scotland's population, local government was a much more tangible instrument of management than the more remote assembly at Westminster. In a historical context, locality meant the burgh or the parish, with the latter being, in the opinion of at least one M.P., ... "the area most representative of the public social life of the people." (5) However, while a highly centralized regime could find its system of administration in danger of sliding into excessive degrees of uniformity, so a decentralized pattern, such as that operating in Scotland, could be plagued by periodic outbursts of excessive provincialism. Keeping a balance between these two extremes, therefore, could be a precarious exercise. But, in the context of

the organisation of Scottish education, what turned this exercise into a delicate operation was the general criterion upon which the pattern of administration had been built. It was, as Percival Day has written, a pattern which had been

... devised by the middle classes for the towns, has been stretched to cover the needs of the rural districts of England, stretched again to cover the needs of the rural districts of lowland Scotland, and eventually to cover the needs of a quite different district, the Highlands and Islands, a district be it noted, where both the middle classes and the towns are conspicuous by their absence. (6)

In such circumstances, the adaptation of central authority's unitary decisions on policy governing the organization and management of schooling could either lead to a clash with local opinion, or, conversely, fail to be implemented because of the presence of some other factors. For example, where there were two or more large and powerful school boards with common boundaries, such as Edinburgh and Leith or Glasgow and Govan, periodic disputes could arise between them. But as the evidence has shown, it was not always entirely clear if such disputes were caused by differences over issues concerning admission of pupils to selected schools in the neighbouring authority, by more specific questions related to inequities in the rateable values of, for instance, Glasgow and Govan, or whether they were part of a wider, more complex political disagreement over the preservation of territorial enclaves. Even if the argument was little more than a difference of opinion about access to schools, it clearly revealed that pride in the burgh or the parish was one key factor in the refusal of many school boards to support the idea of combining into district or county units. Sentiment, rather than realism, therefore, was an important element in preserving the shape of local educational management in Scotland.

Sentiment could also be used as a mechanism to defend the interests of school managers, especially if those interests were tied to the ballot box. As the evidence in chapter five has shown, one of the more contentious aspects of school board administration was the deployment of the cumulative vote at election time. Controversy over it could surface quickly. But such controversy was not simply a matter of franchisement. Behind it lay an issue of principle. That principle was the right of minorities to be guaranteed adequate representation on individual boards.

Nonetheless, the utilisation of this particular mode of voting tended to give undue prominence during campaigns to what one commentator termed ...“the zealot and the faddist.” (7) By doing so, an instrument designed to encourage a wide variation in popular representation could become a crude implement used merely in order to sustain the power base of a particular political or religious faction. Its replacement by a system of proportional representation was not a total success either, in so far as its use in the first triennial local authority election after the introduction of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act led to over-representation of minority councillors in some areas. (8)

So, from the end of the Victorian age, and as long as the existing pattern of school board management remained unchanged, the viability of the partnership principle upon which it had been established could only become less and less effective. Most school boards were small, overtly jealous of their individual identities, and often swayed by the whimsicality of the electorate. Together, they epitomised a form of educational organization that needed to be modernized; a form within which school provision, developed for one nation by a centralized body in consultation with professional advisers, had to be adapted to accommodate not just the needs of different regions such as urban Clydeside, rural Lothian, or highland and insular Ross and Cromarty but those of 984 separate boards. As if this compartmentalisation were not enough, another vital factor which affected relationships between the school boards and central government was the cost of education.

The system of financing Scottish education was neat in theory but exceedingly complex in practice. Between 1872 and 1893, revenue was extracted from three sources: imperial grants, school fees and local rates. After 1893 the bulk of the cost was borne by grants and rates alone. For all school boards, the latter source was the more significant in so far as it could be controlled by them and deployed in order to counterbalance deficiencies in central government allocation. Essentially a tax on property, the rate was used to provide support and welfare for the parish or the burgh. Education was one component within it. The principle of an education rate dated back to statutes passed in 1633, 1646 and 1696. The last of these three measures required heritors to provide teaching accommodation and living space for a schoolmaster, together with the payment of his salary. In return for this income, each

heritor could seek relief from his tenants for half of his outlay. Thus was established a parameter for the education rate, with division of responsibility for payment being shared between owners and occupiers. Later government legislation ensured that this payment was made concurrently with that of the poor rate. (9) Proposed abolition of the link was strongly opposed in 1904, not least on grounds of efficiency. (10) And in the context of late Victorian and Edwardian Scotland, the ability to contribute towards the upkeep of schooling, although difficult for many and questioned by some, was treated by others as a vindication of their status of respectability within the parish. In other words, maintaining educational services out of the local rate had a moral dimension.

Whatever the salutary effects may have been, the burden of the school rate was, nonetheless, unmistakable. As the number of institutions developed, and the school population multiplied, so did the need for increased financial contributions become evident. (Hence the controversy over criteria about grants, illustrated in chapter six). The average school rate in Scotland in 1867 was estimated to be 1s 6d in the pound. It rose to 2s 6d in 1874, and by 1893 it had reached 6s 1d. (11). Between 1892 and 1902 the total outlay from the education rate grew from £262,205:0:0 to £546,371:0:0. By 1914, 51.35 per cent of the whole revenue for Scottish education came from the rates, whereas combined grants from the S.E.D. and the Secondary Education Committees reached only 45.01 per cent. (12)

Very few school boards could cope with trends of this kind without support, especially those whose educational expenditure exceeded their property valuations. Some guidance had been provided under clause 67 of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. Later measures guaranteed additional central funding by means of special grants, such as those provided for 'necessitous' districts. These were districts where school boards suffered from severe shortfalls in their income. The special grants were awarded to them on an individual basis, to be used solely in order to maintain essential services. But the concept of 'necessity' was somewhat nebulous. It could mean, for example, either poor areas with a high or low population and an excessive rateable burden, or those with a small population and low rates. (13) Many, but not all, such areas, eligible to receive the 'necessitous' grants, were, as Day notes, in Highland

districts, especially in the crofting counties. Thirty-seven districts in these counties qualified for the grants in 1911-12. Only a further twenty-three in the remainder of Scotland did so, (14) thus illustrating central government's problem of how to equate differing necessities so as to satisfy the financial needs of boards which were populous, and others that were not, but where, in neither category, was it possible to increase school rates because they were already excessive.

