

**The small rural school and community relations  
in Scotland, 1872-2000: an interdisciplinary history**

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## **Author's declaration**

The work contained in this thesis is entirely my own work.

The views expressed are entirely my own, and not those of the University of Stirling.

## Abstract

Seeking to fill a gap in the historiography, this study provides a closely-observed but contextualised social history of Scotland's rural schools from the late nineteenth century through to the end of the twentieth century. Though particularly concerned with the period following the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, consideration is given to earlier developments to ensure a depth of understanding and an appreciation of the subtleties of local experience. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, and combining qualitative and quantitative analysis, the thesis draws together three layers of research: a detailed regional case study of the Highland Perthshire parishes of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin; a quasi-random sample of sixty-six rural districts from across Scotland; and a national overview. In doing so, it challenges oft-made generalisations about rural life and provides a more nuanced picture of change and continuity in educational policy and practice across Scotland. Focusing in on the relationship between the small rural schools and their communities, the social dimensions of educational provision are explored in depth with special attention being paid to who taught, attended and supported the schools, and how they operated as educational and social spaces. To frame and guide discussion, three core themes – gender, culture and citizenship – are explored throughout and elements of social theory are drawn on to aid analysis and interpretation.

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Last but by no means least, credit must be given to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for funding this research and recognising the value of historical scholarship. This doctoral study has been an incredible challenge and an amazing opportunity to explore a subject which is close to many people's hearts, but rarely hits the headlines. I hope to have done it justice and look forward to sharing my findings more widely.

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## Abbreviations

DAFS	Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland
EIS	Educational Institute of Scotland
FEIS	Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland
HMI	Her/His Majesty's Inspectorate
NEF	New Education Fellowship
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
NSA	<i>The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1834-45)</i>
OS	Ordnance Survey
PKCA	Perth and Kinross Council Archive
PKLS	Perth and Kinross Local Studies
PP	<i>Parliamentary Papers</i>
QRS	Quasi-random sample
SAS	<i>The Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-99)</i>
SBSDC	Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy
SCA	Stirling Council Archives
SCRE	Scottish Council for Research in Education
SED	Scotch/Scottish Education Department
SOHC	Scottish Oral History Centre
SSPCA	Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge
TSA	<i>The Third Statistical Account of Scotland (1951-1992)</i>



## Introduction

Following the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, public schools became an established feature of Scotland's rural landscape, bringing compulsory education to the doorstep of even the most remote and dispersed communities. The culmination of many decades of religious, political and educational debate, this landmark legislation marked a new beginning for Scottish parochial schooling, consolidating and strengthening a fragmented system of education which was no longer considered fit for purpose in an increasingly industrial and urban Scotland. Yet, by giving expression and momentum to this subtle but significant reformulation of educational purpose the Act also heralded the demise of the distinctly rural school. In simple terms, the establishment of a national framework to ensure greater equality of provision and efficiency of service set the course for a more uniform physical, administrative and pedagogic architecture of schooling which became increasingly detached from local context.

As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth and two world wars expedited social and economic change on an unprecedented global scale, education in Scotland, as elsewhere in the industrialised world, became increasingly driven from an urban, capitalist centre with policy and practice radiating out to the rural periphery. As the economic imperative for schooling rose to ascendancy, replacing the earlier evangelical zeal to 'civilise' and bring salvation to the Scottish masses, education at every level, from children through to adults, was recognised as being key to creating a productive workforce to fuel and sustain the modern economy. Furthermore, with the progressive expansion of the political franchise, schools came to play a significant role in engendering a sense of responsible citizenship in the next generation. These monumental shifts in Scottish society have been well-documented by observers from across the disciplines, with sociological, political and economic analysis abounding. However, whilst the place of education in this has been explored from a variety of angles, no comprehensive attempt has been made to tell the story from a rural perspective. By exploring the story of the small rural school from the advent of compulsory education in 1872 through to the end of the twentieth century, this study seeks to fill that gap and argues for a more nuanced understanding of Scotland's recent educational history and the socio-cultural, economic and political strands running through it.

Convinced of the value of adopting an interdisciplinary approach, this research encapsulates empirical findings and theory from across the disciplines, aligning and juxtaposing elements of historical and sociological thought into a refined methodology to facilitate critical analysis. Beginning with a review of relevant literature, moving beyond the historiographical to consider other texts of value, **Chapter 1** places the study in context, identifies key themes for consideration and articulates these into a series of research questions. Consideration is then given to the interdisciplinary methodology developed for this study, with details given of the

three-layer approach adopted and the qualitative and quantitative methods employed. Encompassing a regional case study, a quasi-random sample of rural school board districts and a national overview, this layered approach provides a micro to macro view and ensures a depth and breadth of detail. As well as reviewing national legislation and reports, the sample of rural schools from across Scotland is utilised to distil the wealth of available data for the country as a whole into a manageable, and broadly representative, cross-section of experience at both a regional and local level. Identifying trends as well as recognising disparities, this national profile provides a robust empirical basis for analysis and sets the context for the regional case study. Based around the 1872 school board districts of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin in Highland Perthshire, the regional case study provides a detailed assessment of how the small rural schools changed over time, specifically in relation to the role that they played in community life.

Combining these three research layers, the following chapters chart the history of Scotland's rural schools from the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century through to the Millennium. **Chapter 2** sets the scene with an overview of changes to the legal and administrative framework of Scottish education from the early days of parochial schooling through to the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, while **Chapter 3** examines the transition to a state system of schooling and policy and practice under the school boards. The advent of education authority control after the First World War and subsequent move to county council administration provides the framework for discussion of rural school provision in **Chapter 4**, before **Chapter 5** explores the changes and continuities of the post-war years through to the close of the twentieth century. An overarching **Conclusion** is then offered, reflecting on the core findings and affirming the value of this doctoral study not only in terms of its contribution to historical knowledge and engagement in sociological debate, but also in demonstrating the value of interdisciplinary research.

# Chapter 1

## Research context and methodology

### Literature review

The interdisciplinary nature of this study demanded that a wide range of literature was taken into account, ranging from standard historical texts to ethnographic studies and government reports. As well as setting the historiographical context, the following review is intended to show the linkage and overlap between the different texts and disciplines as well as relaying how the analytical framework for this study has been constructed.

Seeking to locate this study within the broader historical context, a wealth of books and articles provide a narrative and analysis of Scotland's past. Amongst these are many general historical works of note, including Devine's much-quoted *The Scottish Nation* and Michael Lynch's epic *Scotland: a New History*, which offer a long-term national perspective.<sup>1</sup> Other volumes, such as McCaffrey's *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, Finlay's *Modern Scotland*, Smout's *A Century of the Scottish People*, and Harvie's *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*, provide a narrower chronology but also use the nation to frame discussion.<sup>2</sup> Though broad in focus, and therefore necessarily drawn towards generalisation, such histories provide a valuable overview of events and allow for the identification of key themes for further consideration.<sup>3</sup> By illuminating the emphases of written history, general histories also encourage critical thought as to the current gaps and weaknesses in Scottish historiography. In relation to this study, they leave many questions unanswered with regard to the history of rural Scotland from the late nineteenth century onwards and present a somewhat formulaic picture of depopulation and decline in the countryside. Both Devine and Finlay, for instance, make stereotypical statements about people leaving farm and village in search of a better, more interesting life.<sup>4</sup>

Though not without basis, these statements simplify to the point of distortion and cement the idea that rural living was archaic and arduous in contrast to the excitement and opportunity of an urban existence. Whilst this dichotomy is often drawn and widely accepted, it is vital to remember that such conceptualisation is itself a product of the social, economic and intellectual

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<sup>1</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London, 2006); M. Lynch, *Scotland: a New History* (London, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> J. F. McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1998); R. Finlay, *Modern Scotland 1914-2000* (London, 2004); T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1987); C. Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Twentieth Century Scotland*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Edinburgh, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> To give an example, in his opening chapter Finlay makes the tantalising observation that, 'war and the sense of national identity that accompanied it not only helped reinforce a sense of British identity, they also helped to focus a sense of Scottish identity at the expense of local identity'. Such comments help to set the scene when seeking to understand the social and cultural transformations of the twentieth century. Finlay, *Modern Scotland*, p.4.

<sup>4</sup> Finlay, whose narrative begins at the outbreak of war in 1914, emphasises the negative aspects of rural life at the beginning of the twentieth century describing the boredom which drove the 'younger and more adventurous souls ... to seek their fortunes in the big cities'. Likewise, Devine argues that 'rural life had few social attractions' at this time and that people were therefore hungry for a more exciting and less demanding life'. Finlay, *Modern Scotland*, p.19; Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.466.

changes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and needs to be understood as such.<sup>5</sup> There is an argument to be made that current perceptions of the past are informed by a predominantly urban mind-set, and this in turn raises important questions about how we should seek to understand rural communities both historically and in the present-day. For this reason, it is crucial to engage with debates around rurality, and give due consideration to the evolving significance of distinctly urban structures and philosophies, particularly in relation to education. Whilst these themes are not entirely absent from the pages of national history, they tend to be part of a broader commentary, setting the historical context, rather than being the focus for critical analysis themselves. It is therefore only by branching out into other disciplinary circles that any depth of discussion can be found.

Despite being primarily concerned with contemporary society, ethnographers, sociologists and geographers have contributed many works of historical interest. To give some examples, Fenton's *Country Life in Scotland*, an update to his classic work, offers an intricate portrayal of Scottish rural life, and West's *Historical Ethnography of Rural Perthshire* provides a closely observed account of the everyday culture and experiences of people living in this region.<sup>6</sup> Edited collections with a broader geographical outlook have also proved useful, with the *Handbook of Rural Studies* offering a clear and concise overview of the key areas of discussion and contention, and pointing to books and articles of interest.<sup>7</sup> Cloke's contribution on the conceptualisation of rurality is particularly thought-provoking, and has informed the methodology adopted in this study.<sup>8</sup> In particular, his observation that 'rural change has constituted a blurring of

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<sup>5</sup> As noted by rural sociologist Howard Newby, 'much of the writing on agriculture and rural life in advanced capitalist societies has been influenced by ... a brisk dismissal of the significance of the rural sector as an archaic and backward area which the more advanced, industrial sector somehow tows along in its wake as it marches inexorably onwards in its evolutionary progression'. Another approach often taken is to emphasise and romanticise the distinctive qualities of rural life. Although these approaches have been increasingly questioned over the last few decades, there remains a tendency for scholars outwith the field to conform unthinkingly to one or the other. H. Newby, 'The Rural Sociology of Advanced Capitalist Societies', in H. Newby (ed.), *International Perspectives in Rural Sociology* (Chichester, 1979), p.3. This contrast between urban civilisation and rural backwardness was most famously made by Marx and Engels, who suggested that urbanisation had 'rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life'. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, trans. S. Moore (1888), Virginia Tech electronic reproduction (South Bend, IN, 2001) accessed via ProQuest ebrary 2 July 2016, p.5. Raymond Williams' work is also of note. In his detailed exploration of the 'division and opposition of city and country', he argues that 'the symptoms of this division can be found at every point in what is now our common life: in the idea and practice of social classes, in conventional definitions of work and of education; in the physical distribution of settlements and in temporal organization of the day, the week, the year, the lifetime'. R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford, 1975), p.305.

<sup>6</sup> A. Fenton, *Country Life in Scotland: Our Rural Past*, revised edition (Edinburgh, 2008); G. West, *An Historical Ethnography of Rural Perthshire, 1750-1950: Farm, Family, and Neighbourhood* (Lampeter, 2007). Given its focus on Perthshire, West's exploration of the concept of belonging and how membership of the community is negotiated is particularly pertinent. His earlier article on local gatherings is also of interest, G. West, 'Conceptualising Neighbourhood: Charity Labour Gatherings in Rural Perthshire, 1850-1950', *Scottish Studies*, 33 (2000), pp.132-44.

<sup>7</sup> P. Cloke, T. Marsden and P. H. Mooney (eds.), *Handbook of Rural Studies* (London, 2006). Chapters of particular interest are: T. Marsden, 'Pathways in the Sociology of Rural Knowledge', pp.3-17; P. Cloke, 'Conceptualizing Rurality', pp.18-28; K. Halfacree, 'Rural Space: Constructing a Three-Fold Architecture', pp.44-62; R. Panelli, 'Rural Society', pp.63-90; E. Melanie DuPuis, 'Landscapes of Desires?', pp.124-32; D. Bell, 'Variations on the Rural Idyll', pp.149-160; J. Murdoch, 'Networking Rurality: Emergent Complexity in the Countryside', pp.171-84. Other works considered include: N. Gallent, I. Hamiduddin, M. Juntti, S. Kidd and D. Shaw, *Introduction to Rural Planning*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London, 2015); M. Woods, *Contesting Rurality: Politics in the British Countryside* (Aldershot, 2005); S. Neal and J. Agyeman, *The New Countryside? Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain* (Bristol, 2006); P. Cloke and M. Goodwin (eds.), *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, Marginalisation and Rurality* (London, 1997); and C. W. J. Withers and G. Kearns (eds.), *Urbanising Britain: Essays of Class and Community in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Cloke points out that 'the rural stands both as a significant imaginative space, connected with all kinds of cultural meaning ranging from the idyllic to the oppressive, and as a material object of lifestyle desire for some people – a place to move to,

conventional boundaries between county and city', with there being both an 'urbanization of the rural and (albeit to a lesser extent) a ruralisation of the urban', raises pertinent questions and encourages deeper analysis of the processes at play.<sup>9</sup> In this regard, Jedrej and Nuttall's provocatively-titled *White Settlers* study, which explores the impact of counterstream migration in Scotland at the end of the twentieth century, is also of considerable interest.<sup>10</sup>

Likewise, it is important to recognise some of the key trends in the historiography of rural Scotland which have helped to shape notions of rurality. The propensity of scholars to focus on the 'Highland Clearances' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is perhaps the most obvious slant, with there being a plethora of accounts relating to this topic. Without denying the importance of this area of study, its predominance has come at the cost of more detailed examination of other aspects of rural life. In the words of R. H. Campbell, 'the study of Scottish agriculture and of rural history generally has suffered from ... selective neglect'.<sup>11</sup> A related emphasis on migration history, which has been strengthened in recent years by the growing popularity of Scottish diaspora studies, has also made its mark by focusing attention on those who left the countryside rather than those who stayed, and favouring a global perspective over the local.<sup>12</sup> Add to this the inherent appeal of dramatic events and an enduring fascination with sweeping change, and it is little wonder that the unspectacular shifts and subtle continuities of everyday life, which are just as much a part of the rural story, have largely failed to capture the historian's imagination. Placing Scotland's small rural communities in the spotlight and looking to other disciplines for inspiration and insight is therefore very intentional.

Taking a broader view, a number of collections offer a mix of disciplinary perspectives on Scotland's past. Key amongst these is *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* and the series of multi-author volumes on *People and Society in Scotland* which contain an interdisciplinary mix of chapters.<sup>13</sup> Adopting a thematic approach, these books maintain a national focus on Scotland but move away from grand historical narrative to focus attention on particular aspects of social history, many of which are of direct relevance to this research.<sup>14</sup> The recent series of four books

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farm in, visit for a vacation, encounter different forms of nature, and generally practise alternatives to the city'. He also highlights that whereas 'cities are usually understood in their own terms', 'the distinction of rurality is significantly vested in its oppositional positioning to the urban'. Cloke, 'Conceptualizing Rurality', in *Handbook of Rural Studies*, p.18.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Their consideration of the dynamic between local and incomers, and between the urban and the rural, is particularly interesting. C. Jedrej and M. Nuttall, *White Settlers: The Impact of Rural Repopulation in Scotland* (Luxembourg, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> R. H. Campbell, 'Too Much on the Highlands? A Plea for Change', in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 14 (1994), pp.58-76. For a more recent perspective see A. Perchard and N. Mackenzie, "'Too Much on the Highlands?'" Recasting the Economic History of the Highlands and Islands', in *Northern Scotland* 4:1 (2013), pp.3-22.

<sup>12</sup> The foundation of the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies at the University of Edinburgh in 2008 is a clear indicator of this, as is the publication of historical works such as T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2010* (London, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Devine and Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*; H. Fraser and R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, 1830-1914* (Edinburgh, 1990); A. Dickson and J. H. Treble (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland, 1914-1990* (Edinburgh, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> For instance, in the earlier volume of *People and Society* there are discussions around 'The Rural Experience' and 'Urbanisation and Scotland' as well as chapters entitled 'Women's Spheres', 'An Exploration into Scottish Education' and 'Community and Culture'. The authors of these chapters, in order of mention, are: R. H. Campbell and T. M. Devine; R. J.

on the history of everyday life in Scotland makes an equally valuable contribution to Scottish historiography by providing 'a richer and more closely observed history of the social, economic and cultural lives of ordinary Scots than has been previously published'.<sup>15</sup> Whilst such compilations do not analyse the various themes in an exhaustive fashion, they have the undoubted advantage of drawing on a breadth of expertise and, in doing so, demonstrate the depth of insight to be gained from taking an interdisciplinary approach.<sup>16</sup> Their thematic chapters also aid consideration of the unique contribution that this research can make to broader historical debates and push for it to have a wider relevance. Spurred on by this, the study aims to address various cross-cutting issues, with a particular emphasis on gender and culture, as well as offering new insights into the history of education and rural society in Scotland.

In looking to engage with these broader debates, a number of publications have proved useful. As well as drawing on the historical literature and interdisciplinary collaborations, consideration has also been given to works more firmly rooted in other disciplines to ensure a breadth of understanding. In this way, thought-provoking collections such as Breitenbach and Gordon's *Out of Bounds*, which seeks to challenge conventional narratives, sit alongside the likes of *Understanding Scotland: the Sociology of a Nation* by sociologist David McCrone.<sup>17</sup> Though completely different in approach and content, both books highlight the complexity of social experience in Scotland and offer conceptual frameworks to facilitate analysis. The emergence and gradual strengthening of gender-related research across the disciplines over the last few decades is particularly note-worthy, and amidst the wealth of material now available on this topic special attention has been given to the numerous contributions made by the sociologist Helen Corr, and historians Lynn Abrams and Jane McDermid.<sup>18</sup> As Abrams neatly sums up, 'using gender as a category of analysis enables a re-evaluation of some of the ways in which Scotland's past is imagined', and pushes for a deeper understanding of socially-constructed norms.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore of crucial importance to this social historical study and will be used to frame analysis throughout.

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Morris; E. Gordon; H. Corr; and C. Harvie and G. Walker. Similar themes are also explored in the later book, with demography, education, gender and culture being the focus for analysis.

<sup>15</sup> L. Abrams and C. G. Brown (eds.), *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2010), p.ix.

<sup>16</sup> T. M. Devine, 'General Introduction', in Dickson and Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, 1914-1990*, p.v.

<sup>17</sup> E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon (eds.), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945* (Edinburgh, 1992); D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: the Sociology of a Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London, 2001).

<sup>18</sup> These include: H. Corr and L. Jamieson (eds.), *Politics of Everyday Life: Continuity and Change in Work and the Family* (London, 1990); J. McDermid, 'The Making of a "Domestic" Life: Memories of a Working Woman', *Labour History Review*, 73 (2008), pp.253-68; J. McDermid, 'Missing Persons? Women in Modern Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone, D. Simonton and O. Walsh (eds.), *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach* (Glasgow, 1999), pp.37-45; L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton and E. Yeo (eds.), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (Edinburgh, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, p.2.

There is also much of interest to be found in the European Ethnological Research Centre's series on *Scottish Life and Society* which extends to an impressive fourteen volumes.<sup>20</sup> Organised around key themes, the collection provides a detailed examination of Scottish culture and observes its historical characteristics from an ethnological perspective. Retaining a cultural focus but returning to the historical literature, Smout and Wood's *Scottish Voices* sits comfortably alongside these works with its unsentimental account of everyday life told through the words of those who experienced it.<sup>21</sup> This brings us full circle back to the interdisciplinary collections mentioned earlier and shows how near seamless the link between the different bodies of literature is. Given the specific focus of this study on understanding the social dimensions of educational policy and practice in rural Scotland, numerous theoretical and empirical works which sit under the umbrella of community studies have been digested including Littlejohn's seminal sociological study of *Westrigg*, Frankenburg's collective piece on *Communities in Britain*, Delanty's 'contemporary interpretation of the idea of community' and Putnam's *Bowling Alone*, a populist but meticulously researched take on the collapse and revival of American community.<sup>22</sup> Related works which explore key social concepts have also warranted attention, with John Field's commentary on *Social Capital* proving especially useful.<sup>23</sup> Recognising the analogous relationship between qualitative and quantitative research and the potential for one to speak where the other is silent, research which takes a quantitative approach to understanding human experience, such as the statistically-focused *Living in Scotland*, has also been considered.<sup>24</sup>

Turning to the literature with a specific focus on the history of education in Scotland, the most obvious place to start is with the historical writings of Robert Anderson. Though by no means the first to write on this subject, Anderson is recognised as a leading expert and has made many valuable contributions, including his meticulous account of *Education and the Scottish People*.<sup>25</sup> This national overview continues to be a major academic text and is frequently referenced due to its clear exposition of the key themes and debates around Scottish education. The book is

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<sup>20</sup> Given the focus of this study, the following volumes have been particularly useful: A. Fenton and K. Veitch (eds.), *Scottish Life and Society: Farming and the Land*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 2011); J. Beech, O. Hand and M. Mulhern (eds.), *Scottish Life and Society: The Individual and Community Life*, Vol. 9 (Edinburgh, 2005); H. Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: Education*, Vol. 11 (East Lothian, 2005). Reference to other sections of the compendium has also been made, including the recently published introductory volume on Scottish ethnology and the extensive bibliography which closes the series. A. Fenton and M. MacKay (eds.), *Scottish Life and Society: An Introduction to Scottish Ethnology*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 2013); H. Holmes and F. MacDonald (eds.), *Scottish Life and Society: Bibliography*, Vol. 14 (East Lothian, 2003).

<sup>21</sup> Although the short chapter entitled 'At school' is most pertinent, the book provides various insights taken as a whole. T. C. Smout and S. Wood, *Scottish Voices, 1745-1960* (London, 1991).

<sup>22</sup> J. Littlejohn, *Westrigg: The Sociology of a Cheviot Parish* (Abingdon, 1963); R. Frankenburg, *Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country* (Harmondsworth, 1966); G. Delanty, *Community* (Abingdon, 2003); R. D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> J. Field, *Social Capital*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Abingdon, 2008). Details of this research project were shared with Professor Field in November 2013, and he suggested some lines of enquiry which have been followed.

<sup>24</sup> L. Paterson, F. Bechhofer and D. McCrone, *Living in Scotland: Social and Economic Change since 1980*, (Edinburgh, 2004).

<sup>25</sup> R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People* (Oxford, 1995). Other works include: *Scottish Education since the Reformation* (Dundee, 1997); 'In Search of the "Lad of Parts": the Mythical History of Scottish Education', *History Workshop Journal* 19:1 (1985), pp.82-104; 'Education and the State in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *The Economic History Review*, 36 (1983), pp.518-34.

equally indispensable as a guide to the official records and printed sources, and its appendices have proved useful in identifying legislative papers of relevance. Donald Withrington's publications are also of note, with various articles touching on topics of interest and his *Going to School* providing an engaging survey of Scottish schooling from the Reformation through to the twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> Glancing further back, many generations of scholars have put pen to paper to give account of this defining feature of Scottish life. Often written by educationalists rather than professional historians, these works are intrinsically tied up with the development of education itself during the twentieth century, and offer a contemporary perspective as well as historical narrative. For example, Clarke's *Short Studies in Education* which was published in 1904 provides both a historic overview and an insight to the educational debates of the time.<sup>27</sup>

Numerous other authors link history with their present-day concerns. James Scotland is perhaps the best-known of these, and his two part series on *The History of Scottish Education* is both detailed and analytical in its approach.<sup>28</sup> Writing in the late 1960s, when he was Principal of Aberdeen College of Education, Scotland identified a gap in the historiography and was eager to move beyond 'a catalogue of facts covering the acts of parliament passed, the departments set up, the way things were paid for' to provide 'a record of what people said and thought and felt, as well as what they did, especially in this case what children and their teachers felt and thought'.<sup>29</sup> In this sense, he was one of the pioneers of social history, asking new questions of the sources and pushing the boundaries to encourage a more holistic view of the past. As an educationalist, he was also concerned to take account of the contemporary situation and, with a large section of the second volume dedicated to this, there is much to be gleaned from it about the Scottish education system in the 1960s. Of similar value is an earlier piece written by H. M. Knox which charts *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education* and offers reflections on 'the present position' in the late 1940s as well as detailing its historical roots. Again, the author was a lecturer in education who was dismayed by 'the complete dearth of up-to-date textbooks on the subject' and set about filling the gap.<sup>30</sup>

Although much more traditional in his approach, Knox's contribution is another must-read, not least because it helps to build up the historiographical picture and allows for analysis of subtle changes in the way that education was being written about at different times during the

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<sup>26</sup> D. J. Withrington, 'The SSPCK and Highland Schools in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 41:132 (1962), pp.89-99; 'The 1872 Education Act - a Centenary Retrospect', *Education in the North*, 9 (1972), pp.5-9; 'Towards a National System, 1866-72: The Last Years in the Struggle for a Scottish Education Act', *Scottish Educational Studies*, 4:2 (1972), pp.107-24; 'A Half-Educated Nation?', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 7 (1987), pp.72-4; 'Scotland: A National Educational System and Ideals of Citizenship', *Paedagogica Historica*, 29:3 (1993), pp.699-710; *Going to School* (Edinburgh, 1997); 'Church and State in Scottish Education before 1872', in Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: Education*.

<sup>27</sup> Clarke was a lecturer on education at the University of Aberdeen at the time of writing and intended his book 'as a contribution toward the solution of problems many of which are familiar to students of Public Education in Scotland'. J. Clarke, *Short Studies in Education in Scotland* (London, 1904), p.v.

<sup>28</sup> J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education. Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1872* (London, 1969) and *The History of Education. Volume 2: from 1872 to the Present Day* (London, 1969).

<sup>29</sup> Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education. Volume 2*, p.v.

<sup>30</sup> H. M. Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education 1696-1946* (Edinburgh, 1953).

twentieth century. This in itself is of great interest particularly given the influence that dominant historical narratives can have on contemporary thought and practice. In this instance, the history of education was seen to be a key element in preparing the next generation of teachers and educationalists for service, and would have impacted on people's notions of education accordingly.<sup>31</sup> Complementary to these works is McPherson and Raab's ground-breaking *Governing Education* which presents a sociological understanding of educational policy-making since 1945.<sup>32</sup> Intended to broaden the scope of the historiography, moving away from the 'acts and facts' approach traditionally adopted to explore the political intricacies of Scottish education, interviews with key policy-makers were conducted and considered alongside an array of primary sources to great effect.<sup>33</sup> Challenging the established narrative and focusing attention on the people and the power dynamics which drove the development of education in Scotland, the study has inspired this research to explore the social dimensions of local school governance in detail and reach for a deeper understanding.

One of the most recent contributions to the field is the *Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* which contains numerous chapters charting key developments and showcasing different elements of contemporary research and commentary.<sup>34</sup> Many of these are of direct relevance to this study, but of particular significance is Cameron's exploration of education in rural Scotland from the end of the seventeenth century through to 1872. Making reference to educational provision on the Breadalbane Estate, his analysis complements the case study element of this research, and offers a sure grounding for understanding the nature and development of education through to the late nineteenth century. It is significant, however, that 1872 was chosen as the cut-off point for detailed consideration of rural schooling. Although subsequent chapters do provide occasional insights, no comprehensive assessment is made of the changes and continuities which shaped rural education following the Education Act.<sup>35</sup> The rationale for this research therefore remains strong not only in terms of enhancing the historiography, but also in challenging how research into the history of Scottish education is structured and conceived. There is a propensity to view legislative measures, and particularly those of 1872 and 1918, as watersheds marking significant change. Yet, whilst providing a useful framework, such periodisation has tended to limit the temporal scope of historical studies, with

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<sup>31</sup> A number of other text-books specifically aimed at students of education were produced including S. Leslie Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford, 1971).

<sup>32</sup> A. McPherson and C. D. Raab, *Governing Education: A Sociology of Policy since 1945* (Edinburgh, 1988).

<sup>33</sup> The earlier works were seen to have done 'little to question the received wisdom about the basic structure of the system and the soundness of the service delivered', and were themselves a reflection of the policy process, with Scottish education and government being 'little esteemed by the British political elite' and rarely being referenced. Ibid, p.53.

<sup>34</sup> Containing nineteen chapters and spanning the period from 1000 to the present day, this edited collection is a welcome addition to the historiography. R. Anderson, M. Freeman and L. Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2015). This complements the comparative perspective provided by G. McCulloch, *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in the History of Education* (Abingdon, 2005).

<sup>35</sup> Northcroft's chapter on the north-east of Scotland and McDermid's treatment of the school board period come closest to this, but neither focus exclusively on the rural schools. D. Northcroft, 'A' Yon Skweelin: The North-East, a Regional Study', in Anderson et al (eds.) *The Edinburgh History of Education*, pp.171-89; J. McDermid, 'Education and Society in the Era of the School Boards, 1872-1918', Ibid, pp.190-207.

many historians showing little interest beyond 1918, and has shifted attention away from the specifics of rural experience to a more generalised view. The fact that the core text exploring the history of *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* has been authored by an educational sociologist, Lindsay Paterson, rather than a historian is testimony to this.<sup>36</sup> This work aside, the propensity to delineate study by legislative measures, marking the change from parochial system to a state one in 1872 and then from local school boards to regional education authorities in 1918, has pushed the parish perspective to the margins of Scottish educational studies. This study intends to bring it back to the centre.

A tendency to ignore the specifics of rural experience is also apparent in the educational literature which typically offers a detailed but geographically undifferentiated view of Scotland's education system. For instance, while the various editions of *Scottish Education*, which has been revised three times since its initial publication in 1999, provide a meticulous overview of the national system and highlight subtle shifts in policy and practice over the last few decades, they do not give an account of rural schooling specifically.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps most surprising is the absence of a dedicated chapter on the challenges of rural provision despite this being a persistent concern and the subject of numerous studies since the 1980s. The most well-known of these, *The Rural Community and the Small School*, is an invaluable source for this research, as is Caskie's study of rural headteachers' perceptions, and Wilson and McPake's investigation into the management of change in small schools.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, scholarship on rural schools has ballooned in recent years with educationalists from across the globe engaging in the debate. Illustrative of this, a special edition of the *International Journal of Educational Research* brought together reviews of research on rural schools and their communities in Norway, Sweden, Finland, England and Scotland.<sup>39</sup> Although much of the literature has a contemporary focus it is still of great value, providing international context and confirming the pertinence of this research. In

<sup>36</sup> L. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 2003). Paterson has contributed many other works of interest including: 'Democracy or Intellect? The Scottish Educational Dilemma of the Twentieth Century', in Anderson et al (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*, pp.226-45; F. O'Hanlon and L. Paterson, 'Gaelic Education since 1872', *Ibid*, pp.304-25; Paterson, 'The Reinvention of Scottish Liberal Education: Secondary Schooling, 1900-1939', *Scottish Historical Review*, 90:1 (2011), pp.96-130; 'Comprehensive Education, Social Attitudes and Civic Engagement', *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 4:1 (2012), pp.17-32; 'Competitive Opportunity and Liberal Culture: the Significance of Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century', *British Educational Research Journal*, 40:2 (2014), pp.397-416.

<sup>37</sup> T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education* (Edinburgh, 1999); Bryce and Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education: Post Devolution* (Edinburgh, 2003); Bryce and Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution* (Edinburgh, 2008); T. G. K. Bryce, W.M. Humes, D. Gillies and A. Kennedy (eds.), *Scottish Education: Referendum* (Edinburgh, 2013).

<sup>38</sup> D. Forsythe et al, *The Rural Community and the Small School* (Aberdeen, 1983); A. Caskie, 'The Small Rural School in its Community: Perceptions of the Headteacher', (unpublished MEd dissertation, Stirling, 1982); V. Wilson and J. McPake, *Managing Change in Small Scottish Primary Schools* (Edinburgh, 1998). Similar studies undertaken in other countries have also been reviewed, including A. Bell and A. Sigsworth, *The Small Rural Primary School: A Matter of Quality* (Lewes, 1987).

<sup>39</sup> Articles of particular interest are: J. Dowling, 'Changes and Challenges: Key Issues for Scottish Rural Schools and Communities', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 48 (2009), pp.129-39; L. Aberg-Bengtsson, 'The Smaller the Better? A Review of Research on Small Rural Schools in Sweden', *Ibid*, pp.100-8; R. Kvalsund, 'Centralized Decentralization or Decentralized Centralization? A Review of Newer Norwegian Research on Schools and their Communities', *Ibid*, pp.89-99; L. Hargreaves, R. Kvalsund and M. Galton, 'Reviews of Research on Rural Schools and their Communities in British and Nordic countries: Analytical Perspectives and Cultural Meaning', *Ibid*, pp.80-8; E. Kalaoja and J. Pietarinen, 'Small Rural Primary Schools in Finland: A Pedagogically Valuable Part of the School Network', *Ibid*, pp.109-16; R. Kvalsund and L. Hargreaves, 'Reviews of Research in Rural schools and their Communities: Analytical Perspectives and a New Agenda', *Ibid*, pp.140-9.

relation to Scotland, the recent report issued by the Commission on the Delivery of Rural Education is also of interest, providing a contemporary perspective on the issue and highlighting current policy priorities.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, one of the Commissioners recently co-authored an article exploring the historical basis of the argument that rural school closures are a driver of rural decline.<sup>41</sup> Summarising key areas of the debate in Scotland and presenting case study data they note 'a lack of compelling evidence' that closures have a negative effect on rural development.<sup>42</sup> However, by failing to engage in detailed historical research the study lacks substance and leaves many questions unanswered, the most glaring omission being the social role played by teachers. With its long-term view and painstaking consideration of a range of sources, this research is able to address these questions more fully.

While national accounts are an invaluable resource when seeking to understand the broad brushstrokes of educational change in Scotland across the centuries, equal attention must be paid to the shading in-between if the picture is to be anywhere near complete.<sup>43</sup> To this end, it is crucial to view these texts alongside those with a narrower focus, homing in on a particular aspect of education or looking in detail at a specific locale. Andrew Bain's work around East Central Scotland is an obvious example of this, and various other regional studies sit alongside his work.<sup>44</sup> The detailed studies by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE), which include a series of mental surveys and a number of histories, are equally valuable in providing a snapshot of educational concerns and analysis of experience at different points during the twentieth century.<sup>45</sup> In addition, amateur local histories have a lot to offer, particularly those which commemorate individual schools and capture people's memories of rural life.<sup>46</sup> Despite

<sup>40</sup> Scottish Government, *Commission on the Delivery of Rural Education: Report* (Edinburgh, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> B. Slee and D. Miller, 'School Closures as a Driver of Rural Decline in Scotland: A Problem in Pursuit of Some Evidence?', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 131:2 (2015).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p.92.

<sup>43</sup> They are particularly helpful in detailing the chronology of key administrative changes and giving definition to the overarching social, cultural, economic and political themes.

<sup>44</sup> Drawing on evidence from West Lothian, Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, Kinross-shire and Fife, Bain considers various aspects of educational change from the local significance of the Education Act of 1861 to the social composition of the Education Authority in Stirlingshire during the inter-war years. See A. Bain, *From Church to State: The Significance of the Education Act of 1861 in East Central Scotland* (Linlithgow, 1993); *Ancient and Modern: A Comparison of the Social Composition of the Burgh School Boards of Stirling and Falkirk from 1873 Until 1919*, (Linlithgow, 2006); 'The Significance of the Bonnybridge School Case of 1922-1929 for Catholic Education in Scotland', *Innes Review*, 62 (2011), pp.70-81; *Changing Patterns in the Local Control of Education: The Social Composition of the Education Authority in Stirlingshire, 1919-1930* (Linlithgow, 2008); *An Ebbing Tide: The Last Stages of Traditional Control of Education in Stirlingshire* (Linlithgow, 2010). Similar regional case studies include: J. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife* (Edinburgh, 1983); E. Beaton, 'The Sutherland Technical School: Pioneer Education for Crofters' Sons', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 7 (1991), pp.35-51; and S. Wood, 'Education in Nineteenth-Century Rural Scotland: an Aberdeenshire Case Study', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 7 (1991), pp.25-33.

<sup>45</sup> SCRE was founded in 1928 and was active until the early twentieth-first century. J. L. Powell, 'The Scottish Council for Research in Education 1928-2003: A Short History', *Scottish Educational Review* 44:2 (2012), pp.60-77. Its list of publications is extensive, but the following have been of particular interest to this study: *The Intelligence of Scottish Children: A National Survey of an Age-group* (London, 1933); J. Mason, *A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education: from the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (London, 1935); W. W. McClelland, *Selection for Secondary Education* (London, 1942); *The Trend of Scottish Intelligence: a Comparison of the 1947 and 1932 Survey of the Intelligence of Eleven-Year-Old Pupils* (London, 1949); *Gaelic-Speaking Children in Highland Schools* (London, 1961); *Scottish Scholastic Survey* (London, 1963); E. Fraser, *Home Environment and the School* (London, 1959); *Social Implications of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey* (1968) *Rising Standards in Scottish Primary Schools 1953-63*, (London, 1968); T. R. Bone, *School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966* (London, 1968).

<sup>46</sup> A number of local histories relating to the case study area have been referenced including: A. Stewart, *A Highland Parish or the History of Fortingall* (Glasgow, 1928); W.A. Gillies, W.A., *In Famed Breadalbane: The Stories and Antiquities, Lands and*

their inherent parochialism, such publications are undeniably helpful when seeking to gain a breadth of material from across Scotland and though caution must be exercised in using them, particularly with regard to the quality of historical research undertaken, the snapshots of school and community life they provide are of great value. Indeed, their very existence and the nature of the narrative given offers a fascinating insight into the way in which collective memories are formed and presented, and the place that schools often play in framing this. The multiple volumes of the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland* fall into this category, and have proven their worth as a primary source in this study by allowing for the construction of a composite picture of rural life during the 1950s and beyond.

Autobiographical works also contain much of interest to the historian of education, and widen the scope for analysis. Although, as with oral history testimonies, such accounts represent a version of the past, remembered and edited at a particular point later in time, when read alongside other sources they can provide a valuable personal perspective. John Wilson's *Tales and Travels of a School Inspector*, for instance, which was written as a series of reflections on being a school inspector in the Highlands and Islands at the end of the nineteenth century, offers a glimpse beyond the official sources and hints at the underlying tension between local experience and the evolving reality of national control.<sup>47</sup> Whilst it is possible to question the validity of such accounts and dismiss them as being of little more value than anecdotal evidence, it is important to remember that all sources are selective, in different ways and for diverse reasons, and it is up to the historian to interpret them accordingly. Approached in this way, Wilson's memoir and others like it, including *Twice around the Bay* by Christina Hall and A. S. Neill's series of books on being a dominie, help to fill in detail and give a sense of the subtle texture that lies beyond the bold outlines of Scottish educational history.<sup>48</sup> There are also a number of published memoirs which relate to the case study area, and these have been studied in detail.<sup>49</sup>

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*People of a Highland District* (Perth, 1938) [Facsimile edition]; R. Mackenzie Dodds, *Aberfeldy: The History of a Highland Community* (Aberfeldy, 2010); G. Waddell, *Highland Roots: The Real Story Behind One Highland Cottage* (self-published, 2013); M. Bennett and D. Rougvie, 'In our day...' *Reminiscences and Songs from Rural Perthshire* (Ochtertyre, 2010); and G. M. Ford (ed.), *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates: 'The Scheme' Killin goes Electric* (Stirling, 2000). Those relating to the sample districts and other parts of Scotland have also been considered, such as: Laggan Heritage, *Laggan's Legacy: a Personal History of a Highland Community by its People* (2000); J. Fergie, *Dirleton Primary School: Stories and Pupils' Memories - the First 50 Years: Including a History of Education in the Village and at the Old Public School* (Dirleton, 2010); R. C. Marwick, *From my Rousay Schoolbag: a History of the Island's Schools including Reminiscences of Schooldays by Former Pupils* (Livingston, 1995); D. Roe, *The Side School: the Story of a Rural School in Renfrewshire, Scotland, 1796-1951* (Kilmacolm, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> Written to amuse and entertain as much as enlighten, Wilson's reminiscences, which he describes as both 'grave and gay', bear the mark of storyteller embellishment. Yet, this in no way diminishes their value as long as they are taken as a reflection of those experiences and observations which stuck in the author's mind and were then considered of interest to a wider audience. J. Wilson, *Tales and Travels of a School Inspector* (Edinburgh, 2007), [originally published 1928], p.5.

<sup>48</sup> C. Hall, *Twice around the Bay* (Edinburgh, 2001); A. S. Neill, *A Dominie Dismissed* (London, 1917); Neill, *A Dominie's Log* (London, 1918); Neill, *A Dominie in Doubt* (London, 1921).

<sup>49</sup> K. MacVicar, *The Wings of the Morning* (Edinburgh, 1996); A. Duncan Millar, *A Bit of Breadalbane* (Bishop Auckland, 1995); A. Stewart, *Daughters of the Glen* (Aberfeldy, 1986); and D. Campbell, *Reminiscences and Reflections of an Octogenarian Highlander* (Inverness, 1910).

Another important strand of scholarship pertinent to this research is that which takes a more thematic approach and there are numerous historical, ethnological and sociological texts to draw upon in seeking to gain a national, regional and local perspective on key topics. The gender dimensions of education and community are of particular interest to this study, as are ideas around citizenship and the impact of schooling on rural culture, with the fortunes of the Gaelic language being of particular interest. Although there is a wealth of literature to consider in relation to these topics, a number of authors stand out. With regard to gender, the study of which has expanded greatly over the last thirty years, the most notable contributors of historical research into women and education in Scotland are Helen Corr and Jane McDermid. Eager to explore the social implications of gender differences, both academics have penned many books, articles and chapters on the subject, highlighting key themes and identifying areas in need of further research. Corr's reflections on the changing nature of the teaching profession from the nineteenth century into the early decades of the twentieth century and her observations on 'sexual politics' are most illuminating.<sup>50</sup> In a similar vein, McDermid reflects on the feminisation of teaching from the late nineteenth century onwards, and examines the wider contribution that women made to education in Scotland during this period with a particular emphasis on membership of school boards.<sup>51</sup> From another angle, she also looks at girls' experiences of schooling, and considers the specifics of the Catholic education system.<sup>52</sup>

Issues of gender are also explored in Fewell and Paterson's *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited*; a multi-author compilation, this book approaches the topic from various angles and raises important questions about the historical development of educational norms in Scotland.<sup>53</sup> In particular, it addresses concerns around inequality and argues that 'it is because it is so deeply embedded, that gender discrimination has not been an issue in Scottish education'.<sup>54</sup> In doing so, it challenges dominant notions of Scottish egalitarianism and the democratic tradition, and forces a re-evaluation of gender-blind historical narratives. Published in 1990, this book initiated a new approach to education history in Scotland which is evidenced by the inclusion of a chapter titled, 'Where is the Lass o'Pairs' in a much broader work on

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<sup>50</sup> See: H. Corr, *Changes in Educational Policies in Britain, 1800-1920: How Gender Inequalities Reshaped the Teaching Profession*, (Lampeter, 2008); 'Teachers and Gender: Debating the Myths of Equal Opportunities in Scottish Education 1800-1914', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 27 (1997), pp.355-63; 'Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *History Workshop Journal*, 40 (1995), pp.149-64; 'An Exploration into Scottish Education', in Fraser and Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, 1830-1914*, pp.290-309; 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914', in W. M. Humes and H. M. Paterson (eds.), *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980*, (Edinburgh, 1983), pp.137-50.