Clearly, for the local authorities at least, the general approach to the financing of Scottish education was unsatisfactory. (15) Although a proportion of the revenue came from imperial funds, the impact of demands made on local rates was severe. Rising consistently from the 1860s, with an ... "almost unbroken series..." of increases by 1914, (16) the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act further added to the burden by transferring the powers of assessment from the parish authorities to those of the county, while continuing to hold the parish responsible for collection of the rate. But government could soften the costs of school boards by using topping-up grants, such grants being essential if severe restrictions were to be avoided. Calling for them, on the other hand, or directing criticism at the inequitable proportion between imperial and parish funding brought little sympathy from the central authorities. (17) The boards' difficulties, however, were not created by inequities alone. One other factor needs to be borne in mind - the parliamentary effect. Parliament could pass reforming measures and require local authorities to apply them. Yet, paradoxically, there was no equivalent legal obligation on it to provide the authorities with additional revenue to cover increased costs. On the contrary, these had to be carried by the rates.

Insufficient funding and an inadequate framework for financing Scottish education had repercussions in schools, notably on staff recruitment. Attention has been drawn to the problem of finding satisfactory teachers for some of the schools in the Highlands. Much of the difficulty was caused by poor salaries, especially in those areas where rates were high. (18) Availability and standards among staff, therefore, could vary. But was Struthers' unsympathetic judgement on the Lewis school board, as noted in chapter seven, justifiable? Could it, and similarly placed boards, get 'only the leavings of the profession'? And did boards in other parts of Scotland have similar recruiting difficulties? Shortages were certainly evident in northern areas, caused

partly by salary problems but also, according to the reports of the Inspectorate, by the ... "superior attractions..." of towns, (19) or by older teachers deflecting their younger colleagues from experimenting. Similarly, in southern districts, schools could be affected by having the work of their more able teachers counterbalanced by those who were geared only to examinations ... "until at last the consummation is reached, when the child has been turned into a second-rate Ready Reckoner." (20) Young teachers, not unexpectedly, were keen to find teaching appointments under large, urban school boards such as Glasgow, where the complement of teachers, generally, was regarded as not unsatisfactory. (21) Even so, it was possible for enthusiastic teachers to 'suffocate' under unsympathetic headmasters, and to have their "... elasticity and keenness"... blunted. (22) While wartime restrictions affected conditions in all schools, the Craik report on salaries promised a better future for teachers. Nonetheless, despite its promise, areas such as Dumfries, Galloway and Ayrshire, just as much as Argyll, found recruitment a problem in the 1920s; (23) while in the north, in Inverness-shire and Sutherland, although less so in Caithness and Shetland, finding a teacher ... "of any kind..." was a major problem. (24) But, as shown in the example of F.G. Rea, who spent a number of years in the Outer Hebrides, teachers with talent, curiosity and enthusiasm could be recruited to work in isolated districts. Not all belonged to the 'leavings' of the profession. (25)

Built on a rigid structure deriving from a general concept of a relationship between two tiers of government, with not always a very clear idea as to what was to be expected of that relationship, it was not surprising that an educational system, made up of one strong central department and 984 separate, complementary but relatively weak school boards and rating authorities, could begin to falter when it became evident that it was necessary for them to adopt and apply reforms. Although levels of efficiency improved with the creation of larger *ad hoc* county committees in 1919, that arrangement still left education as a separate entity. Only when all the constituent elements within Scottish local government were brought together in 1929, in a new format containing a stronger, more cohesive system of devolved administration and finance, did it become possible for a more equitable balance to be established between the organizers and managers of education in Scotland.

The proposition advanced in this first conclusion, emphasizing how the rigidity of the partnership between the central and local authorities as well as the fragmentary pattern of the administrative structure tended to hamper rather than assist the processes of decision-making and the full development of the ideal of educational opportunity in Scotland between 1900 and 1929, does not stand in isolation. On the contrary, it needs to be considered in relation to the second general argument put forward, namely, that weaknesses in a Scottish context were accompanied by a gradual enhancement in the power, authority and actions of central government; such enhancement being necessary in the interests of a successful transformation in the structure of public education in Scotland.

During the passage of major Scottish education legislation between 1904 and 1929, MPs increasingly came under pressure from a variety of interested parties, ranging from school boards, professional associations and academics to trade unions, the churches and parents. Although this pressure reflected disagreements about specific issues, it also, in a more general sense, brought to the surface a distinct antipathy towards forms of centralized administration. (26) This antipathy was not new, dating back to pre-industrial days, and was closely bound-up with people's somewhat unclear perceptions about the nature of government. To some it meant parliament or the monarchy. Others found its personification among the local guardians of law and order. (27) In both contexts, it tended to be seen as a force established to limit the freedom of the individual.