<sup>51</sup> Examples of her work include: J. McDermid, "'Intellectual Instruction is Best Left to a Man": The Feminisation of the Scottish Teaching Profession in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Women's History Review*, 6 (1997), pp.95-114; 'School Board Women and Active Citizenship in Scotland, 1873-1919', *History of Education*, 38:3 (2009), pp.333-47; 'Blurring the Boundaries: School Board Women in Scotland, 1873-1919', *Women's History Review*, 19:3 (2010), pp.357-73.

<sup>52</sup> J. McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London, 2005); 'Catholic Women Teachers and Scottish Education in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *History of Education*, 38 (2009), pp.605-20; 'Catholic Working-Class Girls' Education in Lowland Scotland, 1872-1900', *Innes Review*, 47 (1996), pp.69-80; *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900* (Abingdon, 2012).

<sup>53</sup> J. Fewell and F. Paterson, *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh, 1990).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p.2.

Scottish identity, and by the acknowledgement of its argument in sociological texts such as McCrone's *Understanding Scotland*.<sup>55</sup>

Significantly, however, urban examples dominate much of this work, certainly in relation to political matters, with the most substantial case studies emanating from the major city regions of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee. Whilst examples are given from across Scotland, including McDermid's research into the schooling of girls in the Highlands and Islands and Scotland's county districts more broadly, due to the relative scarcity and inaccessibility of records relating to small rural schools and their teachers little detailed reference is made to them in the literature overall.<sup>56</sup> As with the national monographs, rural experience tends to be clumped together as a whole and, although differences between geographic areas are acknowledged and explored, the subtle variances in local conditions are ultimately blurred in pursuit of the big picture. This observation highlights the importance of looking beyond the published research and gives further credence to this rurally-focused study which places the myriad of rural experience at its heart and reviews the history of Scottish education accordingly.

Looking more broadly, various works, including Dickson and Treble's edited collection on *People and Society in Scotland*, help to contextualise the gender dimensions of Scottish education in relation to wider societal trends.<sup>57</sup> The issue of pay inequality between male and female teachers, for instance, is best understood when viewed as part of the bigger picture of political and economic discrimination during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Equally, the difference in curricula between boys and girls must be interpreted in light of prevailing social and cultural norms, and recognised as reflecting and perpetuating gender-based distinctions. This wider viewpoint is crucial if anything more than a superficial perspective is to be gained and the benefits to this study are clear to see. In particular, an appreciation of the gendered aspects of education raises important questions about the development of rural schooling after 1872, and sheds light on the nature of, as well as underlying attitudes towards, Scotland's small rural schools and their communities during this period.

Gender also provides a useful conceptual tool for understanding the divergence between rural and urban experience, and the process of peripheralisation which gained increasing momentum in the course of the twentieth century. Returning to John Clarke, he was of the opinion in 1904 that 'small School Boards have no career to offer to a competent teacher', and

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<sup>55</sup> H. Corr, 'Where is the Lass o'Pairs?: Gender, Identity and Education in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in D. Broun, R. Finlay and M. Lynch (eds.), *Identity, Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.220-28; D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London, 1992), p.97.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, J. McDermid, 'Gender and Geography: the Schooling of Poor Girls in the Highlands and Islands of Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *History of Education Review*, 32: 2, (2004), pp.30-45; and McDermid, 'Education and Society in the Era of the School Boards, 1872-1918', in Anderson, et al (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education*, pp.190-207.

<sup>57</sup> The chapter by McIvor is particularly relevant. A. McIvor on 'Women and work in Twentieth-Century Scotland', in Dickson and Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, 1914-1990*, pp.138-73.

the fact that he clearly envisaged such teachers to be men speaks volumes.<sup>58</sup> Highlighting both the inferior status of women teachers and the perceived undesirability of rural postings at this time, his comments help to explain the decline of the male dominie and the rise of female-dominated elementary schooling, as well as hinting at the growing ascendancy of an 'urban' model of education to succeed and supplant the old parish system. Many lines of enquiry lead off from this, with one of particular interest being the role that female teachers played in the communities in which they taught and how this may have differed from their male counterparts. To this end, the thought-provoking article by Lynn Abrams entitled, "'The Best Men in Shetland': Women, Gender and Place in Peripheral Communities' and the piece by Sue Stebbing on, 'Women's Roles and Rural Society', are of direct relevance.<sup>59</sup>

Turning to the second thematic strand, which looks at the impact of educational policy and practice on the Gaelic language, there are some interesting texts to consider. Chief amongst these is a book by John Lorne Campbell entitled *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life* which was published in 1945 and ran to a second edition in 1950.<sup>60</sup> As with other secondary sources written within the period under study, this work is a mix of historical account and contemporary reflection which has its own unique value. In this instance, it was the author's express intention to consider not only the past but also the present situation and likely future of the Gaelic language. In doing so, it provides a snapshot mid-way through the twentieth century, reflecting academic thought on the issue at the time and giving an insight into contemporary musings about what the future may hold. The fact that Campbell spent much of his life in the Hebrides, and was something of a pioneer in the field of Highland ethnography, creating a record of Gaelic heritage and observing contemporary culture first hand, gives weight to his observations and marks them out for special consideration.

A number of Gaelic scholars who preceded Campbell also deserve a mention, including the renowned historian William Forbes Skene (1809-1892), folklorist John Francis Campbell (1821-1885) and Donald Mackinnon (1839-1914) who served as clerk to the Church of Scotland's Educational Scheme from 1869-1872, acted as clerk and treasurer for the newly formed School Board of Edinburgh, became the first Professor of Celtic at Edinburgh University in 1882 and was an influential member of the Crofters Commission chaired by Lord Napier a year later.<sup>61</sup> More recent works include Durkacz's *Decline of the Celtic Languages* which provides an extensive historical overview, beginning with the Reformation and moving right through to the twentieth century, and contextualises Scottish experience alongside that of the other Celtic

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<sup>58</sup> Clarke, *Short Studies in Education*, pp.140-1

<sup>59</sup> L. Abrams, "'The Best Men in Shetland': Women, Gender and Place in Peripheral Communities', *Cornish Studies*, 8 (2000), pp. 97-114; S. Stebbing, 'Women's Roles and Rural Society', in T. Bradley and P. Lowe (eds.), *Locality and Rurality: Economy and Society in Rural Regions* (Norwich, 1984), pp.199-208.

<sup>60</sup> J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life: Past, Present, and Future* (Edinburgh, 1945).

<sup>61</sup> Archives Hub, 'Collection of Professor Donald Mackinnon (1839-1914)' <<http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb237-coll-98>>, accessed 22 May 2016.

nations.<sup>62</sup> Encompassing aspects of an earlier article this work is a thought-provoking read and raises many important questions about the role education has played in influencing and inculcating cultural change over the preceding centuries.<sup>63</sup> Above all he cautions against attributing too much responsibility for the decline of Gaelic to educational policy and practice from 1872 onwards and stresses, rather, the importance of viewing it as a ‘consistent historical trend since at least medieval times’.<sup>64</sup>

The research undertaken by historical geographer Charles Withers is equally worthy of merit, with his *Geographical History of a Language* encouraging a more detailed and spatially-informed understanding of the history of Gaelic from the end of the seventeenth century right through to 1981.<sup>65</sup> As well as neatly summarising the main arguments pertaining to this topic, the book makes extensive use of maps to illustrate the national picture, and contains some useful appendices.<sup>66</sup> Given the extended period under study, consideration has also been given to literature which offers a contemporary perspective on the subject. Whilst many of these, including works by Thomson and MacKinnon, document the history of Gaelic in Scotland, their particular value is in providing a snapshot of opinion at the time of writing and publication: Thomson in the 1970s, and MacKinnon in the 1990s.<sup>67</sup> MacKinnon’s reflections on the issues facing the Gaelic language towards the end of the twentieth century, focusing on the three themes of recognition, communication and education, are especially insightful and offer a clear view of policy initiatives and practical developments at the time.<sup>68</sup> Likewise, more recent books such as the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* and MacLeod’s optimistically-titled *Dualchas an Aghaidh nan Creag: the Gaelic revival, 1890-2020*, allow for the concerns of this study, namely the impact of education on language and culture in rural Scotland, to be contextualised within the bigger picture of the twentieth-century language-in-education debate.<sup>69</sup> Chapters concerning Gaelic also appear in the new *Edinburgh History of Education* and the various editions of *Scottish Education*.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> V. E. Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages: A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1996).

<sup>63</sup> Durkacz, ‘The Source of the Language Problem in Scottish Education, 1688-1709’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 57 (1978), pp.28-39.

<sup>64</sup> Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages*, p.214.

<sup>65</sup> C. Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981: The Geographical History of a Language* (Edinburgh, 1984).

<sup>66</sup> The appendices list, by parish, observations made about the state of Gaelic in the Old (1791-1799) and New (1831-1845) Statistical Accounts of Scotland. Given its focus and methodology, much of Withers’ later work is also of interest including a book on Gaelic Scotland and an investigation into migration patterns and urban Gaelic culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. C. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: the Transformation of a Culture Region* (Routledge, 1988); *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic culture, 1700-1900* (East Linton, 1998).

<sup>67</sup> D. S. Thomson, *Gaelic in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1976); K. MacKinnon, *Gaelic: A Past and Future Prospect* (Edinburgh, 1991).

<sup>68</sup> MacKinnon, *Gaelic*, pp.108-53.

<sup>69</sup> N. Rassool, ‘Language Policy and Education in Britain’, in S. May and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Volume 1: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York, 2008), pp.267-84; D. J. MacLeod, *Dualchas an Aghaidh nan Creag: the Gaelic revival, 1890-2020* (2011).

<sup>70</sup> F. O’Hanlon and L. Paterson, ‘Gaelic Education since 1872’ in Anderson et al (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*, pp.304-25; B. Robertson ‘Gaelic Education’, in Bryce and Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution*, pp.235-46.

Such considerations are also of relevance to the third theme of this study, the notion of citizenship. Although not always couched in this terminology, this topic emerges strongly from much of the literature surveyed and provides an important frame for analysis.<sup>71</sup> The very conception of Scotland as a 'nation', cultural, political or otherwise, designates the Scottish people as citizens and focuses attention on the relationship between national government and the populace. Furthermore, the history of education, and particularly the emergence of a public system of compulsory schooling, raises a plethora of questions about the nature and development of ideas around citizenship during the late nineteenth century and through the twentieth century. Inextricably linked with the extension of the franchise during this period, and the associated redefinition of power relations and social class, citizenship became less of an abstract and elite notion and more of a status which conferred certain rights and responsibilities across the population more broadly. The compulsory clause in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 and the eventual abolition of school fees in Scotland's mainstream public schools were arguably some of the most tangible aspects of this. A number of authors approach the topic from this angle including Freeman, McDermid and Munn who all contributed articles to a special issue of *History of Education* in 2009.<sup>72</sup> Their differing perspectives on Scottish education and citizenship show the depth of discussion to be had, and encourage a broader understanding of the socio-cultural and political factors underpinning educational policy and practice. To gain this wider view, a number of historical texts concerned with understanding social structures and relationships, such as Reid's *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain* have been consulted.<sup>73</sup> These highlight important considerations and show the complexity of the citizenship debate.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Works consulted include: C. Pattie, P. Seyd and P. Whiteley, *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy* (Cambridge, 2004); C. McKinnon and I. Hampsher-Monk (eds.), *Demands of Citizenship* (London, 2000); T. Janoski, *Citizenship and Civil Society* (Cambridge, 1998); E. F. Isin and B. S. Turner (eds.), *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (London, 2002); S. May, 'Language Education, Pluralism and Citizenship', in S. May and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, Vol.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York, 2008), pp.15-29; D. Hartley, 'Values Added: Some Sociological Interpretations of Values Education', *Scottish Educational Review* (1985), pp.163-73; T. H. McLaughlin, 'Citizenship, Diversity and Education: A Philosophical Perspective', in D. Carr, M. Halstead and R. Pring (eds.), *Liberalism, Education and Schooling: Essays by T.H. McLaughlin* (Exeter, 2008), pp.120-238; R. Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Basingstoke, 2003); T. Hulme, 'Putting the City Back into Citizenship: Civics Education and Local Government in Britain, 1918-45', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26:1 (2015), pp.26-51; R. Andrews and A. Mycock, 'Dilemmas of Devolution: the 'Politics of Britishness' and Citizenship Education', *British Politics*, 3 (2008), pp.139-55; and G. Biesta and R. Lawy, 'From Teaching Citizenship to Learning Democracy: Overcoming Individualism in Research, Policy and Practice', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36:1 (2006), pp.63-79.

<sup>72</sup> M. Freeman, 'Education and Citizenship in Modern Scotland', *History of Education*, 38:3 (2009) pp.327-32; McDermid, 'School Board Women and Active Citizenship in Scotland, 1873-1919'; P. Munn, 'Citizenship in Scottish schools: the Evolution of Education for Citizenship from the Late Twentieth Century to the Present', *History of Education*, 38:3, (2009), pp.437-54. Also of interest are: V. Wright, 'Education for Active Citizenship: Women's Organisations in Interwar Scotland', *History of Education*, 38:3 (2009), pp.419-36; R. Turner, 'Workers' Educational Association Tutorial Classes and Citizenship in Scotland, 1907-1939', *History of Education* 38:3 (2009), pp.367-81; Withrington, 'Scotland: A National Educational System and Ideals of Citizenship'; E. M. Cowan and D.C. McMurtry, 'The Implementation of 'Education for Citizenship' in Schools in Scotland: a Research Report', *The Curriculum Journal*, 20:1, pp.61-72; G. S. Osborne, *Scottish and English Schools: A Comparative Survey of the Past Fifty Years* (Pittsburgh, 1966) [includes section on training for citizenship]; Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), *Education for Citizenship in Scotland: A Paper for Discussion and Development* (Edinburgh, 2002).

<sup>73</sup> A. J. Reid, *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Basingstoke, 1992). Also of interest is T. H. Marshall and T. Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class* (London, 1992).

<sup>74</sup> Reid, for instance, makes an interesting distinction between 'citizenship' and 'deference' as active forms of consent which he believes were the basis of British society, and the foundation of social relations, in the late nineteenth century. *Ibid*, pp.55-6.

Though by no means exhaustive, this exploration of literature from across the disciplines provides clear justification for the focus and methodology of this study. By identifying strengths and weaknesses in the historiography, it directs attention to established areas of discussion and identifies new avenues to be explored. Guided by this, five core research questions and a number of subsidiary queries were developed to guide the research and frame analysis (**Table 1.1**) and key terms have been defined (**Table 1.2**).

**Table 1.1: Research questions**

1. **What were the characteristics of rural school provision in Scotland and how did this change over time?** How were rural schools perceived and what role did educational policy play in this? What were the similarities and differences between rural areas and their small schools? Who were the teachers and what did they teach? Who did they teach? Where did they teach? What were the school buildings like and where were they located?
2. **What was the social significance of the schools and their teachers?** How were the small schools managed and how did this influence their place within the community? What level of involvement did parents and other members of the community have? How did the teachers relate to the communities in which they taught? How did schools function as a social space both for their pupils and the wider community?
3. **What were the gender dimensions to rural schooling?** What was the social significance of this?
4. **How did educational policy and practice influence rural culture?** In particular, how did it impact Gaelic culture and influence patterns of behaviour?
5. **How did education promote the idea of citizenship in rural contexts?** Specifically, how did educational practice, including curricula, school governance and the use of school buildings influence notions of being a citizen?

**Table 1.2: Definition of key terms*****Rural***

Although the term 'rural' is widely used to refer to that which is not 'urban', defining 'rurality' is extremely difficult. Far from being a simplistic concept, 'rural' encompasses environmental, demographic and sociological considerations and has a multitude of meanings. Furthermore, its definition has changed over time, and the connotations of the word have shifted, often subtly but perceptibly, through the generations. Whilst on the one hand, rural can be used to describe the nature of the physical landscape, with green fields or mountain ranges being enduring images, it also implies certain patterns of settlement, population density and types of economic activity (with agriculture at the fore). Somewhat a matter of interpretation, the term is constantly open to negotiation and policy makers in particular have been guilty of resorting to *ad hoc* definitions to suit particular purposes. Indeed it is telling that in recent years the UK Government has had more than thirty definitions of 'rural' in use across its departments.<sup>1</sup> This lack of agreement on the more tangible aspects of rural definition is further complicated by philosophical debates which ponder its deeper meaning, with some commentators even questioning whether the 'rural' can be said to exist at all within a highly urbanised society.<sup>2</sup>

Mindful of the historical shifts in classification and continuing debates around rurality, this study takes a broad view and responds to changing definitions over time. Depending on the analysis being undertaken and the existing disaggregation of the data, different measures are used. Thus, while the historic distinction between parish and burgh is considered adequate for some elements of the discussion, population figures are used to distinguish between rural and urban areas elsewhere. The selection of a quasi-random sample of rural districts, for instance, was based on the three-fold classification of settlements used in the 1871 Census and took account of population density to ensure appropriate coverage (see methodology section). Although outwith the period of study, consideration has also been given to the current Scottish Government Urban Rural Classification which defines rural areas as those 'with a population of less than 3,000 people'.<sup>3</sup> Whether these are considered accessible, remote or very remote depends on the drive time to 'a settlement of 10,000 or more'.

1. A. Scott, A. Gilbert and A. Gelan, 'The Urban-Rural Divide: Myth or Reality?', SERG Brief Number 2 (Aberdeen, 2007), p.3.

2. See for instance, K. Hoggart 'Let's Do Away with Rural', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 6 (1990), pp.245-57; P. Cloke 'The Country', in P. Cloke, P. Crang and M. Goodwin (eds.) *Introducing Human Geographies* (London, 1999), pp.256-67; L. Lobao, 'A Sociology of the Periphery Versus a Peripheral Sociology: Rural Sociology and the Dimension of Space', *Rural Sociology*, 61 (1966), pp.77-102; M. Mormont, 'Who is Rural? Or, How to be Rural: Towards a Sociology of the Rural', in T. Marsden, P. Lowe and S. Whatmore (eds.) *Rural Restructuring* (London, 1990), pp.21-44.

3. Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification 2013-2104 (Edinburgh, 2013)

<<http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/About/Methodology/UrbanRuralClassification>>, accessed 22 May 2016.

**Table 1.2 continued: Definition of key terms*****Small school***

Opinion and policy regarding what constitutes a small school also varies and has changed over time. This is apparent in the 2007 Scottish Government report on *Leadership in Small Scottish Primary Schools*, which notes that whereas small schools were ‘defined in 1996 as those with a school roll of less than 120 pupils and with a *teaching headteacher*’, by 2006 only those with fewer than 100 pupils were considered to be small.<sup>4</sup> Looking back further, various classification systems have been utilised for official purposes, with school rolls and teacher numbers being the most common means of categorisation.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, a pragmatic rather than prescribed approach has been taken, allowing for differing interpretations and changes over time to be taken into account. The same logic has been applied to the definition of a ‘rural school’ to ensure meaningful longitudinal analysis. Therefore, although some of the schools in the quasi-random sample of rural school board districts (defined by their population in 1871) would no longer be considered rural under the current government definition (with only those schools in settlements of less than 3,000 being classified as rural), and would not be classed as small by today’s standards they continue to be considered throughout the study.<sup>6</sup>

***Community***

Recognising that the term ‘community’ can be defined and understood in many different ways, a multi-layered approach has been taken. As well as seeing community in simple terms as a geographically-defined population (which is apparent in the selection of case study areas and the sampling of school board districts), consideration is given to cross-cutting communities of interest and to what Anthony P. Cohen describes as the ‘symbolic construction of community’, the cultural meaning that people place upon it and its role in shaping their identity and sense of belonging.<sup>7</sup> ‘Community relations’ are therefore interpreted in a broad sense, looking beyond the basics of how people related to one another to consider the deeper socio-cultural dynamics of rural life. A deliberate effort has been made to avoid indiscriminate and excessive use of the term.

4. V. Wilson, *Leadership in Small Scottish Primary Schools* (Edinburgh, 2007), p.1 <<http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7212/1/0052753.pdf>>.

5. For instance, the *Scottish Educational Statistics* published in the late sixties categorised schools by size of roll as follows: 1-24, 25-49, 50-99, 100-199, 200-299, 300-399, 400-499, 500-599, 600-799, 800-999, 1,000-1199 and 1,200-1,599, and in 1971 this shifted slightly to 1-25, 26-50, 51-100, 101-200, 201-300, 301-400, 401-500, 501-600, 601-800, 801-1,000, 1,001-1,200, 1,201-1,400, 1,401-1,600. *Scottish Educational Statistics 1966*, p.119; *Scottish Educational Statistics 1971*, p.214.

6. Scottish Government, *Commission on the Delivery of Rural Education: Report* (Edinburgh, 2013), p.63.

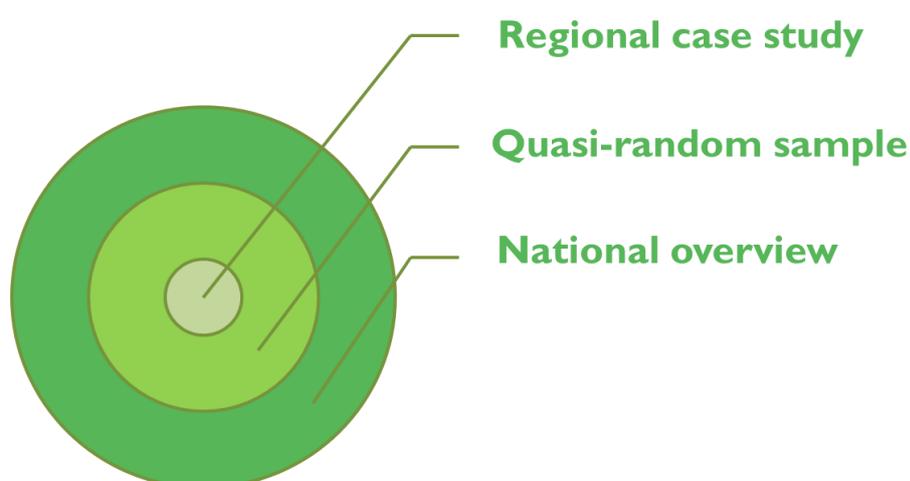
7. A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester, 1985), p.8. See also Cohen, *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures* (Manchester, 1982).

## Methodology

The overarching focus of this research, encapsulated in the title, emerged from a previous study which examined change and continuity in rural life in Scotland during the twentieth century.<sup>75</sup> This research took a micro-historical perspective, focusing on two neighbouring lochside settlements in Highland Perthshire, and raised numerous questions about the role that the small local schools and their teachers played in community life during this period. Recognising a gap in the historiography around this, the decision was taken to conduct subsequent research with a focus exclusively on this topic, widening the geographic lens to Scotland as a whole without losing sight of local experience, and exploring key themes across an extended time-period. To this end, funding was sought and secured through the 'Economic and Social History' pathway of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the initial research proposal was refined into a series of inter-related research questions through reference to a wide-array of literature from across the disciplines.

The next step was to devise a suitable methodology to guide the primary research, data collection and analysis. To ensure a varied and robust analytical base, a three-layer interdisciplinary strategy was developed; as visually represented in **Figure 1.1**, this consists of a regional case study, a quasi-random sample of rural schools from across Scotland and a national overview of policy and practice. Whilst the case study allows for a depth of enquiry, the sample places this in context by reflecting the breadth of experience across the country, and the overview orientates discussion towards broader themes, providing a national perspective and facilitating international comparison.

**Figure 1.1: Three-layer research strategy**

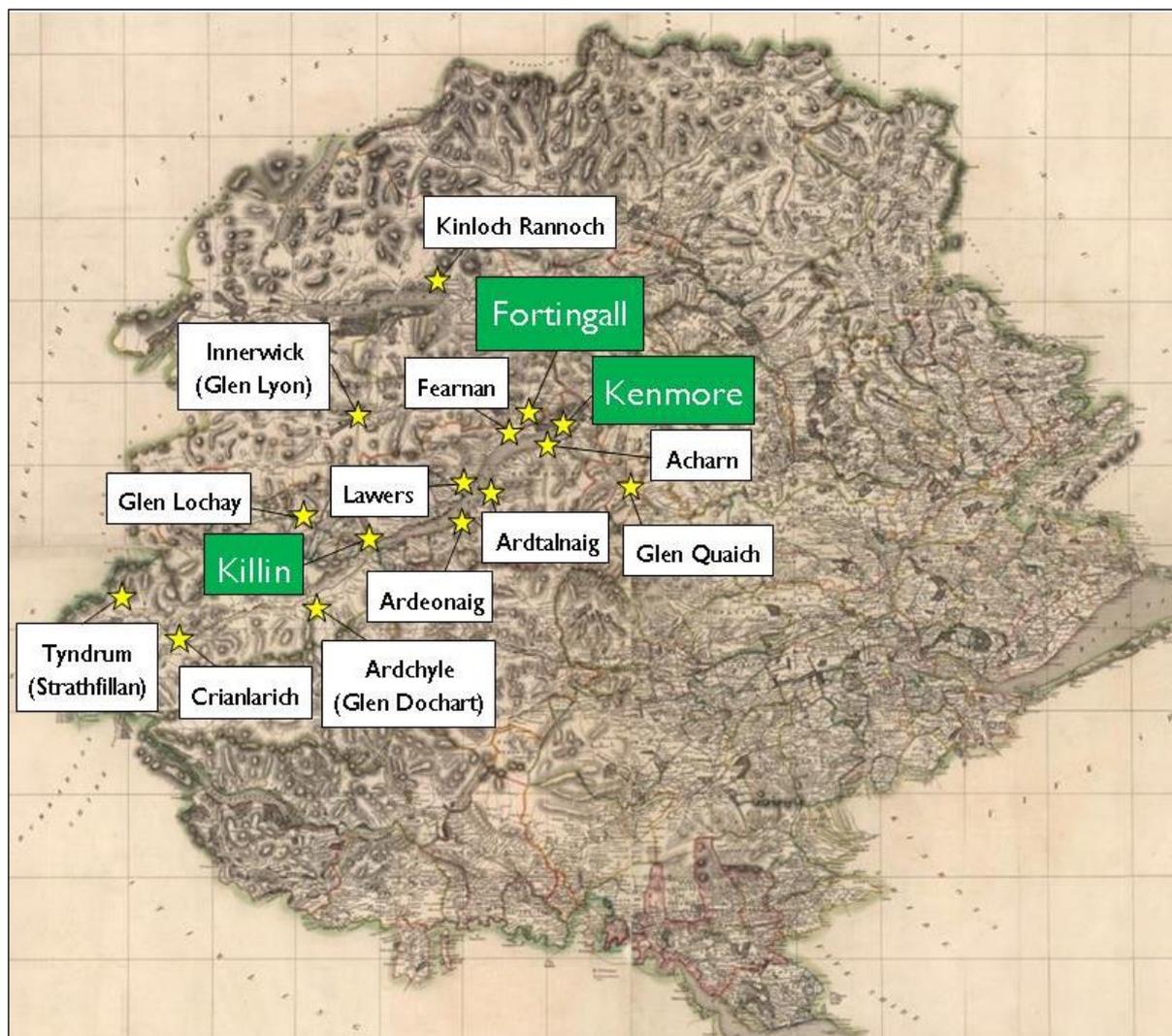


<sup>75</sup> H. Young, 'A Tale of Two Hamlets: Change and Continuity in Lochside Life during the Twentieth Century' (unpublished MRes dissertation, Stirling, 2013).

### Regional case study: Small rural schools in Highland Perthshire

A geographically bounded case study was seen to offer an important empirical basis for this study and the old school boards districts of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin in the historic county of Perthshire were chosen for a number of reasons (Figure 1.2). As well as being the focus of previous research from which this project arose, this area offers an interesting mix of settlements within a Highland landscape but in close proximity to the central belt. Although north of the Highland Boundary Fault, this fringe area of Perthshire is rarely included in studies of the Scottish Highlands due to the fact that, along with other peripheral Highland zones, it was not covered by the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886. In addition, the combination of three neighbouring districts allows for comparison of experience within and between rural areas that are geographically and socially connected but have many distinctive features such as their patterns of settlement and varying degrees of rurality.

**Figure 1.2: Map of case study parishes with main settlements marked** <sup>76</sup>



<sup>76</sup> Base map: John Thomson's Atlas of Scotland, Perthshire with Clackmannan, 1832, National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], <<http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/531.html>>, reproduced by permission of the NLS.

This area offers an array of material of relevance to this study and although there are some gaps in the evidence the surviving archival records allow for comprehensive analysis of the small rural schools in their community settings. As well as making extensive use of school and parish records, local and national newspapers, maps, photographs and published statistics, due attention has been given to information contained in local histories, autobiographies and oral history testimonies. In addition to making use of existing recordings and transcripts, a series of oral history interviews were undertaken with key informants (most of whom are connected to the case study area, and a few who are associated with one of the sample parishes).<sup>77</sup> To ensure an ethical approach, these recordings were done in collaboration with the Scottish Oral History Centre (SOHC) and have been deposited, along with full written transcripts and associated paperwork, with the University of Strathclyde (**Appendices A and B**).<sup>78</sup>

### **Quasi-random sample of school board districts**

In order to provide a national perspective on rural schooling across Scotland from 1872 through to 2000, a quasi-random sample of schools was taken to facilitate detailed analysis at local level. Intended to give context to the core case study of three Perthshire school board districts, the sample sets the parameters for research into individual schools and their related communities.

Though many approaches could have been taken, the following methodology was developed with reference to the research questions and in consultation with key primary sources including the Scottish Census and government education reports, particularly those produced during the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>79</sup> Given the historical nature of this study and its emphasis on understanding change and continuity in relation to the small rural school in Scotland throughout this period, the decision was taken to base the sample on information contemporaneous to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. Having reviewed various documents, the 'List of Parishes and Burghs in each County of Scotland having Separate School Boards' contained in the 1874 *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland* was chosen to form the basis of the quasi-random sample and the relevant data was then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet.<sup>80</sup> In order to select the rural schools, the parish or burgh population figures quoted were used as an indicator of the rurality of each area.<sup>81</sup> Although greater accuracy

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<sup>77</sup> Thirteen people were interviewed for this study; ten people from the case study area, two linked to the sample parish of Laggan, Inverness-shire, and one associated with the sample parish of Barr, Ayrshire. A semi-structured approach was taken, with core questions guiding but not constraining the discussion. Most interviews lasted no more than an hour. All of the interviews were conducted one-to-one, except for the Laggan interview which involved two informants (husband and wife).

<sup>78</sup> Informed consent and recording agreement forms were completed by all informants, and permission was given for the material and their names to be used in this study and for other purposes. Ethical approval for this element of the study was given by the University of Stirling Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee in 2012.

<sup>79</sup> As well as undertaking various keyword searches of the *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* web archive (recently renamed *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*), Peter Cockton's *Subject Catalogue of the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1801-1900* was used to identify relevant documents relating to education in Scotland.

<sup>80</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1873-74, *Parliamentary Papers* [hereafter *PP*], 1874 [C.1026], pp.xlv-lxvi.

<sup>81</sup> Figures were derived from the Census of Scotland, 1871, Eighth decennial census of the population of Scotland taken 3d April 1871, with report. Vol. I, *PP*, 1872 [C.592], LXVIII.

in classifying areas as rural or urban would have been achieved by researching each parish and burgh in turn, this was considered unfeasible given the large number listed (997 total sample size). Furthermore, the fact that population was the primary statistic employed at the time to classify settlements, and continued to serve as the main indicator throughout this period, justifies its application here. Looking at the 1871 Census, settlement types were grouped according to their population using both a 4-fold and a 3-fold classification, and it is interesting that the first of these, which labels districts with a population below 3,000 as rural, aligns with the current Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification of settlements (the only significant difference being the notable increase in the size of urban populations) (Table 1.3).<sup>82</sup>

**Table 1.3: Classification of settlements, 1871 and 2012** <sup>83</sup>

1871		1871		2012	
3-fold classification 1871 Scottish Census		4-fold classification 1871 Scottish Census		4-fold classification Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification 2011 – 2012	
Settlement type	Population	Settlement type	Population	Settlement type	Population
		Principal Towns	Above 25,000	Large Urban Areas	Above 125,000
Towns	2,000 and above	Large Towns	10,000 – 25,000	Other Urban Areas	10,000 – 125,000
Villages	300 – 2,000	Small Towns	3,000 – 10,000	Small Towns	3,000 – 10,000
Rural Districts	Remainder of population	Rural Districts	Below 3,000	Rural Areas	Below 3,000

Returning to the 1874 list of parishes and burghs with these census classifications in mind, an initial sample was taken to test whether the demarcation by population was meaningful at parish level. Using the 4-fold classification, all those parishes and burghs with a population of 3,000 or above, implying a degree of urbanisation, were excluded from the list. On reviewing this, however, it became clear that the classification was bringing in quite a number of small towns which although rural in setting were much more densely populated than the outlying districts and therefore had larger schools than the ones of primary interest to this study. Although recognising that the term ‘town’ has often been used in Scotland to refer to settlements of a size that would be classified as ‘villages’ in other countries, the dearth of small schools in these rural areas was seen to justify their exclusion from the sample. For this reason, the 3-fold classification was used to select only those parishes and burghs listed as having a population up to 2,000.

Given that this 3-fold classification distinguishes between villages and the ‘purely rural districts’ and takes no account of population density, its application at a parish level clearly runs the risk of missing out parishes with one or more large villages and a rural hinterland. Nevertheless, having looked at a selection of the larger parishes (population between 2,000 and

<sup>82</sup> It should, of course, be noted that the registration units have changed since the 1871 Scottish Census, with postcodes and parliamentary constituencies now forming the basis of population analysis.

<sup>83</sup> The definitions given in the table reflect the exact wording given in the 1871 Census Report (p.xxiv) and the Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification 2011–12 (Edinburgh, 2012).

3,000) to ascertain their rural/urban status, it became clear that, although not a perfect guide to rurality, the 2,000 inhabitants threshold could be usefully applied in this instance. The only exception to this was the insular parishes, many of which were recorded as having a large population despite being obviously remote and predominantly rural. Recognising the unique characteristics of the Scottish Islands, all insular parishes (except those encompassing the main towns of Kirkwall, Lerwick and Stornoway) were therefore included in the sample regardless of their population.

Once a list of rural parishes had been identified (totalling 663), the entries were then ordered alphabetically, first by county and then by parish within this, to introduce an acceptable degree of randomness. Following on from this a ten percent sample of the parishes was taken by selecting every tenth entry in the list (this was done using a formula in Excel to isolate the appropriate data). This resulted in a quasi-random sample of sixty-six parishes (analogous to the school board districts) which are shown in **Figure 1.3** and listed in **Appendix C**. With the sample defined, it was then possible to insert the names of individual schools through reference to the 'List (under Counties and School Board Districts) of Schools, aided from the Parliamentary Grant', also contained in the 1874 *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*.<sup>84</sup> According to this source, there were eighty-six schools open and in receipt of a grant at the time and these provided a starting point for analysis across the period of study. Using this quasi-random sample to guide the selection of material, qualitative and quantitative analysis of various sources has been undertaken.<sup>85</sup>

### **National overview**

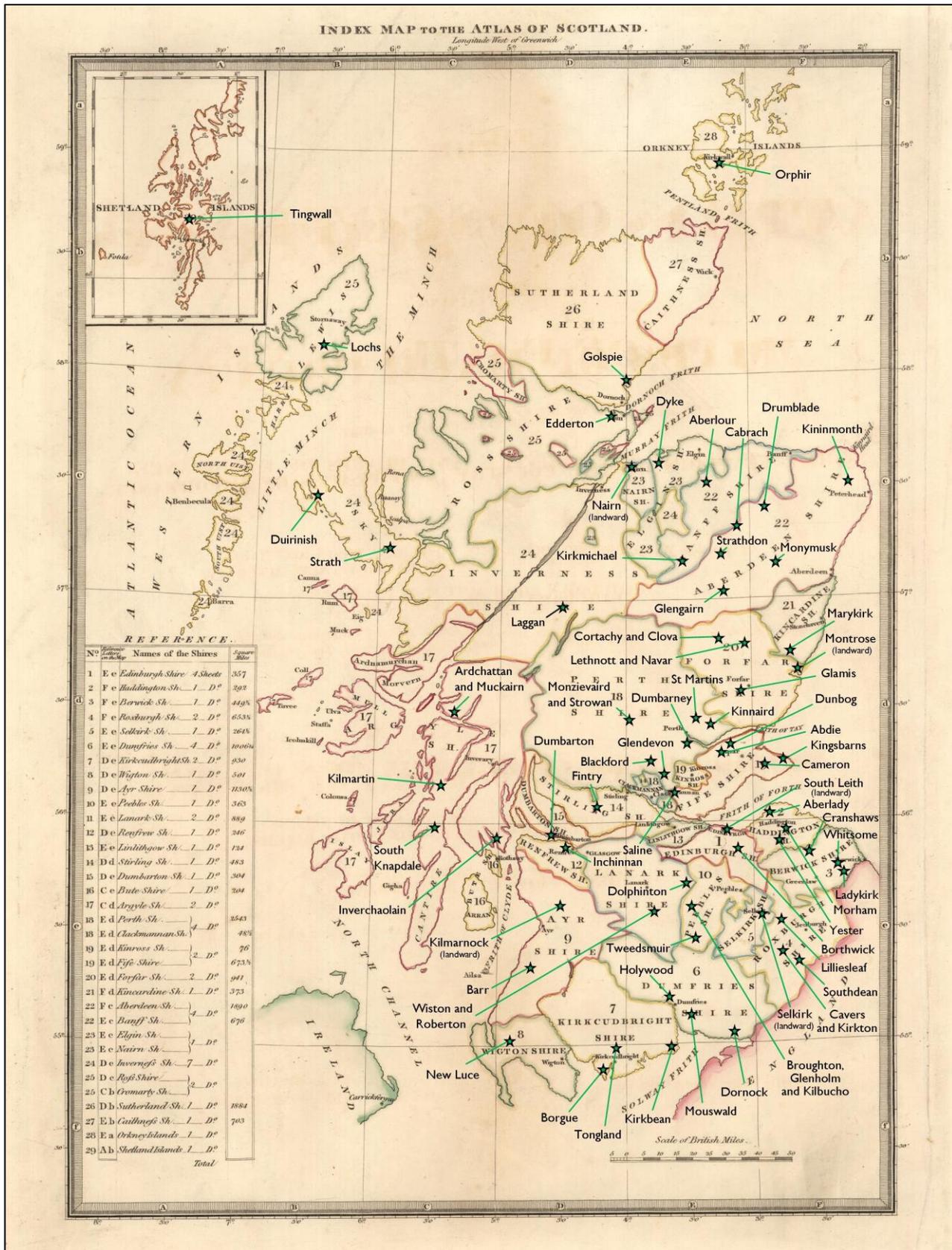
To provide context and give the study broader appeal, facts and figures relating to Scotland as a whole have been used alongside the case study and quasi-random sample material. Where possible, analysis has been layered from the micro to the macro to enable the subtle nuances of local experience to be explored without losing sight of the bigger regional and national picture. The *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* (HCPP) digital collection has been particularly valuable in this regard, allowing for consideration of a wide range of official publications including the early Scottish Census reports and numerous papers relating to education.<sup>86</sup> Whether in digital or documentary form, a sustained effort has been made to examine primary materials directly, for instance by reading the full text of legislative measures, rather than relying on secondary analysis and quotation. In this way, the three-layer methodology provides a robust framework for research and ensures a strong empirical basis for discussion.

<sup>84</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1874 [C.1026], part IV of Appendix, pp.81-115.

<sup>85</sup> In doing so, extensive use has been made of Microsoft Access, Microsoft Excel and IBM SPSS. Data has been extracted from various sources including annual education reports, parliamentary returns, and the three statistical accounts of Scotland.

<sup>86</sup> Having recently moved to the ProQuest Government platform, this online collection is now known as *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*.

Figure 1.3: Location of quasi-random sample school board districts <sup>87</sup>



<sup>87</sup> Base map: John Thompson's Index Map to the Atlas of Scotland, 1832, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/569.html>>, reproduced by permission of the NLS.

## Chapter 2

### Rural society and schooling prior to 1872

Recognising the importance of premising this study on a thorough review of the earlier history of education, this chapter summarises the key educational developments in Scotland from the Protestant Reformation onwards, charts the development of schooling in the case study parishes of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin, and puts this in context through reference to the quasi-random sample of rural school board districts. Combining qualitative and quantitative analysis, this layered approach identifies both trends and disparities across Scotland, and offers a nuanced picture of rural life. In doing so, it reveals the subtle and incremental nature of educational change at the local level during this period and underlines the importance of local conditions in shaping human experience.

#### Establishing 'a school in every parish', 1560 - 1800

John Knox and his reforming colleagues in the mid-sixteenth century are widely credited with the establishment of a distinctive parochial system of education in Scotland, and the *First Book of Discipline* is seen to have laid the foundation with its exhortation 'that ever several church have a schoolmaster appointed', or at least that 'either the reader or the minister there appointed, take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially the catechism'.<sup>88</sup> Whilst it would take many decades for anything approaching this ideal to find its way onto the statute books, the first step being a Privy Council Act of 1616 which was ratified in 1633 and paved the way for the 1696 'Act for Settling of Schools', the principle had been clearly and simply defined.<sup>89</sup> The simplicity of the notion of 'a school in every parish' and the proselytising context from which it emerged, certainly help to explain why it became the nub of educational policy over the proceeding centuries. Yet, without downplaying the significance of religious fervour during this period, it is also important to understand the coexisting political motivations behind educational policy and to recognise the enduring cultural implications of the ideas formulated at this time. For example, the Statutes of Iona, which were signed under duress by nine clan chiefs in 1609 and registered by James VI and I's Privy Council in 1610, gave expression to the idea that cultural imperialism rather than invasion would allow the Crown to gain control of the Isles. As well as seeking to limit the military strength of the Highland clans, the Statutes famously decreed that the eldest children of the chiefs should be sent to the Lowlands to learn English. Whether or not this plan to anglicise the clans through education was realised is much debated, with Goodare suggesting that the Statutes were of little significance at the time and only gained recognition in nineteenth-century historical narratives.<sup>90</sup> However, it is highly significant that from the outset education was seen

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<sup>88</sup> *First Book of Discipline* (1560).

<sup>89</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.3.