Industrial expansion and urban development were to ensure that such attitudes would no longer survive. While philanthropy was not jettisoned, the authority of the central legislative body began to impinge on areas previously left to volunteers. (28) Education was one of these; and no longer was it a question of whether the state would intervene, but rather what the nature and extent of its intervention would be. (29) Once the framework of educational administration had been set up, much of the impetus for intervention was provided initially by the work of commissions like those chaired by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyll. Their reports supplied Parliament with raw material to act upon. When it began to do so, and if its actions challenged traditional concepts and practices, conflicts ensued. Such

conflicts were exacerbated by the extension of the franchise. This extension, in turn, created dilemmas for political parties, unless they could respond positively to the needs of the electorate. One area in which such response did become apparent was that of social welfare. Parliament's increasingly important role in this field had repercussions for Scottish education.

Although education and moral welfare had been linked together for a long period, the relationships between education and physical welfare had been given less attention. Admittedly, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, schools were beginning to give some consideration to drill and organized games; but the effect of an adequate diet and good health on a child's ability to learn had not been fully grasped by most of those in authority. Nor was the notion of a link between health and welfare on the one hand and intellectual development on the other easily accepted. Some saw such a connection and, even more so, legislation designed to extend it, as an attack on individual freedom, a way of surreptitiously advancing central government's powers at the expense of local initiative. Of course, these fears were by no means misplaced; but, towards the end of the nineteenth century, it was becoming evident that welfare agencies were failing to cope effectively with the problems of an expanding urban environment. Providing adequate social services was not a task for charity but for government. (30)

Poverty was one area of welfare which attracted the government's attention. By the early 1900s, changes in living and working practices within the urban-industrial belt of Scotland were making traditional approaches to the treatment of welfare problems like poverty less effective. (31) No longer were solutions being seen primarily in the context of parish-based assistance. Even less acceptable were admonitory sermons emphasizing links between poverty and sin; with a tacit acceptance of the one being a just punishment for the other! The widening of the franchise and the creation of political parties like the I.L.P. encouraged a new, informed concern for the management of public welfare institutions. In addition, both the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church were re-awakening their interest in social problems, with the foundation of the Scottish Christian Church Union in 1901 leading both denominations to break free from a nineteenth century acceptance of a

social *status quo* in favour of a more dynamic attack on social evils. (32) As a result of these developments, ameliorative action by central government was beginning to be seen by many as the most effective way of stemming the worst excesses of general social deprivation.

Nonetheless, this view did not go unchallenged, Leslie Mackenzie's appointment as Scotland's first local government medical officer, for example, was questioned. So - at least initially - was his advocacy of school meals and medical inspections to be charged to the education authorities. (33) In addition, there were suspicions that, in legislating for advances in welfare, many MPs had insufficient background knowledge to enable them to make informed judgements. (34) Moreover, there was a fear that many of their decisions would lead to rapid increases in regimentation. As Ferguson has remarked, people in Scotland, more so than in England, had a ... "healthy unwillingness to receive too many official visitors." (35) But the extensive programme of social reform carried out between 1906 and 1914, with, for example, the passage of legislation on state pensions, provision for the unemployed, and a national health insurance scheme, gradually helped to tone down, if not totally obliterate opposition to centralized government direction, and so soften ... "the frontiers between statutory and voluntary forms of social welfare." (36)

So far as Scottish education was concerned, the frontier had been clearly breached in earlier decades. Despite this, any intimation by central government of the acquisition of new powers likely to affect the general administration of schooling, especially in a local context, was viewed with suspicion. Debates on successive Education (Scotland) bills between 1904 and 1918 constantly re-iterated the historic role of the parish as the guardian of academic advancement. But the same debates also brought to the fore the concerns of many MPs about the existing educational machinery's increasing inability to cope with demands being made on it. In 1904 an opportunity was given to Parliament to initiate major changes in the administrative framework. It failed to take it, and that year's Scottish education bill crawled into the sidings. So did its successor. After putting up enthusiastic resistance against radical changes proposed by the Conservatives and Unionists, especially their proposals to widen area administration, the Liberals, who succeeded them into government in

1906, were in no position to proffer similar ideas about a reorganization of local authorities, even had they wished to do so. Far from making substantial alterations, therefore, the 1908 bill retained the administrative *status quo*. But a decade later the small school boards were abolished in favour of *ad hoc* county committees. The logical step to full integration with other parts of local government was achieved in 1929.

With the exception of the 1908 bill, the debates on each of these measures on Scottish education, together with those of related aspects of social policy, reflected government's penchant in favour of a greater degree of centralization in public administration. This was evident, too, in the mechanics of of legislating. While the passages of the various Education (Scotland) bills brought out different nuances in the arguments of MPs, the stimulus of debate had to be terminated in the division lobby, with the force of Parliament's own centralizing machine. With what results? Did reactions at Westminster reflect only party loyalty? Or did they show more sophisticated patterns of response?

Responses varied according to circumstance. In the 1904 Education (Scotland) Bill, for instance, the second reading gave the government a clear majority of 127 votes against 70. Voting by Scottish MPs alone, however, was exceedingly close, with 18 plumping for the bill and 17 against. (37) On neither side of the political division was party affiliation breached, although the debate itself, as noted in chapter five, had not been quite so clear-cut. In contrast, when the Commons met in Committee, the voting on specific issues showed greater variations. For example, a proposal to replace the parish school board with a district board gave the government 199 votes against 82 for those who opposed the idea, with Scottish members reflecting this general response by returning 32 votes to 18 in favour of the proposition. (38) In another motion to retain the independence of Govan, rather than incorporate it with Glasgow, the government received 189 votes against 52; but with the Scottish vote for it being only 25 to 21, seven Unionists going against the administration, while ten Liberals supported it. (39) A similar vote to link Leith and Edinburgh gave victory to the government with 171 votes to 36; 28 Scottish MPs, including 11 Liberals, voting for the motion and 15 against. (40) Seven of Glasgow's representatives voted with the government and four against. No Edinburgh MP voted

to retain Leith's independence; and the constituency's own member, Munro Ferguson, supported union with Edinburgh.