<sup>90</sup> J. Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in Context', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 77(1): 203 (1998), p.31.

as a powerful instrument of control and 'civilisation'.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, by marking down the Gaelic language as a sustaining element of the perceived barbarity and rebelliousness of the Highlanders, the early modern Scottish state set the agenda for its demise.

Having finally been given legislative teeth by the 1696 Act, the proposed scheme for popular education began to filter down into reality as the major landowners of each parish, known as the 'heritors', were called on to appoint a schoolmaster, pay them a small salary (to be supplemented by fees) and provide appropriate accommodation.<sup>92</sup> Although this is often seen as a turning point in bringing education to the masses, giving a statutory basis to earlier efforts and inspiring future action, it was merely the beginning of a long and drawn-out process to establish a truly national and inclusive system of elementary schooling. It is easy to get drawn into the idea that the parish schools brought educational opportunity to the doorstep of every community in Scotland. After all, this is the basis on which Scotland's powerful rhetoric of a democratic tradition rests. Yet, as became increasingly clear during the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, the coverage achieved by this policy was limited. Not only were the burghs not included, having their own systems in place, but the large rural parishes were ill-served by a single establishment with some remaining without a school altogether.<sup>93</sup> In addition, the lack of compulsion on parents to send their children to school and the requirement to pay fees, either out of their own pocket or by appeal to the kirk session, were further barriers to overcome. With no system of professional training or regulation of teaching standards yet in place, the educational background and experience of the teachers appointed also varied tremendously.<sup>94</sup>

During the eighteenth century, the efforts of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) to supplement the parish schools and extend, what was seen to be, the civilising influence of education to the more remote parts of the country went some way to filling these gaps.<sup>95</sup> Although in more recent times the nature and intent of the teaching, which was done almost exclusively in English in both the SSPCK and parish schools, has been berated for its role in the erosion of Gaelic culture, contemporary opinion appears to have been far less critical. As articulated in the writings of Adam Smith and other key figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, English literacy was seen to be at the heart of promoting 'religion, morality and civilization' throughout the eighteenth century, and the small rural schools were credited with teaching 'almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> I. R. Findlay, *Education in Scotland* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp.12-13.

<sup>93</sup> Leslie Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System*, p.4. As explored by Lindy Moore, public schooling in the towns developed under the burghal system and was distinct from the parochial framework. L. Moore, 'Urban Schooling in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in Anderson et al (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*, p.80.

<sup>94</sup> Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education*, p.139.

<sup>95</sup> As detailed on the Society's website, the SSPCK 'was formed by Royal Charter in 1709 for the purpose of founding school "where religion and virtue might be taught to young and old" in the Scottish Highlands and other "uncivilised" areas of the country'. 'History and origins', <<http://www.sspck.co.uk/page4.html>>, accessed 4 Sept. 2015.

and account'.<sup>96</sup> With a firm foundation established by the Union with England in 1707, the idea that English was the language of advancement and the means by which Scots could distinguish themselves both at home and abroad came to dominate. By the turn of the nineteenth century, therefore, the idea that children should be educated regardless of their socio-economic status was well-established and schools of every description and varying status filled the countryside. As well as the formal parish schools and society schools, informal private establishments, which were often little more than a small gathering of children around a poorly-educated teacher, proliferated in the more remote areas.

Moving beyond the broad brushstrokes of national history to gain a sense of how these developments translated into experience at local level, the following section details the early expansion of schooling in the Highland Perthshire case study parishes of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin, and contextualises this in relation to the quasi-random sample of rural districts through analysis of information extracted from the 1791-99 *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Though containing varying amounts of information on education, these parish accounts are a valuable source and provide a rich picture of life across Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

Beginning with the case study area and taking each parish in turn, at the end of the eighteenth century Fortingall had a parish school, four charity schools set up and supported by the SSPCK, and six private schools in the remote areas where the people paid 'for a boy to teach their children to read and write' a little English.<sup>98</sup> At this time the parish comprised the districts of 'Fortingall, Glenlyon and Ranoch', and had numerous settlements with a total population of approximately 3,914, including 934 children up to the age of ten.<sup>99</sup> William Ramsay, factor of the Estate of Stowan after it was forfeited in 1749, appears to have been the driving force behind this push for education having 'formed some designs for improving that part noted for barbarity, thieving and rebellion'.<sup>100</sup> Dissatisfied that there was only one small school on the 'large and extensive estate' he applied to the SSPCK to set up another school in 'the most uncivilised part of the country' as well as erecting 'six different schools at his own expense, both for the instruction of the young and those more advanced in years'.<sup>101</sup> Education, particularly the teaching of English and religious instruction based on the Shorter Catechism, was seen as key to creating order and encouraging obedience to the State, a motivation evident in estate papers

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<sup>96</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.10; A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, World's Classics edition (London, 1904) [first published 1776], pp.ii, 420-1.

<sup>97</sup> 23 of the 65 parish accounts that relate to the quasi-random sample districts do not comment on education at all.

<sup>98</sup> The salary of the SSPCK schoolmasters was £10 (L.10) per annum. D. McAra, 'Parish of Fortingall', in J. Sinclair (ed.) *The Statistical Account of Scotland* [hereafter SAS], Vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1792), pp.456, 459.

<sup>99</sup> These districts were administered by separate school boards following the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, and the case study focuses on the Fortingall one. According to the *Statistical Account*, at the end of the eighteenth century the district of Fortingall contained '26 villages, or little towns', and in Glenlyon and Ranoch combined there were a further sixty settlements. Ibid, pp.452, 454, 460.

<sup>100</sup> A. H. Millar, *A Selection of Scottish Forfeited Estates Papers: 1715 - 1745: Edited from the Original Documents, with Introduction and Appendices* (Edinburgh, 1909), p.211.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

which speak of the people being instructed 'in the principles of Religion and Loyalty'.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, the building of schools was seen to have 'happy consequences both for the Government and the Country'.<sup>103</sup> Religious and political motivations were closely entwined at this time, and concern for the spiritual condition of the people was embedded in notions of how they should be governed. In this way, Ramsay's fervent programme of school building should be seen not simply as an initiative to improve the situation of his tenants, but also as an attempt to cultivate a sense of national citizenship framed around the Church of Scotland and the Protestant Crown. The schools were the frontline in this campaign and the Estate had substantial support from the SSPCK in promoting this agenda. Despite its perceived importance, however, the course of educational enlightenment for the masses did not run smooth.

According to Forfeited Estate Papers, which include petitions from schoolmasters to the Commissioners in relation to the Barony of Strowan, various issues arose in relation to the schools. In the 1750s, the teachers' most pressing concerns were the non-payment of their wages and the lack of adequate accommodation. In 1755, the parish schoolmaster Neil McFarlane complained that he 'had never received one farthing of his salary from the lands of Slisgarve of Rannoch and Drimvur ligan ... for 7 years', and Dougal Buchanan, teacher in Bunrannoch, requested 'that the present school house might be repaired' to enable him to catechise the people of the district during the winter months when it was no longer possible to preach in the fields.<sup>104</sup> As well as showing the precarious nature of employment, such records hint at the all-encompassing nature of teaching in the remote rural areas of Scotland at this time. As schoolmasters, particularly those employed by the SSPCK, were expected to be preachers as well as teachers their service to the community rarely stopped at the school door, and a degree of missionary zeal was required. For instance, Roderic Kennedy, master of the SSPCK school at Finart from 1754, satisfied the parents 'not only with the teaching, but with the catechising twice a year at their own houses, besides reading and praying with them on the Sabbath'.<sup>105</sup> In addition, the schoolmaster's wife could also play a key educational role in the community. For example, in 1751 Buchanan's wife was paid '5/ sterling yearly' to be 'Mistress of the Art of Spinning', and as well as teaching 'the tenants' wives and daughters to spin and sew she instructed 'the boys to knit stockings and other parts of manufacture fit for them'.<sup>106</sup>

Although both boys and girls were being educated in academic as well as industrial subjects at this stage, school roll figures suggest that boys were much more likely to attend school. This was certainly true of the SSPCK schools which, according to a list produced in 1748, taught around twice as many boys (5,187) than it did girls (2,618) across Scotland, and this was true of

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid, pp.211-12.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, p.225.

<sup>104</sup> In other sources, the name is sometimes spelt 'Dugald'. Ibid, p.228.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p.229.

<sup>106</sup> The Estate was keen to 'promote Manufacture ... and encourage spinning' and employing the schoolmaster's wife made practical and financial sense. Ibid, p.224.

the Fortingall schools where sixty-seven percent of those recorded as being on roll were male.<sup>107</sup> A similar disparity was also recorded in the estate papers, which contain a list of scholars attending the charity school at Kinloch Rannoch. As well as showing that there were significantly more boys than girls on roll (in 1781 there were fifty boys and ten girls), the records reveal that whereas the boys ranged in age from five to eighteen, the oldest girls were twelve years old.<sup>108</sup> The absence of older girls from the classroom is indicative of differing gender pedagogies at this time and points to the fact that boys were much more likely to undertake advanced academic study. The main distinction between the sexes in this school appears to have been in relation to writing for although they all learnt the alphabet, spellings and the Catechism, the majority of boys were also learning to write while none of the girls were.<sup>109</sup> At the same time the precise nature of teaching varied between the schools with the remote private schools bearing little resemblance to the main parish school and offering a markedly different educational experience. As shown in the minutes of a meeting of the minister and heritors of Fortingall, which took place following the passing of the Parochial Schools (Scotland) Act, 1803, the parish schoolmaster was expected to teach English, Gaelic, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek and different fees were charged according to the subjects taken. Whilst it cost 'one shilling and sixpence' a quarter to learn English and Gaelic, it was a shilling more if writing and arithmetic were also desired, and for the aspiring scholar who wished to learn 'Latin along with these other branches of education' and Greek the fee was five shillings.<sup>110</sup> On the other hand, private teachers, who were typically young, inexperienced and poorly paid, did little more than provide basic instruction as directed by their employers.

In the neighbouring parish of Kenmore, the first school was established in 1651 not long after the Act for Founding of Schools was passed in 1646.<sup>111</sup> The lack of provision prior to this is confirmed by a report from 1627 which notes that 'thair is no Schoole nor Reidder thair' and 'nether hes thair bein any provisioune heirtofoir for thame'.<sup>112</sup> The kirk session built a schoolhouse 'with dry-stone walls, roofed with cabers, and covered with thatch' and advanced money to settle the new schoolmaster, John Hepburne, who stayed just three years before moving on to Logierait.<sup>113</sup> For the remainder of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, the parish school appears to have been the only educational establishment in the area. However, the Presbytery of Dunkeld was keen to expand provision and appealed to the SSPCK for funds

<sup>107</sup> SSPCK, *List of Schools Maintained by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge* (1748). This list shows a school in Strowan (est. 1716), one in Drumchastell (est. 1735) and another in Glenrachty (est. 1723). The total roll of boys for these was 86 compared to 43 girls. Digital copy obtained from <<http://www.ambaile.org.uk>>, accessed 4 June 2014.

<sup>108</sup> Millar, *Scottish Forfeited Estates Papers*, p.208.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, p.208. The same document records that the books in use included: 'English Collection, Proverbs, "Gulliver's Travells", spelling book, Bible, "Gaelic" Testament'.

<sup>110</sup> Fortingall Parish Church, Transcript of Minute of Heritors' Meeting at Kenmore 21<sup>st</sup> October 1803.

<sup>111</sup> National Records of Scotland [hereafter NRS], A2/23, f.348v, 1645/11/185, Act for Founding of Schools in Every Parish 1646, accessed at <[www.rps.ac.uk](http://www.rps.ac.uk)>.

<sup>112</sup> A. MacGrigor (ed.), *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland, made to His Majesty's Commissioners for Plantation of Kirks, &c. in Pursuance of their Ordinance dated April X11. M.DC.XXVII* [1627] (Edinburgh, 1835).

<sup>113</sup> Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.327.

to establish schools in the outlying district. Their concerns are expressed in a memorial written in 1716 which states the case for a school at Lawers and another in Glen Lochay, as well as for Ardeonaig and Strathfillan in Killin parish, to serve the considerable number of people living there.<sup>114</sup> Being four to six miles distant 'from any settled school', made attendance improbable if not impossible for the majority of residents, and the presbytery recognised the importance of settling schoolmasters within the communities themselves; they also realised that a reasonable salary of 'fifteen pounds sterling' was necessary 'for the encouragement of the schoolmaster'.<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately, due to the limited funds of the Society at this time, the request for assistance was not granted and it was not until the late 1720s that any real progress was made. At this point the kirk records come alive with references to teachers and the various efforts that were made to found schools across the parish. Interestingly, the drive for education appears to have come from the communities themselves, with appeals being made to the kirk session by various individuals from different parts of the parish. One such request was made by Ewen and John MacDougall in October 1729, seeking funds to settle a schoolmaster in Ardtalnaig on South Lochtayside. Ewen was an elder in the church there, and having taken 'the circumstances of that place into their serious consideration, and finding that there were a great number of children there, and the people willing to have them educated, and they being poor' the kirk session agreed to help.<sup>116</sup>

Not long after this the SSPCK granted '50 marks Scots' to the parish to set up a school at Alltvin between Ardeonaig and Ardtalnaig, and within two years further funding had enabled schools to be established at Lawers and Glen Quaich.<sup>117</sup> In relation to these areas, it was recorded in August 1731 that John Macintyre, schoolmaster in Lawers, was paid 'three pounds Scots' for 'precenting in Irish', and that John Campbell, 'a poor boy' who taught in Glen Quaich, was given 'half a crown' sterling.<sup>118</sup> A year later, mention was also made of a schoolmaster at Auchianich, a settlement to the west of Acharn on south Lochtayside, who applied to the session for 'payment of wages for some poor schollars', and other entries suggest that numerous private teachers were being employed across the parish by this time.<sup>119</sup> More specifically, there is evidence of parents joining together to employ a teacher for their children, particularly in the more remote districts, although encouragement or rebuke from the kirk session was sometimes required to keep things in order.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> 'Memorial to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge', 4 Sept. 1716, quoted in J. Hunter, *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld 1660-1689* (London, 1917), pp.93-4.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> NRS, Records of Kenmore Kirk Session, 1723-1762, CH2/205/1, Kenmore Kirk Session Minutes, 21 October 1729, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.331.

<sup>117</sup> Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.332.

<sup>118</sup> NRS, Records of Kenmore Kirk Session, 1723-1762, CH2/205/1, Kenmore Kirk Session Minutes, 24 Aug. 1731, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.313.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, 26 Nov. 1732, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.314.

<sup>120</sup> For instance, in 1739 the session 'interrogated' the tenants of Carwhin and Crannich (an area around Tombreck to the west of Lawers, partly in a detached portion of Weem Parish) regarding their employment of Alexander Irvine as their 'schoolmaster and catechist' and instructed them to pay him more; the teacher alleged that he was not being paid the

Whilst many parents were active in employing teachers, there were others who did not seek to educate their children either privately or in the established schools. Taking the example of Lawers School, such was the annoyance that some parents in the district were not sending their children to school and paying their share of the schoolmaster's wages that the session resolved to write to Lord Breadalbane's chamberlain asking that they should be compelled to do so.<sup>121</sup> Significantly, this request came not from the parish minister or elders but from local people with an interest in the school. The fact that they were eager for all parents to contribute whether they sent their children to the school or not is particularly telling and suggests a burgeoning expectation that schools were a community institution that everyone had a responsibility to maintain. Furthermore, the fact that the kirk session played a key role in managing these issues shows that all of the schools and their teachers were under the supervision of the parish authorities to some extent, and were seen to be part of the wider ministry of the church. This is also reflected in the fact that teachers in the outlying districts often took on additional duties, such as precenting in church, to increase their income.<sup>122</sup> This reflected practice in the parochial school although the parish schoolmaster was significantly better paid and could rely on supplementary payments for services rendered to the church, including being a reader, precentor and, as was frequently the case, clerk to the kirk session.<sup>123</sup> The private teachers were in a more precarious situation and lived something of a hand-to-mouth existence. Despite these contrasts and the varying status of the different schoolmasters, who ranged from poor boys to scholarly men, the idea that teachers were a community resource, playing a distinct role in local affairs, clearly took root in the early eighteenth century.

Another important point to highlight from this era is that Gaelic was a medium of instruction despite concerns about its link to Jacobitism. The tradition of having a sermon preached in Gaelic and another in English was well-established in this area and the fact that the Lawers teacher was paid out of the parish purse to lead the singing in Gaelic suggests that there was no real antipathy towards the vernacular. Although much is made of the SSPCK's opposition to the language, especially during the opening decades of the eighteenth century when it was not permitted in their schools, the treatment of Gaelic by teachers and preachers alike depended on local conditions.<sup>124</sup> It is not surprising that Gaelic speakers themselves did not view the language

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amount promised and called on the church to arbitrate. NRS, Records of Kenmore Kirk Session, 1723-1762, CH2/205/1, Kenmore Kirk Session Minutes, 1739, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.332. A few years later, in 1743, Alex Irvine was asked to set up a school in Crannich, Weem Parish, and was paid a salary out of 'the interest of six thousand Merks Scots mortified by the late Mr Archibald Campbell, Minister of Weem'. This endowment was used to establish two other schools in detached portions of Weem, one in Roro further north and another in Duncroisk, Glen Lochay. NRS, Records of Weem Kirk Session, 1705-1967, CH2/1384/1, Weem Kirk Session Minutes, 31 Jan. 1743, quoted in G. Waddell, *Highland Roots: The Real Story behind one Highland Cottage* (self-published, 2013), pp.244-45.

<sup>121</sup> NRS, Records of Kenmore Kirk Session, 1723-1762, CH2/205/1, Kenmore Kirk Session Minutes, 1739, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, pp.331-32.

<sup>122</sup> A precentor was someone who led the singing.

<sup>123</sup> This was particularly true after the Act for Settling of Schools, 1696, which laid down that the parish schoolmaster should be paid between 100 and 200 merks annually. In May that year, the Kenmore schoolmaster's salary was raised to 100 merks. Waddell, *Highland Roots*, p.306.

<sup>124</sup> Although detailed accounts, such as that by Withers, recognise these subtleties, many general works simply highlight that the SSPCK and its teachers were hostile to Gaelic. C. W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*

with the suspicion that Anglophone outsiders did, and it is perhaps for this reason that ministers and teachers of Kenmore parish were pragmatic in their approach, promoting English but utilising Gaelic. This was helped by the fact that the main landowner, the Second Earl of Breadalbane, remained loyal to the Government during the Jacobite unrest and encouraged his tenants to do likewise. Key to this was the replacement of the Episcopal ministers of Kenmore and Killin following the first rising in 1715 and the successful promotion of Presbyterianism during the ensuing decades.<sup>125</sup> John Hamilton, minister of Kenmore from 1723, played a fundamental role in this, building up support for the church and promoting education throughout the parish.<sup>126</sup> Under his charge many requests for assistance to settle schoolmasters were made and a great deal of support was given. By combining forces to establish religious orthodoxy and dissuade rebelliousness, the landlord and minister undoubtedly helped to fashion a socio-cultural and political environment in which Gaelic could continue to flourish despite facing severe opposition elsewhere in the Highlands. In this way, the national directives of organisations such as the SSPCK, including their policies on Gaelic, are just one part of the story and must be contextualised at local level.

Moving forward to the close of the eighteenth century, the school situation in Kenmore had changed remarkably little. According to the *Statistical Account*, in 1795 there were nine schools in the parish; besides the parochial school which had around one hundred scholars on roll, there were four schools maintained by the SSPCK and four small private schools which were 'occasionally kept' and whose teachers were 'supported solely by the scholars' parents'.<sup>127</sup> Beyond these details the account has little to say about education except that attendance in the parish school fell considerably 'in summer and autumn, when many of the youth, being necessarily engaged in husbandry business, cannot attend their education'.<sup>128</sup> This comes as no surprise given the agricultural basis of rural society at this time. Yet, it is worth noting that the minister expressed an acceptance of the practice through his choice of words, recognising the necessity of it rather than berating the scholars and their parents for these seasonal lapses. A balance had to be struck between formal education and the valuable contribution that children could make to the family economy, and the predominantly local governance of the schools and loose regulatory framework at this time permitted a great deal of sensitivity towards this. Over

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(London, 1988). The tendency to generalise is also apparent in the oral testimony of Roy Macgregor who, when asked when Gaelic faded on Lochtayside, stated that 'they stopped allowing the children to speak it in the school and in the playground'. Despite having no empirical basis for this assertion, Roy was convinced that this was the case. Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Duncan Roy Macgregor (2013), SOHCA/053/01.

<sup>125</sup> The Kenmore minister Alexander Comrie refused to sign the Revolution Settlement and was removed from the parish in 1716. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.183.

<sup>126</sup> The Presbytery of Dunkeld struggled to fill the position for a number of years, and when John Hamilton was finally settled he faced some resistance, with the parish schoolmaster being the only member of the session present at his admission service. *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> C. MacVean, 'Parish of Kenmore', in J. Sinclair (ed.) *SAS*, Vol. 17 (Edinburgh, 1796), p.462.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

the coming decades, however, such irregularities in attendance were increasingly frowned upon as the inherent tension between study and work became a paramount concern.

Shifting focus to the west, the earliest mention of a school in Killin parish was made by the local minister, William Menyeis, in his return to the Commissioners for Plantation of Kirks in the early seventeenth century. He commented, 'we haid ane schoole bot for laik of meanes it dissolved' and lamented that 'it is necessarye'.<sup>129</sup> Unfortunately, a dearth of surviving records from this period makes it difficult to ascertain the state of education over the coming decades. However, evidence from the early eighteenth century suggests that the situation had improved very little. Returning to the Presbytery of Dunkeld's memorial to the SSPCK dated 1716, the want of schools in the parish becomes very clear. As well as requesting funds to establish a school in Strathfillan 'for serving Glendochart, Glenfalloch, and the said country', the need for a school at the other extreme of the parish in Ardeonaig was stressed.<sup>130</sup> As mentioned earlier, support for this endeavour was not immediately forthcoming, but a schoolmaster was eventually settled in Ardeonaig towards the end 1729.<sup>131</sup> It is also telling that just two years earlier representatives of the Presbytery visited Killin only to find that there was no schoolmaster despite a salary being available for one.<sup>132</sup> The fact that the school, which was located at Ballechroisk on the northern bank of the River Dochart, had been closed for some time suggests that either there was a lack of demand locally, or that the parochial administration was weak. Either way, the Presbytery was quick to appoint a schoolmaster by the name of Mungo Malcolm, and the parish school remained open from that point on.<sup>133</sup> With the addition of the SSPCK school at Ardeonaig, educational work began to flourish in the district under the supervision of the Killin minister, Adam Ferguson. This is apparent from the kirk session minutes which concluded following a deputation to Ardeonaig that 'the success of the school has been very considerable, as has been that of catechising, the people being wonderfully advanced in the knowledge of the principles of Religion'.<sup>134</sup> As elsewhere, the proselytising drive behind education gave it a distinctive feel, with religious instruction dominating the curriculum and teachers playing a ministerial role in the wider community. This period also saw a great flourishing of Gaelic religious scholarship under the Reverend James Stewart, minister of Killin from 1737, and his son Dr John Stewart.<sup>135</sup> Their translation of the Old and New Testaments into Gaelic was extremely significant, particularly after 1826 when the General Assembly authorised the exclusive use of a revised edition by Gaelic-speaking congregations.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> MacGrigor (ed.), *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland*, p.180.

<sup>130</sup> 'Memorial to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge', 4 Sept. 1716.

<sup>131</sup> SSPCK, *List of Schools maintained by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge* (1748).

<sup>132</sup> Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.328.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p.329.

<sup>134</sup> Killin Kirk Session Minutes, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.333.

<sup>135</sup> W. Marshall, *Historic Scenes in Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1880), p.443-44.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

Looking more specifically at the schools in Killin during the 1790s, there were seven teachers settled in the parish: a parochial schoolmaster in the village of Killin, three SSPCK schoolmasters situated in Ardeonaig, Glen Dochart and Strathfillan, and three sewing mistresses also supported by the SSPCK.<sup>137</sup> The distinction between the parish school, which had ‘ordinarily about 70 scholars’ and taught a number of them ‘Latin, Greek, and French’, and the SSPCK schools, which taught ‘only the reading of English and Gaelic, with writing and arithmetic’, was made clear.<sup>138</sup> Although the parish teacher did earn more than the others, having an annual salary of 10/ Sterling plus an additional 10/ from school fees and emoluments, the discrepancy was not great, and even the sewing teachers, or ‘schoolmistresses’ as they were referred to, received 5/ Sterling for their work.<sup>139</sup> As highlighted earlier, the Fourth Earl of Breadalbane (later the First Marquis) was an active patron in Kenmore and was equally attentive to the Killin portions of his estate. A drive for agricultural improvement and spiritual orthodoxy placed education high on his agenda and his commitment to the schools and teachers continued into the nineteenth century.

Turning now to the quasi-random sample to give a sense of rural experience across Scotland, analysis of the *Statistical Account* highlights some prevailing concerns. In terms of population, at the end of the eighteenth century the sample parishes ranged in size from 164 to 3,000, the smallest being Cranshaws in Berwickshire and the largest Duirinish on the Isle of Skye (**Table 2.1**).<sup>140</sup> As in the case study parishes, the main issues were the inadequacy of schoolmasters’ salaries and the tendency for scholars to attend more in the winter months than in the summer. Concern at the poor remuneration of teachers is expressed in eleven of the parish accounts (19%), often in a great detail. For instance, the minister of Kinnaird, Perthshire, deliberated that ‘if the prosperity of the state depends much on the piety and virtue of the commonality, and this again on early education, public spirited men should surely exert themselves to meliorate the condition of parochial school-masters’.<sup>141</sup> Whilst the situation of other teachers whose remuneration was typically much less than the parish master is rarely discussed, the precarious nature of their employment is implicit.

Those commenting clearly associated low pay with a poor quality of education and in some cases this was explicitly defined as the inability to teach ‘any of the learned languages’.<sup>142</sup> Instruction in Latin and Greek was seen as the zenith of education at this time, being the basis of advanced study in the grammar schools and universities, and its absence from the parish schools implied a disconnect between them. This is extremely important in light of later

<sup>137</sup> Stuart, ‘Parish of Killin’, pp.379-80.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, p.379.

<sup>139</sup> One of the schoolmasters was paid 14/ Sterling by the SSPCK and the other two had ‘8/ Sterling from the Society, and 5/ from the Earl of Breadalbane’. Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> The sample size for this analysis was sixty-five (as one of the districts, Kininmonth did not exist at this time), with some analysis being limited to the fifty-nine wholly rural parishes due to the lack of disaggregated data for the landward parts of the towns, and the absence of information on education provision in the country areas.

<sup>141</sup> D. Spence, ‘Parish of Kinnaird’, Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 6 (Edinburgh, 1793) p.240.

<sup>142</sup> A. Munro, ‘Parish of Eddertown’, Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 11 (Edinburgh, 1794), p.464.

assertions about the meritocratic nature of the Scottish education system which played on the idea that intelligent boys of any socio-economic status could undertake the necessary academic scholarship at their parish school to enable them to go straight to university. This tradition, however, is not evident in the majority of accounts in this sample of rural parishes; the teaching of the Classics is only mentioned in nine accounts (15%), with forty-two authors (71%) not referring to it at all and eight (14%) explicitly stating that Latin is not taught. The only indication that this practice did sometimes occur comes from the parishes of Whitsome and Hilton in Berwick, and Dolphinton in Lanark. In the former, the minister notes that 'some very worthy members of society in the learned professions, and in inferior lines, owe their education to Whitsom school, till they went either to the Universities, or to their apprenticeships', and in the latter mention is made of a bequest of '100 merks for educating any lad of a remarkably bright genius'.<sup>143</sup> Although the exception rather than the rule, such cases hint at the underlying reason why education flourished in some parishes while it floundered in others. The distinguishing feature in Dolphinton was a long history of educational benevolence starting with the mortification of '4 acres of land for the behoof of the schoolmaster' by William Brown, Esq., in 1650 and a further bequest by the late minister John Bowie in 1759 to facilitate the education of poor scholars and boys of exceptional intelligence'.<sup>144</sup> The parochial ideal of educational opportunity for all and reward for academic merit was therefore dependent on the actions of individuals with a local interest who invested heavily to establish and maintain the parish schools. Without this encouragement, rural parishes could do little more than provide the basics, which though not always considered a problem was a far cry from the egalitarianism idealised by later commentators. An established tradition of benevolence can also be seen in Dyke, Elgin, where there were two parochial schools, one for boys, known as the 'grammar' school, and one for girls run by a schoolmistress. In addition there were nine private teachers and a private tutor operating in the area.<sup>145</sup> Both of the parochial schools derived funds from the interest on mortifications and were located in the village.<sup>146</sup>

Many other parishes in the sample benefited from philanthropic donations, with nine accounts (15%) overall making mention of this.<sup>147</sup> However, in most cases the amounts were fairly small and there were often conditions attached. Provision for the education of the poor was a common aim and although this normally came in the form of fee payment for a set number of scholars at the parochial school, support was sometimes directed at outlying private schools. This was the case in Mouswald, Dumfries, where a schoolmaster, who had been a native of the

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<sup>143</sup> G. Cupples, 'United Parishes of Whitsome and Hilton', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 16 (Edinburgh, 1795), p.356; J. Gordon, 'Parish of Dolphinton', *SAS*, Vol. 14 (Edinburgh, 1794), p.111.

<sup>144</sup> Gordon, 'Parish of Dolphinton'.

<sup>145</sup> J. Dunbar, 'Parish of Dyke', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 20 (Edinburgh, 1798), p.219.

<sup>146</sup> The parochial fund consisted of the interest of 3,500 merks, with the schoolmaster receiving the interest of 1,000 merks, and the schoolmistress the interest of 2,500 merks. Dunbar, 'Dyke', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, pp.214-15.

<sup>147</sup> Nine of the fifty-nine (15%) wholly rural parish accounts mention some form of mortification or parochial fund, thirty-one (53%) make no mention of such funds, and nineteen (31%) have no comment on education at all.

parish, left 'between 30 s., and 40 s. per annum' to a school 'in another quarter of the parish'.<sup>148</sup> In addition to individual bequests, funding and supervision by charitable societies augmented provision in certain areas, with mention being made of SSPCK schools in eight of the rural parishes (14%).<sup>149</sup> While half of these had one such school, three parishes had two, and one, South Knapdale in Argyll, had three. Interestingly, this last parish did not have a parochial school in operation at this time which is surprising given that the population had increased by eighteen percent since 1755 leaving the three society schools struggling to 'accommodate all the children'.<sup>150</sup> Why the heritors were neglecting their duty in this regard is unclear, but 'the want of proper schools' in the district was a major issue.<sup>151</sup> It is also worth noting that industrial subjects were sometimes taught in the SSPCK schools. This was the case in lower Ardoch where the schoolmaster's wife was paid 'for teaching young girls to spin, and knit stockings', a practice that was felt to be 'of great benefit to the parish'.<sup>152</sup>

Looking more broadly at the issue of cultural change, the accounts contain some noteworthy comments on Gaelic although no specific observations were made regarding the impact of education, or school regulations, on the language. Eight of the accounts (14%) make some mention of Gaelic, and half of these refer to anglicisation.<sup>153</sup> The minister of Kirkmichael, Banff, gives the most detailed account of this expressing his disgust that 'the dialect spoken in this country is growing daily more corrupted, by the admission of Anglicisms'.<sup>154</sup> In South Knapdale, it was simply acknowledged that 'English has of late spread considerably', and in Strathdon, the decline of 'a kind of Gaelic' spoken in the upper part of the district of Curgarff was in no way regretted.<sup>155</sup> In the latter case, the rest of the parish spoke English, 'or rather broad Scotch', and Gaelic was therefore already something of an anomaly. This was also the case in the Aberdeenshire parish of Glengairn where the continued use of 'a barbarous dialect of Gaelic' in the upper parts of the parish was observed to be something of a peculiarity with English being the language widely understood.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>148</sup> J. Dickson, 'Parish of Mouswald', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 7 (Edinburgh, 1793) p.300.

<sup>149</sup> These parishes were: Kilmartin, South Knapdale, and Ardoch and Muckairn in Argyll; Kirkmichael in Banff; Lochs on the Isle of Lewis; Glengairn, and Strathdon in Aberdeen; and Laggan in Inverness.

<sup>150</sup> Anon, 'Parish of South Knapdale', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 19 (Edinburgh, 1797), p.326.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> L. Grant, 'United parishes of Ardoch and Muckairn', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 6 (Edinburgh, 1793), p.179.

<sup>153</sup> Those simply referring to Gaelic being the main language were: Lochs, Isle of Lewis, Ardoch and Muckairn, Argyll, Golspie, Sutherland, and Duirinish, Isle of Skye.

<sup>154</sup> ThJ. Grant, 'Parish of Kirkmichael', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 12 (Edinburgh, 1794), p.454.

<sup>155</sup> Anon, 'Parish of South Knapdale', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol. 19, p.325; J. Gordon, 'Parish of Strathdon', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol.13 (Edinburgh, 1794), p.183.

<sup>156</sup> G. Brown, 'United Parishes of Glenmuick, Tulloch and Glengairn', Sinclair (ed.), *SAS*, Vol.12 (Edinburgh, 1794), p.219.

**Table 2.1: Population change in wholly rural sample parishes, 1755-1811** <sup>157</sup>

Parish	County	Population						
		1755	1790s	Change	% change	1811	Change	% change
Drumblade	Aberdeen	1125	886	-239	-21%	780	-106	-12%
Glengairn		2270	2117	-153	-7%	1781	-336	-16%
Monymusk		1005	1127	122	12%	880	-247	-22%
Strathdon		1750	1524	-226	-13%	1463	-61	-4%
Ardchattan and Muckairn	Argyll	2195	2300	105	5%	2288	-12	-1%
Inverchaolain		944	504	-440	-47%	552	48	10%
Kilmartin		1150	1537	387	34%	1453	-84	-5%
South Knapdale		1292	1524	232	18%	1720	196	13%
Barr	Ayrshire	858	750	-108	-13%	728	-22	-3%
Aberlour	Banff	1010	920	-90	-9%	923	3	0%
Cabrach		960	700	-260	-27%	306	-394	-56%
Kirkmichael		1288	1276	-12	-1%	1386	110	9%
Cranshaws	Berwick	214	164	-50	-23%	186	22	13%
Ladykirk		386	580	194	50%	535	-45	-8%
Whitsome and Hilton		399	590	191	48%	536	-54	-9%
Dornock	Dumfries	716	738	22	3%	788	50	7%
Holywood		612	736	124	20%	830	94	13%
Mouswald		553	628	75	14%	769	141	22%
Borthwick	Edinburgh	910	858	-52	-6%	1166	308	36%
Dyke	Elgin	1826	1529	-297	-16%	1427	-102	-7%
Abdie	Fife	822	494	-328	-40%	763	269	54%
Cameron		1295	1165	-130	-10%	1005	-160	-14%
Dunbog		255	235	-20	-8%	185	-50	-21%
Kingsbarns		871	807	-64	-7%	860	53	7%
Saline	Forfar	1285	950	-335	-26%	1072	122	13%
Cortachy and Clova		1233	1020	-213	-17%	980	-40	-4%
Glamis		1780	2040	260	15%	1856	-184	-9%
Lethnott and Navar	Haddington	635	505	-130	-20%	511	6	1%
Aberlady		739	800	61	8%	912	112	14%
Morham		245	190	-55	-22%	219	29	15%
Yester	Inverness	1001	800	-201	-20%	1013	213	27%
Duirinish		2568	3000	432	17%	3361	361	12%
Laggan		1521	1512	-9	-1%	1254	-258	-17%
Strath	Kincardine	943	1579	636	67%	2107	528	33%
Marykirk		1280	1481	201	16%	1574	93	6%
Borgue		697	771	74	11%	858	87	11%
Kirkbean	Kirkcudbright	529	660	131	25%	800	140	21%
Tongland		537	520	-17	-3%	802	282	54%
Dolphington	Lanark	302	200	-102	-34%	268	68	34%
Weston and Robertson		1102	740	-362	-33%	836	96	13%
Orphir	Orkney	855	826	-29	-3%	845	19	2%
Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho	Peebles	1038	926	-112	-11%	766	-160	-17%
Tweedsmuir		397	227	-170	-43%	254	27	12%
Blackford		1681	1360	-321	-19%	1666	306	23%
Dunbarny	Perth	764	1250	486	64%	1037	-213	-17%
Glendevon		220	200	-20	-9%	170	-30	-15%
Kinnaird		290	404	114	39%	445	41	10%
Monzievaird and Strowan		1460	1025	-435	-30%	1123	98	10%
St Martins		1083	800	-283	-26%	1076	276	35%
Inchinnan	Renfrew	397	306	-91	-23%	641	335	109%
Edderton	Ross and Cromarty	780	1000	220	28%	846	-154	-15%
Lochs		1267	1768	501	40%	1927	159	9%
Cavers and Kirkton	Roxburgh	1323	1642	319	24%	1402	-240	-15%
Lilliesleaf		521	630	109	21%	755	125	20%
Southdean		480	714	234	49%	804	90	13%
Tingwall	Shetland	1412	1786	374	26%	1927	141	8%
Fintry	Stirling	891	513	-378	-42%	1003	490	96%
Golspie	Sutherland	1790	1700	-90	-5%	1391	-309	-18%
New Luce	Wigton	459	400	-59	-13%	457	57	14%

<sup>157</sup> Figures extracted from *Webster's Census* (1755), *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (1790s) and Parochial Return, Education of the Poor (1818). Change is calculated in relation to the previous population figures.

Key	
	Decrease
	Increase

## Deficiency, duplication and disorder, 1800 - 1872

While Scotland's parochial framework had been central to the early development of popular education, the industrialisation of Scotland and associated growth of urban populations from the late eighteenth century onwards gave a new impetus to educational expansion and began to shift attention away from the rural parishes. According to one study, whereas in 1700 five percent of the population lived in towns numbering over 10,000 inhabitants, by 1800 this had risen to seventeen percent, and up to thirty-two percent in 1850.<sup>158</sup> It is within this context that the next wave of legislation should be seen, starting with the Parochial Schools (Scotland) Act, 1803 which strengthened the existing parish system by improving teacher remuneration and allowing for the establishment of additional 'side schools'.<sup>159</sup> Although no provision was yet being made for the towns, where the burgh schools remained outside of the statutory system, it was not long before state subsidies became available to those in the voluntary sector and the debate around how to organise and manage education in the towns intensified.<sup>160</sup>

The nineteenth century was therefore marked not only by a continuing proliferation of schools and providers, but also by a growing concern to reform the existing parish model to suit the emerging needs of a more industrialised society. This was clearly expressed by George Lewis in his pamphlet of 1834 which decried the current state of education and concluded that because Scotland's 'scholastic system had not ... kept pace, either in quantity or quality, with the educational wants or improvements of the times' it had become 'a half-educated nation'.<sup>161</sup> The drive for improvement, however, was tempered by a desire to preserve and enhance the distinctiveness of the existing Scottish system which was a memorial 'of the wisdom and the worth of bygone days' around which lingered 'Scottish feelings and attachment'.<sup>162</sup> The lack of uniformity and regulation in the current system was viewed as a stumbling block and the increasing standardisation of teacher training from the 1820s onwards, following the Edinburgh Sessional School model of John Wood, and appointment of school inspectors from 1840 were clear responses to this.<sup>163</sup> At the same time, political and religious turmoil surrounding the Disruption of 1843 led to the foundation of many more schools by the Free Church and stimulated a new wave of discussion around the role of the state in education. Amid concerns about duplication and disorder, the Royal (Argyll) Commission of Inquiry into Scottish Education was eventually established in 1864 to get a handle on the situation and provide

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<sup>158</sup> J. de Vries, *European Urbanisation, 1500-1850* (London, 1984), pp.39-48, cited in T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London, 2006), p.152.

<sup>159</sup> Parochial Schools (Scotland) Act, 1803, 43 Geo. 3 c. 54; Findlay, *Education in Scotland*, p.15.

<sup>160</sup> Anderson, *Scottish Education since the Reformation*, p.20.

<sup>161</sup> G. Lewis, *Scotland: A Half-Educated Nation, both in the Quantity and Quality of her Educational Institutions* (Glasgow, 1834), p.19.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, p.75.

<sup>163</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.37; Findlay, *Education in Scotland*, p.19.

evidence to ensure that future administrative changes were focused on Scotland's needs rather than being driven by concerns south of the border.

Although the Argyll Commission took a broad look at education in Scotland, it is perhaps best known for its report on elementary schools which was published in 1867.<sup>164</sup> An extensive, though not entirely comprehensive, survey of education across Scotland, the elementary schools report listed a total of 4,451 schools divided into the following categories: 917 Parochial, 189 Side, 27 Parliamentary, 519 Church of Scotland, 617 Free Church, 45 United Presbyterian and other Presbyterian, 74 Episcopalian, 61 Roman Catholic, 1,084 undenominational and others, 910 Private Adventure and 8 unclassified.<sup>165</sup> Analysis was also done of the state of education in the Highlands, and in the lowland country districts of Scotland where it was noted that 'the rural populations of every class ... appear to be aware of the advantages of education, and in different degrees, to desire that their children should be educated'.<sup>166</sup> Looking specifically at the parish schools, the Commission concluded that the teaching varied but was on the whole 'not below mediocrity', that the election of teachers was 'vested in a good body of electors', and that the condition of most parish schools was 'not unsatisfactory'.<sup>167</sup> However, the fact that school management was 'left almost entirely in the hands of the minister' was seen to pose a problem for whilst an 'active man, interested in education' would most likely be an effective manager, more 'careless' ministers were highly inefficient.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, the *ad vitam aut culpam* tenure traditionally enjoyed by schoolmasters was seen to be 'liable to great abuse' and the report concluded that 'a temporary tenure might reasonably be advocated'.<sup>169</sup> Based on these and other findings, the Commission made a series of recommendations with the main call being for a national system unconstrained by denominationalism and administered centrally by a board of education.<sup>170</sup> Whilst, due to political wrangling in Westminster, its proposals did not become a blueprint for legislative change they did help to pave the way for the much-anticipated Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 and gave a quantitative basis for future analysis. Furthermore, it gave new expression to the idea of a distinctive Scottish system founded on the principles laid down by Knox and embodied in the parochial schools.

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<sup>164</sup> Education Commission (Scotland). Second Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners. Elementary Schools (1867), *PP*, 1867 [3845], p.xxv.

<sup>165</sup> The report predominantly focused on the rural areas with little information on the burghs except for a detailed return for Glasgow. Clarke, *Short Studies in Education in Scotland*, p.39. Figures extracted from Table II of the Appendix, p.24.

<sup>166</sup> Education Commission (Scotland), Report on the State of Education in the Country Districts of Scotland, A. C. Sellar & Lieut.-Col. C. F. Maxwell, *PP*, 1866 [3845-III], p.7.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, p.68

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>169</sup> This Latin term comes from Scots law and means 'for life or until fault'. *Ibid*.

<sup>170</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.62.

**Table 2.2: Schools in Fortingall Parish, extract from 1826 Parochial Return**<sup>171</sup>

SCHOOLS.	STATIONS.	Population in the Districts.	Average Number of Scholars.	Distance from the Parish School.	Distance from any School.
				Miles.	Miles.
Parish - - -	Kirktown of Fortingall - -	541	72	- - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Society - - -	Kinloch Rannoch - -	295	50	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
D° - - -	Finart - - -	236	40	25	4
Now Private -	Killichonan - - -	340	67	22	8
D° - - -	* Murlagan - - -	161	50	12	5
D° - - -	Bunrannoch - - -	225	82	12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
D° - - -	* Carngoran - - -	121	25	21	4
D° - - -	* Innerwick in Glenlyon -	286	40	10	5
D° - - -	* Innervar in D° - -	266	68	5	5
D° - - -	Belfracks, detached District -	210	60	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
D° - - -	Keltny Burn in Fortingall -	353	45	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
D° - - -	Achlaogh - - -	77	30	2	2
	Detached Shealings, no School	78			
		3,189	629		

Viewing these monumental events through the case study lens shows the incremental nature of change at local level and highlights the importance of local conditions, both social and physical, in determining how educational rhetoric filtered into practice. Starting with Fortingall, the answers given by the schoolmaster in a parochial return submitted in 1825 reflect something of the reality he faced. Having taught in the school from around 1775, Thomas Butter reported that ‘the branches of education taught were, reading English and Gaelic, the principles of the Christian religion, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, and occasionally the first books of the Latin classics’.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, he observed that the fees are ‘in many cases badly paid’ and made no reference to Latin or Greek when detailing the present rate of school fees.<sup>173</sup> This suggests that advanced study was rarely done, and that most people in Fortingall were poor and unable to pay more than the bare minimum despite being ‘extremely anxious to give education to their children’.<sup>174</sup> The fact that the parents themselves had established temporary schools and were, by all accounts, desirous of making these permanent so that they could attract better teachers, shows how successful the efforts of the eighteenth century had been in bringing educational ‘enlightenment’ to the area. By this time there were eleven other schools in the wider parish, three SSPCK schools and eight private ones, and employing teachers had become

<sup>171</sup> Parochial Education, Scotland Returns to an Address of the Honourable House of Commons dated March 30<sup>th</sup> 1825, *PP*, 1826 (95), XVIII, p.795.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p.794.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

embedded in community practice (**Table 2.2**).<sup>175</sup> Whereas it had once been hard to convince parents of the value of schooling their children, the main issue now was by what means the educational needs of the entire parish could be met.<sup>176</sup> Although various provisions had been made, the mountainous landscape of the parish and wide dispersal of the population meant that many children were still not getting what was considered adequate schooling.

By 1838, when the Fortingall submission to the *New Statistical Account* was written by the Rev Robert MacDonald, the situation was much the same. There were twelve schools in the parish; alongside the parochial school, there were two schools supported by the General Assembly scheme, two SSPCK schools and seven private ones.<sup>177</sup> In addition, there was a 'Sabbath school held in the church during spring and summer, attended by about 55 scholars'.<sup>178</sup> As before, the private schools were 'supported by families, which, being remote from the established schools, join in hiring a young lad, to teach their children, during four or five months of the winter only'.<sup>179</sup> However, with the spectre of radicalism still looming in the wake of the French Revolution and tension over the issue of non-intrusionism rapidly increasing within the Church of Scotland, a much greater emphasis was being placed on these itinerant teachers having, or at least being seen to have, a connection to the Established Church.<sup>180</sup> Being outside of direct parish supervision posed a new threat to order and Presbyterian discord was threatening to fracture the local education system. By this time, the districts of Rannoch and Glenlyon had been established as *quoad sacra* parishes and the three portions of the wider Fortingall parish were now more distinct.<sup>181</sup> As in the previous account, the population was in decline, dropping from 3,875 in 1801 to 3,067 in 1831, with 'no part of the parish ... more populous than it was in 1790' and 'several districts ... decreased fully a half' due to sustained emigration.<sup>182</sup>

This population change, along with shifts in local practices such as the abandonment of the summer shielings and decline in manufacturing, is significant for a number of reasons.<sup>183</sup> Not

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<sup>175</sup> Each of the SSPCK schoolmasters got a salary of fifteen pounds along with 'a house, garden and cows holding', and taught 'reading English and Gaelic, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Christian religion' in much the same way and for the same fees as their parochial counterpart. Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> This was clearly articulated in a parochial return submitted in relation to the education of the poor in 1818 when the minister observed that, despite there being many schools in operation and a significant number of children on roll (the parish school had eighty-seven pupils and the SSPCK and private schools around fifty each), 'the generality of the inhabitants are in poor circumstances and have not sufficient means of education'. A Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Education of the Poor: Session 1818, Vol. I, *PP*, 1819 (224), IX-A.1, IX-B.1, IX-C.1, p.1414.

<sup>177</sup> R. MacDonald, 'Parish of Fortingal', in Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, *NSA*, Vol. 10, Perth (Edinburgh, 1845), p.556.

<sup>178</sup> Sixth Report by the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland, *PP*, 1839 (153), XXIV.1, p.233.

<sup>179</sup> MacDonald, 'Parish of Fortingal', *NSA*, p.556.

<sup>180</sup> The Revolutionary Wars between 1792 and 1802, and associated political radicalism, raised concerns about popular education and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland therefore 'made new efforts to assert control over schools and enforce orthodoxy'. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.29.

<sup>181</sup> MacDonald, 'Parish of Fortingal', *NSA*, p.555. The *quoad sacra* parishes (functioning for ecclesiastical purposes only) were established in 1845.

<sup>182</sup> Whereas fifty years before migration had typically been to other regions within Scotland, during the early decades of the nineteenth century an increasing number of people had immigrated to North America. Ibid, p.552.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, p.557.

only did it lessen the economy of scale for the small schools of the parish, but also had a marked effect on the area's language and culture. As the minister himself noted, while 'the Gaelic is the language of the natives', it is 'losing ground, and losing its purity, very much of late'.<sup>184</sup> Interestingly, this observation reveals as much about attitudes towards the language as it does its prevalence and condition. In contrast to earlier pronouncements against Gaelic as 'one of the chief and principall causes of the continuance of barbaritie and incivilitie' in the Highlands and Islands and a grudging acceptance of it as a means to communicate religious orthodoxy, the emphasis by the 1830s had shifted to a nostalgic appreciation of Celtic heritage.<sup>185</sup> Earlier work by Reverend James Stewart, minister of Killin, and the Rannoch schoolmaster Dougal Buchanan to translate the New Testament into Gaelic and subsequent efforts to produce a complete Gaelic version of the Bible, undoubtedly laid the foundation for this.<sup>186</sup> However, it was only once memories of the Jacobite Rebellion had faded and Gaelic was seen to be under threat that concern 'to rescue the language and insure its permanency and stability' was explicitly expressed.<sup>187</sup> Whilst it is difficult to discern exactly how this growing appreciation of Gaelic culture manifested itself in the schools, there can be little doubt that it legitimised the use and teaching of Gaelic in a new way. Moreover, the establishment of the Free Church following the Disruption of 1843 put the language on another footing as protest against the established order took hold.

Somewhat surprisingly, the initial impact of the Disruption on religious allegiance, and thus on education in Fortingall, was fairly minimal. The main reason was the parishioners' attachment to the incumbent Church of Scotland minister, Donald Stewart, who was a local man with great personal appeal. Stewart had been appointed just prior to the schism in 1843 and, despite obvious pressures to join the Free Church, very few of his congregation made the move until his death in 1856.<sup>188</sup> At this point, a succession dispute between the congregation and the patron Sir Robert Menzies resulted in a mass exodus to the Free Church in 1857; the appointment favoured by Menzies was not to the liking of many of the parishioners and when their attempt to veto it failed they voted with their feet.<sup>189</sup> Over the next few years, the Free Church became more established in Fortingall and under the charge of its first permanent minister, Rev. D. M. Connell who was appointed in 1862, a new church and manse were built.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid, p.553.

<sup>185</sup> School Establishment Act of the Scottish Privy Council, 1616, quoted in Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.326.

<sup>186</sup> The Gaelic translation was published in 1767. Buchanan also wrote poetry in Gaelic and a selection of his 'Spiritual Songs' were published shortly before his death in 1766. The *New Statistical Account* lists him as an 'eminent character' of the district, MacDonald, 'Parish of Fortingal', *NSA*, p.549.

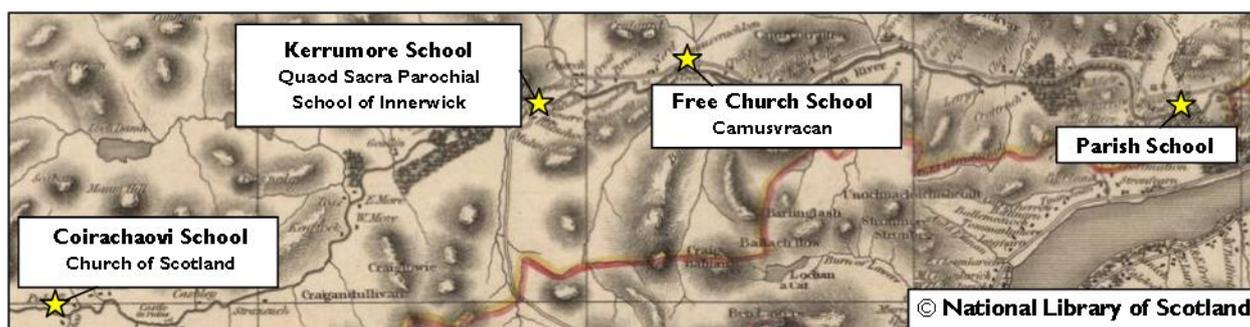
<sup>187</sup> Ibid, p.553.

<sup>188</sup> A. Stewart, *A Highland Parish*, p.221. Donald Stewart was a native of Carie, North Lochtayside, and previously served in Islay.

<sup>189</sup> The case was tried in the Civil Court and the General Assembly, but to no avail. Ibid, p.222.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, p.224.

**Figure 2.1: Schools in Fortingall and Glenlyon, 1865**<sup>191</sup>



In terms of education, according to a survey of schools conducted in 1865 there were five schools in Fortingall Parish (excluding the district of Kinloch Rannoch which was recorded separately). As well as the parish school, there was a Free Church school at Camusvrachan, a small school at Kerrumore (known as the *quoad sacra* Parochial School of Innerwick), another further towards Loch Lyon in ‘a small thatched house, built by the parents of children residing within three miles’, and a ‘schoolroom for very young scholars’ not far from the parish school.<sup>192</sup> Whilst the last of these, being an infant school, was taught by a woman the others were under the charge of a male schoolmaster and none were in receipt of a parliamentary grant.<sup>193</sup> Support from parents and proprietors at a local level was therefore key to sustaining provision, and individual acts of benevolence were common; the female infant school, for instance, was ‘endowed and maintained’ by William McDonald Esq., previous shooting tenant and now owner of Crossmount House.<sup>194</sup> As shown in **Figure 2.1**, the schools were evenly positioned along Glenlyon and all, except the one at Camusvrachan, were linked to the Church of Scotland. Despite this, many of the children on their rolls were from Free Church families including fifty-four of the seventy-seven scholars enrolled at the parish school (**Table 2.3**). In contrast, the Free Church school was only attended by children connected to the Free Church. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this was a deliberate policy or that other denominations were discouraged from attending. In general, therefore, religious division did not equate to an educational divide with most schools continuing to serve those who lived locally, and there was arguably no significant fragmentation of provision prior to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872.

<sup>191</sup> Base map: John Thomson’s Atlas of Scotland, Perthshire with Clackmannan, 1832 (imprint 1827), NLS < <http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/531.html>>, produced by permission of NLS.

<sup>192</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools in Scotland Collected by the Registrars of Births, Deaths and Marriages, under Instructions from Her Majesty’s Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Schools in Scotland, 1865, in Education Commission (Scotland), Appendix to First Report by Her Majesty’s Commissioners, *Parliamentary Papers* [hereafter *PP*], 1867 [3858], pp.201-2.

<sup>193</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education; with appendix, *PP*, 1865 [3533], XLII.1, p.561. Only the Parliamentary school in Kinloch Rannoch was receiving a grant at this time, having previously received a building grant of £100 in 1839.

<sup>194</sup> Schools, &c. (Scotland), *PP*, 1862 (67), XLIII.613, p.103; Valuation Roll of the County of Perth for the Year 1862-63, p.171.

**Table 2.3: Religious denomination of scholars in Fortingall Parish, 1865**<sup>195</sup>

District	School	Affiliation	Scholars on roll	Denomination of scholars		
				Church of Scotland	Free Church	Other
Fortingall	Parochial	Church of Scotland	77	23	54	-
	Bailechnoie (infants)	Church of Scotland	19	12	7	-
Glenlyon	Camusvracan	Free Church	36	-	36	-
	Quoad Sacra Parochial, Kerrumore	Church of Scotland	9	2	4	3
	Coirachaovi	Church of Scotland	10	3	3	4
Kinloch Rannoch	Parliamentary	-	53	39	10	4
	General Assembly, Killichondan	Church of Scotland	30	29	1	-
	Private Adventure, Finnart	-	30	29	-	1
	Private Adventure, Dall	-	12	7	3	2
	Subscription, Tempar	-	17	10	7	-
	SSPCK, Auchtarsin	Church of Scotland	38	26	12	-
<b>TOTAL:</b>			<b>331</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>14</b>

Across the parish boundary in Kenmore, a diverse collection of parish, society and private schools continued to serve the inhabitants and by 1818 thirteen different establishments were in operation.<sup>196</sup> In addition to the parish school, there were three SSPCK schools, eight private schools, and a sewing school founded and maintained by the Countess of Breadalbane.<sup>197</sup> While industrial training was not a new venture, having been taught within families and communities for centuries, the formalisation of such teaching in an endowed school placed the sewing mistress on a new footing. As well as receiving a salary of 10/ per year, the Kenmore mistress was given 'a free house and garden', which meant that she could support herself and any family she had through teaching.<sup>198</sup> Such provisions encouraged single women to become teachers, conferring on them a status and situation independent of marriage or their relationship with a male head of household. This arguably set a precedent for women to take up teaching headships in other rural schools as supply and demand issues led to the increasing feminisation of teaching from the later nineteenth century onwards. Looking from another angle, the establishment of a sewing school and the fact that the Countess of Breadalbane was personally involved reveals a number of things. Above all, it shows how committed the Breadalbanes were to the promotion and improvement of manufacturing practices on their estates. From early in the eighteenth century the Second Earl encouraged spinning and weaving amongst his tenants, initiating the

<sup>195</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, pp.201-2, 205. Those marked as 'other' are likely to be Baptists as there was a Baptist congregation at Milton of Eonan in Glenlyon, Sixth Report by the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland, p.244.

<sup>196</sup> This excludes those in the detached portions of Weem on Lochtayside and in Glen Lochay which continued to be funded from interest on the mortification left by Archibald Campbell for this purpose. According to the 1818 parochial return, forty children were 'instructed during the winter half-year' and the masters were paid a salary of '5/ 13s. 4d. arising from the interest of 6,000 merks, left by Mr. Arch<sup>d</sup> Campbell, once minister of the parish'. A Digest of Parochial Returns, p.1418.

<sup>197</sup> There were also two free Sunday schools. A Digest of Parochial Returns, *PP*, 1819, p.1415. Later sources suggest that the sewing school was located at Kiltyrie to the west of Lawers.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

cultivation of flax and bringing in experts to instruct them.<sup>199</sup> Continuing this work, the Third Earl set up spinning schools, distributed spinning wheels across the district and established lint mills in various places including at Lawers. As a result, by the 1760s the industry was well-established on Lochtayside and was highly productive; as one contemporary commentator, Thomas Pennant, observed in 1769, 'the country, within these thirty years, is grown very industrious, and manufactures a great deal of thread'.<sup>200</sup> The founding of a sewing school in the early eighteenth century was clearly a continuation of this.

In addition, the involvement of the Countess of Breadalbane in the endowment and supervision of a school signalled her particular interest in the educational aspects of the estate. As Gillies notes, the records suggest that she was 'a woman of great kindness and charity, and gave freely of her wealth to poor people' and the foundation of a school was perhaps the most visible and enduring expression of this, certainly in terms of documentation in parliamentary returns and parochial accounts.<sup>201</sup> Up until this point, male landowners, ministers and other parish officials had dominated the philanthropic stage and the emergence of a high profile female benefactor marked a significant shift. Although initially such formal benevolence was narrowly directed towards the industrial instruction of women, girls and young boys, evidence from Kenmore and the neighbouring parish of Killin suggests that the Marchioness, as she became in 1831, soon widened the scope of her patronage. Furthermore, her example was later emulated by the wife of the Seventh Earl (Third Marquis from 1885), Alma, who took a similarly active interest in the local schools from the late nineteenth century onwards.<sup>202</sup> In this way, the earlier efforts can be seen to have laid the foundation for future action, creating a benevolent tradition that could be replicated and enhanced by future local dignitaries. Discerning such patterns of behaviour is crucial to unpacking the role that the schools played in rural community life and understanding the way in which economic and political factors shaped and influenced social relations.

In considering the benevolence of the Breadalbanes, it is equally important to recognise the demographic and socio-cultural impact of their various 'improvement' initiatives. Even before the Breadalbane Clearances of the 1830s, which saw many tenants evicted from the detached portions of the parish at Cloichran, Kiltyrie, Morenish and Glen Quaich at the hand of the Second Marquis's factor John Wyllie, reforms initiated by the First Marquis had already led to

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<sup>199</sup> According to Gillies, who looked extensively at the Breadalbane Muniments, the Second Earl 'brought wool-workers from England to teach the people of Breadalbane the arts of spinning and weaving'. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.187.

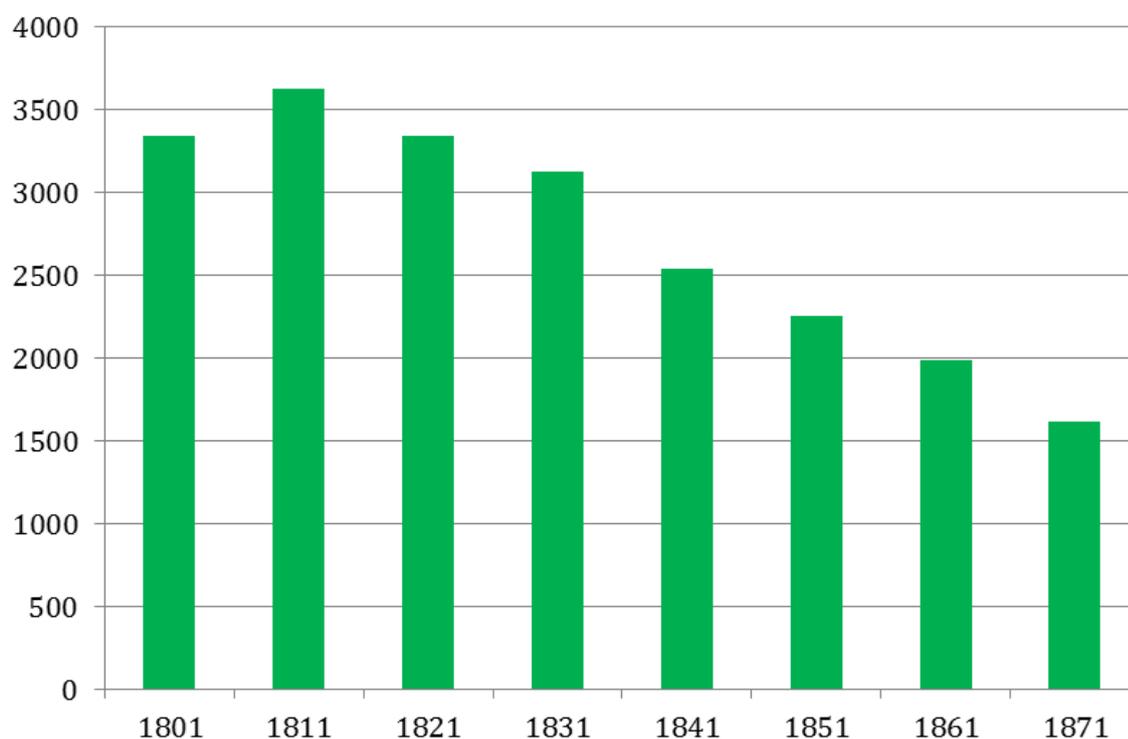
<sup>200</sup> T. Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland 1769* (ed.) B.D. Osborne (Edinburgh, 2000) [first published 1771], p.66.

<sup>201</sup> On her death, the Marquis erected a monument which bore the inscription: 'This building is dedicated to my faithful friend and fellow-labourer, Mary, Countess of Breadalbane, whose maternal care has been long extended to all around this place'. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.197.

<sup>202</sup> This is evident in the school log books, which document various acts of benevolence towards the schools and pupils of Kenmore district. For example, on 29 December 1876 the Acharn teacher noted that, 'At the invitation of the Countess of Breadalbane all the children attending this school went to Taymouth Castle on Tuesday afternoon, and received a magnificent treat from her Ladyship', Perth and Kinross Council Archive [hereafter PKCA], School Log Books, 15/05, Acharn Public School Log book, 1873-1903, p.4.

population decline on the estates.<sup>203</sup> By putting an end to the traditional run-rig system and creating a new tenancy structure aimed at agricultural improvement, these moves had left many without homes and employment, and resulted in substantial emigration.<sup>204</sup> This is clearly shown by the census figures for this period, which indicate a peak in population in 1811 and a steady decennial decline from that point onwards (**Figure 2.2**).<sup>205</sup>

**Figure 2.2: Population of Kenmore Parish, 1801-1871** <sup>206</sup>



<sup>203</sup> Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.211.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, p.199.

<sup>205</sup> Footnotes identifying the key causes of demographic decline were inserted in the reports themselves, with one from 1821 noting that 'part of the population has been removed to neighbouring parishes' and another from 1831 commenting that the decrease in population was 'occasioned partly by the enlargement of farms, but principally the total depopulation of two hamlets'. Census of Great Britain, 1821, Abstract of the Answers and Returns Made Pursuant to an Act, Passed in the First Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George IV, Intituled, "An Act for Taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and of the Increase or Diminution thereof". Preliminary Observations. Enumeration Abstract. Parish Register Abstract, 1821, *PP*, 1822 (502), XV, pp.528-9; Census of Great Britain, 1831, Abstract of the Answers and Returns Made Pursuant to an Act, Passed in the Eleventh Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George IV. Intituled, "An Act for Taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and of the Increase or Diminution Thereof." Enumeration Abstract. Vol. II. 1831, *PP*, 1833 (149), XXXVII, pp.1014-5.

<sup>206</sup> Figures taken from the Scottish Census Records.

The heavy-handed evictions of the mid-1830s, which were termed an 'Extermination of the Scottish Peasantry' by one critic in 1853, were therefore only part of a much longer process of farm incorporation.<sup>207</sup> Writing in 1838, the minister of Kenmore remained tactically silent on the issue of evictions, but acknowledged that emigration from the district had been common 'for many years back'.<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, in his opinion the population had not 'altered in any very sensible degree' because of this.<sup>209</sup> The drop in population between 1831 and 1841 was certainly significant, with many families leaving the area, but the accusation that 'extensive clearances of the population had been effected ... to make way for the idle gamekeeper and forester' is a simplistic view.<sup>210</sup> A more accurate picture of the social and demographic changes and continuities of this period can be gained by tracking the nature and extent of educational provision in the area. Fortunately, the early nineteenth century saw a number of parliamentary enquiries, including one on Parochial Education in 1825 and another by the Select Committee on Education in Scotland in 1838, as well as the compilation of a *New Statistical Account*.<sup>211</sup> These sources relate directly to the peak period of clearances and show the incremental impact of the reforms at community level.

Beginning with the 1825 return, submitted by the long-serving parochial schoolmaster Robert Armstrong, this shows numerous schools catering for a dispersed population of tenants across the parish.<sup>212</sup> As in 1818 the area was served by a parish school in Kenmore village, three SSPCK schools, and a sewing school at Kiltyrie.<sup>213</sup> However, in just seven years the number of private schools had gone down from eight to six, which is likely to reflect the depopulation of particular districts, and the number of scholars attending had reduced considerably (**Table 2.4**). Over the next thirteen years, the population of the parish continued to fall as many were forced to leave their crofts. Nevertheless, the statistics recorded at the end of the 1830s show minimal variation in the overall attendance figures; the average number of scholars in 1838 was around the same as it had been in 1825. Whilst two more of the private schools had ceased to operate, the rolls of the remaining nine had increased. Even allowing for seasonal variations and annual fluctuations in the number of school-age children, this is significant.

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<sup>207</sup> R. Alister, *Barriers to the National Prosperity of Scotland* (Edinburgh, London and Glasgow, 1853); R. Alister, *Extermination of the Scottish Peasantry: being a Reply to a Letter of the Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane, wherein his Lordship Denies that Extensive Clearances have been Made upon his Highland Properties* (Edinburgh, London and Glasgow, 1853).

<sup>208</sup> D. Duff, 'Parish of Kenmore', SBSDC, *NSA*, Vol. 10, Perth (Edinburgh, 1845), p.470.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> This is how one journalist summed up Alister's charges against the Marquis, 'Extermination of the Scottish Peasantry', *Falkirk Herald*, 18 Aug. 1853.

<sup>211</sup> Parochial Education, Scotland; Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland to Queries Circulated in 1838, by Order of the Select Committee on Education in Scotland, 1841, *PP*, 1841 Session 1 (64), XIX; *NSA* (Edinburgh, 1845).

<sup>212</sup> Robert had been in post since 1792 (thirty-three years).

<sup>213</sup> As before, there were also schools in the detached portions of Weem.

**Table 2.4: School provision and attendance in Kenmore Parish, 1818-1838**<sup>214</sup>

	1818	1825	1838
<b>Total number of schools</b>	13	11	9
<b>Total number of scholars</b>	615	508-522	471+
Parish	1	1	1
Average number of scholars	60	46-50	126
SSPCK	3	3	3
Average number of scholars	220	150	242
Private	8	6	4
Average number of scholars	305	262	103*
Sewing School	1	1	1
Average number of scholars	30	50-60	-

\* This figure is for just one of the private schools, as the others are not listed in the Schoolmaster's return.

Given that there were 587 fewer people in the parish in 1841 than there had been in 1831, the most obvious explanation for this is that a greater proportion of the local children were now attending school.<sup>215</sup> According to the 1841 Census, which included a breakdown of population by age, there were 540 children aged five to fourteen in Kenmore parish at this time which roughly corresponds to the number of children attending school a few years before.<sup>216</sup> The figures also testify to the fact that small private schools were rapidly disappearing. As noted in the 1825 return, four of the six private schools in operation were only 'taught from Martinmas to Whitsunday' and their teachers were paid very little in comparison to the other schools, with one receiving just *3l 7s 6d* for teaching thirty scholars.<sup>217</sup> This short school year, being just six months in comparison to the 'three quarters and a half' of the parish school and 'three quarters' taught by most other teachers, met the needs of the parents who depended on the labour of their children at key points in the agricultural year. However, as these schools disappeared from the rural educational landscape, acceptance of this seasonal approach to education also diminished. Whilst the practice would continue for many decades, with parents 'being usually satisfied, if they can send their children to school for the winter half year', the fact that a longer school year became the universal norm, both within the parish and across the country, problematised this in a new way.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Statistics extracted from: Parochial Education, Scotland; Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland; and NSA. The figures for attendance given in the 1838 column are taken from Answers made by Schoolmasters and relate to 1837.

<sup>215</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1831, pp.1014-5; Census of Great Britain, 1841, Abstract of the Answers and Returns made Pursuant to Acts 3 & 4 Vic. c.99 and 4 Vic. c.7 Intituled Respectively "An Act for Taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain," and "An Act to Amend the Acts of the Last Session for Taking an Account of the Population." Scotland. Enumeration Abstract, 1841, *PP*, 1843 (498), XXII, pp.59-60.

<sup>216</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1841, Abstract of the Answers and Returns made Pursuant to Acts 3 & 4 Vic. c. 99, and 4 Vic. c. 7, Intituled Respectively "An act for Taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain," and "An Act to Amend the Acts of the Last Session for Taking an Account of the Population." Age abstract, 1841, *PP*, 1843 (497), M.DCCC.XLI, p.98.

<sup>217</sup> Martinmas was celebrated on the 28 November and Whitsunday on the 28 May. Parochial Education, Scotland, 1826, p.801.

<sup>218</sup> Duff, 'Parish of Kenmore, p.481.

This desire for greater uniformity of provision and practice is clearly expressed in the *New Statistical Account*, with the minister, Rev. David Duff, seeking to raise the standard of instruction and ‘ameliorate the system of education in our Scottish schools’.<sup>219</sup> He viewed the teachers of the small private schools, who were ‘young men from among the peasantry, with no advantage but the moderate stock of knowledge which they had acquired by their own exertions’, as inadequate for the task and was keen that ‘the teachers should ... have their respective merits ascertained’.<sup>220</sup> At the same time, he denounced the ‘heterogeneous mixture’ of educational material within and between the schools and called for ‘a uniform set of elementary books’ to be introduced.<sup>221</sup> Such ideas, which ultimately looked beyond the local to the national, were to become the key drivers of educational change over the next thirty years. Yet, at this stage the parish context was still seen to be very important, with the benevolence of the Breadalbanes and supervisory function of the ministers taking centre stage. One element of this, the provision of ‘a sum of money to be expended in the purchase of useful books for prizes, to be awarded at an annual competition of all the schools of Breadalbane’, is particularly noteworthy as such practices were to become a key motif of community involvement in the schools and endure in varying forms to this day.<sup>222</sup>

Reviewing other aspects of education during the 1820s and 1830s, all of the schools except the sewing one were under the charge of a male teacher and were supervised in some way by the church.<sup>223</sup> While the parish schoolmaster was also employed as ‘postmaster and session-clerk’, the other teachers included in the schoolmaster’s return declared no other occupations. They did, however, each teach a Sunday school in addition to their day school which their parish counterpart did not.<sup>224</sup> Whereas the parochial master had been educated at the University of St Andrews, the others had been educated locally and their approach to teaching varied.<sup>225</sup> The ‘modes of punishment’ adopted also differed with some apt to use corporal punishment and others more inclined to impose ‘additional exercises, and sometimes confinement’.<sup>226</sup> Although the scholars ranged in age from five to twenty, most children only attended school for five years and absented when their labour was required elsewhere. The subjects taught were similar across the schools although the parish schoolmaster was the only one to teach Latin, Greek, French and ‘elements of drawing’; the other teachers focused on ‘English, Gaelic, writing and arithmetic’.<sup>227</sup> It is telling that Gaelic, which had been taught under the previous master, had

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid, p.482.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Supervision took the form of formal presbytery inspections or occasional visits by the minister. Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1841, pp.250, 631-2.

<sup>224</sup> Those included were Archibald Cameron, Fearnan School; Duncan McNaughton, Morenish School; John McIntyre, Ardtalnaig School; and James McDonald, Shian School. Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1841, pp. 631-2.

<sup>225</sup> John McIntyre had gone to school at Glendochart and Callander; James McDonald in Aberfeldy, Perth and Edinburgh; and Archibald Campbell at ‘several schools in the country and at some private seminaries at Perth’. Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Parochial Education, Scotland, p.800; Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.250.

been dropped from the parochial menu of subjects despite it being the language 'almost universally spoken' in which 'the greater part of the ministrations of religion is discharged'.<sup>228</sup> The reason is clear in the minister's account, for though he observed that 'within the last forty years, the language has neither lost nor gained ground', he recognised that 'the English language is becoming every day more familiar' and would likely take the place of Gaelic in the not too distant future.<sup>229</sup> In his opinion this was not 'an event greatly to be deprecated' and it is therefore not hard to see why Gaelic was no longer taught in the parish school.<sup>230</sup> No longer driven by fear of clan rebellion, the fate of Gaelic now rested on a practical assessment of its future value. The position of the parish minister, and his influence on education, was soon to diminish, however, as the Disruption of 1843 led to marked changes in the district.

**Table 2.5: Kenmore parish return of the number of schools, 1861**<sup>231</sup>

Number of Schools. (other than Burgh Schools, or Schools within a Royal Burgh, and other than Adventure Schools) in each Parish.	Distance of Schools in Parish from each other.	DESCRIPTION OF EACH SCHOOL.				Number of Pupils in Ordinary Daily Attendance in each School in May 1861.
		Parochial.	Connected with any and what Committee.	Connected with any and what Society.	Connected with any and what Religious Denomination.	
8 Viz. 1. Parochial School - 2. Ardtallan Society ditto; - 3. Shian ditto - 4. Glenlochic ditto - 5. Acharn Free ditto - 6. Fernan ditto - 7. Lawers ditto - 8. Kiltirie ditto -	- - - - - 1 distant from 5, two miles, and from 6, 3½ miles; 2 is distant from 5, four miles; 6 is distant four miles from 7; and 8 is three miles from 7	Parochial - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - Society for Pro- pagating Chris- tian Knowledge. ditto - - - - - - - -	Church of Scotland - ditto - - - - ditto - - - Free Church - ditto - - - - ditto - - - - ditto - - - - ditto - - -	82 43 22 31 Not stated 45 49 272

<sup>228</sup> Ibid; Duff, 'Parish of Kenmore', p.471.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Schools, &c. (Scotland), p.104.

In contrast to the neighbouring parish of Fortingall, the Presbyterian crisis had an immediate impact on the people of Kenmore. As Gillies observes, ‘six elders seceded from the kirk session at the meeting held on 12 June 1843’ and with the support of the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Free Church rapidly gained a foothold in Kenmore village and on both sides of the loch.<sup>232</sup> As well as allocating land and funding the building of churches and manses, the Marquis supported the establishment of Free Church schools across his estates.<sup>233</sup> As a result, by 1862 four of the remaining eight schools in the parish were connected to the Free Church (**Table 2.5**); these were located in Acharn, Fearnan, Lawers, and Kiltyrie (**Figures 2.3 and 2.4**). This reorganisation of schools, which saw the existing establishments in Fearnan, Lawers, and Acharn taken over by the Free Church, a new school established in Kiltyrie, and the SSPCK school at Morenish discontinued, was extremely significant.<sup>234</sup> The bolstering of provision across the parish narrowed the gap between the old parish school in Kenmore and the other schools, and brought new personalities to the educational stage. Whereas the parochial headmaster had once stood apart from the other teachers in terms of his academic background, income and official standing in the community, now there was little to distinguish between them. With the financial backing and committed support of the Breadalbanes, the Free Church schools saw the greatest level of investment during this period and were well-placed to serve the dispersed population of the district.<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Free Church minister, Rev. Allan Sinclair, who was settled in Kenmore from 1846, took an active role in local affairs and became a key figure in the management of the schools until his death in 1888. The fact that his memory was ‘still fresh and greatly revered in the district’ some fifty years later testifies to this.<sup>236</sup> In addition to his ministerial capabilities, Sinclair was a fluent Gaelic speaker and a distinguished scholar, writing and publishing a number of works in Gaelic including a revised edition of the Shorter Catechism. It is no surprise, therefore, that under his supervision the Free Church schools were very accepting of the language and encouraged Gaelic scholarship. The log book for Acharn Free Church School, kept by the schoolmaster between 1863 and 1873, provides evidence of this, showing that the teacher not only ran Gaelic classes but was paid extra to do so.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> *In Famed Breadalbane*, pp.220, 277. Gillies suggests that at least two-thirds of the people joined the Free Church along with the Marquis and his factor.

<sup>233</sup> Cameron highlights the fact that the Marquis was ‘an unusual member of the Scottish aristocracy in terms of his interest in evangelical religion and support for the Free Church’, and uses him to illustrate that ‘where the relationship with the leading landowners was strong they could be a force for good in the education system’. E.A. Cameron, ‘Education in rural Scotland, 1696-1872’, in Anderson, Freeman and Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of education in Scotland*, p.160.

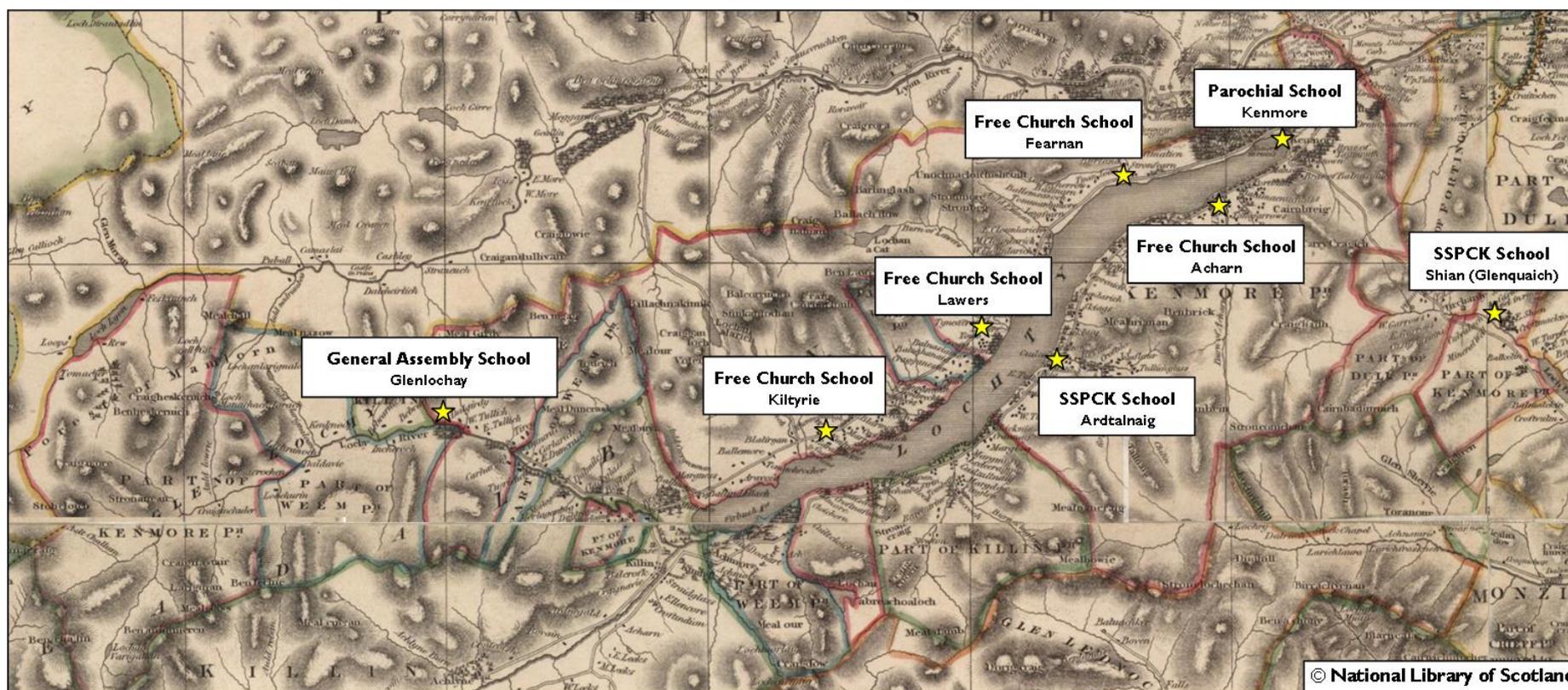
<sup>234</sup> The Free Church school in Kiltyrie may have taken the place of Lady Breadalbane’s Sewing School, but as sewing schools were frequently excluded from education returns in the 1860s it is difficult to determine whether it had been discontinued.

<sup>235</sup> The Breadalbanes were still supporting the Free Church schools in the 1860s; in 1865 the Commissioners reported that the Earl of Breadalbane was giving £10 per annum to Acharn School and £5 to the school in Lawers. Statistics relative to School in Scotland, p.203.

<sup>236</sup> Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.281.

<sup>237</sup> In December 1864 the newly appointed teacher, Dougall McEwen, made a note that ‘Gaelic class formed, in which the pupils take a great interest’, and on 17<sup>th</sup> June 1868 he recorded that Mr Sinclair had given him ‘a Post Office order for £28 Stg being £23 in augmentation of Salary & £5 for teaching a Gaelic Class’. PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Acharn Free Church School Log Book, 1863-1873, pp.17, 153.

Figure 2.3: Schools in Kenmore parish, 1861 <sup>238</sup>



<sup>238</sup> Schools, &c. (Scotland), p.104. Base map: John Thomson's Atlas of Scotland, Perthshire with Clackmannan, 1832 (imprint 1827), NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/531.html>>, reproduced by permission of NLS.

Figure 2.4: Maps of Kenmore Free Church Schools, 1862 survey<sup>239</sup>



<sup>239</sup> 1. Acharn: Ordnance Survey [hereafter OS], Perth and Clackmannan Sheet LIX.6 (Kenmore), 1867 (surveyed 1862), 25 inch to the mile 1st edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960594>>; 2. Lawers: OS, Perth and Clackmannan Sheet LXIX.3 (Kenmore), 1867 (surveyed 1862), 25 inch to the mile 1st edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960631>>; 3. Kiltyrie: OS, Perth and Clackmannan Sheet LXIX.9. 1867 (Kenmore (Det No3), 1867 (surveyed 1862), 25 inch to the mile 1st edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960647>>; 4. Fearnan: OS, Perth and Clackmannan Sheet LVIII.8 (Kenmore), 1867 (surveyed 1862), 25 inch to the mile 1st edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960567>>. All reproduced by permission of the NLS.

Returning to Killin, by the close of the eighteenth century the population of the parish was 2,360 with a further 1,136 people living adjacent to it.<sup>240</sup> Although comparison with Webster's Census of 1755, which recorded 1,968 inhabitants, shows overall population growth it disguises the fact that there was severe depopulation in some areas of the parish, due to 'the union of farms' and introduction of sheep, and demographic expansion elsewhere.<sup>241</sup> As the minister points out in his account, decreases in 'the higher parts of the parish' were counterbalanced by an increase 'in the lower parts thereof, and particularly in the village of Killin'.<sup>242</sup> The reorganisation of land irrevocably transformed the settlement patterns within the parish and placed a much greater emphasis on the village itself. Perhaps more so than Kenmore parish, which due to its proximity to Aberfeldy did not develop a large village centre of its own, the village of Killin increasingly became the main focus of activity in the eastern portion of the parish.<sup>243</sup> The growth in educational provision during the early nineteenth century reflects this process, with a number of endowed and private schools being established in the village. In 1818, when a return was made regarding the education of the poor, there were seven schools in the parish and the minister concluded that, 'the poorer classes have the best opportunities of educating their children, as they are not only taught free, but generally have their books supplied to them gratis'.<sup>244</sup> By 1838 this had increased to eight: the parish school, three SSPCK schools, a girls' school in Killin established by Lady Breadalbane, and three sewing schools (**Table 2.6**). The SSPCK school at Morenish, which was officially in Kenmore parish, was also listed under Killin because of its proximity to the village.