With a substantial majority in the House of Commons, and not being a very controversial measure, the government's 1908 Education (Scotland) Bill was in no serious danger of foundering. The main readings went through without a division. Reactions in Select Committees were less predictable. For example, while Henry Craik's amendment in favour of school meals being paid for out of the poor rate, and not from the education fund, was defeated by 40 votes to 11, (41) voting on the abolition of the cumulative vote, on the other hand, was much closer. The government won by only 27 votes to 21. A solid phalanx of Liberals supported its abolition. But there were also 11 Liberals among those voting against the government, and they were joined by six Unionists, two Labour and one Irish Nationalist. (42) In contrast, during the Committee stage of the passage of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill, an amendment in favour of every burgh with a population of over 20,000 continuing as autonomous districts was defeated by 32 votes to 9. The latter were solidly Liberal, representing towns such as Falkirk, Govan, Greenock and Montrose. The government's 32 votes came from 11 Liberals, 11 Unionists and 3 Labour MPs, thus indicating a degree of consensus among members from rural, urban, lowland, highland, Catholic and Protestant constituencies. (43)

Increased polarisation in voting patterns was more apparent by the 1920s. For instance, the vote in December 1920 on the question of national expenditure gave the government a massive majority of 307 votes to 30. Twenty-four Scottish MPs, made up of 14 Liberals and 10 Unionists, supported the government. Only two voted against it. Both were Labour members. (44) This trend continued in 1923. Although that year's Education Supply (Scotland) debate gave the government a majority of 227 votes to 131, this did not accurately reflect the Scottish contribution. Only 10 Scots MPs supported the government, while 32 voted against it. The latter was made up of eight Liberals, nine National Liberals and 15 Labour members. (45) Finally, in the 1928 Local Government (Scotland) measure, the second reading of the bill was passed by a comfortable majority of 307 votes to 145. But Scottish MPs voted by 26 to 24 against the bill. Support for it came solely from the Unionists, while the opposition vote

consisted of 20 Labour members, five Liberals and one Independent. (46) In the third reading, however, Scottish MPs backed the bill by 27 votes to 18. All 27 were Unionists, with the 18 in opposition being 15 Labour and three Liberal representatives. (47)

Most of the above legislative measures on Scottish education passed into law. Admittedly, this did not happen in 1904 and 1905. But, as has been argued in the detailed discussion of the evidence, there were a number of factors responsible for these particular failures, not least among them being delays caused by procedural ineptitude on the part of the government. What conclusions, therefore, may be drawn about the role played by Parliament in the changing pattern of Scottish education between 1904 and 1929?

First, that while opinions expressed in debates during the reading stages of the respective education bills did not automatically adhere to party lines, voting in the division lobby, with some exceptions, did so. Second, the closest vote, especially on contentious clauses or amendments, took place in the Committees. This was not unexpected. These Committees consisted of members with specialist interests, and they were, therefore, inclined to be more detailed in their criticisms. Third, where the majority of Scotland's MPs voted against the government, as in the 1923 Supply debate, or on the second reading of the 1929 Local Government (Scotland) Bill, the administration, nonetheless, won; the balance in its favour being tipped by non-Scottish members. Fourth, the Westminster legislature before 1906 contained members who had been elected before the passing of the third Reform Bill in 1884. Therefore, their formative political careers had been shaped not only by their educational and professional backgrounds, as outlined in the third chapter, but also by a smaller, narrower, and a more socially cohesive franchise. As a result, compared with younger colleagues, they were more likely to take a relatively less conformist line in their arguments; a line redolent of an age when the personal relationship between an MP and his constituents was considered to be as important as any display of party zeal. (48) Fifth, parliamentary bills were becoming more complex. One effect of this became clear in the division lobby. When voting, those members who were not sure as to what were their party's views on a specific issue were obliged to rely on guidance

from the whips. Frequent use of such guidance was a stepping-stone to tighter discipline, imposed by the party machine. (49) Equally, it was a trend which helped to augment the powers of the Cabinet. These factors were evident in the voting on Scottish questions in the 1920s. By then, however, there was a strong additional dimension at Westminster - the Labour party. From its infancy in Parliament, Labour had spurned the individualist approach to politics, believing that solidarity and conformity with party decisions were essential elements for survival in the quest for political control. As Christoph has argued, the party tended to ... "use the carrot of class loyalty as well as the stick of excommunication to command obedience from its Parliamentary troops." (50) But, to a degree at least, as noted in the voting figures above, this particular approach was not limited to Labour. Reflecting on his experiences as an MP, Robert Farquharson, Liberal member for West Aberdeenshire between 1880 and 1906, commented on how easy it was to become ... "confused by contradictory statements and plausible arguments and subtle work spinning, ... get more and more mentally fogged, and at last ... give up the attempt at full comprehension in despair, and simply follow your leaders with sheeplike docility at the advice of the whips." (51) If an apt comment on the years before 1906, did it become more so as the century advanced? Lord Hewart of Bury, a distinguished lawyer, thought so when summing-up what he felt were significant - and disturbing - trends in parliamentary procedures by the 1920s. "What with the collective responsibility of Ministers, and the inexorable demands of the party system," he wrote,

... the whole force of the Parliamentary majority tends to be directed ... to preventing a defeat in a Parliamentary division. "This is our lobby," say the Whips, when the critical moment comes, and at the eleventh hour the private member is naturally disposed to acquiesce. (52)

The force of this majority, however, did not operate in isolation. Running in concert with it was the executive arm of government, whose main task it was to apply policy decisions approved by Parliament. As the net of parliamentary legislation widened, so did the machinery to administer it augment; and significantly so after 1906. To operate measures such as the National Insurance Act, for instance, a special

commission under the control of the formidable Robert Morant was set up. At the same time, extensions were made in the bureaucratic machinery of some of the major departments of state like the Treasury and the Board of Trade. A further impetus to the power of central government came with the outbreak of war in 1914. New ministries such as those of Munitions, Labour, Shipping and Reconstruction were set up; as was the Cabinet Secretariat and the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the so-called 'Garden Suburb'. (53) These kinds of developments pointed to some of the possible beneficial effects of state intervention in the planning of economic and social matters. Although a number of the war-time curbs were relaxed after 1918, the experiences of war did not erode the expansion of bureaucracy. (54) On the contrary, it drew attention to a greater need for a planned economy, a notion that was incompatible with the individualism of the previous century, thus leading to increased pressures on Parliament and to the giving of powers to civil servants to ... "adjudicate in the name of the minister." (55)

The S.E.D. was a part of this developing machinery. From its inception, it had grown within the Civil Service, absorbing much of the Service's ethos and, like it, becoming a ... "convention-bound, precedent-laden, secretive society." (56) Not that it was always a totally pliable member of that society, as the discussion on its somewhat mercurial relationship with the Treasury has made clear. But the public perception of the Department was such that it turned the relationship between it and the local tier of Scottish educational government, especially the school boards, into a somewhat abrasive experience. Detractors felt that the Department was something more than an administrative machine. Rather did they see it as a body trampling over the democratic rights of the boards, and even side-stepping the authority of Parliament. With the multiplicity of boards, the variable nature of their standards of efficiency, and the range of educational services that were required throughout Scotland, it was hardly surprising that the Department did not escape censorious disapproval. Not all of it was deserved. For example, as has been pointed out with reference to parts of the Highlands, some school boards experienced problems when trying to get rid of unsatisfactory teachers. On the other hand, as Bone and Scotland have shown, school boards could be equally peremptory in dismissing teachers without providing

them with sufficient notice. Over the years, such tactics had created feelings of insecurity among the teaching profession. To try to overcome this, the S.E.D. created an appeals procedure machinery in 1908, thus entitling a dismissed teacher to apply to the Department for an inquiry. (57) But as the Marshall case made abundantly clear, a school board that was sufficiently single-minded and ruthless could challenge any appeals machinery, and almost get away with a victory. That case provided an unsalutary instance not simply of the fragility of the relationship between the Department and the boards, or of a single teacher fighting against unfair dismissal, but also of the force of religion in the process of education.

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While the boards devoted much of their time to the mechanics of running schools, the S.E.D. took an interest in the wider aspects of education. The function of schooling as a moral force in the community, for example, attracted its attention. Historically, this was no new development. During the eighteenth century, education - especially the teaching of reading - had been seen as a way of inculcating religious values into children and ensuring the preservation of order in society. Later, in England's public schools and Scotland's higher class institutions, growing emphasis in moral education was placed on patriotism and on the need to serve others. Useful precepts were included among a welter of factual data in children's books. (58) But, by the early 1900s, the government was giving teachers some more explicit guide-lines on their role as inculcators of morality. For example, in the Board of Education's Elementary Code for 1904, attention was directed at the importance of the teacher in laying the foundations of good behaviour. "The purpose of the Public Elementary School," stated the code, "is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of children." In this task, it said, teachers had a vital part to play.

They can endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline, to impart in the children habits of industry, self control, and courageous perseverance..., teach them to be ready for self-sacrifice, ... foster a strong respect for duty, ... and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners,... . (59)

The same kind of stress was put into the Handbook of Suggestions, published in 1905. Teachers, it noted, could only influence pupils directly for a short period of their lives, ..."yet it is the period when human nature is most plastic, when good influence is most fruitful, and when teaching, if well bestowed, is most sure of permanent results." (60)

The S.E.D. took a similar stance, pointing out a need for teachers to provide ... "direct and definite moral instruction...", and suggesting, especially for adolescents, that literature should be used to teach about ... "the responsibilities and duties of communal life as well as of its rights and privileges." (61) Despite the vicissitudes of the war, the Inspectorate expressed optimism about the future, finding indiscipline ... "conspicuous..." only in the towns, but suggesting that teachers in rural areas could place greater prominence on ... "courtesy, and the sense of order. These virtues", it was stressed, "are not morality, but they are well on the road towards it." (62)