The bourgeoning of dame schools, set up by women who wished to make a living through teaching, is particularly enlightening of the role of women in schooling. In 1817, Margaret McNeen started an infant school for boys and girls between the ages of three and nine years old, and taught them 'English and Gaelic reading, and knitting stockings and mittens'.<sup>245</sup> Although it was not unusual for women to take on the care and tuition of young children, the fact that Margaret's establishment was recognised as a school and placed under the supervision of the parish minister marked it out. This was also the case with Ann Cameron's school, which was also intended for young children but actually taught pupils from four to eighteen years old.<sup>246</sup> Remarkably, while the two schools were examined by the Presbyterian incumbents of Killin and Kenmore both schoolmistresses were members of a small Baptist congregation which had been meeting in Killin since around 1810.<sup>247</sup> Whether the religious affiliation of these women in any

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid, p.380.

<sup>241</sup> A. Webster, *Account of the Number of People in Scotland in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Five*, reproduced in J. Gray Kidd, *Scottish Population Statistics, including Webster's 'Analysis of Population 1755'* (Edinburgh, 1975), p.44; Stuart, 'Parish of Killin', p.380.

<sup>242</sup> Stuart, 'Parish of Killin', pp.380-1.

<sup>243</sup> Later, the village of Crianlarich became a key centre in the western portion of the parish.

<sup>244</sup> A Digest of Parochial Returns, p.1415.

<sup>245</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters, p.633.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid, p.633.

<sup>247</sup> When examined in 1836, the Baptist church had 28 regular attendees, and at the time of the report it had no minister. Sixth Report by the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland, p.252.

way influenced their decision to teach is difficult to ascertain. However, it is significant that Ann also ran a Sunday school and saw her efforts as being for ‘the good of the public’.<sup>248</sup> Whatever their motives, these female teachers made an impression on the new minister, Rev. Alexander Stewart, when he came to Killin in 1839, and in writing for the *New Statistical Account* a few years later he attributed one of them with ‘the honour of having invented the infant school system’.<sup>249</sup> Though an unwarranted claim, this comment suggests that the formal early years’ provision in Killin was still fairly unusual at this time.

**Table 2.6: Schools in Killin parish, 1838** <sup>250</sup>

School	Location	Teacher	Roll 1837		Age range
			Boys	Girls	
Parish School	Killin	John Drummond	59	16	7-15
Lady Breadalbane’s School (est. c.1827)	Killin	Miss Maria Campbell Preston	14	53	4-15
Margaret McNee’s School (est. 1817)	Monimore, Killin	Margaret McNee	19	14	3-9
Ann Cameron’s School	Killin	Ann Cameron	5	18	4-18
Glendochart School (SSPCK)	Ardchyle	Donald Macintyre (1831-1845)	56	38	5-15
Ardeonaig School (SSPCK)	Ardeonaig	Duncan Ferguson (1805-1852)	35	26	5-20
Ardeonaig Sewing School	Ardeonaig	Jane McNaughton	5	38	5-14
Strathfillan School (SSPCK)*	Tyndrum	Malcolm McFarlane (1823-1845)	-	-	-
Morenish School (SSPCK)*	Morenish by Killin	Duncan McNaughton (1837-1840)	-	-	-

\*No return was submitted by the schoolmasters of these schools.

Despite such praise, the livelihoods of these women were far from secure, and without the superannuation privileges that both the parish and SSPCK schoolmasters had they faced many challenges in old age. The example of Ann Cameron illustrates this clearly, revealing her journey from seamstress to self-employed teacher, and later from governess to pauper. Prior to starting a school in Killin on her own adventure, Ann had been working in one of the Killin schools as a sewing teacher. However, she was dismissed from her position sometime between 1830, when a petition was submitted to Lady Breadalbane asking that she be retained as seamstress in the school, and 1833 when she appealed to the Countess for ‘aliment’ having been discharged’.<sup>251</sup> As already noted, by 1836 Ann was running her own school for young children in the village. How

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Stewart, ‘Parish of Killin’, p.1093. Whilst it is not clear which schoolmistress Stewart was referring to, it is most likely to have been Margaret given the length of time she had been teaching and the fact that she taught children from the age of three.

<sup>250</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters, pp.250, 632-34. In the Parochial Education report of 1826, mention is also made of a school in Glenfalloch ‘endowed with 5l. of yearly salary by some society in the south’, but this does not appear here.

<sup>251</sup> NRS, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments), GD112/11/9/6/8, Representation and petition of inhabitants of Killin and neighbourhood, for retaining Miss A. Cameron as seamstress in school there, 9 Apr. 1830; NRS, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments), GD112/11/10/1/32, Petition and representation of Ann Cameron, Killin, in Killin, for aliment to enable her to live without becoming a burden to the parish, having been dismissed from her post as teacher of a school in Killin, 23 Oct. 1833. Ann claimed that the local minister had been instrumental in her dismissal, wishing to free the position up for someone else.

long this continued is not clear from the records, but in the 1841 Census she was simply recorded as being a dressmaker and ten years later she was working as a governess for the Sinclair's at Inverchaggernie, a large farm to the north of Crianlarich.<sup>252</sup> Moving forward to 1861, Ann, who was now in her seventies, had moved back to Killin and was claiming poor relief; she was listed as a 'Pauper formerly governess' by the enumerator, and had a fifteen year-old schoolgirl lodging with her.<sup>253</sup>

The SSPCK schoolmasters who taught in the outlying areas of the parish are equally fascinating. To give some highlights, Duncan Ferguson, the long-serving master of Ardeonaig School who taught there for almost fifty years (1805-1852), had succeeded his late father, Gilbert, to the post. Gilbert himself had served the district for thirty-five years (1769-1804) and the Fergusons were 'much esteemed' by the local people.<sup>254</sup> In a similar way, the Morenish teacher, Duncan McNaughton, took charge of the school when his father retired due to ill health in 1837, but his was not such an esteemed career and he was dismissed after three years for leaving the school unattended.<sup>255</sup> This practice of passing the headship of a school onto a son, which similarly occurred at times in the parochial schools, shows the degree to which a teacher and their wider family could be embedded in a particular location. As seen here, the outcome of such inheritance could be negative, with nepotism not always producing the most dedicated or suitable candidate. Yet, the ability to appoint locally clearly had many advantages, the main one being that vacancies could be filled quickly and without too much expense. Even at this stage it was not always easy to find candidates for the more remote rural schools, particularly as the conditions often left a lot to be desired. This was the case at both Lochtayside schools, as reflected in the comments of the SSPCK inspector John Tawse. Reporting on his visit to the schools in 1826, he commented on the lowness of the schoolroom roof and the smokiness of the room at Ardeonaig, and described Morenish as 'an old thatched ruinous building'.<sup>256</sup> The appointment of family members or others within the community was therefore fundamental to the continuance of such schools.

Taking stock in the 1840s, the minister of Killin was keen to point out that 'nearly all the people, even the poorest, make an effort to give their children the benefits of education'.<sup>257</sup> As a result, 'all the children above six years of age can read, and nearly all, in Gaelic and English'.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, there was seen to be less disparity between the sexes than there had previously

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<sup>252</sup> 1841 Scotland Census, Killin, ED: 4, p.4; 1851 Scotland Census, CSSCT1851\_76, p.2. According to the 1851 Census, there were six boys and two girls in the family, ranging in age from four to seventeen, and Ann taught reading and sewing as she had previously done. Interestingly, the Sinclairs also employed an elderly male teacher, Duncan Ferguson, to teach the more advanced subjects including arithmetic, geography and grammar, suggesting that the practice of employing private teachers was still alive and well in the outlying areas of the parish.

<sup>253</sup> 1861 Scotland Census, CSSCT1861\_49, p.9.

<sup>254</sup> A. S. Cowper (ed.), *SSPCK Schoolmasters 1709-1872*, Scottish Record Society New Series 20 (Edinburgh, 1997), p.26.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p.73.

<sup>256</sup> Cowper, *SSPCK Schoolmasters*, pp.26, 73.

<sup>257</sup> Stewart, 'Parish of Killin', p.1093.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

been with 'both boys and girls' now learning 'writing and arithmetic'.<sup>259</sup> As discussed in relation to Fortingall, girls had once been excluded from such instruction and many women of the older generation were therefore unable to write. Gender distinctions were still made, however, and beyond the 'ordinary branches' it was still more typical for boys to learn 'Greek, Latin, mathematics, and book-keeping', while the girls were taught sewing and knitting. Lady Breadalbane's school, which had been established specifically 'for the education of female children' under the tutelage of a female teacher, epitomises this.<sup>260</sup> Nevertheless, the promotion of girls' education through such a school was highly significant, not least because instruction was offered gratis, with no fees being charged, making it more likely that parents would allow their daughters to attend. The teacher of this school was also relatively well paid, with a salary of 20*l* and 'a free house, garden and fuel' from the Marchioness.<sup>261</sup> This compared favourably to the male SSPCK teachers who received between 15*l* to 17*l* in wages 'with a free house, croft and cow's grass', and was not too far removed from the parochial schoolmaster maximum salary and 'commodious house and garden'.<sup>262</sup> As already noted, Lady Breadalbane had also made ample provision for female teachers in Kenmore parish and this undoubtedly helped to cement the idea that women could, and indeed should, take on key teaching roles within the community.

With regard to Gaelic, the promotion of the language and recognition of its cultural value by esteemed local figures arguably encouraged tolerant treatment of the vernacular in this region, and it is interesting to note the subtle difference in attitude between the *Statistical Account* of the 1790s, when this work was ongoing, and the report written in 1843. Whereas the comments on Gaelic in the first account were very matter-of-fact, noting that although 'it is the language generally spoken in the country ... most of the younger people understand less or more of the English language, and converse in it', by the time of the second account forty years later, an emotional edge had crept in.<sup>263</sup> Whilst also observing that 'nearly the whole population can understand and speak less or more of English', the minister commended the Stewarts' Gaelic translation of the Bible and proudly declared that Killin may 'lay claim to the honour of this great work'.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, he asserted that 'Gaelic is still, and will long be the language of devotion and of the affections of the people'.<sup>265</sup> As well as signifying a shift in attitude, such emotive language has an air of nostalgia about it which suggests that, far from blossoming as the comment implies, Gaelic culture was perceptibly on the wane. As has been seen, the Minister of Kenmore had a more realistic view of the situation, recognising the continuing encroachment of

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters, p.632. The school also taught a number of younger boys.

<sup>261</sup> Stewart, 'Parish of Killin', p.1093.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> P. Stuart, 'Parish of Killin', in J. Sinclair (ed.) *SAS*, Vol. 17 (Edinburgh, 1796), p.384. He also noted how 'they make a practice, when young, of going for several years to serve in the low country, principally for the purpose of learning the English language'.

<sup>264</sup> A. Stewart, 'Parish of Killin', in Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* [hereafter *NSA*], Vol. 10, Perth (Edinburgh, 1845), p.1090.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

English and being unconcerned that it would likely take the place of Gaelic, and these contrasting viewpoints indicate the diversity of opinion at this time. It is also a useful reminder that local experience often hinged on the personality and beliefs of key community actors.

As in Kenmore, the Disruption of 1843 rapidly transformed the educational landscape with the support of the Marquis of Breadalbane. Many of the existing schools were adopted by the Free Church, including the SSPCK schools at Ardeonaig, Strathfillan and Glendochart, and a new school was established in the village of Killin. Looking at the Free Church teachers listed in Slater's Directory of 1861, all of them were male and had been born locally: Duncan McLaren, who taught in Ardeonaig, was born in Kenmore; Donald McIntyre, who had been schoolmaster of Glendochart school since the 1830s, was from Killin; and Gilbert McDiarmid, Free Church schoolmaster in Killin, was the son of a farmer from Ardchlye.<sup>266</sup> Similarly, the parochial schoolmaster Robert Cameron, who taught in Killin until retirement in the 1870s, was a native of Fortingall parish.<sup>267</sup> With the Free Church coming to dominate school provision, the Established Church set up a new side school in Crianlarich and continued to support the small school in Glenlochay which had been taken on and rebuilt under the auspices of the General Assembly scheme for promoting education.<sup>268</sup> The list of schools reported to the Commissioners in 1865 was therefore very different to that of thirty years earlier, and with one parish school, two side schools and five Free Church schools within or adjacent to the parish it was recommended that 'no additional school required' (**Figures 2.5, 2.6, 2.7**).<sup>269</sup> Whilst there was a denominational divide, in most cases the schools bridged the gap with some scholars associated with the Free Church attending the parochial and side schools, and many linked to the Established Church going to their local Free Church school. Only the Free Church schools in Killin and Kiltyrie, which were in easy reach of the parish school, were exclusive and this suggests that practical considerations overrode religious preference (**Table 2.7**).<sup>270</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Slater's *Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography of Scotland* (London, 1861); 1841 Scotland Census, Killin ED2, p.8; 1851 Scotland Census, CSSCT1851\_76, p.11. Gilbert had been a schoolmaster in Kincardine prior to this and, although listed in the 1861 directory, he died in July 1860 at the age of thirty-four having suffered from tuberculosis for a number of years. 1851 Scotland Census, CSSCT1851\_76, p.11; Statutory Deaths, 361/000011, accessed at <[www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk)>.

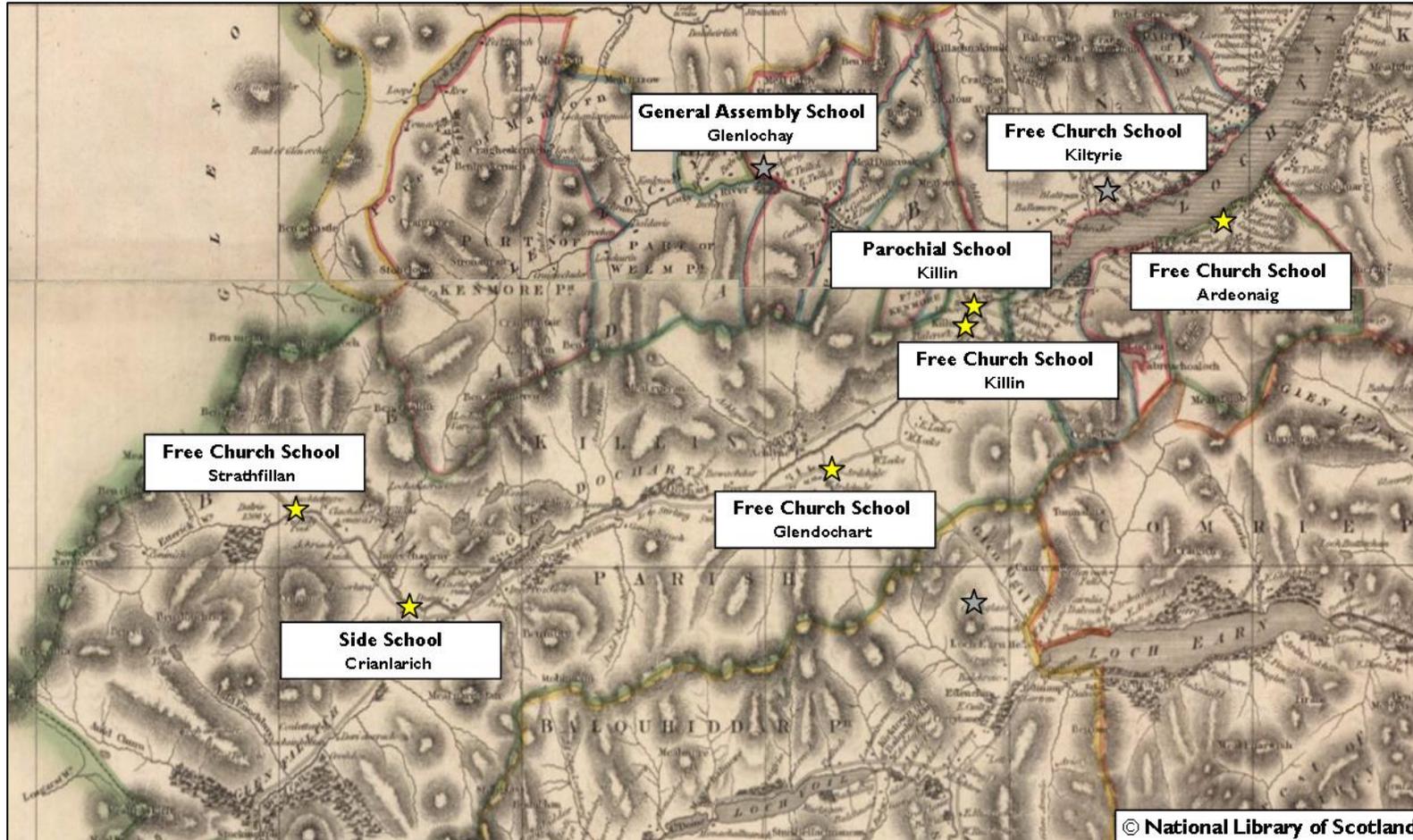
<sup>267</sup> 1851 Scotland Census, CSSCT1851\_76, p.21; 1861 Scotland Census, CSSCT1861\_49, p.2; 1871 Scotland Census, CSSCT1871\_64, p.13.

<sup>268</sup> New College Library, Church of Scotland Papers, Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1868, p.14.

<sup>269</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, pp.203, 211.

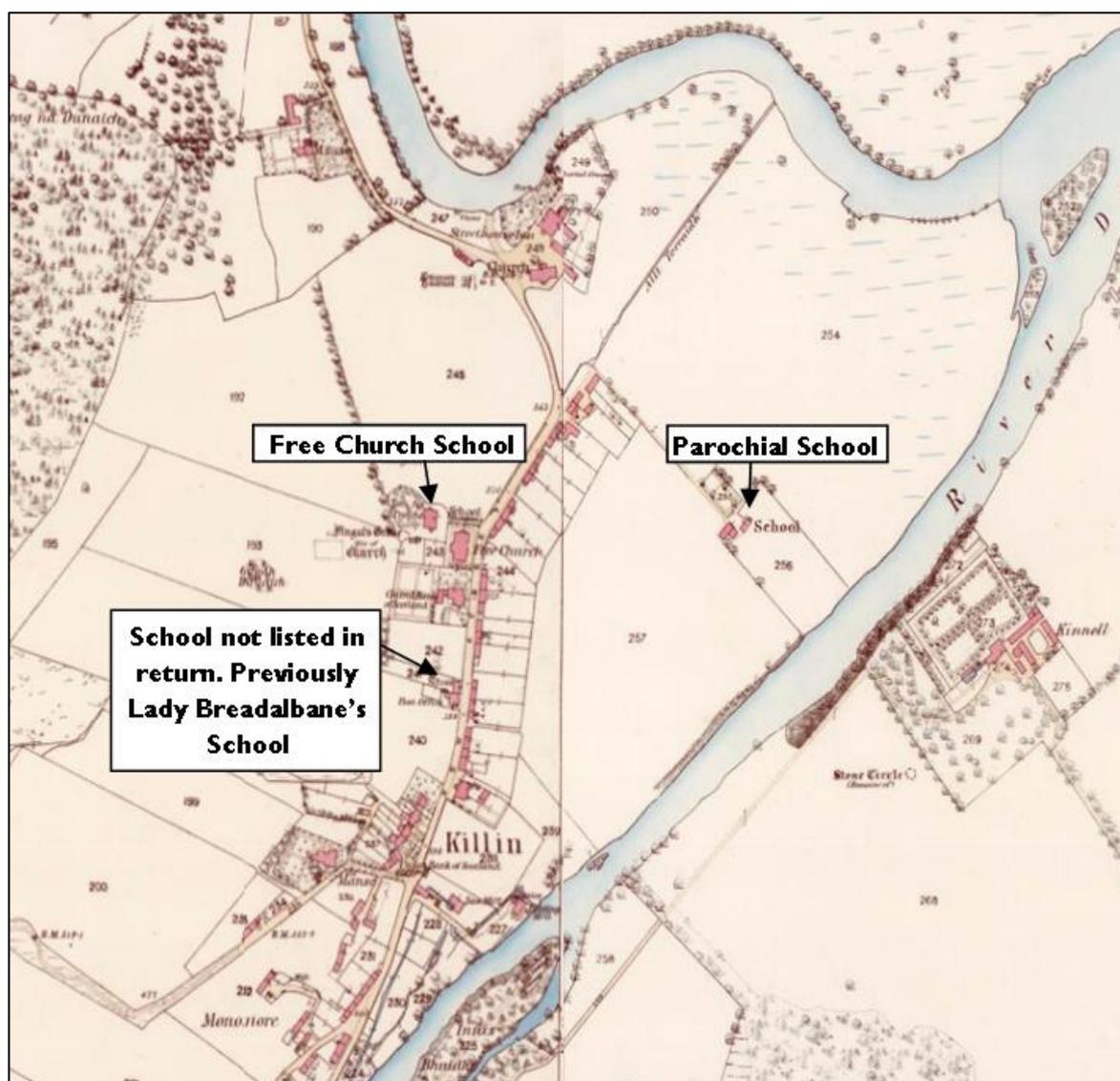
<sup>270</sup> Religious differences did sometimes lead to conflict, however, as seen in Ardeonaig in 1848 when a dispute arose over whether Mr McLaren, the schoolmaster, should be allowed to preach in the school. The Estate factor, James Wyllie, wrote to Barcaldine about the issue and expressed regret at the 'unfriendly feeling between different bodies of professing Christians'. NRS, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments), Letters from J. F. Wyllie to Breadalbane and Barcaldine, Jan-May 1848. GD112/74/83, Dispute over allowing Mr McLaren to preach in school at Ardeonaig, 21 Jan. 1848; Sir Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine was a captain in the Argyll and Bute Militia, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Royal Household and a Justice of the Peace, The Peerage, 'Sir Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, 2nd Bt', <<http://www.thepeerage.com/p20136.htm#i201352>>, accessed 26 Mar. 2015.

Figure 2.5: Schools in Killin parish, 1865<sup>271</sup>



<sup>271</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, pp.203, 211. The schools marked with a grey star are in Kenmore parish but are listed in this return under Killin. Base map: John Thomson's Atlas of Scotland, Perthshire with Clackmannan, 1832 (imprint 1827), NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/531.html>>, reproduced by permission of NLS.

**Figure 2.6:** Schools in the village of Killin, 1865 <sup>272</sup>



<sup>272</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867. Base map: Ordnance Survey, Perth and Clackmannan, Sheet LXXX.2 (Killin), 1867 (surveyed 1861), 25 inch to the mile 1<sup>st</sup> edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960698>> and <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960701>>, reproduced by permission of NLS.

**Figure 2.7:** Maps of Free Church Schools in Killin parish, 1861-64 survey <sup>273</sup>



<sup>273</sup> 1. Ardeonaig: OS, Perth and Clackmannan Sheet LXIX.10 (Killin Det No2), 1867 (surveyed 1862), 25 inch to the mile 1<sup>st</sup> edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960686>>. 2. Glendochart: OS, Perth and Clackmannan Sheet LXXX.9 (Killin), 1867 (surveyed 1861), 25 inch to the mile 1<sup>st</sup> edition, NLS, <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74960710>>. 3. Strathfillan: OS, Perthshire, Sheet LXXVIII (includes: Glenorchy and Inishail; Killin), 1867 (surveyed 1864), OS Six-Inch 1st Edition, National Library of Scotland <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74428157>>. All reproduced by permission of NLS.

**Table 2.7: Religious denomination of scholars in Killin parish, 1865**<sup>274</sup>

District	School	Affiliation	Scholars on roll	Denomination of scholars		
				Ch. of Scotland	Free Church	Other
Killin	Parochial	Church of Scotland	75	58	17	-
	Killin	Free Church	80	-	80	-
	Kilyrie	Free Church	52	-	52	-
	Ardeonaig	Free Church	37	4	33	-
	Glendochart	Free Church	23	4	19	-
	Glenlochay General Assem.	Church of Scotland	21	8	13	-
Strathfillan	Crianlarich Side	Church of Scotland	14	4	10	-
	Strathfillan	Free Church	34	9	25	-
<b>TOTAL:</b>			336	87	249	-

With regard to the school buildings themselves, the detailed 1865 report for Killin gives a tantalising insight into the physical conditions which framed educational experience. Most importantly, all of the schools were considered to be in good condition, though some were better furnished than others (Table 2.8). In contrast to the 1838 schoolmasters' return, no infant or female schools were listed and although it is likely that some sewing schools were still in operation the more formal schoolmistress roles had disappeared.<sup>275</sup> As has been seen through the example of Ann Cameron, private schooling was still an option, yet with the formalisation of educational provision since the 1840s it was now far less common. Headships therefore became an exclusively male preserve again, with women assisting in either a formal or informal capacity. These women were often the relatives of male teachers, such as Anne McIntyre who taught alongside her younger brother Donald in Glendochart for many years, and could be employed cheaply and flexibly to suit the needs of the school at a particular point in time.<sup>276</sup> Nevertheless, the headmistresses of the early nineteenth century had arguably set an example, establishing an acceptability which helped to pave the way for women to gain positions of authority in small rural schools following the 1872 Act.

<sup>274</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, pp.203, 211.

<sup>275</sup> Although the 1865 return made note of some female schools, it did not include schools that were seen to be exclusively for sewing instruction. Sewing schools that also catered for infants may therefore have been missed off.

<sup>276</sup> Anne was listed as a 'teacher' in the 1841 Census and as a 'dressmaker' from then on. 1841 Scotland Census, Killin ED: 2, p.4; 1851 Scotland Census, CSSCT1851\_76, p.7; 1861 Scotland Census, CSSCT1861\_49, p.3.

**Table 2.8: School buildings in Killin parish, 1865**<sup>277</sup>

School name	Nature and extent of school buildings
Parochial School, Killin	Schoolroom good, well furnished, but not sufficiently commodious. There is also a classroom. Dwelling-house good and commodious, consisting of seven apartments.
Killin Free Church School	School buildings very good, commodious, and well furnished, and almost new. Erected by the late Marquis of Breadalbane, aided by contributions from members of the Free Church. Dwelling-house good, consisting of six apartments.
Kiltyrie Free Church School	Schoolroom good, substantial and commodious, but not very well furnished. Dwelling-house good, consisting of four apartments.
Ardeonaig Free Church School	Schoolroom erected by the first Marquis of Breadalbane assisted by the tenantry of the district. A substantial stone and lime building, slated and in good repair. Dwelling-house detached, consisting of four apartments, thatched.
Glendochart Free Church School	Schoolroom good, substantial, commodious for the attendance, and well-furnished. Dwelling-house detached, very good, consisting of six apartments, slated.
Glenlochay General Assembly School	Schoolroom good and new*; well-furnished and sufficiently large for the attendance. No dwelling-house.

\* A new school was built in 1858. The land and materials were provided free of charge by the Earl of Breadalbane.<sup>278</sup>

As shown in the preceding accounts, the answers made by schoolmasters to a questionnaire circulated in 1838 provide an unparalleled insight into educational practice at parish level at this time.<sup>279</sup> Building on the case study analysis, the data for the quasi-random sample schools highlight some key trends across rural Scotland. The number of returns relating to the fifty-nine wholly rural parishes in the sample was 123 (sixty-three being parochial and sixty non-parochial) and there were a further twenty schools to which returns had been sent but were not returned (nine parochial and eleven non-parochial). These figures suggest that, excluding small itinerant schools and other private teachers who were not included in the survey, there were almost equal numbers of parochial and non-parochial schools at this time.<sup>280</sup> They were not, however, evenly distributed, and while a quarter of parishes (24%) had one non-parochial school, almost double the number (42%) had none at all. Furthermore, a small number of parishes bolstered the numbers by having between three and five each (14%).<sup>281</sup> Looking at the parochial schools, the overwhelming majority of parishes had just one parish establishment (85%), a tenth had a second 'side' school (10%) and a very small number had an additional two or three (5%).<sup>282</sup> Taking the figures for 1837, the average attendance in the parochial schools

<sup>277</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, p.203.

<sup>278</sup> Waddell, *Highland Roots*, pp.245-6.

<sup>279</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland.

<sup>280</sup> There were seventy-two parochial schools and seventy-one non-parochial schools referenced in the report.

<sup>281</sup> Twenty-five out of the fifty-nine parishes had no additional schools, fourteen had one school, twelve had two, three had three, one had four and four had five schools within their bounds.

<sup>282</sup> Fifty out of the fifty-nine parishes had one parochial school, six had two, two had three and one had four.

ranged from sixteen to 126, and in the non-parochial schools from fifteen to 157.<sup>283</sup> Furthermore, all of the schools were attended 'without reference to the religious persuasion of their parents'.<sup>284</sup> The ratio of male to female scholars varied a great deal, but it was common for there to be more boys than girls in both the parochial and non-parochial schools. Only ten percent of parochial schools had male attendance of less than fifty percent and in thirteen cases it was over seventy percent.<sup>285</sup> The non-parochial schools were slightly different with three female-only schools (5%), eight with less than fifty percent male attendance (15%), and six with even numbers of boys and girls (11%).<sup>286</sup> However, the majority (70%) still had more males in attendance than females, and two had over eighty percent.<sup>287</sup>

Turning to the details of the schools and their teachers, all but a handful were single-teacher schools under the charge of a master. The parochial schools were all taught by men, and only two of those for which there were returns mentioned the employment of a second teacher.<sup>288</sup> Likewise, most of the non-parochial schools had a single schoolmaster (85%) with the remainder of the schools being taught by a schoolmistress (15%).<sup>289</sup> The length of appointment, which is detailed for the parochial teachers only, varied considerably with some having been in post for many decades and others for a matter of months.<sup>290</sup> Just under a third (29%) had been appointed within the last seven years, since 1831, a further quarter (24%) had been settled in the parish the previous decade (1821-30), and only a small number of teachers (10%) had gained their position before the turn of the century.<sup>291</sup> Looking at their credentials, while some had 'a classical education' and were able to teach Latin, Greek and French, as well as 'usual branches of education', others simply taught 'English, writing, arithmetic and mathematics'.<sup>292</sup> Forty-eight of the parish schools (76%) taught Latin at some level and just under a third (30%) offered French as a modern language. The non-parochial schools were even less likely to provide classical instruction, but it was by no means unheard of with seventeen of those listed (28%) including Latin in their list of subjects. No mention is made of French, however, and the only

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<sup>283</sup> Ten non-parochial returns did not include attendance figures so the sample size is fifty. One parochial return also lacks this information, making the sample size sixty-two.

<sup>284</sup> This was query six on the parochial questionnaire and question eight on the non-parochial. In many cases, this was due to all of the inhabitants of the parish being of the Established Church, but where there were children of other denominations they also attended.

<sup>285</sup> Six schools had below 50% male attendance (10%), one had an exactly even split, sixteen had between 51% and 60%, twenty-five had 61-70%, nine had 71-80% and four had over 81%.

<sup>286</sup> Gender disaggregated attendance figures were noted for fifty-five schools.

<sup>287</sup> Thirty-eight of these had between 51% and 88% male attendance.

<sup>288</sup> Those with two teachers were Borgue Academy in Kirkcudbright and Kilmartin in Argyll.

<sup>289</sup> Out of the sixty non-parochial schools who submitted returns, fifty-one were taught by a male teacher and nine by a schoolmistress. One of these 'dame' schools, in Holywood, Dumfries, was taught by two women with the same surname who were presumably related.

<sup>290</sup> One parochial return did not answer this question so the sample size for this analysis is sixty-two.

<sup>291</sup> Six teachers had been in post upwards of thirty-eight years. The longest serving schoolmaster was James Miller in Abdie, Fife, who had been appointed in 1786. Having served for fifty-two years, James would most likely have been in his seventies at this time.

<sup>292</sup> Interestingly, four out of the six schoolmasters who had been appointed prior to 1800, including the elderly teacher in Abdie, did not teach Latin or Greek.

other language taught was Gaelic.<sup>293</sup> The vernacular tongue was also expressly taught in most, though not all, of the parochial schools in the Highland counties of Argyll, Inverness and Ross and Cromarty as well as in the southern Banffshire parish of Kirkmichael.<sup>294</sup>

The remuneration of parochial schoolmasters varied between 200 merks in the side school of Inverchaolain to 36/ 7s in Edderton, Ross and Cromarty with half of them receiving close to the maximum statutory salary of 34/ 4s. 4d.<sup>295</sup> In addition, almost a third of parish teachers (29%) performed additional duties to earn extra income.<sup>296</sup> The most common occupation was session clerk, but some teachers also acted as precentor in the church or treasurer for the poor's fund.<sup>297</sup> In contrast, only sixty percent of non-parochial teachers were salaried, and wages could be as low as 2/ or as high as 45/. This left many teachers reliant on fees to make a living or to supplement their meagre income.<sup>298</sup> It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that unlike their parochial counterparts only one of the non-parochial schoolmasters admitted to having another job.<sup>299</sup> The source of educational funds was equally diverse with considerable support coming from established societies and committees, such as the SSPCK, the Inverness Education Society, the Glasgow Auxiliary Gaelic School Society, the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society, and the General Assembly Education Committee, as well as from local benefactors. Fifteen of the parochial schools (24%) were in receipt of some form of private endowment, five of which were beneficiaries of the Dick Bequest, and seven of the non-parochial schools (12%) relied on some form of mortification.<sup>300</sup> Monies were also received from local people who were keen to support education and whilst in most instances these were wealthy landowners, such as Lord Viscount Strathallan who paid the teacher's salary for the benefit of his tenants in Blackford, Perth in some cases small subscriptions were paid by those of more moderate means. This was the case in Borgue, Kirkcudbright where the schoolmistress of the sewing school received 'a small sum ... subscribed by a few friends of the teacher'.<sup>301</sup> In this way, charity augmented the statutory

<sup>293</sup> Fourteen out of sixty schools (23%), all of which are in the Highland counties of Argyll, Inverness and Ross and Cromarty, mentioned Gaelic instruction of some sort. Two further schools in these counties did not.

<sup>294</sup> Eleven out of sixty-three schools (18%) referred to Gaelic. Thirteen of the sixty-three parishes are in the Highland counties of Argyll, Inverness and Ross and Cromarty, and of these nine taught Gaelic. Those that did not were the parochial side school in Inverchaolain, and the Parish schools of Kilmartin, Strath and Lochs.

<sup>295</sup> 200 merks roughly translates to £10.77 and 36/ 7s in £36.35. The maximum salary was set in 1828, and thirty-one out of the sixty-two schoolmasters for which the salary was stated (50%) were paid in the region of £34. Calculations were made using a historical currency convertor, <[www.ajhw.co.uk/downloads/lsd-calculator.xls](http://www.ajhw.co.uk/downloads/lsd-calculator.xls)>.

<sup>296</sup> Eighteen out of sixty-three schoolmasters noted having other employment.

<sup>297</sup> For example, the schoolmaster of Barr, Ayrshire was 'precentor, session-clerk and keeper of the poor's fund', Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.56.

<sup>298</sup> Thirty-six out of sixty schoolmasters gave details of a salary. Twenty-one of the sixty (35%) were supported entirely by the fees of their scholars.

<sup>299</sup> John Dickson, schoolmaster of Mousewold Village School was also a land-measurer and auctioneer. Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.263.

<sup>300</sup> The Dick and Milne Bequests were educational endowments (in operation from 1833 and 1846) which strengthened the parochial system in Aberdeen, Banff and Moray by raising 'the standard of living of the ... schoolmasters above the Scottish norm'. McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls*, p.78. For example, one of the schools in Glengairn was set up with funds bequeathed by Elizabeth Farquharson, and Lord Cullen's School in Monymusk was named after its late benefactor.

<sup>301</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland on-parochial, p.487.

parochial system, allowing additional schools to operate in outlying areas and providing funds so that poor children could be educated gratis.<sup>302</sup>

Fee schedules were common across all the schools, and ranged from 1s 6d or 2s per quarter for reading up to 5s for the higher branches of education.<sup>303</sup> While most schools had just one schedule of fees, some distinguished between socio-economic groups. For instance, in Tongland Parish School, Kirkcudbright the children of farmers were charged more than those of the 'lower classes', and in Borgue Academy, also in Kirkcudbright, farmers paid '1s per quarter' more than labourers for basic instruction.<sup>304</sup> With a few exceptions, such as the Gaelic Society schools in the Highlands, fees were charged across the board with only the poorest scholars being exempt.<sup>305</sup> Despite this not all parents paid what was due and a number of teachers noted that very few fees were realised.<sup>306</sup> Though most comments to this effect came from non-parochial schools, the parochial schoolmaster of Edderton, Ross and Cromarty also disclosed that fees were 'not regularly paid', and it is likely that this was the case elsewhere.<sup>307</sup>

The most common subjects taught were English reading, writing and arithmetic, and a considerable number also offered book-keeping, mensuration (the measurement of shapes), geography, mathematics and Latin. As already mentioned, Gaelic was taught in most of the Highland schools, and in some parishes navigation and land-surveying were also considered of value. Unsurprisingly, all of the schools listed in the insular parish of Tingwall, Shetland taught navigation, as did the parochial schools in the coastal parishes of Kingsbarns in Fife, and Kirkbean on the Solway Firth in Kirkcudbright. In this way, school curricula often reflected local socio-economic and geographic conditions and were tailored to the peculiarities of rural life. This did not extend, however, to the teaching of 'gardening, agriculture, or any mechanical occupation'.<sup>308</sup> Only seven schools overall afforded some kind of instruction in one or more of these which suggests that the teaching of such practical subjects was not considered necessary.<sup>309</sup> School education was therefore predominantly focused on academic study rather than vocational learning which could be done elsewhere; as one teacher commented, 'all the scholars in a manner attend to agriculture' and required no special instruction.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>302</sup> A number of mortifications stipulated a certain amount to be used to pay the fees of poor scholars.

<sup>303</sup> Fees went up incrementally depending on the level of education desired. Reading was the lowest level and classical education typically the highest.

<sup>304</sup> They were, however, charged the same fees for advanced study. Answers made by schoolmasters, Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.200; p.189.

<sup>305</sup> The Gaelic Society Schools in Strath, Inverness, and Lochs, Ross and Cromarty, as well as some SSPCK schools did not charge fees.

<sup>306</sup> The SSPCK schoolmasters of Aberdeenshire were particularly vocal on this point.

<sup>307</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.269.

<sup>308</sup> Query thirty-eight of the non-parochial questionnaire and query thirty-one of the parochial one asked this.

<sup>309</sup> Four out of the sixty non-parochial schools taught gardening and/or agriculture, and three of the sixty-three parochial schools did. None of them provided mechanical training.

<sup>310</sup> This comment was made by the Parochial schoolmaster of Kilmartin, Argyll, Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.45.

Looking more specifically at the nature of teaching, the most popular system of instruction was the Intellectual or Exploratory method, which had been developed by John Wood at the Sessional School in Edinburgh.<sup>311</sup> This approach saw children grouped under a monitor who would drill them in their lessons ready for examination by the schoolmaster.<sup>312</sup> Emphasis was also put on the teacher being active, moving between classes rather than remaining seated at a desk. Although other teachers did not mention this method by name, over half of all the parochial masters (57%) admitted to using monitors, and a slightly smaller proportion of non-parochial teachers (43%) did so. This monitorial approach was not always approved of, however, and the master of Preston School in Kirkbean, Kirkcudbright made a point of saying that, 'monitors are not required, as the teacher can do the whole duty himself, and as the parents do not approve of their children being taught by monitors'.<sup>313</sup> Likewise in the parochial school of Duirinish, Isle of Skye instruction was done 'according to the views and means of the parents'.<sup>314</sup> Such sensitivity to parental attitudes was clearly important at a time when schools, whether parochial or otherwise, had to attract fee-paying pupils, and while not many make direct reference to parental pressure, it was obviously a concern. Unlike the parochial teachers who were typically selected and supervised by the parish minister and Presbytery, the non-parochial teachers were often appointed by parents or the wider community and were much more at their mercy. These cases also highlight the real interest that some parents took in their children's education, which went beyond a simple desire to have them schooled to taking a view on how they should be taught.

As there was no set curriculum for schools at this time, it is interesting that the same core textbooks were used across the board. While some schools were clearly better resourced, with numerous books being used across a wide range of subjects, most had access to some primers and the same titles appear repeatedly.<sup>315</sup> Yet, the cost of books was prohibitive and many teachers found the situation frustrating. In Dornock, Dumfries the parish schoolmaster expressed that 'a better and cheaper set of books is much wanted', and the teacher of Borerary Society School in Duirinish, Inverness explained that he had 'found it impracticable to introduce a regular set of elementary books, owing chiefly to the poverty of the people'.<sup>316</sup> More specifically, most schools did not teach history, and one teacher put this down to the fact that 'the parents seem unwilling to purchase text-books for history'.<sup>317</sup> Other elements of teaching

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<sup>311</sup> University of Edinburgh, 'John Wood', <<http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/history/john-wood>>, accessed 13 Apr 2015.

<sup>312</sup> Monitors were typically older or more advanced pupils.

<sup>313</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.491.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, p.173.

<sup>315</sup> The most popular texts for English were the Parochial Schoolmasters' series produced by the Scottish School Book Association, Lennie's English Grammar and spelling books, and Dr Thomson's reading lessons. For arithmetic, the books of Bonnycastle, Gray, Hamilton, Melrose, Ingram, Davidson, and Hutton were in widespread use, and Playfair's expression of Euclid seems to have been a particular favourite of the parochial schoolmasters.

<sup>316</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, pp.101, 441.

<sup>317</sup> Robert Adam's Village School, Fintry, Stirling, Ibid, p.737.

included singing and drawing, but most schools did not profess to teach these and saw no place for them in the curriculum.<sup>318</sup>

In terms of student motivation, the majority of schools used some form of corporal punishment alongside other chastisements to deter bad behaviour and a considerable number gave rewards to encourage studiousness. Performed in various ways, physical reprimand was seen as a last resort with confinement, expulsion and demotion in class being the first port of call in most cases. There were several teachers who used corporal punishment a great deal, such as William Murray of Kirkbean Parish School, Kirkcudbright who declared that 'whipping with the Taws is often resorted to'.<sup>319</sup> Yet most others 'applied the rod as seldom as possible' and only held up the Taws '*in terrorem*'.<sup>320</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, just under half of the parochial schools (46%) rewarded their scholars with more than approbation and promotion in class, and a slightly higher proportion of non-parochial teachers (55%) did the same. Typical prizes were books and honorary medals, but other items were also given as in the case of Hellen Morrison, schoolmistress of Glentarth School in Tongland, Kirkcudbright who rewarded her pupils with 'small books, little pictures, paper pens, black-lead pencils'.<sup>321</sup>

The accommodation afforded to parochial teachers also differed within and between parishes, with most dwellings being very modest. Amongst the parochial masters, it was usual to have complementary use of a house with between one and four rooms, though some had more.<sup>322</sup> Non-parochial teachers were less likely to have housing provided, and as they were not questioned on this it is difficult to gauge how well they were accommodated. However, a few did mention being quite handsomely provided for. John Peterkin, master of Tullibardine School in Blackford, Perth stands out in this respect with '2½ acres of land, school, schoolhouse and garden' being given, and John Anderson of Grasshouses Subscription School in Glamis, Forfar had a 'house and garden'.<sup>323</sup> Another interesting finding from this report is that very few children boarded at school with only nine parochial schools (15%) and four non-parochial schools (7%) saying they had boarders.<sup>324</sup> In most cases there was just one child boarding, sometimes two and at one school, Dyke Parish School in Elgin, there were five. In addition, very

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<sup>318</sup> Eighteen out of sixty-three parochial (29%) and thirteen out of sixty non-parochial schools (22%) taught singing in some way, and seven out of sixty-three parochial (11%) and three out of sixty non-parochial schools (5%) gave instruction in drawing.