Neither the Board of Education nor the S.E.D. had a monopoly on views about the inculcation of moral values into children. In 1917, for example, as part of the process of planning for the post-war years, the Scottish Education Reform Committee drew attention to the importance of such values, considering them to be ... "as pervasive as the air the pupil breathes...", and urging the state to give them greater recognition in the curriculum by instilling children with the ideals of citizenship. (63) A similar point was made by the Church of Scotland. Attention has already been drawn to its interest in social questions. The outbreak of the war heightened this interest. But while some individuals considered the experience of war to be useful in breaking down prejudices by promoting ... "a spirit of conciliation, concession and cooperation ...", (64) the Church, in contrast, took on a more judgemental attitude towards society's problems, attacking increases in abortion and contraception, (65) condemning disloyalty in industry and criticising those who questioned orthodoxy in matters of church doctrine. (66) At the same time, however, it argued that education had a vital part to play in the processes of regeneration, and that schools could do so, for example, by teaching more about the principles of citizenship, and supplementing the work of Sunday schools through giving increased attention to religious instruction in

the classroom. (67) This latter suggestion was to be a source of friction when, in 1924, it was suggested by the Education Authorities Association that there should be some formal arrangement for teachers to indicate their views on the teaching of religion in schools. Opposing the idea, the E.I.S. considered it to be ... "tantamount to the imposition of religious tests...". Teachers, the Institute pointed out, could teach religion as ... "free agents, and not as bandsmen to a narrow tradition." (68)

Preservation of a tradition, on the other hand, was one of the predominant themes among those who opposed changes in the school curriculum. It was a view which clashed with the intentions of the S.E.D.. Increasingly, those intentions were directed towards implementing curricular innovation. But the presence of a large number of small schools made it more and more difficult to carry out any innovation without, at the same time, initiating some fundamental administrative alterations. Furthermore, such alterations, and their links with the curriculum, were bound to arouse resistance among those who believed that one of the most hallowed of all the traditions in Scottish schooling - that of the *lad o'pairs* - was likely to suffer adverse effects if the framework of the educational system was reformed. The concept of the *lad o'pairs* symbolized a strong attachment to the ideal of educational opportunity, and a recognition of the valuable role that the parish school had played in the development of that ideal. While it had been very successful in the north-east of Scotland, especially in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, (69) encouraged there to a considerable extent by a system of bursaries like those of Dick and Milne, its omnipresence in other parts was less apparent. Smith has drawn attention to the limitations of the tradition in parts of the Highlands before 1872. (70) Likewise, Boyd (71) questions its strength in the 1880s and 90s. And Roxburgh has argued that, in common with Knoxism and egalitarianism, the *lad o'pairs* had no great significance in Glasgow by the end of the nineteenth century. "In so far as they were effective at all," he states, "they belonged to the countryside." (72)

It was this general lack of balance in provision, often with inadequate facilities and shortages of staff able to teach full secondary courses, (73) which helped to galvanize the Department, especially Struthers, into action. He believed in having not only a more centralized system of education organization, with a smaller number of

local authorities tied fairly closely to a county-based pattern of administration, but also in a streamlined structure of full secondary schooling established only in a selected number of centres. Inevitably, this went against the older tradition of a parish-based academic education available up to university level. Despite sustained opposition to change from critics such as Donaldson, Harrower and Ramsay, who wished to preserve both the parish-controlled structure and the fairly narrow, classical - based curriculum, others like Gibson, (74) and even Laurie, (75) recognized a need for reform. But while the administrative framework of Scottish education was altered in 1918, the major re-shaping of the curriculum did not take place until the 1920s, following the publication of Circular 44.

Greeted with some cautious optimism, the Circular was soon under attack. (76). Not that its abolition of the qualifying examination was objected to. What aroused most criticism was the formal segregation of post-primary schooling into secondary and non-secondary. Was this criticism largely a result of strong attachment to what was being seen as a departing ideal? In part, yes. The curricular reorganization which followed the appearance of the Circular led to a closure of one avenue to educational advancement. It has to be recognized, however, that it was an avenue which had been significantly successful for only a small minority of children. This had been alluded to by Alexander Darroch in his review of the school boards and the organization of education in Scotland. "May the failure of so many boys and girls to reach a certain standard," he asked ... "not be due to the fact that we are imposing upon them a kind of education for which they have no aptitude?" (77) If it did nothing else, the Circular at least acknowledged that Darroch's question had some validity. But the criticism aroused by the Circular was not based entirely on injured idealism. There were other, more utilitarian factors, behind it. For example, there were fears that pupils taking intermediate courses could lose their secondary status and, as a result, be taught in larger classes with lower qualified teachers. (78) In addition, teachers were also concerned because the Circular granted local authorities a marked degree of control over the supervision of school work, thus leading to the possibility of increased interference from education committee officials. (79) In the context of the history of the relationship between many teachers and their former employers, the school

boards, this fear of interference was neither unexpected nor unreasonable. Finally, there were suspicions, (80) later discarded, (81) that the proposals in the Circular had been linked with the Geddes scheme for reductions in public expenditure and issued, therefore, as an economy measure to coincide with the government's financial cuts. A short-term need for thrift may not have been the initial impetus behind the Circular; but the fact that its publication took place in close proximity with the Geddes incision was unlikely to be regarded as inconvenient, least of all by the Department.