<sup>319</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.193.

<sup>320</sup> The first comment comes from Dyke, Elgin, and the second from Abdie, Fife. Ibid, pp.127, 131.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid, p.497.

<sup>322</sup> Answers to this question were not always detailed and the interpretation of how many rooms (i.e. whether a kitchen was included in the calculation) clearly varied. For this reason, the figures are not taken to be exact. Fifty-eight of the sixty-three schoolmasters gave details of their accommodation and of these thirty-five (60%) reported having between one and four rooms.

<sup>323</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, pp.615, 410.

<sup>324</sup> Parochial sample size 62 as one teacher gave no answer. Non-parochial sample size 58 as two did not answer.

few schools had a playground attached; only a third of both parochial (33%) and non-parochial (30%) schools had such facilities.<sup>325</sup>

Looking at the ages of the scholars, in most parishes the earliest age at which a child attended school was between four and six. Only two schools, one parochial and one non-parochial, mentioned having children as young as three on roll which suggests that early infant education was not done in a formalised setting.<sup>326</sup> The upper ages varied much more with some schools educating only to age twelve and others having twenty-year-olds on roll.<sup>327</sup> Schools taught by women, such as Newington Female School in Holywood and Inchinnan School of Industry in Renfrew, often stopped at twelve or younger, and in some instances they only taught very young boys. This was the case in Borgue Kirk Sewing School, where the mistress taught boys from five to seven years old and girls from five to ten.<sup>328</sup> However, some schoolmistresses did teach older girls who were looking 'to improve their needlework'.<sup>329</sup> In the insular parishes of the Highlands some of the schools had a broader appeal, and it was not uncommon for adults to attend. For instance, the teacher of Elgoll Gaelic School in Strath, Isle of Skye noted that, 'there are now a number of married and grown-up persons attending the school, one of them aged 48', and the master of Leverbast Gaelic Circulating School in Lochs on the Isle of Lewis observed that 'adults generally attend'.<sup>330</sup>

The length of attendance also varied a great deal with anything from two to ten years being the average in a parish, but irregularity throughout the school year was a near universal complaint and longer attendance was often a reflection of sporadic schooling. In Cabrach, Banff, for example, children were at the parochial school for nine to ten years on average because many only attended 'three months per annum'.<sup>331</sup> Other parochial teachers simply declined to put a figure on it, the reasoning being that attendance 'is so partial that it is not easily ascertained' or that 'this query cannot be answered with precision'.<sup>332</sup> Although these comments came from schools in the Highlands, the schoolmaster of Fintry Parish School, Stirling, also commented that the length of attendance was 'impossible to answer', and he failed to give attendance figures for the previous two years claiming that he could not 'answer this question correctly, from the irregularity of attendance'.<sup>333</sup> The non-parochial schools were very similar, and both sets of returns highlight the seasonal variations in attendance. Whereas younger children were likely to attend throughout the year, older pupils typically studied during the winter and left school in the summer to work. In response to this, the overwhelming majority of schools had a long

<sup>325</sup> 21 out of 63 parochial schools had a playground and 18 out of 60 non-parochial schools did.

<sup>326</sup> These were St Martin's Parish School, Perthshire and Mary Milne's School in Marykirk, Kincardine.

<sup>327</sup> The parochial schools of Ladykirk and Whitsome in Berwick both had an age range of six to twelve, and Cabrach Parish School, Banff had a range of five to twenty.

<sup>328</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.487

<sup>329</sup> Elspet Suter, mistress of Brodie Gate School in Dyke, Elgin, made mention of this. *Ibid*, p.332.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, pp.456, 698.

<sup>331</sup> Interestingly, this school received funds from the Dick Bequest. *Ibid*, p.70.

<sup>332</sup> The first of these comes from Inverchaolain, Argyll, and the second from Duirinish, Inverness, *Ibid*, pp.39, 173.

<sup>333</sup> Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.297.

holiday during the harvest and there was a degree of flexibility in setting the dates.<sup>334</sup> As one parochial teacher observed, this was necessary because the vacations ‘depend much upon the state of the crops in the country’.<sup>335</sup> Responding to the seasons, school hours were generally shorter in the winter to coincide with daylight hours, and pupils were less likely to have an interval during the cold, dark months. Unsurprisingly, economic conditions also dictated how long a child stayed at school for, as shown by the Edderton schoolmaster’s comment that whereas ‘the poorer children attend only about 3 or 4 months in winter and spring, 2 to 3 years in all, those in better circumstances attend proportionally longer’.<sup>336</sup>

Moving forward a few decades, similar analysis of educational statistics compiled in 1865 reveals much about rural school provision on the eve of legislative change.<sup>337</sup> Starting with the number of schools, forty-two of the parishes in the quasi-random sample (71%) had between one and three schools, twelve had between four and six establishments (20%) and the remaining five (9%) had upwards of seven schools within their bounds.<sup>338</sup> The largest number of schools was within Duirinish parish on the Isle of Skye, which also had the largest population of 4,775. Most of the other parishes were much smaller in demographic terms, with ten parishes (17%) having a population of less than 600, and the majority (58%) ranging from 600 to 1,500 inhabitants.<sup>339</sup> Unsurprisingly, those parishes with the most people tended to have the greatest number of schools. However, provision was also influenced by topography and settlement patterns so that some parishes had numerous schools serving a small but dispersed population. This was the case in South Knapdale, Argyll which had four schools to serve a population of 654. Furthermore, the combined parish of Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho in Peebles, which had 723 inhabitants, retained its three parochial schools as well as supporting a female subscription school. Looking from another angle, those parishes with a single school ranged in size from 134 to 1,257 people, and none of them were reported to be in need of an additional school.<sup>340</sup>

While the overwhelming majority of parishes (85%) were seen to be well catered for, provision was considered inadequate in nine parishes (15%) due to the size, position, or condition of the schools.<sup>341</sup> In some places it was just a handful of dwellings that lay more than a few miles from a school. For example, in Inverchaolain, Argyll there were ‘two isolated houses inconveniently distant from any school’, and at the other end of the country in Southdean,

<sup>334</sup> Only a few teachers gave precise dates for the holidays.

<sup>335</sup> St Martin’s, Perth, Answers made by Schoolmasters in Scotland, p.256

<sup>336</sup> Edderton is in Ross and Cromarty. Ibid, p.269.

<sup>337</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools; Education Commission (Scotland). Appendix to First Report by Her Majesty’s Commissioners. Answers to Heads of Examination, and Correspondence, *PP*, 1867 [3858].

<sup>338</sup> These figures exclude any that were purely sewing schools.

<sup>339</sup> The least populated parishes in the sample were Cranshaws, Berwick (134), Glendevon, Perth (138) and Tweedsmuir, Peebles (196). The most heavily populated areas were in the Highlands and Islands, but large populations were also recorded for Cavers and Kirkton, Roxburgh (2,245), Blackford, Perth (2,084) and Marykirk, Kincardine (2,068).

<sup>340</sup> Nine parishes (15%) reported having one school, that being the parochial one.

<sup>341</sup> These parishes were located in Argyll, Banff, Forfar, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Roxburgh and Shetland.

Roxburgh, 'seven dwellings on the hill farm of Hyndlee' were four miles away.<sup>342</sup> Yet, in other parishes, small pockets of population across a larger area were affected. This was the case in Ardchattan, Argyll which had 'some farmers, foresters and shepherds in the mountainous parts and in the glens far from any schools', and the 'district of Fearn' in Edderton, Ross and Cromarty was noted to be 'much in need of a school'.<sup>343</sup> Despite having many schools, the parish of Duirinish, Inverness was also earmarked for a new school due to the poor state of two of its existing ones.<sup>344</sup>

With regard to the types of school and sources of funds, a wide range of establishments were noted and a fifth of the schools were in receipt of a grant from the Committee of Council.<sup>345</sup> As each parish had at least one parochial school, with a small number having more, these schools accounted for thirty-four percent of the total number, and there were numerous other schools associated with the Church of Scotland (21%).<sup>346</sup> The Free Church supported twenty-seven schools (14%), with some being funded by the Free Church Ladies' Association, and a significant number were either private adventure schools (10%) or subscription schools (6%).<sup>347</sup> Society schools were also dominant in some areas, with the SPPCK financing seven schools (3%) located in the counties of Aberdeen, Inverness, Kincardine, Shetland and Sutherland, and the Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools supporting a further seven (3%) in the insular parishes of Duirinish and Strath on the Isle of Skye, and Lochs on the Isle of Lewis.<sup>348</sup> Although endowed schools were few in number, which just four being classified as such, endowments augmented the finances of a number of other schools including the private adventure school in Kilmartin which was 'partly supported by Mr Malcolm of Poltalloch', and Dyke Female School, a Church of Scotland establishment in Elgin.<sup>349</sup> Parliamentary, Episcopal and Roman Catholic schools were much less common and there was only one of each across the whole sample area. The figures also suggest that infant schools were unusual, with just two of the schools being designated as such. However, this is likely to reflect the absence of sewing schools from the report rather than the non-existence of early infant education.<sup>350</sup>

<sup>342</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, pp.26, 234.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid, pp.22, 219.

<sup>344</sup> Roag General Assembly School was housed in 'an inferior kind' of building, and Harlosh Free Church School was in a dilapidated condition. The recommendation was to have 'a good school erected to serve the one district'. Ibid, pp.138-9.

<sup>345</sup> 38 of the 189 schools in operation were in receipt of a grant. Sixteen of these were parochial schools, nine were Free Church, four were General Assembly, two were Church of Scotland, two were undenominational, one was Episcopal, one parliamentary, one Roman Catholic, and one subscription. Converted into decimal currency, the grants ranged in size from £7.50 to £64.25.

<sup>346</sup> Varying descriptions were used depending on the status and funding mechanism of these schools. 9% were listed as Church of Scotland, 5% as General Assembly and 7% as parish side schools.

<sup>347</sup> The Ladies' Association of Edinburgh was established in 1850 to support the founding of Free Church Schools in the Highlands.

<sup>348</sup> The Edinburgh Society was formed in 1811 'to teach the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands to read the Sacred Scriptures in their native tongue' by maintaining 'Circulating Schools, in which the Gaelic language only shall be taught', *Tenth Annual Report of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools* (Edinburgh, 1821), <[http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/files/PDFs/00916572\\_Soc\\_Support\\_Gaelic\\_Schools\\_10.pdf](http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/files/PDFs/00916572_Soc_Support_Gaelic_Schools_10.pdf)>, accessed 6 Jul. 2014.

<sup>349</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867, p.29.

<sup>350</sup> As evidence from the preceding case study shows, sewing mistresses often took care of young children, teaching reading as well as sewing, and it is possible that this element of their work was disregarded by many registrars.

**Table 2.9: Quasi-random sample: number of schools by type, 1865** <sup>351</sup>

School type	Number	Percentage**
Parochial*	66	34%
Free Church	27	14%
Private Adventure	19	10%
Church of Scotland*	18	9%
Parish Side*	13	7%
Subscription	11	6%
General Assembly*	9	5%
Undenominational	7	3%
SSPCK	7	3%
Other Society	7	3%
Endowed	4	2%
Infant	2	1%
Parliamentary	1	<1%
Episcopal	1	<1%
Roman Catholic	1	<1%
	<b>193</b>	<b>100%</b>

\* Though categorised differently, all of these schools were associated in some way with the Church of Scotland.

\*\*Figures have been rounded up or down in the usual way except for those noted as 3% which have been rounded down from 3.6% to ensure an overall calculation is 100%. Those listed as <1% have been rounded up from 0.5%.

In terms of the teachers, the majority of schools (71%) were under the charge of a single male teacher, forty-two were run by a schoolmistress (22%) and thirteen had teachers of both sexes (7%) (Table 2.10).<sup>352</sup> Of those run by a female teacher, three were female parochial schools which operated alongside the parish school, and as these were located in Strathdon, Borthwick and Dornock, this practice was clearly not unique to a particular region. The Free Church also adopted this model in one of the parishes, with the Free Church Female School of Blackford, Perth working in tandem with the main Free Church school. Three other Free Church schools, all in Duirinish on the Isle of Skye, employed both a male and female teacher.<sup>353</sup> In addition, two parishes in central Scotland, Weston and Roberton in Lanark and Borthwick in Edinburgh, had female side schools.<sup>354</sup> By far the biggest number of female teachers ran private adventure schools; thirteen of the nineteen captured in the sample (68%) were under the charge of a woman, and a further two had a female as well as male teacher (11%).<sup>355</sup> Half of the Church of Scotland schools were also run by women, as were four of the undenominational schools (57%) and four of the subscription schools (40%). Just one of the SSPCK schools, Golspie in Sutherland, had a female teacher and none of the Gaelic circulating schools did. Furthermore, no women were employed in the endowed, parliamentary and Roman Catholic schools. However, the Episcopal school in Kilmartin, Argyll which is the only one in the sample, was taught exclusively by a woman.

<sup>351</sup> These figures relate to the fifty-nine wholly rural parishes in the sample. Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867.

<sup>352</sup> The following schools had one male and one female teacher: Barr, Ayr (also had a male pupil teacher); Kirkmichael, Banff; Monzievairst, Perth; Marykirk, Kincardine; Duirinish, Inverness; Glammis Forfar; and Kingbarns, Fife.

<sup>353</sup> Two of these three Free Church Schools was supported by the Ladies' Association.

<sup>354</sup> Weston and Roberton had one Female Side school (Roberton) and Borthwick had two (Newlandrig and Standpretty).

<sup>355</sup> Those run by female teachers were located across Scotland in the counties of Aberdeen, Haddington, Kincardine, Kirkcudbright, Roxburgh and Sutherland.

**Table 2.10: Quasi-random sample: gender of teachers by school type, 1865**<sup>356</sup>

School type	Teachers					
	Male only		Female only		Male & Female	
Parochial*	54	84%	3	5%	7	11%
Free Church	23	85%	1	4%	3	11%
Private Adventure	4	21%	13	68%	2	11%
Church of Scotland	9	50%	9	50%	0	0%
Parish Side	9	75%	3	25%	0	0%
Subscription	6	60%	4	40%	0	0%
General Assembly	7	78%	1	11%	1	11%
Undenominational	3	43%	4	57%	0	0%
SSPCK	6	86%	1	14%	0	0%
Gaelic School Society	7	100%	0	0%	0	0%
Endowed	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%
Infant	0	0%	2	100%	0	0%
Parliamentary	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%
Episcopal	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%
Roman Catholic	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%
	<b>134</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>7%</b>

\* Two parochial schools, one side school and one subscription school were vacant and are not included in this analysis.

The number of children on roll and in actual attendance varied tremendously. Looking first at the school rolls, they ranged in size from eight in the female schools of Golspie, Blackford and Drumblade, to 185 in Kirkmichael's parliamentary school in Banff. The majority of schools had a roll of between twenty-one and eighty (69%), but there were a considerable number with fewer than twenty (14%) or more than eighty (17%). Although a number of schools in the Highland counties had particularly large rolls, some schools in the Lowland regions, including in Roxburgh and Fife, did as well. Equally, schools with small rolls were located across Scotland. More often than not, attendance figures differed from the number of scholars on roll and ranged from as little as five in Golspie Female School, Sutherland to 173 in Cavers Parish School, Roxburgh. Comparing attendance to the number registered to attend, sixteen of the schools (9%) had a hundred percent record, the majority (66%) averaged over seventy-five percent attendance, forty-two schools (22%) were between twenty-six and fifty percent and just six (3%) had an attendance of less than fifty percent.<sup>357</sup> Analysis of the religious denomination of scholars on roll reveals that the overwhelming majority of schools had children of more than one denomination on roll.<sup>358</sup> Unfortunately, as the figures are calculated in relation to those on roll rather than those in attendance, it is difficult to ascertain whether religious affiliation influenced the decision to attend or not. However, the data available does show that children

<sup>356</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools, 1867. Those with a high proportion of female teachers, 40% or more, are highlighted.

<sup>357</sup> Those with full attendance were located across the country, with some in the Highland counties of Argyll, Inverness, Shetland and Sutherland and others in the lowland areas of Forfar, Peebles, Perth, Renfrew and Kirkcudbright. The lowest attendance was recorded by the Parochial School of South Knapdale in Argyll where just five of the twenty scholars on roll were attending. Also low were Kirbuster School in Orphir, Orkney (41% attendance), Roag General Assembly school (43%) and Amizort Free Church School (45%) both in Duirinish, Isle of Skye, and Laggan Parochial School, Inverness (48%). The lowest attendance outside of the Highland and Islands was at Long Newton Side School in Yester, Haddington (50%). The overall mean average attendance across the 189 schools for which figures are available was 83%.

<sup>358</sup> Brown notes that whereas around two third of Scots were affiliated to the Church of Scotland before the Disruption of 1843, afterwards it 'attracted only 32 percent of churchgoers' nationally. C. G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987), pp.31, 61.

were frequently registered, and more than likely attended at some time, schools of a different denomination than their own.<sup>359</sup>

The non-parochial schools also tended to have a mix of denominations on roll. Besides the Roman Catholic school whose scholars were all Catholic, the Free Church schools were most likely to be exclusive, with twelve schools (44%) having only scholars associated with the Free Church registered to attend. However, fourteen of the Free Church schools (52%) had children associated with the Church of Scotland on roll and the proportion could be fairly high. For instance, at St Martin's Free Church School, Perth, fifty percent of the scholars on roll were of the Established Church, and in Strath, Inverness the figure was forty-one percent. Three schools, two of which were located in Blackford parish, Perth had a small number of Roman Catholic children on roll, three had those of the United Presbyterian Church, and one of these also had Episcopalians on roll.<sup>360</sup> On the other hand, the Episcopal school in Kilmartin, Argyll had no Anglican scholars on its register and catered for those associated with the Presbyterian churches. Overall, religion appears to have had little bearing on the decision to send a child to a particular school with many of the rural schools bringing various denominations together under one roof.

## Conclusion

Drawing these layers of evidence together, it is clear that educational policy and practice in rural Scotland prior to 1872 was shaped by religious fervour, political motivations and economic imperatives. Furthermore, at parish level it was heavily influenced by environmental factors, socio-cultural patterns as well as the personality of key community actors. Given the proselytising context from which the parochial system emerged, Christian ministers were particularly influential, with local experience often hinging on their attitudes and actions. The support of parents and other interested parties, whose philanthropy bolstered provision and broadened access, was also significant and a sense of community ownership and responsibility was clearly felt in many places. With so many factors influencing educational provision at this stage and local governance remaining centre stage, schools varied a great deal both in terms of the status and remuneration of teachers, and the nature of the buildings themselves. Ranging from scholarly men to poorly-educated lads, schoolmasters were the norm throughout this period. However, women teachers gained increasing recognition and support for their work.

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<sup>359</sup> Of the sixty-four parochial schools in operation at the time of the survey only five (8%) were exclusively Church of Scotland, with most (36%) having between 61% and 80% of that persuasion on roll. At the other end of the scale, two parish schools (3%) had no scholars identified as being of the Established Church on their register; all of the scholars at the parochial schools of Borgue, Kirkcudbright and Kinnaird, Perth were listed as denomination 'not known and unstated' which suggests that religious affiliation was not recorded by the teacher. This could simply be because they were all Church of Scotland and there seemed no reason to record denomination, or it may be a more deliberate move to avoid identifying scholars by their religious affiliation.

<sup>360</sup> The three Free Church Schools with Roman Catholics on roll were: Blackford Free Church Female School, Perth (13% of roll); Laggan Free Church School (7%); and Blackford Free Church School (3%); Dunbarney Free Church School in Perthshire had five United Presbyterians, six Episcopalians and one of another denomination on roll.

Throughout this extended period, the nature of instruction varied between schools, with some offering a range of subjects and others just the basics of reading and writing, and pupils varied in age from as young as three to over twenty. Although girls and boys typically studied alongside each other, boys were more likely to continue their education beyond the age of twelve and focus on academic rather than industrial work. Furthermore, the demands of rural life and centrality of child labour to the economy meant attendance was likely to be seasonal and sporadic, with the lack of compulsion requiring educational provision to be moulded somewhat to fit local conditions. As can be seen in the case study area, such pragmatism also extended to other cultural practices, including the Gaelic language and traditions of the Highlands and Islands, which retained prominence in everyday life despite an enduring educational preference for English.



## Chapter 3

### Education under the school boards, 1872-1919

Intended to bring a degree of order to the perceived chaos of Scottish education in the later nineteenth century, the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 had far-reaching consequences for the parish framework of schooling. Drawing on the findings of the Argyll Commission and seeking to remedy the worst cases of fragmented and ineffective provision, the Act provided the legislative and administrative basis for a national system of compulsory education for five to thirteen-year-olds.<sup>361</sup> Key to this was the idea of equality of opportunity through uniformity of practice and much of the Act's provisions were directed at bringing schools, teachers and local managers in line with clearly articulated national standards.<sup>362</sup> Premised on centuries of educational policy, the ideas encapsulated in these standards were not new. However, they now had a comprehensive legal and financial structure to promote and enforce them. The main thrust of this was to create a network of school board districts across Scotland.<sup>363</sup> Closely aligned with the old parish administrations, these districts operated under locally elected school boards that were responsible for the sufficiency and effectiveness of educational provision within their bounds. With some adjustment over time, this local system of governance lasted for almost fifty years until the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 instituted a regional framework of education authorities.

#### Establishing a state system

As detailed in their *First Annual Report*, the initial priority of the newly constituted Board of Education in Scotland following the passing of the 1872 Act was to establish a comprehensive network of school board districts across Scotland.<sup>364</sup> Covering all burghs and parishes, this local system of administration was considered the most practical and democratic solution.<sup>365</sup> However, the delineation of these districts was not without its challenges and local opinion often played a key role in shaping them. The very small parishes, which it was proposed should be amalgamated with neighbouring parishes, posed a particular challenge and the Board 'experienced no small difficulty in dealing with cases of this description'.<sup>366</sup> Indeed, the idea of

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<sup>361</sup> The leaving age was raised to fourteen by the Education (Scotland) Act 1883.

<sup>362</sup> Anderson refers to this as 'democratic uniformity', superseding the foundational emphasis on religious unity. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People* (Oxford, 1995), p.25.

<sup>363</sup> As McDermid points out, in comparison to the Elementary Education Act, 1870 which applied to England and Wales, 'the 1872 Act was more ambitious and the boards it established had more powers than those in England'. J. McDermid, 'Education and Society in the Era of the School Boards, 1872-1918', in Anderson, Freeman and Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*, p.191.

<sup>364</sup> First Annual Report of the Board of Education in Scotland to the Right Honourable the Lords of Committee of the Privy Council of Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1874 [C.1028]. Until 1878 the Board worked under the direction of the Scottish Education Department based in London, and from 1878-1885 the London Committee of Privy Council on Education had oversight across the United Kingdom. Findlay, *Education in Scotland*, p.25.

<sup>365</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.69.

<sup>366</sup> Parishes with no more than 250 inhabitants were considered to be 'too small'. First Annual Report of the Board of Education, p.vi.

uniting parishes 'was received with such marked aversion, and met with so many objections' that they 'were constrained, in deference to local feelings, very reluctantly to lay aside, or at least to delay, such proposed unions' in the majority of cases.<sup>367</sup> In consequence, the initial number of school boards was 984 and with the addition of two new districts, Grangemouth and Kininmonth, this became 986.<sup>368</sup> Of the original boards, 924 were parish districts and sixty were burghs, and in 1873 ratepayers across the country went to the polls to elect their first local school board.<sup>369</sup> Comprising all occupiers of property rated at four pounds or more per annum, both male and female, the school board electorate as a proportion of the wider population varied between areas with typically greater representation in the larger towns and cities.<sup>370</sup> According to contemporary analysis, which was limited to a select number of parishes and burghs, while a third of the population of Edinburgh (32%) and a quarter of Govan (26%) were entitled to vote, just over a tenth of the inhabitants of Dalry (11%) and even less in Kilwinning (8%) were on the roll (**Appendix D**).<sup>371</sup> However, it is significant that even in the smaller parishes the school board electorate at this point was much broader than the parliamentary one.<sup>372</sup>

### Widening participation in school management

Although the lower classes, defined here as those who did not pay rates, were excluded from the school board election process, those eligible to vote far outnumbered the heritors who had previously been qualified 'to attend or vote at any meeting' relating to parochial education.<sup>373</sup> Looking at the case study area, in 1868-9 Fortingall had ten such heritors, Killin had five and Kenmore just two.<sup>374</sup> In comparison, at the third triennial election of Kenmore School Board a decade later 125 people were on the electoral roll.<sup>375</sup> Compared to an overall population of 1,491, those registered were still in the minority, constituting just eight percent of the populace (**Table 3.1**).<sup>376</sup> Yet, given that around forty-three percent of the inhabitants were under the age of twenty, the proportion should be considered nearer to fifteen percent.<sup>377</sup> In addition, with

<sup>367</sup> Only twelve small parishes were united to adjacent parishes at this stage. Ibid.

<sup>368</sup> These school board districts were erected by the Sheriff under Section 17 of the 1872 Act. Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> Elections were successful in 971 districts and those that failed to elect or had their election declared void, including Dumbarton (landward) and Edderton, had their boards nominated by the Board of Education. Ibid, pp.vii-viii.

<sup>370</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.166.

<sup>371</sup> This House of Commons return was ordered on the motion of Mr Macfie, MP for Leith and covered thirteen parishes/burghs in Aberdeen, Ayr, Edinburgh, Lanark, Renfrew. None of these had small school boards of five members. School Boards (Scotland). Return relating to School Board Elections in Scotland, *PP*, 1873 (412).

<sup>372</sup> As Anderson notes, this was to change with the Third Reform Act of 1884, which broadened the parliamentary franchise with the result that 'agricultural labourers might have the parliamentary but not the school board vote'. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.166.

<sup>373</sup> The Parochial Schools (Scotland) Act, 1803 stipulated that only proprietors of lands 'of at least One hundred Pounds Scots of valued Rent appearing in the Land Tax Books' could attend or vote at meetings. J. Raithby *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II. Containing the Acts 43 Geo.III (1803) and 44 Geo.III (1804)*, (London, 1823), p.55.

<sup>374</sup> Parochial Schools (Scotland). Return of the Number of Heritors Qualified to Attend and Vote at any Meeting held Pursuant to the Act 43 Geo. 3, c. 54, defined in the 22nd Section of the said Act, in all Parishes in Scotland in which a Parochial School is Established, *PP*, 1868-69 (411), pp.1, 6.

<sup>375</sup> *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 29 Apr. 1879.

<sup>376</sup> Figure taken from Table XI 'Scotland in School Board Counties and Districts in 1881'. The school board district comprised 1,432 people from Kenmore and 59 from Weem. Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland taken 4th April 1881, with Report. Vol. I, *PP*, 1882 [C.3320] p.271.

<sup>377</sup> Due to slight differences in the population figures given for the school board district, parish and registration district of Kenmore, the table disaggregating by age is not directly comparable to the school board district population quoted. However, the proportion of inhabitants under the age of twenty in the registration district (475 of 1,112 equals 43%) has

323 separate families recorded for this school board district in 1881 it can be assumed that a fair number of households were represented by a voter. Returning to the national picture, although the majority of electors across town and country were male, a significant number of women were entitled to vote. Taking the sample of districts examined in the 1873 return as a guide, nineteen percent of those on the electoral roll were women ([Appendix E](#)).<sup>378</sup> There was some variation between districts with the proportion of women on roll ranging from eleven percent in Old Monkland and Govan, to thirty-one percent in Portobello, but most were around the average.<sup>379</sup>

**Table 3.1: Population of case study districts, 1871-1911** <sup>380</sup>

Parish	Population				
	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
Fortingall	1,766	616	527	465	465
Kenmore	1,615	1,491	1,318	1,260	1,096
Killin	1,856	1,277	2,423	1,423	1,412

\* As the 1871 figures predate the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, these relate to the parishes whereas those from 1881 are for the school board districts. The difference between 1871 and 1881 is not therefore an indicator of demographic change.

In terms of electoral turnout, just over half of the male electors (53%) in the sample voted and around a third of women did (32%).<sup>381</sup> However, these averages disguise the fact that a greater proportion of both men and women exercised their suffrage in the smaller parishes. This was certainly the case at the 1879 election in Kenmore where it was reported that ‘out of 125 voters, 120 went to the poll’ which equates to a ninety-six percent turnout.<sup>382</sup> In contrast, as the Board of Education observed, ‘in the larger towns the number of electors who neglected to perform the duty of voting was very considerable’.<sup>383</sup> Looking more specifically at women voters, while in some of the burghs female turnout was exceptionally low, the lowest being thirteen percent in Leith and seventeen percent in Dundee, the Ayrshire parishes of Kilwinning and Dalry had seventy-one percent and seventy-five percent of their female electors go to the polls ([Appendix F](#)).<sup>384</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that more women than ever were taking part in the democratic process was widely recognised, and even in burghs with a low turnout such as Aberdeen, where under a third of female electors (31%) voted, it was reported that ‘the ladies

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been used to calculate the likely number of over-twenties in the larger school board district (43% of 1,491 equals 641, leaving 850 adults over twenty. 125 of 850 equals 15%). Ninth Decennial Census.

<sup>378</sup> School boards (Scotland), p.3.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>380</sup> Eighth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland taken 3d April 1871, with Report. Vol. I, *PP*, 1872 [C.592], p.40; Ninth Decennial Census, p.271; Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland taken 5th April 1891, with Report. Vol. I, *PP*, 1892 [C.6755], p.289; Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland taken 31st March 1901, with Report. Vol. I, *PP*, 1902 [Cd. 1257], p.142; Census of Scotland, 1911, Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland. Volume II, *PP*, 1913 [Cd. 6896], pp.144-5.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 29 Apr. 1879.

<sup>383</sup> This was reported in the Board’s first report which provides a summary of voter behaviour. While not comparing directly to the rural parishes, the poor turnout in the larger towns was noted. First Annual Report of the Board of Education, p.viii.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*

turned out in large numbers at all the polling places'.<sup>385</sup> Although it is difficult to gauge the turnout in the small rural parishes of the case study and quasi-random sample, there is nothing to suggest that women who were entitled to vote did not do so.<sup>386</sup>

Depending on the size and population of the district, boards had between five and fifteen members and were elected on a triannual basis.<sup>387</sup> All of the rural school board districts considered in this study had the minimum of five members. If the number of nominated candidates did not exceed the number of members required then no poll was taken. However, in the majority of cases 'the election was contested, and in some of them with great keenness', and the social composition of the returned boards seemed 'fairly to represent all classes and denominations' of rate-payers.<sup>388</sup> As a rule, those nominated and elected were male, but a few women did find their way onto the boards; at the first election, 5,645 men were appointed while just 'seventeen ladies' were 'elected members of thirteen School Boards'.<sup>389</sup> Once elected the boards were asked to fill in a schedule detailing the population of their district, the number of school-age children therein, the number on roll and those in actual attendance, the number not under instruction, the number and type of schools, as well as the size and condition of the school buildings.<sup>390</sup> Unfortunately, many of the school boards were slow in providing this information, with submissions often being vague or incomplete, and the Board of Education felt compelled to take matters into their own hands by appointing twelve officers of inquiry who visited 'in all 330 parishes and burghs'.<sup>391</sup> All three of the case study parishes were visited, as were a quarter of the quasi-random sample districts (**Table 3.2**).<sup>392</sup> Tasked with inspecting the 'existing schools and proposed sites', these officers travelled the length and breadth of Scotland to furnish the Board with 'full and accurate information'.<sup>393</sup> Central intervention was also required to resolve 'differences in opinion' between 'members of School Boards, or between the School Boards and the ratepayers', and the Board of Education visited no less than 143 districts for this purpose.<sup>394</sup> As a result of these visits, the Board concluded that although 'an opinion was frequently expressed that ample school accommodation of the most efficient kind existed in the rural districts' there was 'throughout the country great need of additional school accommodation'.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> 'The School Boards', *Dundee Courier and Argus*, Tuesday 1 Apr. 1873, p.3.

<sup>386</sup> The 1873-74 Valuation Roll for Kenmore lists twenty-four women and 153 men (assuming duplicate names are the same person) as the main proprietor or occupier of property rated at £4 or more. Around fourteen percent of ratepayers were therefore women and should have been entitled to vote in the school board election. However, how many of these were registered on the electoral roll and turned out to vote is not ascertainable from the available sources.

<sup>387</sup> Areas with a population under 2,500 had five members and this went up incrementally with the most populated areas (over 100,000) having fifteen. First Annual Report of the Board of Education, p.vii.

<sup>388</sup> Elections took place in 549 parishes and fifty burghs. *Ibid.*, p.viii.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.* Although further details are not given in this report, McDermid's research shows that female members were confined to the larger urban boards. These women also tended to be 'wealthy upper middle class' with 'philanthropic and feminist interest'. McDermid, 'Blurring the Boundaries: School Board Women in Scotland, 1873-1919', p.358.

<sup>390</sup> First Annual Report of the Board of Education, p.ix.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, p.x.

<sup>392</sup> Seventeen of the sixty-six sample districts were visited (26%). *Ibid.*, pp.22-4.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, p.x.

<sup>394</sup> Visits to both parishes and burghs were undertaken by one or more members of the Board or by the secretary. *Ibid.*, p.xi.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*

**Table 3.2: Case study and quasi-random sample:  
School board districts visited by Officers of Inquiry, 1873** <sup>396</sup>

School Board District	County
<b>Quasi-random sample</b>	
Kininmonth*	Aberdeen
Ardchattan & Muckairn	Argyll
Barr	Ayr
Kilmarnock	Ayr
Glammis	Forfar
Duirinish	Inverness
Strath	Inverness
Nairn	Nairn
Orphir	Orkney
Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho	Peebles
Monzievaird and Strowan	Perth
Lochs	Ross and Cromarty
Southdean	Roxburgh
Selkirk	Selkirk
Tingwall	Shetland
Fintry	Stirling
Golspie	Sutherland
<b>Case study</b>	
Fortingall	Perth
Kenmore	Perth
Killin	Perth

\* District made up of parts of Longside, Lonmay, Old Deer and Strichen. All but Longside was visited.

Given that less than ten years earlier the Argyll Commission had reported that school provision was adequate in a great number of rural parishes, this new assessment by the Board should be seen to reflect a redefinition of educational standards rather than as proof that rural sufficiency was a myth.<sup>397</sup> As detailed in the previous chapter, only fifteen percent of the rural parishes in the quasi-random sample were considered to need additional provision in 1865 whereas an evaluation of existing school accommodation printed in 1875 recommended additional schools in half of the districts and enlargements in just over a third of them (38%).<sup>398</sup> The main reason for this was a shortage of places for school-age children, which made the execution of the Act's compulsory clause problematic. However, in many cases the shortfall was not great and it would be an exaggeration to say that the schools were wholly inadequate.

<sup>396</sup> First Annual Report of the Board of Education.

<sup>397</sup> Of all the parishes and registration districts, both rural and urban, across Scotland only 198 were listed as having some deficiency. Furthermore, ten areas were considered to have a surplus of schools. Education Commission (Scotland), Second report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, pp.66-76.

<sup>398</sup> Provision was considered inadequate in nine out of the fifty-nine parishes analysed. See previous chapter for details. 1875 figures taken from Second Annual Report of the Board of Education in Scotland to the Right Honourable the Lords of Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1875 [C.1276]. Unfortunately, only forty-two of the sixty-six sample districts were reported on; of these, twenty-one were to build one or more new schools, and sixteen were to enlarge the existing accommodation.

Furthermore, it is significant that new schools and additions were proposed even in districts where all of the existing schools were classified as good. Eighteen school boards (43%) were in this situation, with none of their schools being marked as indifferent or bad, and while four of these (22%) were asked to provide at least one new school, half were required to make some additions or improvements.<sup>399</sup> Therefore, although some building was required to ensure an adequate number of school places, the efficiency of many of the schools was not in question. Indeed, the majority of rural school board districts (79%) had at least one school that was considered to be good and only fifteen (36%) contained schools classified as bad.<sup>400</sup>

### School board composition

Focusing in on the case study school boards of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin, under cursory examination the boards elected during the first few decades following the Education Act appear typical of the rural districts with landowners and ministers having a clear presence. However, closer observation challenges some of the widely-held assumptions about these, and particularly the contention that the smaller rural boards simply replicated existing parochial power structures. Using newspaper records and school log books it is possible to build up a picture of school board membership during the later nineteenth century and analysis, including comparison with the composition of other parochial bodies, reveals a number of things.<sup>401</sup> Starting with Kenmore, for which the most complete information is available, the first board members were James Bett of Bolfracks, John Martin of Claggan, Alexander McNaughton of Remony, Duncan Campbell of Kiltyrie and the Rev. Allan Sinclair.<sup>402</sup> In terms of the socio-economic status of these men, James was the estate factor, John, Alexander and Duncan were prosperous tenant farmers and Allan Sinclair was the Free Church minister of Kenmore (**Table 3.3**).<sup>403</sup> At the following election in 1876, four of these men were returned to the board with James Anderson of Ben Lawers Hotel taking the place of the minister without a contest.<sup>404</sup> Comparing this with the parochial board of Kenmore at this time shows that there was significant overlap between the boards, with the same tenant farmers, ministers, and landowners acting as community representatives on both. In 1873, the estate factor, James Bett, served as chairman for both, and all but one of the other school board members were also on the parochial board.<sup>405</sup> Despite the similarity, however, it is important to remember that

<sup>399</sup> All of the schools were 'good' in eighteen of the forty-two districts, four of these had plans for a new school sanctioned by the Board of Education and twenty-one were to enlarge the existing accommodation.

<sup>400</sup> Thirty-three of the forty-two districts had at least one 'good' school and fifteen had at least one 'bad' school. In addition, eighteen districts had schools that were classified as 'indifferent'. Second Annual Report of the Board of Education.

<sup>401</sup> Unfortunately, no school board records survive for any of the districts. Searches were therefore done of the online British Newspaper Archive and articles relaying the results of the school board elections were found for most years for Kenmore, some years for Killin and very few for Fortingall.

<sup>402</sup> 'Educational', *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 27 Apr. 1876.

<sup>403</sup> Valuation Roll of the County of Perth, 1873-1874 (Perth, 1874), pp.194, 198, 200.

<sup>404</sup> No poll was required as only these five men were nominated.

<sup>405</sup> Alexander McNaughton, Duncan Campbell and the Rev. Allan Sinclair were all part of the parochial board that met on 20 May 1873, but John Martin's name does not appear in any entries around that date. McNaughton and Sinclair were also appointed to the managing committee that year. PKCA, Kenmore Parochial Board/Parish Council Records, CC1/7/21/1, Minute Book of the Parochial Board of Kenmore, 1869-1884.

whereas the parochial board was dominated by unelected members, with the ministers and elders automatically gaining a place, the entirety of the school board was elected by ratepayers who nominated and voted for their preferred candidates.<sup>406</sup> Indeed, it is interesting that two members of the first school board were also locally-elected members of the parochial board rather than members of the kirk session.<sup>407</sup>

In this respect, it is somewhat hasty to pronounce rural school boards unrepresentative, or question their 'popular' character as Anderson has done, simply because they bore a striking resemblance to less democratic local bodies.<sup>408</sup> Whilst a review of the quasi-random sample of rural districts does confirm that it was common for there to be some overlap between the parochial and school boards, with just under half of them being chaired by the same man in 1877, the case study example testifies to the possibility of subtle but significant differences between them.<sup>409</sup> Although the school board franchise was limited to ratepayers who were a small part of the parish population, it did allow a far greater number of people a say in who should govern the local schools. This fits with Bain's conclusion, arising from a detailed assessment of the social composition of the school boards of Fife, that 'the opportunities provided by the Act of 1872 for a wider social range of participation in the administration of local schools were to an impressive extent taken up'.<sup>410</sup> Furthermore, although underlying socio-cultural, economic and political factors may have constrained the school board election process, with people feeling compelled to elect the usual local worthies as a matter of course, the system allowed for newcomers to enter the educational stage.

Reviewing the results of the 1873 school board elections, Anderson calculated that around a quarter of the elected board members were ministers of religion.<sup>411</sup> Yet, this should not be taken to mean that local ministers were guaranteed a place on the school board or would be assured the position of chairman if elected.<sup>412</sup> This second point is clear from the 1877 Parochial Return which shows that only ten (16%) of the rural school boards in the sample were chaired by a

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<sup>406</sup> Assessment for poor rates required that, in addition to the heritors and members of the kirk session, the parochial board had a number of locally-elected members. Falkirk Archives, [n.d.] 'Parochial Boards and Parish Councils Finding Aid', <[http://www.falkirkcommunitytrust.org/heritage/archives/finding-aids/docs/Parochial\\_boards.pdf](http://www.falkirkcommunitytrust.org/heritage/archives/finding-aids/docs/Parochial_boards.pdf)>, accessed 1 May 2015.

<sup>407</sup> Alexander McNaughton and Duncan Campbell were elected members of the Parochial Board of Kenmore in 1873. Minute Book of the Parochial Board of Kenmore, 1869-1884.

<sup>408</sup> Although Anderson does acknowledge the need for more local research, he is content to generalise 'that those elected were often the same kind of local notables as had governed education before 1872' and therefore concludes 'that their "popular" character was limited'. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.167.

<sup>409</sup> Data for sixty-two of the sixty-six school board districts was extracted from the *Parochial Directory of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877). Of these twenty-seven (44%) had the same chairman for the two boards; in eighteen (29%) the Inspector of the Poor also served as the clerk and treasurer of the school board; and in eight (13%) both of the above were the same. In addition, in five districts (8%), the chair of the parochial board acted as clerk, or clerk and treasurer, to the school board.

<sup>410</sup> While recognising the 'gradual and differentiated process' across Fife, Bain observes clear 'democratic change in local control' during this period. A. Bain, *Towards Democracy in Scottish education. The Social Composition of Popularly Elected School Boards in Fife (1872-1919)* (Linlithgow, 1998), p.116.

<sup>411</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.107.

<sup>412</sup> Bain's research also revealed a 'declining participation' of ministers, as well as landowners and councillors, as time went on which led to 'a broader and more representative mix' by 1919. He found that, 'many a minister there was defeated at the poll, or wisely withdrew ahead of the due date'. Ibid, pp.116, 118.

minister at that time.<sup>413</sup> Returning to the case study, on a number of occasions none of the ministers were nominated, and at other times those who stood for election failed to gain enough votes. Taking the Rev. Allan Sinclair as an example, having served on the first school board, he was not nominated for re-election in 1876, and though a candidate in the following election of 1879 he only received twenty-eight votes and, being ranked sixth, did not get a place on the board.<sup>414</sup> The Rev. James B. McKenzie, who took up residence as the Established Church minister in 1872, was also a candidate in this election but only received two votes.<sup>415</sup> The successful candidates were three tenant farmers, all with sizeable holdings, a farming hotelier and the parish's principle landowner the Earl of Breadalbane (**Table 3.3**). Two of the farmers were now serving for a third term, and all the others were new to the board.