Nor were the S.E.D's proposals in the Circular a part of an isolated restructuring exercise. Attention has already been drawn to the way in which both the legislative and executive arms of government had been increasing their control over the general organization of public affairs during the decade or so before the outbreak of war in 1914. War-time conditions, the creation of additional ministries, and the expansion in central administrative machinery, added to this existing trend. And although some of the war-time measures were only temporary, the new strength and confidence of the centralized bureaucracy did not diminish in the 1920s. Indeed, with the changes in the Treasury, noted in the detailed discussion of its relationship with the S.E.D., that confidence was given a boost, thus creating within each segment of the Civil Service, including the S.E.D., an increased aura of dominance that had been less apparent a decade earlier. This dominance was seeping into the pronouncements of central government's education bureaucracy. It was evident, for example, in the Board of Education's restrictions on educational expenditure in England and Wales, as laid down in Circular 1371 in November 1925. (82) Similarly, in Circular 1350, published in January 1925, (83) the Board drew what it saw as the necessary parameters for the development of elementary and secondary schooling south of the border, parameters which foreshadowed proposals for reorganization that were included in the Hadow Report of 1926, with its emphasis on selection ... "by differentiation..." rather than ... "by elimination." (84)

Each of these, together with the S.E.D's Circular 44, was part of a concerted exercise in reconstruction, seemingly in order to extend the concept of educational opportunity. But while the civil servants had a reasonably clear idea as to how they wished to bring about this extension, with an emphasis on strong central direction

accompanied by a greater degree of professionalism within enlarged local authorities, the views of MPs were less direct. Not surprisingly, they responded more to constituency interests rather than to the ideas of permanent administrators. Some, like Baldwin, echoing the argument put forward by Darroch, knew what they did not want. "It is no good forcing every kind of ability into one form of education," he said, "if the result is going to be to lower the standard which it is in the interest of the country to maintain." (85) The Labour party, on the other hand, wished for ... "the broad and open highway from the elementary school, through the secondary school, to the university. But this does not mean that every boy and girl must go through to the university...". (86) All three political parties, Conservative, Labour and Liberal, however, ... "shared a common assumption that secondary (grammar) education was a prize for the few...". (87) Herein lay the weakness in the argument of those politicians who objected to the contents of Circular 44. The limited view of the concept of educational opportunity contained in the Circular was not all that far removed from the thinking in the major parties. With the uncertainty of the political and economic climate of the time, together with the ambivalent attitudes of teachers towards some of the proposals in the Circular, it was not surprising, therefore, that the permanent force of the S.E.D. was able to overcome the opposition of a transient Westminster assembly.

Thus, weaknesses inherent in the local structure of Scotland's educational system between 1900 and 1929 were made more evident by the enhancement in the powers of central government and the bureaucratic machinery of the S.E.D., powers which did not develop in a vacuum but as part of the gradual changes taking place in the nature and direction of parliamentary government.

Scottish education between 1900 and 1930 was marked by a gradual change within the framework of its administrative structure. In 1900 the nation had a network of schools managed by local boards, a system of organization that was no longer fully capable of withstanding pressures building up against it. By 1930 the boards had been abolished and the schools transferred to town or county councils. This change

was achieved in the context of a tenacious struggle to retain the parish-controlled status of the schools and the preservation of the existing organizing machinery, a struggle carried on by those who believed in the inviolability of a philosophy of education and administration whose roots lay deep in Scottish history. On the other hand, an urgent need to reform that system of administration had become evident by the beginning of the century. The scope of schooling was widening. Increasingly, institutions and methods of management were failing to cope with the demands made on them, while existing sources of finance were inadequate.

At both local and national levels, leaders of public opinion often argued passionately against jettisoning the existing structure of educational organization in favour of more modern but, what many believed, were less democratic methods of governing Scotland's schools. This was not the opinion of the S.E.D. Under both Struthers and Macdonald it pressed forward with plans to abolish old patterns of control. Frequently, these plans failed to gain popular acceptance, partly because the two successive Secretaries of the S.E.D., although very able and efficient, had little talent for enlightening public opinion. It could be argued that this was not one of their functions. That, however, could not be said about the Department's political head. But, unlike the senior secretariat who enjoyed a permanent career structure, his was a transitory position; a position, moreover, shared by the same individual who also served as Secretary for Scotland. This dual role carried a range of political responsibilities which were too multifarious for one person to fulfil with maximum efficiency, thus tending to cause decisions on policy and administration in Scottish education to be reached with insufficient degrees of consultation and discussion between the Vice President and his most senior advisers.

The central theme of this investigation has concentrated on the partnership between the state and the Scottish local education authorities. By 1900 that partnership was no longer entirely viable; and the inherent weaknesses within it became more pronounced until the effort to re-structure the framework of the administrative machinery was initiated. Both the detailed evidence put forward, and the conclusions reached, have highlighted some of those weaknesses. But was the concept itself, namely that of a partnership between two tiers of government, faulty? A

few factors may suggest that this was so. First, the idea of a partnership implied that both participants enjoyed equal levels of responsibility and a right to exercise some degree of power. In reality, however, the relationship between the S.E.D. and the local authorities was based not on any clearly-delineated and detailed formal agreement but on a more general, pragmatic hypothesis, designed, on the one hand, to restrain the centralized department from acquiring too much control while, on the other, ensuring that local management was not reduced to being a passive and obedient servant of a higher authority. As such, therefore, there was no true balance reflected in the partnership. Second, the period shows the importance of a British as well as a Scottish dimension. This dual presence acted as a brake on the formulation of education policy. Theoretically, adaptation to local requirements was not ignored. But with the variations in resources, terrain, population and needs throughout Scotland, that adaptation had its limitations. When those limitations were reached, the principle of a partnership gave way to one of acceptance of direction from a central point. Third, the concept placed a damper on the speed with which innovatory ideas emanating from the Department could be applied, since innovation by its very nature challenged existing structures and practices. Fourth, the concept failed to distinguish - at least with sufficient clarity - the boundary line between the responsibility of the politician and that of administrator, and so made it almost impossible at times to isolate what were political questions from those which, more often than not, were operational issues. Finally, the concept disguised what was conceivably the most important element in any aspect of decision-making, the location of power. At the level of central government, parliamentary bills could be passed, codes and circulars drawn up, professional bodies consulted, formal and informal pressures taken into consideration, and all in the interests of ensuring that the machinery of educational government in Scotland ran smoothly. At the same time, local boards and councils, no matter how small their areas, also took decisions; decisions shaped by pressures and counter-pressures emanating from local as well as national sources. This general diffusion of the processes of decision-making symbolized the strength and the weakness of the system of Scottish educational administration. In so doing, it exhibited the inter-play of traditional and reforming tendencies in education.

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“Complaints have recently been heard that ‘the relative proportion of the expenditure borne by national and by local sources’ is too favourable to the latter, but this complaint would be better grounded if it were first proved that full advantage had been taken of every legitimate means of increasing the State’s contribution to the support of Education. ... if only about half the proper number of pupils are entering on Courses for which increased Grants are paid, it is ... surely the duty of the Boards concerned to see to it that this source of income from national sources is raised to its fullest possible amount.”

MacRobert, op. cit., p. 74.
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The Counties of England

Who divided England into Counties?

Alfred the Great

For what purposes?

That persons might more easily refer to places, and that order might be more easily preserved.

What is the climate of England?
Moist, but healthy.

What is the character of the English people?
Brave, intelligent, and very persevering.

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death earlier in the year.

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“I know all the fine Scottish stories about ‘lads o’pairs’, the kind of fellows who work their way to college and rise to academic or some other distinction. It is one of the interesting bits of our Scottish tradition that this could and can happen more readily than in almost any other country There was nothing in my home environment to make that likely. My parents and near kindred were all good, decent, intelligent folk, but our Scottish kind of education, which had made them all able to read and write, had not given them any ideas to work on. Such ideas as they acquired came either from the kirk or from politics or even from a study of nature As a child, I was mentally very active. I went about asking, ‘Why?’, but there was nobody to answer.”

72. Roxburgh, J.M. The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919, London, 1971, p. 100.

73. Owen, C.H. Rural Schools and Centralisation in The Educational News, 22.04.05, p. 300.

The author’s school in Lorn was one of thirty-two in the district. Secondary school work could only be done in three or six at most. Out of 168 schools in Argyll, 109 had only one teacher. In Orkney and Shetland 87 per cent had only one teacher. There were 98 schools out of 181 in Inverness-shire with only one teacher, while many lowland counties had between 30 and 50 per cent with one teacher only.

Campbell, H.F. Highland Reconstruction, Glasgow, 1920, pp. 44-46.

While organization for secondary education in the Highlands between 1875 and 1918 improved, recent schemes and the grading of schools were placing small rural schools at a disadvantage. But the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, with better bursaries and travel facilities would be able to give higher grade schools ... “if not monopoly, at least much the larger share of secondary teaching...”.

74. Gibson, W.J. Education in Scotland, London, 1912, p. 140.

75. Dick Bequest Trust, General Report to the Governors 1890-1904, by S.S. Laurie, Edinburgh 1904, p. 42.

There was no assurance that the bequest would fulfil its purpose unless ...
 “the Department be instructed ... to recognise the (so-called) ‘secondary subjects’ of Languages and Mathematics in rural schools.”

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Appendix 1Copy of the Treasury Minute Dated 3rd July, 1894.

My Lords have before Them the correspondence which has taken place between this Department and the Education Office with regard to the position with respect to pension of the Examiners of the Scotch Education Department and the Inspectors of Schools in Scotland.

They have agreed that the present holders of those offices shall be specially certificated for service under the Scotch Education Department under Clause VII of the Order in Council of 4th June 1870, but that with regard to future appointees, They will issue a Warrant placing the Office of Examiner and that of Inspector under the Scotch Education Department under Clause IV of the Superannuation Act 1859, but without any addition of years.

They are accordingly pleased to declare that, for the due and efficient performance of the duties of those offices, professional and other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily acquired in the Public Health Service are required, and that it is for the interest of the public that persons should be appointed thereto at an age exceeding that at which public service ordinarily begins.

My Lords are further pleased to direct that any persons who may hereafter be appointed to such offices may be entitled to superannuation, though not holding such appointments direct from the Crown and not having entered the service with a Certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners.

Let copies of this Minute be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

Source: P.R.O. T164/1/12.

Appendix 2Copy of the Treasury Minute Dated the 16th June 1906.

My Lords have before Them the correspondence which has passed between the Board of Education and the Treasury upon the subject of the position with respect to pension of the Inspectors of Schools and Examiners under the former Department.

By the Treasury Minutes of the 14th June 1859 and the 5th May 1863, the offices in question were placed under the provisions of Section 4 of the Superannuation Act, 1859, with an addition of five years in each instance.

My Lords are now pleased to modify the terms of those Minutes so far as to declare that, as regards appointments made since the 1st September 1905, an addition of years shall only be granted in cases in which an Inspector of Schools whether Elementary or Secondary, or an Examiner, is appointed from outside the public service above a certain age; and that in such cases the addition shall be five years, less one year for each year by which an officer's age on appointment falls short of thirty-five.

This arrangement will apply also to Inspectors of Schools and Classes formerly under the Science and Art Department, who have hitherto been entitled to an addition of seven years under the Minute of 24th August 1860.

My Lords are further pleased to direct that the office of Woman Inspector under the Board of Education shall be placed under the provisions of Section 4, and that the position of holders of that office with respect to additional years shall be the same as that of the Inspectors and Examiners mentioned above.

Source: P.R.O. T164/1/12

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