**Table 3.3: Kenmore School Board members, 1873-1882** <sup>416</sup>

Term	School Board Members	Votes	Residence	Occupation
1873-1876	John Martin	-	Farm of Claggan and Tomfluir	Farmer
	James Bett	-	Bolfracks House	Estate Factor/Land Agent
	Alexander McNaughton	-	Farm of Remony	Farmer and Manufacturer
	Duncan Campbell	-	Farm of Kilyrie	Farmer
	Rev. Allan Sinclair	-	Free Church Manse, Kenmore	Free Church Minister
1876-1879 (no poll)	John Martin	-	Farm of Claggan and Tomfluir	Farmer
	James Bett	-	Bolfracks House	Estate Factor/ Land Agent
	Alexander McNaughton	-	Farm of Remony Farm of Acharn	Farmer and Manufacturer
	Duncan Campbell	-	Farm of Kilyrie	Farmer
	James Anderson	-	Ben Lawers Inn and Tomb	Farmer and Hotel Keeper
1879-1882	Duncan Campbell	166	Farm of Kilyrie	Farmer
	Alexander McNaughton	132	Farm of Remony	Farmer
	Archibald McDougall	102	Farm of Claggan and Tomfluir Farm of Milltown and Leckbuie	Farmer
	James Anderson	90	Ben Lawers Inn and Farm	Farmer and Hotel Keeper
	Earl of Breadalbane	81	Taymouth Castle	Principle landowner
	<b>Not elected:</b> Rev. Allan Sinclair Rev. James B. McKenzie	28 2	Free Church Manse, Kenmore Parish Manse of Kenmore	Free Church minister Established Church minister

<sup>413</sup> At the same time only five (8%) were chaired by someone listed as having a title (Earl, Sir, Colonel). No regional pattern is obvious. Overall sample size sixty-two of the sixty-six sample parishes. *Parochial Directory of Scotland*.

<sup>414</sup> *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 29 Apr. 1879.

<sup>415</sup> Biographical information from *Gillies, In Famed Breadalbane*, p.278.

<sup>416</sup> Information taken from: 1871 Scotland Census, Valuation Roll for the County of Perth 1873-1874, 1875-6 and 1880-81, plus W. W. Halliburton (ed.), *The County Directory of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1872).

**Table 3.4: Killin School Board members, 1873-1879**<sup>417</sup>

Term	School Board Members	Votes	Residence	Occupation
1873-1876	Charles A. McDiarmid	-	Acharn House	Doctor
	John McNaughton	-	Bank House (listed under Alexander McNaughton)	Draper and Bank Agent (Bank of Scotland)
	Rev. Colin A. McVean	-	Killin Manse and Glebe	Established Church Minister
	<i>Details unknown</i>			
	<i>Details unknown</i>			
1876-1879	Rev. Alexander Stewart	123	Free Church Manse, Killin	Free Church Minister
	Charles Stewart	115	Tigh an Duin, Killin; Farm of Murlaganbeg and Boreland	Colonel/Farmer/Wool merchant
	John McNaughton	83	Bank Officer and Agent's House	Bank Agent (Union Bank of Scotland)
	Alexander McNiven	71	Farm of Innishewan	Farmer
	Earl of Breadalbane	63	Taymouth Castle	Principle landowner
	<b>Not elected:</b> Rev. C.A. McVean Dr James Todd	45 18	Killin Manse and Glebe Pendicle at Gray Street	Established Church Minister Doctor

Comparing this to Killin, there were a number of similarities as well as some clear differences. Piecing together evidence from the school log books, the first members of the Killin Board included an elderly doctor, a bank agent and the Established Church minister, Rev. Colin McVean (**Table 3.4**). Though not stated in the available records, it is likely that the Earl of Breadalbane was also a member along with the Free Church minister, though any number of people could have filled these places. In contrast to Kenmore, therefore, farmers did not initially dominate the board and even as their numbers increased in subsequent years, manufacturers and merchants from the villages retained a presence. The position of the clergy, however, appears to have been very similar to Kenmore with there being no assurance of success. This is clear from the second election, the results of which were reported by the *Glasgow Herald*, which saw the Rev. Colin McVean lose his seat at the same time as the Rev. Alexander Stewart of the Free Church, gained the most votes.<sup>418</sup> Whether or not denominational preference played into this is hard to tell, but what is clear is that the parish minister had stiff competition in seeking to retain his formal role in educational governance.<sup>419</sup>

Conversely, while the clergy were not always represented on the school boards of Kenmore and Killin, in the neighbouring parish of Fortingall the local ministers retained their influence. This is particularly apparent during the closing decades of the nineteenth century when the Free Church minister, Rev. Connell, and his Established Church

<sup>417</sup> Information taken from: 1871 Scotland Census, Valuation Roll for the County of Perth 1873-1874 and 1875-6 and *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography of Scotland* (1861).

<sup>418</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 25 Apr. 1876.

<sup>419</sup> McVean was the son and namesake of a previous minister of Kenmore and was therefore a local man. Having been educated at St Andrews he became the Established Church minister of Killin in July 1869 and oversaw the transfer of the parochial school to the school board just a few years later. His father Colin McVean was originally from Glenlochay and served in the mission of Ardeonanig and Lawers before moving to Kenmore in 1794. He wrote the Kenmore parish report for the *Statistical Account* referred to in the previous chapter. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, pp.276-7, 293.

colleague Rev. Campbell, took a lead role. Though details of Fortingall School Board are sketchy, it appears likely that Rev. Connell was the Chairman for the first term and that the Rev. Campbell then filled the position from 1876 until 1897.<sup>420</sup> The other members of the 1879 board were Rev. Connell, Peter Anderson of Duneaves, Robert Fisher of Culdermore and Archibald Menzies.<sup>421</sup> The first two of these laymen were farmers and the third was an innkeeper (**Table 3.5**).<sup>422</sup> The fact that Campbell served as chairman for so many years, being ‘unanimously re-elected’, not only suggests that he was considered to be doing a good job, but also that no-one else was keen to supplant him.<sup>423</sup> Indeed, the fact that he was eventually succeeded as chair by Charles Munro, factor of Sir Donald Currie’s Fortingall estates, shows a preference for someone with official status who performed similar duties elsewhere.<sup>424</sup> At the same time, the development of a new system of local government precipitated by the establishment of county councils in 1889 broadened the scope of activity and gave those with political ambitions other avenues to explore.<sup>425</sup>

**Table 3.5: Fortingall School Board members, 1879-1882**

Term	School Board Members	Residence	Occupation
1879-1882	Rev. David Campbell (C)	Manse of Fortingall	Established Church Minister
	Rev. Duncan M. Connell	Free Church Manse, Fortingall	Free Church Minister
	Peter Anderson	Duneaves Farm; Grazings of Tynayere and Cromrar	Tenant Farmer
	Archibald Menzies	Inn and Lands at Kirkton and Balnard; Moss Park West	Innkeeper
	Robert Fisher	Culdermore, Fortingall	Tenant Farmer

The composition of the three case study school boards continued in much the same vein in the early twentieth century, with most members staying in post for successive terms. As before, Killin had the broadest mix with farmers, professionals, merchants, tradesmen and ministers all taking their place on the board, and in Kenmore the trusted formula of wealthy tenant farmers and local ministers operating under the light-touch chairmanship of the principle landowner gave school management a distinctive feel. The position of the local clergy in these two districts appears to have become less precarious as

<sup>420</sup> Unfortunately, none of the Fortingall School Board records survive and as newspaper archive searches brought up few references to members of the board, the school log book has been the primary source of information.

<sup>421</sup> It is also interesting that Archibald McGregor is mentioned in the log book in connection with the board although he was not one of the five elected in 1879. Archibald was a prosperous tenant farmer.

<sup>422</sup> Valuation Roll of the County of Perth for the Year 1880-81, pp.211-15.

<sup>423</sup> ‘Fortingall’, *Dundee Courier*, 18 Apr. 1879.

<sup>424</sup> According to a newspaper report, Munro was ‘known as banker, Town Clerk, and Clerk to the Commissioners of Income Tax’ as well as being ‘sheriff clerk depute, clerk and treasurer to Dull Parish Council, clerk to Kenmore School Board, secretary to Aberfeldy Gas Light Company, secretary to the Cemetery Company, chairman of Fortingall School Board, County Councillor for the burgh of Aberfeldy, a member of the Factor’s Association, a Justice of the Peace, and a Commissioner of Supply’. ‘Sir Donald Currie’s Factor’, *Dundee Courier*, 22 Nov. 1907.

<sup>425</sup> For instance, in 1890 Peter Anderson set his sights on becoming ‘the candidate nominated by the leading farmers and crofters to represent this district’ as a county councillor rather than seeking chairmanship of the school board. ‘County Councils’, *Dundee Courier*, 6 Jan. 1890.

time went on, with men of the cloth becoming a firm feature of the later school boards.<sup>426</sup> While Fortingall is less clear, the log book entries suggest that the local ministers and the estate factor retained a dominant position on the board, while others with an interest in scholarly matters came and went. One such individual was Alexander Stewart, a shoemaker who later published a historical account of the parish and became something of a local celebrity.<sup>427</sup> As this analysis has shown, while the neighbouring school boards of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin had much in common they differed from one another in subtle but significant ways. Reflecting the unique physical and social characteristics of each parish as well as the individual personalities of key figures, these differences shaped the way educational policy filtered down to the grassroots and influenced how the schools were used and viewed by people locally.

### Schools and scholars

Taking stock of the schools which had been transferred to the school boards, by 1876 there were two schools in Fortingall, six in Kenmore and five in Killin (**Figure 3.1**).<sup>428</sup> This compares to a total of eighteen schools recorded by the Argyll Commissioners a few years prior to the Act.<sup>429</sup> A similar trend also occurred across rural Scotland with seventy-five percent of the quasi-random sample parishes witnessing a consolidation and reduction in the number of schools in their bounds.<sup>430</sup> Compared to the 193 schools recorded by the Commissioners in 1865 (**Table 2.9**), the boards had charge of ninety-seven schools in 1875.<sup>431</sup> The drop was pronounced in the Highland and insular parishes but was not limited to this region.<sup>432</sup> Moreover, in a quarter of the districts the number of schools stayed the same, though this should not be taken to mean that no educational changes took place. These parishes were spread across the country from Berwick to Dumfries, all the way up to Argyll and Inverness.<sup>433</sup> Putting these changes in demographic context, the population of most parishes had gone down in the ten years from 1865 to 1875 with some experiencing major depopulation.<sup>434</sup> At the same time, fourteen of the

<sup>426</sup> In Kenmore, both the Free Church minister, Rev Allan MacKenzie, and the Established Church minister, Rev. James McKenzie served on the board between 1894 and 1906. In Killin, the Rev. George Mackay was a member of the board from at least 1906 until the school board system was abolished. *Ibid*.

<sup>427</sup> Stewart served on the 1897-1900 school board. He wrote *A Highland Parish*.

<sup>428</sup> The second school in Fortingall, named 'Balchroicht', is likely to have been a continuation of the infant school listed as 'Bailechnoie' in the 1865 Statistics Relative to Schools, p.201.

<sup>429</sup> Statistics Relative to Schools lists five schools in Fortingall, five in Kenmore and eight in Killin. However, two of the schools listed under Killin in this return (Kiltyrie and Glenlochay) were placed under the School Board of Kenmore so in reality Kenmore went from seven schools to six, and Killin from six schools to five.

<sup>430</sup> Analysis was undertaken using data from Statistics Relative to Schools and the Second Annual Report of the Board of Education. Comparison was restricted to the fifty-nine wholly rural parishes, with forty-four of the parishes witnessing a decrease in the number of schools and fifteen seeing no change. No parishes in this sample saw an increase. It should be borne in mind, however, that not all schools had been transferred to the school boards by 1875 with a number continuing to operate under other authorities during the period of transition.

<sup>431</sup> To ensure direct comparison only the fifty-nine parishes included in the 1865 statistics (excluding the landward districts and Kininmonth) have been analysed. The figure for all sixty-six districts is 104. Even taking account of the fact that some schools were yet to be transferred to the boards, this reduction is significant.

<sup>432</sup> Whilst those with the biggest losses were in Inverness (Duirinish lost ten and Strath six), Ross and Cromarty (Lochs, eight) and Aberdeen (Glengairn and Strathdon, both five), the Kincardine parish of Marykirk and Blackford in Perthshire also saw a significant drop (the first losing five and the second four). In most cases, however, the tally of schools only went down by a few, with around half of those witnessing a reduction losing just one school (39% of the total sample) and a further twelve districts dropping by two (20% of the total sample). Twenty-three of the forty-four districts lost one school and twelve lost two. Two districts went down by three, one by four, three by five, one by six, one by eight and one by ten.

<sup>433</sup> This spread included Fife, Berwick, Lanark, Perth, Dumfries, Argyll, Kirkcudbright, Inverness, Haddington and Peebles.

<sup>434</sup> 76% of the sample parishes had witnessed a decline in population, and significant depopulation took place in Glengairn, Aberdeen (down by 1,080 people), Cavers and Kirkton, Roxburgh (decrease of 482) and Cameron, Fife (decrease of 476). Although the parishes of Cavers and Kirkton were listed as separate school boards in the Second Annual Report of the Board

sample districts (24%) witnessed population growth, but in most cases the increase was minimal with the overall number of inhabitants remaining stable.<sup>435</sup> In this respect, the closure and consolidation of schools in rural Scotland occurred at a time of demographic stabilisation and decline in the country districts. Despite this, the size of rural schools continued to vary widely and in the sample districts the registers for 1874 ranged from eleven to 235, with attendance figures being slightly less due to the sporadic presence of some children.<sup>436</sup> In total there were 8,578 scholars on roll, and an average attendance of 6,238. During the following years, the number of schools began to increase again and by 1903 there were 138 day schools in the sample districts.<sup>437</sup> As the school boards were able to raise loans to erect new buildings, or extend and improve existing ones, there was a flurry of activity in the years following 1872 and by the close of the century a new educational architecture dominated the rural, as much as the urban, landscape. Purpose built stone schools, often with accompanying houses to accommodate teachers, sprang up across the Scotland, and as educational requirements changed further building work was undertaken. Golspie Public School in Sutherland, recent photographs of which are presented in **Figure 3.2**, provides a good illustration of this. As shown by the dated slabs, a new school building was erected in 1875 and a further addition was made in 1892.

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of Education, by the following year they had been combined. The data for both parishes has therefore been combined to give comparable figures for 1865 (1861 Scotland Census) and 1875 (1871 Scotland Census), as well as subsequent years. In 1861, Cavers had a population of 1824 and Kirkton 421 (total 2,245), and in 1871 Cavers was 1,443 and Kirkton 320 (total 1763).

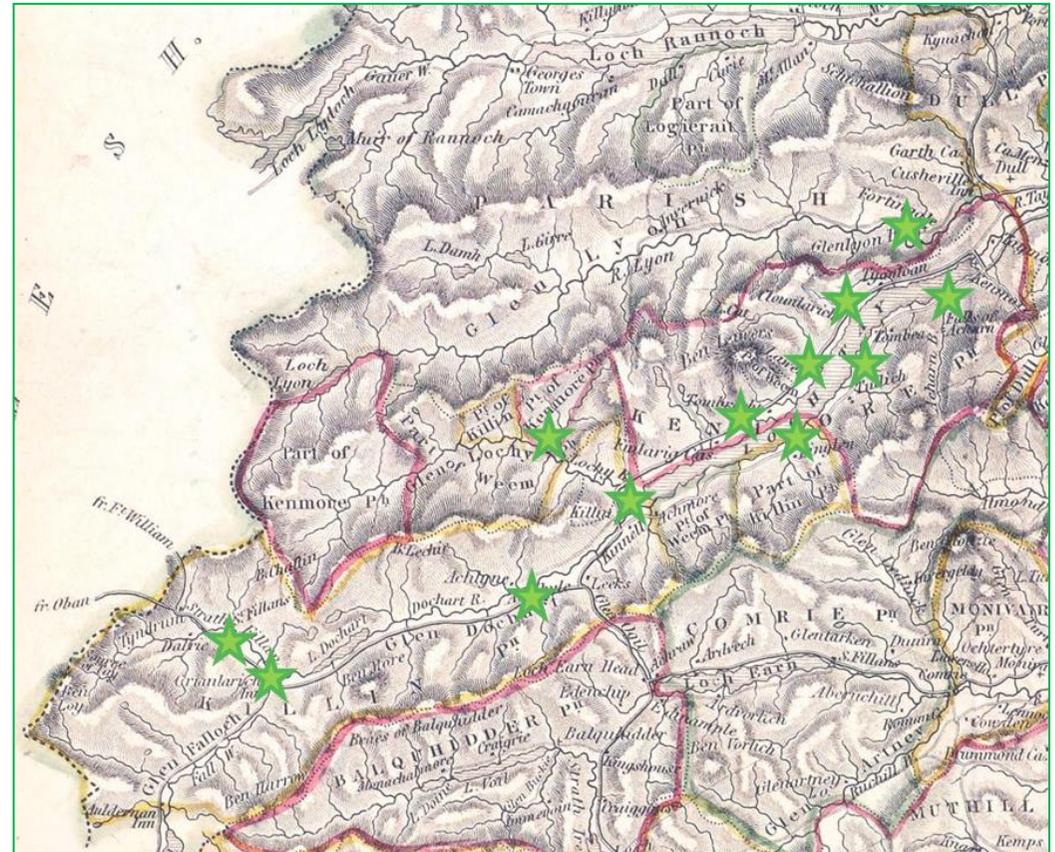
<sup>435</sup> The figures quoted in the two reports suggest that there was significant population growth in Lochs, Ross and Cromarty. However, closer inspection of the data and a review of the Census reports suggest that there was some difference in the boundaries of this district between the two dates. It is therefore difficult to accurately assess demographic change.

<sup>436</sup> Average attendance figures for the school year ranged from eight to 176. Second Annual Report of the Board of Education.

<sup>437</sup> Again, for consistency, analysis was done for the fifty-nine districts. The figure for all sixty-four districts (reduced from sixty-six due to the discontinuation of the landward portions of Dumbarton and South Leith) is 148. Scotch Education Department. Return showing ... a List of Day Schools ... for the Year Ended 31<sup>st</sup> August, 1902 [hereafter List of Day Schools, 1901-2], *PP*, 1903 [Cd. 1528].

Figure 3.1: Public schools in Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin, 1875 <sup>438</sup>

No. of Parish, &c.	County, Parish, Burgh, or School District.	Public Elementary Schools under School Boards.				
		No.	Designation of School.	No. of Scholars		Amount of Fees Collected.
				On the Roll at end of Year.	In Average Attendance during the Year.	
34	Fortingall - - -	1	Fortingall - - -	84	60	35 18 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
		2	Balchroicht - (T)	23	19	9 7 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
41	Kenmore - - -	1	Acharn - - -	118	110	51 7 3
		2	Ardalnaig - - -	51	43	23 2 0
		3	Glenlochay - - -	20	14	2 2 6
		4	Kiltyrie - - -	53	41	15 4 0
		5	Lawers - - -	70	54	23 5 6
		6	Fearnan - - -	30	20	4 14 3
42	Killin - - -	1	Killin - - -	109	80	48 2 3
		2	Glendochart - - -	30	26	9 17 0
		3	Strathfillan - (T)	17	23	9 15 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
		4	Creanlarich - (T)	13	12	1 18 6
		5	Ardeonaig - - -	41	32	12 0 0



<sup>438</sup> Marked by stars on the map, from left to right the schools are: Strathfillan, Creanlarich, Glendochart, Glenlochay, Killin, Kiltyrie, Ardeonaig, Lawers, Ardtalnaig, Fearnan, Fortingall and Balchroicht (both in the village of Fortingall and thus marked with a single star), and Acharn. Table copied from the Third Annual Report of the Board of Education for Scotland, to the Right Honourable the Lords of Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1876 [C.1506], pp.291-2. Base map: Perth and Clackmannan Shire, Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 10, Perth (Edinburgh, 1845), digital copy downloaded from <<http://www.military-researcher.co.uk/Pictures/Perthshire%20Map.jpg>>, accessed 26 July 2015.

**Figure 3.2: Photographs of Golspie Public School building** <sup>439</sup>



<sup>439</sup> Photos taken during a field trip to Golspie in August 2015, © Helen Young.

As recipients of public funds, Roman Catholic and Episcopalian schools, as well as some subscription and voluntary schools, were included in the 1875 return although they remained outside board control.<sup>440</sup> Such schools, however, were few in number in rural Scotland with none in the case study area and just a handful across the sample districts.<sup>441</sup> Some of the board schools, though deriving most of their income from government grants and local rates, also benefitted from additional funds with twenty-one of the sample schools being in receipt of some form of endowment.<sup>442</sup> A fifth of them had also received a grant from their local authority for teaching secondary and technical education (Table 3.6).<sup>443</sup> As explored later, none of the case study schools were in receipt of such funds at this stage. The school rolls now varied in size from ten to 309, confirming the enlargement of some schools, and the total number of scholars across the districts had risen to 11,122, with an average attendance of 9,212.<sup>444</sup> Given the particular educational needs of the Highlands and Islands, most school additions occurred in the insular districts.<sup>445</sup> This reflected concern, expressed in the 1884 report of the Napier Commission that ‘the gradual abandonment of schools ... kept up by ecclesiastical agencies or benevolent societies’ in these remote rural areas following the 1872 Act had caused ‘temporary paralysis of educational effort’, and thus inflicted ‘injury’ on ‘a large number of children, with results affecting their future lives’.<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> At the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, the Catholic and Episcopalian churches opted to retain control of their schools rather than pass them over to the school boards. These schools eventually became part of the public system following the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, with most being transferred to the boards by the early 1920s. As Paterson suggests, the development of a separate secondary school system posed a new financial challenge and made continuation without state funding difficult. Paterson, ‘Democracy or Intellect? The Scottish Educational Dilemma of the Twentieth Century’, p.233.

<sup>441</sup> 143 of the 148 schools in the total sample (sixty-four school board districts) were public schools, otherwise known as board schools. Charlestown School in Aberlour, Banff, was an Episcopalian School; Tomintoul in Kirkmichael, Banff, had a Roman Catholic School in addition to the public one; and Newlandrig School in Borthwick, Edinburgh, was a subscription school. Napier Memorial School in Marykirk, Kincardine, and Bowhill School in Selkirk (landward) received most of their funding from voluntary contributions. List of Day Schools, 1901-2.

<sup>442</sup> Government grants came in the form of an annual grant and one in relief of fees. The endowments ranged from £1 in New Luce, Wigtown, to £95 in Borgue, Kirkcudbright. Ibid.

<sup>443</sup> 29 out of 148 schools (20%) received between £1 and £78 for teaching secondary or technical subjects. Although in most cases only one school within a district (or two in larger areas) were funded for this, eleven of the twelve schools in Lochs received a small grant, and both schools in St Martin’s, Perth, were given £10.

<sup>444</sup> Although these figures are not directly comparable, not least because the school age had increased to 14 in the interim, they suggest a 30% increase in the number on roll and a 48% increase in attendance. Two school boards (Dumbarton and South Leith) were included in the 1874 figures but not in the 1902 figures. However, as these boards did not have charge of any schools, the variation in sample size (sixty-six in 1874 to sixty-four in 1902) does not distort the data.

<sup>445</sup> Duirinish, Inverness went from three schools to eight, Lochs, Ross and Cromarty from two to twelve, and Tingwall, Shetland from one to six.

<sup>446</sup> The Royal Commission of Inquiry, known as the Napier Commission, was established in 1883 and published its extensive report (4,070 pages long) in 1884. Given its view that education was ‘one of the most important of all agencies affecting the welfare of the people’, a detailed section on this was included. Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices, *PP*, 1884 [C.3980] [C.3980-I] [C.3980-II] [C.3980-III] [C.3980-IV], pp.66-7.

**Table 3.6: Quasi-random sample: Grants from local authorities for secondary and technical education, 1901-2** <sup>447</sup>

School	School Board District	County	Grant for Secondary and Technical Education
Drumblade	Drumblade	Aberdeen	£23
Kininmonth	Kininmonth	Aberdeen	£7
Aberlour	Aberlour	Banff	£78
Tomintoul	Kirkmichael	Banff	£20
Dyke	Dyke	Elgin	£2
Glamis	Glamis	Forfar	£1
Cortachy	Cortachy and Clova	Forfar	£7
Dunvegan	Duirinish	Inverness	£6
Borrodale	Duirinish	Inverness	£8
Kyleakin	Strath	Inverness	£9
Broadford	Strath	Inverness	£45
Wiston	Wiston and Robertson	Lanark	£2
Broughton, Central	Kilbucho, Broughton and Glenholm	Peebles	£15
Glendevon	Glendevon	Perth	£10
Balbeggie	St Martins	Perth	£10
Guildtown	St Martins	Perth	£10
Airidhbhruaich	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£1
Graver	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£1
Grimshader	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£1
Kershader	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£1
Lemreway	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£1
Cromore	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£2
Knock-ian-due	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£2
Lurebost	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£2
Planasker	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£2
Balallan	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£3
Fidigary	Lochs	Ross and Cromarty	£3
Scalloway	Tingwall, Whiteness and Weisdale	Shetland	£15
Golspie	Golspie	Sutherland	£72

<sup>447</sup> List of Day Schools, 1901-2.

**Table 3.7: Statistics relating to the case study schools, 1902** <sup>448</sup>

Schools under case study school boards	Last month of school year	5-14 pop.	Recog. accomm.	Av. Scholars on register	Actual attendance					Add. av. attend Art.23(b)	Number of teachers			Income of school					Annual grant 1901-1902 (£ s d)
					Under 7	Above 7 and under 10	Above 10 no merit cert.	Above 10 with merit cert.	TOTAL		Cert.	Assist. teachers Art. 79	Pupil teachers	Expen. on maint.	Annual grant 1900-1901	Grant in relief of fees	Rates	Vol. con.	
<b>Fortingall</b>		<b>85</b>																	
Fortingall	June		100	65	11	16	23	3	53	0	1	0	0	228	68	34	126	1	70 12 0
<b>Kenmore</b>		<b>233</b>																	
Acharn	March		117	104	25	32	29	2	88	0	1	1	0	314	99	53	163	0	100 14 7
Ardeonaig	March		51	23	5	7	9	0	21	0	1	0	0	116	33	10	73	0	36 8 0
Ardtalnaig	March		84	14	2	4	5	2	13	0	1	0	0	81	28	7	46	0	28 10 0
Fearnan	March		65	24	3	5	9	0	17	0	1	0	0	98	34	11	53	0	32 12 0
Kiltyrie	March		50	22	3	6	7	0	16	0	1	0	0	99	27	7	64	0	32 9 8
Lawers	March		82	30	3	7	10	0	20	0	1	0	0	114	36	11	67	0	36 15 0
<b>Killin</b>		<b>246</b>																	
Creanlarich	March		51	45	15	15	8	0	38	1	1	0	0	73	43	17	18	0	51 0 6
Glendochart	March		45	34	13	7	7	0	27	0	1	0	0	168	47	20	101	0	42 10 9
Killin	March		204	112	14	29	48	1	92	0	3	0	1	403	119	65	219	0	107 5 8
Strathfillan	March		50	24	1	6	10	1	18	0	1	0	0	133	37	12	84	0	35 8 8

<sup>448</sup> List of Day Schools, 1901-2, pp.136-7.

Elsewhere, as in the case study districts, the number of schools remained static or shifted slightly as a result of the boundary changes following the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889.<sup>449</sup> According to the 1902 survey, Fortingall had one school (losing the infant school at Balcroicht), Kenmore had six (no longer having Glenlochay under its charge but gaining Ardeonaig) and Killin had four (**Table 3.7**).<sup>450</sup> These schools also differed in size, ranging from a roll of fourteen in Ardtalnaig, thirteen of whom were attending regularly, to a register of 112 in Killin where the average attendance was ninety-two. Comparison to 1874, however, shows differing experiences across the three districts: Fortingall witnessed a decline in the number of school-age children and those on roll, but the average attendance stayed the same; Killin retained a similar population but experienced an increase in pupil numbers; and Kenmore, though the population dropped only slightly, saw a dramatic fall in registration and attendance (**Table 3.8**). As a result, across the case study area there was a decrease in scholars despite the number of school age children going up. As well as highlighting the pitfalls of generalisation, even at local level, this confirms that school registration and attendance had been particularly good in Kenmore parish prior to and immediately following the 1872 Act. The Free Church school in Acharn had drawn pupils from neighbouring districts as well as further afield, and this clearly continued under the first school board with the numbers on register exceeding the school-age population.<sup>451</sup>

**Table 3.8: Case study: School-age population, school rolls and attendance, 1874 and 1902**<sup>452</sup>

	1874 Children 5-13	1902 Children 5-14	1874 Scholars on roll	1902 Average on register	1874 Average attendance	1902 Average attendance
<b>Fortingall</b>	106	85	107	65	55	53
<b>Kenmore</b>	244	233	313	217	257	175
<b>Killin</b>	248	246	193	215	129	175
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>508</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>613</b>	<b>497</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>403</b>

<sup>449</sup> The Act instituted a system of elected county councils and established a Boundary Commission to reconfigure the parish boundaries to suit the new requirements.

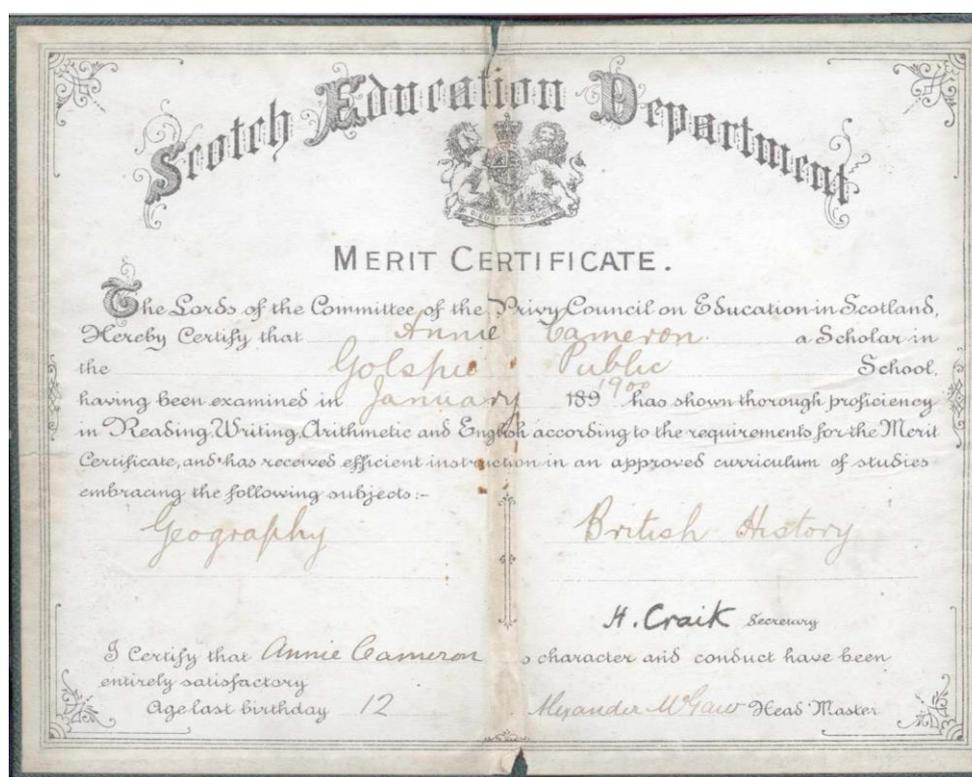
<sup>450</sup> List of Day Schools, 1901-2, pp.136-7. Although Glenlochay School is not listed, it continued to be run when there were enough pupils to justify employing a teacher and was transferred to the Killin School Board. For instance, Miss Louise C. Stewart was engaged from 15<sup>th</sup> November until 15<sup>th</sup> May 1893 to teach four scholars, and was advised that 'the former teacher got lodgings which are comfortable – at a shepherd's house not far from school'. Stirling Council Archives [hereafter SCA], School Board/Management Committee Minutes and Letter Books, PC3/11/9, Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Miss Stewart, 28 Oct. 1893, p.240.

<sup>451</sup> For instance, in June 1865 one pupil was admitted from Edinburgh and two boys who enrolled the following November came a distance of five miles and boarded in the village. Similarly, in 1869 a pupil from Glasgow, who was noted as being 'not advanced' was admitted. PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Acharn Free Church School Log Book, 1863-1873, pp.41, 52, 181. As explored by Abrams, it was common for disadvantaged city children, and particularly those considered educationally backward, to be boarded out to rural areas during this period. L. Abrams, *The Orphan Country. Children of Scotland's Broken Homes from 1845 to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1998).

<sup>452</sup> Second Annual Report of the Board of Education, p.178; List of Day Schools, 1901-2, pp.136-7.

Examining the school rolls in more detail, the 1902 figures show a spread across the ages in the case study districts (the exception being Killin which had a higher proportion of older scholars) and reveal that very few pupils above the age of ten had gained the Merit Certificate.<sup>453</sup> This pattern is reflected across the sample districts with only six percent of the total number of scholars over ten having the award.<sup>454</sup> One such pupil was twelve-year-old Annie Cameron of Golspie Public School, whose certificate is shown in **Figure 3.3**.<sup>455</sup> By 1906, the different stages were being categorised as infants, junior division, senior division and supplementary courses, and although the school rolls had gone down slightly in the case study districts all eleven schools remained open, with most providing advanced instruction (**Table 3.9**).<sup>456</sup> However, just a few years later when the push to centralise secondary education had taken hold, supplementary courses were only being taught in Fortingall, Killin and Ardtalnaig.

**Figure 3.3: Merit Certificate issued to pupil of Golspie Public School, 1900**<sup>457</sup>



<sup>453</sup> Intended to encourage pupils to complete Standard V, marking the end of their elementary education, the Merit Certificate was introduced in 1892. By 1903 it had been replaced by a qualifying examination for all twelve-year-olds, allowing those who passed to progress to secondary school and study for a leaving certificate.

<sup>454</sup> Across the 148 schools, 277 children above the age of ten were noted as having gained the merit certificate, whereas 4,024 had not. Total number of children attending these schools in 1902 was 4,301. List of Day Schools, 1901-2.

<sup>455</sup> According to McDermid, most girls who gained the Merit Certificate went on to train as teachers. McDermid, 'Education and Society in the Era of the School Boards', p.193.

<sup>456</sup> Although it does not appear in the statistics cited, there was also a small infant school located in Kenmore, referred to as 'Kenmore Temporary Infant School'. A surviving log book suggests that it was in operation from March 1906 until February 1918. Although under the charge of a schoolmistress, the school was supervised by the Acharn schoolmaster, who visited regularly. The pupils transferred to the larger school in Acharn when they were old enough. Perth and Kinross Council Archive, School Log Books, 15/05, Kenmore Temporary Infant School Log Book 1906-1918.

<sup>457</sup> The Merit Certificate was awarded for proficiency in the subjects of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English, and other subjects taken were also noted. Photo: Merit Certificate of Annie Cameron, Golspie Public School, 1900, digital copy downloaded from <[http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item\\_page.jsp?item\\_id=62516](http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item_page.jsp?item_id=62516)>, accessed 24 July 2015.

**Table 3.9: Statistics relating to the case study schools, 1906-7 and 1910-11** <sup>458</sup>

Schools under case study school boards	5-14 pop.	Recog. accomm.	Av. Scholars on register	Actual attendance					Number of teachers		
				Under 7 (infants)	Above 7 and under 10 (Junior Division)	(Senior Division)	Supplementary Courses or Higher Grade Schools)	TOTAL	Certificated	Uncertificated	Pupil teachers
<b>1906-7</b>											
<b>Fortingall</b>	<b>85</b>										
Fortingall		100	66	9	21	21	7	58	1	0	0
<b>Kenmore</b>	<b>233</b>										
Acharn		117	96	17	32	24	7	80	1	2	0
Ardeonaig		51	20	3	7	6	1	17	1	0	0
Ardalnaig		84	13	2	4	6	0	12	Probationer	0	0
Fearnan		65	21	3	3	9	4	19	1	0	0
Kiltyrie		50	9	2	1	4	1	8	[left blank]	0	0
Lawers		82	27	2	8	13	0	23	1	0	0
<b>Killin</b>	<b>246</b>										
Crianlarich		94	70	9	23	24	3	59	1	1	0
Glendochart		45	29	2	8	14	0	24	1	0	0
Killin		204	68	10	13	21	13	57	2	1	0
Strathfillan		50	39	7	10	6	0	23	1	0	0
<b>1910-11</b>											
<b>Fortingall</b>	<b>85</b>										
Fortingall		100	72	13	20	24	4	61	1	0	0
<b>Kenmore</b>	<b>233</b>										
Acharn		117	69	11	18	33	0	62	2	1	0
Ardeonaig		51	27	6	6	13	0	25	1	0	0
Ardalnaig		84	13	4	3	4	1	12	1	0	0
Fearnan		65	12	1	7	3	0	11	1	0	0
Kiltyrie		50	11	4	2	2	0	8	1	0	0
Lawers		82	24	5	7	10	0	22	1	0	0
<b>Killin</b>	<b>246</b>										
Crianlarich		94	50	8	15	21	0	44	2	0	0
Glendochart		45	20	3	5	10	0	18	1	0	0
Killin		204	97	20	29	23	16	88	3	0	0
Strathfillan		43	37	6	13	12	0	31	1	0	0

<sup>458</sup> Scotch Education Department. Return showing I. The Expenditure from the Grant for Public Education in Scotland in the Year 1907. II. A List of Day Schools aided from Parliamentary Grant, with Statistics relating thereto, for 1906-7, and Supplementary Lists of Schools, &c. III. Summarised Statistics of Day Schools in Receipt of Annual Grants under the Code, for the Year ended 31st August, 1907, *PP*, 1908 [Cd. 4003], pp.106-7; Scotch Education Department. Return showing I. List of Day Schools aided from Parliamentary Grant, with Statistics relating thereto, for 1910-11, and Supplementary Lists of Schools, &c. II. Summarised Statistics of Day Schools in Receipt of Annual Grants under the Code, for the Year ended 31<sup>st</sup> August, 1911, *PP*, 1912 [hard copy contained in NRS, ED7/1/32], p.74.

## Boundary reform

Although intended to simplify matters by getting rid of detached portions and other anomalies, the reconfiguration of parish boundaries in 1889 roused local opinion and led to some protracted disputes between school boards. As detailed in the letter books of Killin School Board, the proposed changes on Lochtayside, which saw Kenmore parish extended to within a mile of Killin village, were not widely welcomed and the local boards embarked on a campaign to get these districts 'reincorporated into Killin parish'.<sup>459</sup> The main argument was that 'the people in these districts have all their business in connection with Killin and very seldom visit Kenmore at all' with the natural boundary being 'distant about seven miles from the village down on either side of Loch Tay'.<sup>460</sup> In relation to the schools, it was asserted that as children living 'three miles down on either side of the loch' would continue to attend Killin School their parents would have 'no interest whatever in School Board matters in Kenmore parish though they are coerced into being parishioners of Kenmore'.<sup>461</sup> For this reason, Killin School Board strongly urged the Commission to allow the boundary to extend at least this distance. The Commissioners were not to be persuaded, however, and despite subsequent appeals, including a letter to the local MP Sir Donald Currie, the realignment went ahead as planned.<sup>462</sup> As well as leaving those affected dissatisfied that national imperatives had overridden local concerns, the whole affair put a strain on the relationship between the neighbouring parishes.

The removal of Ardeonaig to Kenmore parish and subsequent transfer of the school to Kenmore School Board in particular caused friction between the two boards.<sup>463</sup> As school funds and ratepayer's money had been used to build a new teacher's house a decade before, Killin School Board wished to be compensated for its loss.<sup>464</sup> The Kenmore board were not minded to do so, however, and the Killin clerk was forced to seek legal advice and submit their claim to the Boundary Commissioners.<sup>465</sup> At the same time, the Kenmore board made a counter claim for the small school in Glenlochay and dealings between the two boards became increasingly legalistic.<sup>466</sup> In February 1892, the Commissioners put an end to the matter by ruling that no

<sup>459</sup> The clerk of the school board, R.A. Robertson, who also appears to have been serving as chairman of the Killin Parochial Board and the school board at this time, wrote a number of letters in 1890 challenging the proposed boundary changes.

<sup>460</sup> Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Secretary of the Boundary Commissioners, 21 Aug. 1890, pp.49-51.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*, p.50.

<sup>462</sup> Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Sir Donald Currie, 9 Dec. 1890, pp.70-2.

<sup>463</sup> Ardeonaig school was handed over at Whitsunday (15 May) 1891. Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Clerk of Kenmore School Board, 28 Mar. 1891, p.79. According to the school log book, the last visit of Killin School Board members to the school took place on 13 June 1890, and the first deputation of the Kenmore board (three members plus clerk) took place on 23 June 1891. SCA, School Log Books, PC3/17/12, Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, pp.191, 197.

<sup>464</sup> The school itself was the 'old parochial school built some considerable time ago', 'the teacher's house was built in 1880 at the expense of the ratepayer's of the parish, no money being borrowed for this purpose', and 'the premises are held by Feu Charter from Lord Breadalbane'. Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Secretary of the Boundary, 17 Sept. 1891, p.102.

<sup>465</sup> The details of the case, clearly stating that the School Board of Kenmore 'refused to admit liability of any kind' was reported in a local newspaper, 'Important decision by the Boundary Commissioners', *Dundee Advertiser*, 14 Apr. 1892.

<sup>466</sup> The affair was termed 'The School Board of Killin v. the School Board of Kenmore'. For many years Glenlochay School had 'been kept open for the winter months at the joint expense of Killin, Kenmore and Weem'. Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Secretary of the Boundary Commissioners, 14 Jan. 1892, p.120.

payment was due, but it is likely that subsequent relations between the two boards and other parish bodies, as well as between those individuals directly involved in the dispute, were tainted by this, at least in the short-term.<sup>467</sup>

While the Ardeonaig case initially appears to be a money-grabbing exercise, on closer inspection it reveals a deep sense of community school ownership. It also shows how small rural school boards such as Killin, though an instrument of a national system, operated primarily as parish institutions. As explored in the previous chapter, local investment and support over many decades had shaped educational provision in the case study area, and even after 1872 local responsibility for the schools was strongly felt.<sup>468</sup> Passing a school over to another district was therefore not a simple matter. Compounding this, school buildings often had a wider community function with meetings and events being held in them without charge. For instance, as noted in a Preliminary Statement of 1874, the school in Ardeonaig was ‘sometimes used in evenings for religious purposes by the clergymen of the district’, and Killin School Board maintained this policy of allowing the schools ‘to be given for the use of religious services to all denominations when ... they do not interfere with the teachings’ throughout its period of administration.<sup>469</sup> Indeed, one of the primary concerns of the Free Church when transferring their schools to local boards was that congregations should continue to have ‘the right of use’.<sup>470</sup> As detailed in a lengthy memorial, subsequently appended to the *First Annual Report*, ‘the dread of being speedily deprived of that right, and even the fear that the property may be taken by a School Board with the intention of selling at the first convenient opportunity, causes many of them to hesitate to transfer their schools at all’.<sup>471</sup>

### The teaching workforce: gender and certification

Looking more specifically at who the teachers were and how the nature and composition of the educational workforce changed, evidence from school records for the case study area shows that many existing staff members stayed in post when the schools were handed over to the school boards. All of the principal teachers were male at the point of transfer despite there having been a number of independent infant schoolmistresses operating locally during the first half of the nineteenth century. How long they stayed after the transfer to the state system was another

<sup>467</sup> On 3 Feb. 1892 the Killin clerk wrote to their solicitor notifying them that the Boundary Commission had intimated that no payment was due for the transfer of school premises. Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Robert Menzies, 3 Feb. 1892, p.123. Details of the case are also recorded in NRS, Records of Boundary Commission (1889), HH38/19/23, Boundary Commission (1889): Processes in Claims for Financial Adjustment in Consequence of Boundary Changes: The School Board of Killin v. The School Board of Kenmore, c.1893.

<sup>468</sup> In the words of Withrington, Scottish education prior to 1872 had been ‘emphatically and crucially community-led and community funded’, and this legacy was not easily forgotten. D.J. Withrington, ‘Church and State in Scottish Education before 1872’, in H. Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: Education*, Vol. 11 (East Linton, 2000), p.63.

<sup>469</sup> National Records of Scotland, School Inspection reports, ED18/2187, School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Ardeonaig, 1874-1950, Ardeonaig Preliminary Statement, 3 Feb. 1874; Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Rev. Hugh Finie of Strathfillan, 14 Apr. 1890, p.30.

<sup>470</sup> ‘Memorial and queries for the Special Commission appointed by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland with reference to the transference of Free Church Schools to Local School Boards, Appendix VIII, First Annual Report of the Board of Education, p.26.

<sup>471</sup> Ibid.

matter, however, and although the Acharn schoolmaster, Dugald McEwan, retained his position for many years, both the Ardeonaig teacher and the parochial schoolmaster of Fortingall were gone within a year.<sup>472</sup> While the reasons for this are not made explicit, the fact that both men were uncertificated would have made their continued employment problematic under the new regulations which stipulated that 'before any grant is made ... the Department must be satisfied that ... the principal teacher is certificated'.<sup>473</sup> That grants were withheld for this reason is evident in the Board of Education's early reports, which provide details for each school under school board management. For example, of the 104 schools listed for the quasi-random districts in 1874, ten did not receive a government grant for that year simply because their teacher was not certificated.<sup>474</sup> Although the Scotch Code did allow for the automatic certification of old-style parochial masters, unless they were graduates or members of council of a 'Scotch University' they could only gain a third class certificate.<sup>475</sup> The perceived inferiority of this class of teacher is likely to have caused some concern amongst the school board members and may well have been seen as demeaning by the teachers in question who were both in their fifties and had taught for around thirty years. It is, therefore, no surprise that they were replaced so quickly and seemingly without any furore.<sup>476</sup> Indeed, the fact that the Fortingall master was succeeded by someone with a third class certificate and also that the Ardeonaig post was vacant for a number of months before a new teacher was appointed, suggests that the change was driven more by the existing teachers than by the boards themselves. There is certainly a case to be made that it was done by mutual agreement rather than one side forcing the hand of the other.

**Figure 3.4:** Kenmore School Board advertisements for teachers, 1874-76 <sup>477</sup>

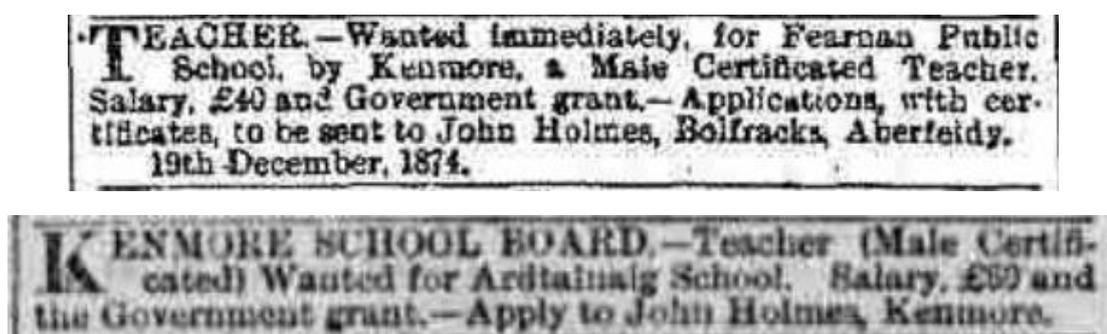


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<sup>472</sup> Duncan Campbell of Fortingall and Duncan McLaren of Ardeonaig both left their positions in 1874. The precise reasons are unclear from the available sources.

<sup>473</sup> Article 17 (d), SED, 1874. Code of Regulations, with an Appendix of New Articles and of all Articles Modified, by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1874 [C.930], p.9.

<sup>474</sup> Appendix XVIII, Second Annual Report of the Board of Education.

<sup>475</sup> Article 66, SED, 1874. Code of Regulations, p.17. There were four classes of certification, one being the highest and four the lowest.

<sup>476</sup> Duncan Cameron remained in Fortingall and continued with his other public duties. No evidence has been found that there was any ill-feeling between him and the school board members.

<sup>477</sup> 'Teachers, Governesses &c.', *Glasgow Herald* 13 Jan. 1875; 'Teachers, Governesses &c.', *Glasgow Herald*, 3 Nov. 1876.

Turning to the other case study schools, while Fearnan School was initially put under the charge of a female teacher, Miss Janet Nicholson, it is clear from job advertisements issued by Kenmore School Board during her notice period that they wished to appoint a male headmaster (**Figure 3.4**).<sup>478</sup> An initial lack of male applicants meant that they were forced to appoint another female certificated teacher, Miss Mary Barclay. Yet, when she left after just five weeks ‘owing to the uncomfortable condition of the schoolroom’, a male teacher once again took charge.<sup>479</sup> This gender preference was also expressed in an advertisement for a teacher for Ardtalnaig School, which specified that they should be ‘Male Certificated’, and in this instance a man, albeit a probationer, was appointed to the post. (**Figure 3.4**).<sup>480</sup> A tension between wanting the best possible teacher for the job and needing to fill positions in a timely and cost-effective manner was clearly felt, however, as shown by the case of Crianlarich School.<sup>481</sup> According to the Preliminary Statement made in 1879, the school had ‘been carried on in a small school room belonging to the people in the district’ and ‘the teacher till lately was a young man – a native of the place and not certificated’.<sup>482</sup> This teacher was succeeded by a young female certificated teacher, Miss Helen Allan, who had trained in Glasgow and was paid a comparatively generous salary, by local standards, of fifty pounds to teach a class of around fifteen children.<sup>483</sup> Whether or not any men had applied for the post is not known, but given the size, condition and location of the school it is possible that few, if any, applications were received from male teachers with equivalent qualifications, and Killin School Board were cognisant of the recruitment challenges they faced. Certainly by 1884, when an advertisement was placed for Crianlarich School, they had accepted the need to open up certain positions to male and female applicants (**Figure 3.5**). With an increasing number of women entering Scotland’s teacher training colleges during the late nineteenth century and the supply of male teachers contracting, pragmatism began to erode gender bias.<sup>484</sup> The very fact that in this instance a salary of £50 was promised regardless of the teacher’s gender is evidence of this as women were typically paid less for performing the same job (**Table 3.10**). It also shows that there were clear exceptions to the rule identified by Corr that local schoolboards ‘continued to advance a policy of sex discrimination in teachers’ pay’.<sup>485</sup>

<sup>478</sup> According to the log book, Miss Nicholson taught in Fearnan School from October 1873 until March 1875. PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911.

<sup>479</sup> George Burnett was in post from the end of January until the beginning of August 1876. Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> David McNaughton served as a probationary teacher from December 1876 until September 1877 and was succeeded by James J. Kelly. PKCA, School Log Books, Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1874-1912, CC1/5/7/157.

<sup>481</sup> Sometimes spelt Creanlarich at this time.

<sup>482</sup> NRS, School Inspection Reports, ED18/2215, School Inspector’s Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Crianlarich 1879-1951.

<sup>483</sup> Miss Allan had a second class, second order of merit certificate (2.2) and was twenty years old when she took up the Crianlarich post. The salaries of the other teachers recorded in the Preliminary Statements ranged from £27 in Lawers to £75 3 6 in Fortingall.

<sup>484</sup> In 1899 there were 334 women and 146 men studying in the teacher training colleges and whilst there were more male graduates (thirty-one compared to five women), the overall ratio of male trainees to women was 1:3 (193 men to 565 women). Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1900 [Cd.170] [Cd.171], p.17.

<sup>485</sup> H. Corr, ‘Politics of the Sexes in English and Scottish teachers’ Unions 1870-1914’, in Corr and Jamieson (eds.), *Politics of Everyday life*, p.191.

**Figure 3.5: Killin School Board advertisement for a teacher, 1884**<sup>486</sup>

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**Table 3.10: National average of teacher salaries by gender, 1870-1914**<sup>487</sup>

Date	Average salary of heads and assistants		Gender wage gap
	Male	Female	
1870	£101 16 7	£55 14 2	45%
1899	£143 7 9	£69 19 7	51%
1914	£163 0 0	£87 0 0	47%

Despite being the pragmatic rather than preferred choice for headships, by the early twentieth century female certificated teachers had established their place in the case study schools: in 1903 three of the eleven head teachers were women and in 1915 this had risen to four (**Table 3.11**). Furthermore, the suitability of women for infant and industrial education continued to be espoused. This was clearly expressed by John Gordon, Her Majesty's Inspector on the Training Colleges of Scotland, in his report for 1873 which stated that 'female tuition best befits all infant school and the junior classes of mixed schools'.<sup>488</sup> The Scotch Code, which was revised annually, gave formal recognition to this and allowed for the continued employment of unqualified women in educational roles. Article 32 (c) 3 was particularly important in this regard as it stated that, 'In mixed, girls', and infant schools a woman (not less than 18 years of age) if employed throughout the day in the general instruction of the scholars, and in teaching sewing, is, if approved by the inspector, accepted as equivalent to a pupil-teacher'.<sup>489</sup> Nevertheless, this approach was clearly envisaged as a short-term measure and as calls for the standardised training and the certification of all teachers became louder, the competent but untrained mistress was increasingly frowned upon. Certainly by the turn of the century her place in the public schools was being severely challenged. For instance, in Dr Stewart's Report on the Western Division for 1899 it was unashamedly 'regretted that the Article 32 (c) 3, teacher, is still to be met with in some country Board Schools'.<sup>490</sup> Furthermore, as summarised in the

<sup>486</sup> 'Situations vacant', *Dundee Courier & Argus*, 4 Oct. 1884, p.1.

<sup>487</sup> 1870 and 1899 figures taken from Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1900 [Cd.170] [Cd.171], p.23; 1914 figures from Education (Scotland). Return similar to part II. of the paper cd. 5951, issued by the Board of Education in 1911, but of wider scope, *PP*, 1914-16 (322), p.289. Taking just the figures for headteachers, masters earned on average £194 and mistresses £101. The 1914 return also shows that earning potential changed little for women with age, whereas men's salaries tended to be higher the older they were. The gender wage gap has been calculated by dividing the female average salary by the male average summary, multiplying by 100 and then subtracting that figure from 100.

<sup>488</sup> 'Report for the Year 1873, by Her Majesty's Inspector, John Gordon, Esq, LL.D., on the Training Colleges of Scotland', Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1874 [C.1026], p.51.

<sup>489</sup> Scotch Education Department. 1882. Code of Regulations with Appendices, by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1882 [C.3151], pp.12-13.

<sup>490</sup> Education (Scotland). Western Division. General Report for the Year 1899. By T. A. Stewart, Esq M.A., LL.D., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, *PP*, 1900 [Cd.145], p.8.

main report to the Committee, the decrease in the number of female assistant teachers recognised under this Article was regarded 'with satisfaction, as it proves a desire on the part of school managers to prefer the services of fully qualified teachers'.<sup>491</sup>

**Table 3.11: Case study head teachers for selected years between 1861 and 1915**<sup>492</sup>

School	Head teacher				
	1861	1873	1886	1903	1915
Killin	Robert Cameron	Robert Cameron	Archibald Borthwick	James Steven	Alexander J. Ross
Killin Free Church	Gilbert McDiarmid	<b>SCHOOL CLOSED</b>			
Glendochart	Donald McIntyre	Donald McIntyre	Archibald McKinnon	Archibald McKinnon	Robert Paterson
Ardeonaig	Duncan McLaren	Duncan McLaren	George Kerr	George Kerr	Jessie Reid
Strathfillan	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	William Harvey	Robert Paterson	William Grewar
Lawers	<i>Unknown</i>	John Haddow	Alexander Stewart	William Davie	William Davie
Kenmore	<i>Unknown</i>	William Armstrong	<b>SCHOOL CLOSED</b>		
Acharn	John Cameron	Dugald McEwen	Dugald McEwen	Dugald McEwen	Joseph J. Coull
Ardalnaig	<i>Unknown</i>	Francis Dodds	John Hamilton	Miss Mary Ross (Bella)	Miss Mary Ross (Bella)
Fearnan	<i>Unknown</i>	Janet Nicholson	Robert Ramsay	Miss Lizzie McLaren Roberts	Miss Lizzie McLaren Roberts
Fortingall	Duncan Cameron	Duncan Cameron	James Simpson	James Simpson	James Simpson
Kiltyrie	<i>Unknown</i>	John Haddow	Alexander Cameron	Alexander Cameron	Jean Crawford
Crianlarich	<i>Unknown</i>	Uncertificated male teacher	Miss Helen Allan?	Miss Jessie M. Matthews	Hugh MacKenzie
Glenlochay	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>

Within the case study districts, this drive for a certificated female workforce also took hold and although unqualified sewing mistresses continued to be employed, their remit, which had once included the care and basic instruction of the youngest scholars, was increasingly confined to industrial work. In their stead, female assistant teachers were engaged to take charge of the lower standards while the schoolmaster focused his attention on the more advanced pupils and subjects. Taking Acharn School as an example, Miss Mary McTavish, who had normal school training, served as the assistant teacher for two years from October 1873, and her successor, Miss Margaret Cameron, was 'qualified under Article 91 of the Scotch Code'.<sup>493</sup> Following this, a local girl, Eliza McPherson, who had been a paid monitor in the school and subsequently trained as a pupil-teacher, was promoted to the position of female assistant teacher.<sup>494</sup> While these women took different routes to qualification, they were all considered suitably trained, and therefore professional enough, to take on a teaching role within the school. Furthermore, the

<sup>491</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1900 [Cd.170] [Cd.171], p.16.

<sup>492</sup> Various sources have been used to compile this list, including school log books, newspapers and *Slater's Royal National Directory* for 1861, 1878 and 1903. Female teachers have been highlighted in green.

<sup>493</sup> Acharn Public School Log Book, 1873-1903.

<sup>494</sup> Eliza became the paid monitor in April 1876, a pupil teacher from March 1877 and assistant teacher from October 1881. She did, however, take the place of Miss Cameron in Sept. 1877. *Ibid*, pp.44, 67.

fact that Kenmore School Board wished to employ women in the assistant role is evident from the advertisement they placed in the *Dundee Courier* for a 'Female Assistant, Certificated' in 1875 (Figure 3.6) and the school log book confirms that a sewing mistress was employed at the same time.<sup>495</sup>

**Figure 3.6: Advertisement for Acharn assistant teacher, 1875**<sup>496</sup>

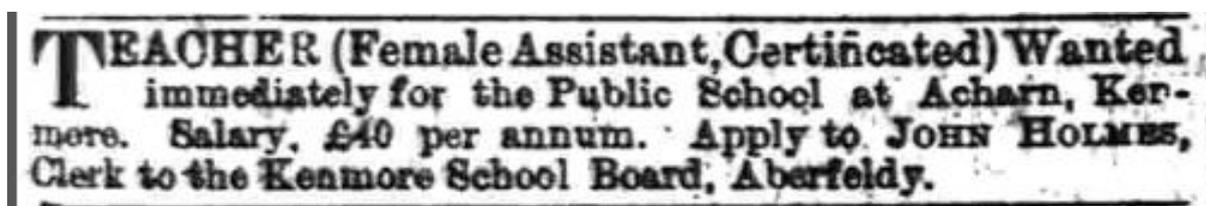


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Although women quickly gained a foothold in the smaller schools, the preference for men to oversee the larger establishments remained strong and headmasters were employed in the main village schools throughout the school board period. Indeed, Fortingall School was under the charge of the same teacher, James Simpson, from 1875 until 1920. Simpson, who had trained at Moray House in Edinburgh, was a conscientious teacher and, far from languishing in what others may have seen as an unchallenging environment, made every effort to enhance the educational opportunities in the district.<sup>497</sup> As well as teaching the day school, he ran an evening continuation class for a number of years and received encouraging feedback from Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI).<sup>498</sup> The report for 1899 was particularly glowing, observing how the 'lads, whose ages range from 14 to 25 show remarkable intelligence, and ... appear to be greatly interested in the work, which is most pleasantly and successfully directed and superintended by Mr Simpson'.<sup>499</sup> He was also personally ambitious and advanced his own qualifications later in life, receiving 'the degree of M.A. with honours in mathematics and natural philosophy' from the University of Glasgow in July 1917.<sup>500</sup>

The headmasters of Killin School were also of high academic standing, with the teacher in charge at the turn of the century, James Steven, being a Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland (FEIS) and holding a Master's degree, and his successor, Alexander J. Ross who was appointed in 1909, bore the designatory letters M.A., B.Sc.<sup>501</sup> The Killin headship attracted

<sup>495</sup> Miss Ann Robertson is named as the sewing mistress from Sept. 1877 until Dec. 1879, and at this point Mrs D. McEwen, the schoolmaster's wife, took on the role. Ibid, pp.67, 106.

<sup>496</sup> Given the date, this advert would have been placed following the resignation of Mary McTavish. 'Wanted', *Dundee Courier*, 16 Oct. 1875, p.1.

<sup>497</sup> For instance, John Clarke critiqued small rural school boards for having 'no career to offer a competent teacher', in his *Short Studies in Education in Scotland*, p.140.

<sup>498</sup> The surviving log book for the evening school begins in 1897 and the last entry was made on the 16<sup>th</sup> January 1913. Evening classes do not appear to have run every year with no entries between late February 1900 and October 1905, nor for the sessions from 1908 until 1912. The last session noted was 1912-1913.

<sup>499</sup> PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/105, Fortingall Public School Log Book for Evening Classes, 1894-1913, p.22.

<sup>500</sup> *Perthshire Advertiser*, 25 July 1917, p.3.

<sup>501</sup> The EIS was founded in 1847 'for the purpose of promoting sound learning and of advancing the interests of education in Scotland' and was granted a Royal Charter by Queen Victoria in 1851 which allowed it to award a degree of 'Fellow of the

considerable interest whenever it fell vacant, and even during the early years of the First World War the school board was inundated with applications. As reported in the *Perthshire Advertiser* in August 1915, ‘in connection with the vacancy in Killin ... five of a short leet out of 55 candidates were interviewed’.<sup>502</sup> The final choice of the school board was James McRaw, M.A., who originally hailed from Fortingall and had ‘for the past seven years been acting as English master in Wick Secondary School’.<sup>503</sup> Although McRaw’s connection with the wider district is unlikely to have been the deciding factor, it may well have had some bearing on the decision and suggests a continuing partiality for local teachers even though, due to lack of supply, the majority now employed were not native to the area. As shown in **Table 3.12**, whereas seven of the schools had been under the charge of a locally-born teacher in 1873, at the start of the twentieth century only one was.<sup>504</sup>

**Table 3.12: Case study: Birth place of head teachers, 1873 and 1903** <sup>505</sup>

School	1873		1903	
	Head teacher	Place of birth	Head teacher	Place of birth
Killin	Robert Cameron	Fortingall, Perth	James Steven	Arbroath, Forfar
Glendochart	Donald McIntyre	Killin, Perth	Archibald McKinnon	South Uist, Inverness
Ardeonaig	Duncan McLaren	Kenmore, Perth	George Kerr	Dalry, Ayr
Strathfillan	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	Robert Paterson	Bothwell, Lanark
Lawers	John Haddow	<i>Unknown</i>	William Davie	<i>Unknown</i>
Kenmore	William Armstrong	Kenmore, Perth	<i>School closed</i>	
Acharn	Dugald McEwen	Kenmore, Perth	Dugald McEwen	Kenmore, Perth
Ardalnaig	Francis Dodds	Yetholm, Roxburgh?	Miss Mary Ross (Bella)	Thurso, Caithness
Fearnan	Janet Nicolson	Odrig, Caithness?	Miss Lizzie McLaren Roberts	Polmont, Stirling?
Fortingall	Duncan Cameron	Fortingall, Perth	James Simpson	Dysart, Fife
Kiltyrie	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	Alexander Cameron	Blair Atholl, Perth
Crianlarich	<i>Uncertificated male</i>	Killin, Perth	Miss Jessie M. Matthews	Edinburgh

Unlike the majority of schools in the area which were one-teacher, by the early twentieth century Killin was employing three certificated teachers (**Table 3.7**). Alongside the schools in Fortingall and Acharn, it had been selected by the Secondary Education Committee of Perthshire as one of the schools in which ‘approved provision for higher education’ might be made under section 9B of a Minute dated 31<sup>st</sup> January 1893, and initially received a grant for ‘supplying

Institute’. EIS, ‘Our History’ <<http://www.eis.org.uk/public.asp?id=206>>, accessed 21 June 2015; *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 4 Aug. 1909, p.2.

<sup>502</sup> ‘New headmaster for Killin’, *Perthshire Advertiser*, 7 Aug. 1915, p.2.

<sup>503</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>504</sup> Although place of birth is a crude measure of whether someone is local, it does suggest an established connection to the area and indicates who may have been considered ‘native’, with family living in the area for some time.

<sup>505</sup> This table was prepared using evidence from school records and the Scotland Censuses (1841-1901). Best guesses are indicated with a question mark.

secondary education'.<sup>506</sup> However, as noted earlier, by 1903 none of the case study schools were in receipt of an additional grant for secondary or technical education, and although they did continue to teach supplementary courses throughout this period, the pull toward higher grade schools was strengthening.<sup>507</sup> As pressure to send older pupils to central schools for more advanced study grew, Killin School Board decided upon James Steven's retirement in 1909 to make the school 'an intermediate one, thus obviating to a large extent the necessity of sending children of twelve or thirteen years of age to secondary school much removed from their home and at considerable expense and inconvenience'.<sup>508</sup> Given its broader educational scope, sizeable roll and number of teaching staff, which from 1914 included a male Master's graduate as first assistant teacher, it is not surprising that the Killin headship attracted so many applications in 1915.<sup>509</sup>

Putting these changes in national context, data for the quasi-random sample districts confirms that while men continued to dominate teaching after the passing of the 1873 Act, by the early twentieth century women teachers far outnumbered them. The official rationale behind this shift, as articulated by the Napier Commission in 1884, was that 'female teachers ... whether as sole teachers or as assistants ... are generally not less successful than male teachers, up to the measure of their qualifications; they can teach branches of which men know nothing, but which are of great practical importance; they cost less; and they contribute a little more of those civilising influences which women exert, and which cannot be estimated by arithmetic'.<sup>510</sup> In 1875 the combined number of male teachers working under these school boards was 102 (83%) compared to twenty-one women (17%), and of the pupil teachers twenty-six were male (72%) and ten were female (28%).<sup>511</sup> All but eighteen of the schools were single-teacher establishments (82%), and the overwhelming majority of these were taught by a schoolmaster (93%).<sup>512</sup> Indeed, of the total number of schools only six were under the charge of a headmistress (6%) and none of these employed a sewing mistress or had male pupil teachers.<sup>513</sup> This suggests that, in the smaller schools at least, schoolmistresses were expected to teach industrial as well as academic subjects. Furthermore, it was clearly unusual for women teachers

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<sup>506</sup> 'Secondary education in Perthshire', *Dundee Courier*, 14 Mar. 1893, p.3; Education (Scotland). Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 31st January 1893, Providing for the Distribution of the Sum Available for Secondary Education under Section 2 (1) (b) of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, *PP*, 1893-94 [C.6842], p.5; 'Secondary education in Perthshire', *Dundee Courier*, 26 Aug. 1896, p.3.

<sup>507</sup> Whereas in 1906-7, only four of the schools (Ardalnaig, Lawers, Glendochart and Strathfillan) had no pupils on supplementary courses, in 1910-11 only three of them had (Fortingall, Ardtalnaig and Killin).

<sup>508</sup> 'Killin teacher retires', *Dundee Courier*, 30 June 1909, p.8.

<sup>509</sup> James S. Stalker, M.A., from the Higher Grade School, Buckie, was appointed to Killin School in June 1914 'with the creation of a sub-intermediate department'. 'Killin', *Perthshire Advertiser*, 24 June 1914.

<sup>510</sup> Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars, 1884, pp.76-7.

<sup>511</sup> Of the sample districts, sixty-three were listed as having schools under school board management. Dumbarton (landward), South Leith (landward) and Selkirk (landward) had none. The combined total number of schools noted is 103, but as one of these had been discontinued it has been excluded from analysis, leaving a sample of 102. Second Annual Report, 1875.

<sup>512</sup> Eighty-four of the 102 schools had either one male or one female teacher. Of these, twenty-seven had no other staff, thirty-seven also employed a sewing mistress, eight had at least one pupil teacher but no sewing mistress, and twelve had both. *Ibid.*

<sup>513</sup> Four of these were single-teacher schools with no other staff, and two had one female teacher supported by one female pupil teacher. *Ibid.*

to have authority over male teaching staff, even young men in training. It is also evident from these figures that the formalisation of teaching under the boards and rationalisation of provision initially curtailed the autonomy of women teachers in rural areas, with far fewer having sole charge of a school in 1875 than a decade before.<sup>514</sup> By 1914, women had regained this lost ground and advanced further, with headmistresses being employed by forty-three percent of state-aided schools (**Table 3.13**).<sup>515</sup> At the same time, of the total teaching workforce, across both primary and secondary, 15,700 were women (71%) and only 6,299 were men (29%).<sup>516</sup> The majority of these women (94%) worked in the primary sector, and most were assistant teachers.<sup>517</sup>

Despite the feminisation of the teaching profession, the status of women continued to lag behind that of men with the former being less likely to occupy a senior post and receiving significantly less pay than their male counterparts.<sup>518</sup> As Bischof points out, ‘women still faced a culture within the profession and occupational structure ... that kept the upper echelons of teaching and access to universities a largely male preserve until the very end of the century’.<sup>519</sup> Although a woman could acquire the same professional qualification as a man, the skill assigned to them was not the same and they typically received half the amount for performing a similar role.<sup>520</sup> While some commentators have argued that women were complicit in this, interpreting the lack of public action as a sign that most women teachers ‘accepted their inferiority with docility’, this research supports Corr’s contention that women actively challenged pay discrimination.<sup>521</sup> A subtle but significant example of this is documented in the Killin School Board letter books, showing one side of the correspondence between the clerk and a female teacher. Wishing to appoint Miss Cameron to the small school in Glenlochay for another year, the board offered her a salary of twenty pounds ‘for the period from 15<sup>th</sup> Nov to 15<sup>th</sup> May’ to teach six scholars.<sup>522</sup> She clearly wished to be paid more, however, and a subsequent letter written after consultation with ‘two or three members’ of the board confirmed that they had agreed to pay her twenty-five pounds in settlement of ‘the matter’.<sup>523</sup> Furthermore, primary

<sup>514</sup> As explored in the previous chapter, in 1865 almost a quarter of the schools (22%) in the sample districts had a female headmistress, and although men did hold sway in the parochial and Free Church schools women ran many other schools. The majority of private adventure and undenominational schools, and many Church of Scotland and subscription schools were taught by a women in 1865. See Table 2.10 for full details. *Statistics Relative to Schools*, 1867.

<sup>515</sup> Combining the headmaster and headmistress figures, there were 4,018 state-aided schools: 1,724 (43%) were under the charge of a woman and 2,294 (57%) of a man. *Ibid.*

<sup>516</sup> The total number of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses recorded in June 1914 was 21,999. *Ibid.*

<sup>517</sup> 14,739 out of 15,700 schoolmistresses (94%) taught in state-aided primary schools. 13,046 of these were assistant schoolmistresses. *Ibid.*

<sup>518</sup> 1,724 out of 15,700 (11%) schoolmistresses were head teachers, and 2,294 out of 6,299 (36%) schoolmasters were.

<sup>519</sup> C. R. Bischof, ‘Schoolteachers and Professionalism, 1696-1906’, in Anderson, Freeman and Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education*, p.219.

<sup>520</sup> As discussed at length by Corr, ‘skill has a social and ideological meaning rather than a purely technical one’, and was ‘understood differently by definition of gender’. Corr, *Changes in Educational Policies in Britain*, pp.115-6.

<sup>521</sup> G. Partington, *Women Teachers in the Twentieth Century in England and Wales* (Slough, 1976), p.9. Refuting Partington’s view, Corr notes that ‘women teachers repeatedly recorded their complaints about lower salary scales and that there was a highly active female lobby for equal pay in the NUT during the later nineteenth century’. H. Corr, ‘Politics of the Sexes in English and Scottish Teachers’ Unions 1870-1914’, p.187.

<sup>522</sup> Killin School Board Letter Book 1889-1901, Letter to Miss Cameron, 5 Oct. 1891, p.103.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*, ‘Letter to Miss Cameron’, 14 Oct. 1891, p.106.

teachers tended to be paid less than those working in secondary and higher grade schools (Table 3.13). As argued by Paterson, 'in the first few decades of the twentieth century, secondary schools were taking over the traditional role of the elementary years of the universities' and its teachers were therefore more highly esteemed.<sup>524</sup> Whereas parochial schoolmasters and their board school equivalents had once had, what Bischof terms, 'social and cultural prominence', this began to shift towards secondary school teachers.<sup>525</sup> For this reason, the status of the small rural schools and their teachers was notably diminished by the educational changes of the school board period.

**Table 3.13: Number and average salaries of schoolteachers, 1914**<sup>526</sup>

School type	Head Masters		Assistant Masters		Total Masters		Head Mistresses		Assistant Mistresses		Total Mistresses	
	No.	Av. salary	No.	Av. salary	No.	Av. salary	No.	Av. salary	No.	Av. salary	No.	Av. salary
<b>State-aided PRIMARY SCHOOLS</b>	2,058	£194	2,390	£135	4,448	£163	1,693	£101	13,046	£85	14,739	£87
<b>State-aided SECONDARY and HIGHER GRADE SCHOOLS</b>	236	£346	1,615	£177	1,851	£198	31	£175	930	£110	961	£112
	<b>2,294</b>		<b>4,005</b>		<b>6,299</b>		<b>1,724</b>		<b>13,976</b>		<b>15,700</b>	

### Continuity and change in local practice

Looking at the impact of educational change from another angle, evidence from the case study area reveals that there were significant continuities in practice between the old parochial system and the new public one. However, local distinctiveness was eroded over time. The most obvious continuity, which is well-documented in the school log books from across the area, was the continuance of ecclesiastical visitations and, in some instances, presbytery style examinations at the end of the school year.<sup>527</sup> Prior to the 1872 Act, these examinations were a key part of the educational timetable and spurred interest from the wider community. This can be seen by the fact that 'several of the scholars' parents, and others interested in the education of youth' attended the Kenmore School exam in 1836.<sup>528</sup> The school at Acharn, for which various records survive, including a log book predating the Education Act, provides the clearest evidence

<sup>524</sup> Paterson, 'Democracy or Intellect?', p.240-41.

<sup>525</sup> Bischof, 'Schoolteachers and Professionalism', p.210.

<sup>526</sup> Data extracted from Tables 1 and 2, Education (Scotland). Return similar to part II. of the paper cd. 5951, issued by the Board of Education in 1911, but of wider scope, *PP*, 1914-16 (322), pp.287, 289.

<sup>527</sup> Under the parochial system, the school year ended in the spring. For instance, in 1865 the teacher in Acharn made a note that the 28 April was 'the last day of the school year'. PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Acharn Free Church School Log Book, 1863-1873, p.34. Under the school boards, the end of year moved to the end of February as noted in the Fortingall log book. PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/101, Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, p.267.

<sup>528</sup> 'Kenmore', *Perthshire Advertiser*, 10 Mar. 1836.

of continuity of practice and gives a rare insight into the lived experience of legislative change at local level. In relation to parish inspections, the Free Church School log book, which runs from 1863 to 1873, details how members of the Breadalbane Presbytery 'examined the school with the teacher's concurrence' in late February or early March each year prior to and independent of the HMI inspection which took place in May.<sup>529</sup> By 1873 this examination, which in this instance was conducted by Reverends Sinclair of Kenmore, Stewart of Killin, Connell of Fortingall, and Clark of Aberfeldy, had developed into a key school event, with 'a large number of parents and others' present to witness it.<sup>530</sup> The occasion had also become the focus for prize-giving, with 'a large number of prizes and a silver medal' being 'given to the more distinguished pupils' in recognition of their committed attendance and achievements.<sup>531</sup> Once the school had been transferred to Kenmore School Board during the summer holidays of 1873 these official presbytery examinations, officiated by ecclesiastical representatives from across the wider district, were discontinued. Yet, a similar event to examine the scholars in 'religious instruction' now took place under the auspices of the school board with the ministers acting on their behalf and overseeing the presentation of prizes.<sup>532</sup> As before, this was held in close proximity to the HMI inspection but remained distinct from it. This was also the case in Fortingall where, according to records for April 1876, 'the school was examined on Monday by Her Majesty's Inspectors, the School Board examined the scholars in Religious Knowledge on Wednesday' and 'Thursday and Friday were given as holidays'.<sup>533</sup> Prizes were also awarded, and although this was initially done on a separate occasion, by 1880 the two had combined.<sup>534</sup>

The various other schools in the area, including those which had not been inspected by HMI prior to 1873, appear to have followed a similar pattern though each had unique characteristics determined in part by their size and location. The evidence suggests, for example, that whilst the smaller school at Fearnan had not developed a presbytery prize-giving day akin to Acharn's, it maintained a link to the old style inspection through periodic visits from local clergymen. For the first school board term, the Rev. Allan Sinclair performed this duty as a member of the board, visiting the school at least four times in 1873.<sup>535</sup> However, in the following years, when none of the local ministers, including Sinclair, had been elected to the board, similar visits continued and the examination role became more explicit. As noted by the teacher, in May 1877 'the Rev. M. McKenzie, Kenmore, visited us and examined several of the classes' and just a few weeks later

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<sup>529</sup> Acharn Free School Log Book, 1863-1873, p.9.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, p.280.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>532</sup> On 3 April 1874, Acharn Public School (which superseded the Free Church School) 'was examined as to religious instruction, on behalf of the School Board by the Revd Messrs McKenzie & Sinclair: On the same day prizes (books) were given to the more deserving pupils'. Acharn Public School Log Book, 1873-1903, p.3.

<sup>533</sup> Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, p.18.

<sup>534</sup> In 1876, prizes were distributed at 'the close of the session' in July, and in 1878 they were given in April. However, in 1880 they were distributed after the religious knowledge exam which took place in August. In July 1882 the exam was conducted by the Rev. Mr Wardrop-Gardner who was 'a depute from the Association for aiding School Boards in inspecting Religious instruction'. *Ibid.*, pp.21, 44, 79, 107.

<sup>535</sup> The school log book records a visit from Rev. Sinclair in October, November, January and March 1873. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911, pp.1-13.

at the beginning of June 'several classes were examined' by the Rev. Sinclair and Mr Campbell, a member of Kenmore School Board.<sup>536</sup> Examinations also took place at Lawers School and by 1881 it was well-established that an 'examination in religious knowledge' by local ministers would be followed by 'the annual distribution of prizes'.<sup>537</sup> Interestingly, these prizes were books gifted by the Edinburgh Breadalbane Association and this external benevolence, which continued for many years, was conferred on a number of other schools in the district.<sup>538</sup> In Ardtalnaig, the prize-giving had become a very formal event by 1878 with the Association's prizes being supplemented by others and 'given away with printed prize list attached'.<sup>539</sup>

In the early years at least, the perpetuation of such parochial practices was not to the liking of the Inspectorate, which had for some time considered presbytery inspections to be a duplicate effort. In the words of Alexander Walker, H.M. Inspector for Fife, Forfar, Kinross and Perth and a well-known figure in the case study area,

An undoubtedly beneficial provision of the Act, is the doing away with denominational inspection. Hitherto there have been three or four of us going over the same ground, with much waste of time and power and public money.<sup>540</sup>

From a purely educational and administrative point of view, this undoubtedly made sense. However, the pronouncement that the former system of examinations was 'worthless' because it did not allow for comparison across a district, shows a distinct lack of appreciation of the wider community framework within which the schools operated. Nevertheless, as the religious element diminished over time prize-giving events became an accepted, and indeed encouraged, highlight of the school calendar. This is evident from a detailed report on 'Prize Day at Killin School' published in the *Stirling Observer* in August 1915. Now taking place on the last day of term before the summer holidays and presided over by James Campbell, chairman of the schoolboard, 'prizes gained throughout the session were distributed' by 'Lady White Todd, Morenish Lodge, in her usual graceful manner'.<sup>541</sup>

From a socio-cultural perspective, these presbytery style visits and prize-giving events could be seen as expressions of community embeddedness which rooted the schools in their locality and incorporated them into the socio-cultural patterns of everyday life. As explored in the previous chapter, the development of education in the rural areas depended as much on local effort as it did on external provision, with a sense of community ownership and control becoming a defining feature. As a result, despite increasing efforts to enforce greater uniformity

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<sup>536</sup> Ibid, pp.41-2.

<sup>537</sup> The scholars were examined by the minister of Lawers and the Minister of Fortingall. PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/68, Lawers Public School Log Book, 1873-1907, p.101.

<sup>538</sup> For example, on 26<sup>th</sup> April 1878, 'the prizes given by the Edinburgh Breadalbane Association were distributed amongst the scholars' of Fearnan School, Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911, p.53.

<sup>539</sup> Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1874-1912, p.82.

<sup>540</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1874, p.35.

<sup>541</sup> Prizes were given for perfect attendance, academic attainment, conduct, the Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SSPCA) essay competition, and the Dux Girl and Dux Boy were honoured. 'Prize day at Killin School', *Stirling Observer*, 7 Aug. 1915.

across Scotland, by the late nineteenth century most schools continued to reflect and be responsive to their local context. Moreover, the fact that the far-reaching legislative changes of 1872 were filtered down through locally-elected school boards meant that many accepted practices continued or were only partially modified under the new system. Again, the school log books for the case study districts abound with examples of this. Leafing through the pages of the Ardeonaig log book, for instance, it is immediately apparent that the school was attuned to community activities. In its first year as a public school, the behaviour of the scholars and teacher alike reflected local imperatives, with a holiday being given in March 'owing to a ploughing match being on a neighbouring farm, another being given in April 'as there was a sale at the Manse', and the school being closed one Monday in June as 'the Master was at Killin Sacrament'.<sup>542</sup> While some of this can be accounted for by the fact that the teacher, Duncan McLaren, had taught at the school for some time and was used to a certain way of working, a degree of flexibility did continue under the new teacher, George Kerr, who took charge of the school from October 1875.<sup>543</sup> Though more grudging acquiescence than enthusiastic adoption of some practices, Kerr allowed the school to be closed on the day of the 'Killin Cattle Show' and took a firm but understanding approach to attendance. Though eager to improve attendance, he recognised the demands of the agricultural calendar and was content that 'most of the parents ask permission now' when children were kept from school to assist with 'haymaking' or the like.<sup>544</sup> Furthermore, across the loch at Lawers the teacher took a very pragmatic approach by opting to close the school for two days in June 1879 due to the 'peat-making having begun'.<sup>545</sup> Even in 1893, after twenty years of the state system, 'a large sale in the near neighbourhood' was seen as a legitimate cause to shut Fortingall Public School for the day.<sup>546</sup>

Far from being incidental activities, these practices were expressions of the indigenous culture of the region. Although a far cry from the traditions once practised by the Highland Perthshire clans, residual elements including the Gaelic language continued to define a distinctive local culture. Structured around the fluctuating rhythms of the agricultural year and a calendar of fast days and markets, by the nineteenth century these cultural patterns encompassed the parochial model of education. Though influenced by a wider set of ideas and developments on a national scale, the local character of schooling was still very much in evidence at the passing of the 1872 Act. As has been seen, many of the earlier practices persisted under the early school boards and change was incremental rather than dramatic. Nevertheless, it is possible to chart the long-term cultural impact of the new public system of education, the imperatives of which were increasingly driven by industrial standards and urban economics.

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<sup>542</sup> SCA, School Log Books, PC3/17/12, Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, pp.6-11.

<sup>543</sup> Duncan McLaren is listed as master of the Free Church School at Ardeonaig in *Slater's Directory* for 1861, p.1088. He 'ceased to have charge of the school' in August 1874, Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.12.

<sup>544</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.26

<sup>545</sup> Lawers Public School Log Book, 1873-1907, p.79.

<sup>546</sup> Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, p.289.

Certainly by the early twentieth century, local holidays were being edged out of the school timetable and the employment of children and youths in domestic duties and agricultural labour was actively discouraged. As detailed in the log books from across the three case study districts, the local calendar of events incorporated local market days as well as religious fast days and holiday rituals. Many of these had a long tradition and certain aspects tied the area to a wider Highland culture which resisted pressure to conform to a Scottish, and more broadly British, standard. The most obvious element of this was the faithful observance of the Old Reckoning of Christmas and New Year, which harked back to the days before the Calendar Act of 1751.<sup>547</sup> This Act, which instituted the Gregorian calendar and knocked eleven days from the year to bring Britain in line with the rest of Europe, was not popular and many people expressed their defiance by continuing to celebrate key festivals according to the earlier Julian calendar. This equated to the 6 January for Christmas and the 12 January for New Year. As documented in the Acharn Free Church School log book, these dates were still being observed in Highland Perthshire with there being no school on 6 January 1864 due to it being 'old Christmas – a general holiday'.<sup>548</sup>

Even after the Education Act, 1872 when official school holidays became more attuned to the modern calendar, local celebrations retained their link to the old dates for a considerable amount of time. Thus, whilst Fortingall School was closed from the 31 December 1874 through to the 6 January 1875 for 'New Year Holidays', poor attendance on the 12 January was attributed 'to its being New Year's Day – Old Style'.<sup>549</sup> Similarly, a decade later in 1885 the teacher made a note that 'Monday, being Old Xmas, was kept as a holiday by a goodly number' despite the fact that the school board had only sanctioned a break between the 31 December and 2 January.<sup>550</sup> By the turn of the century, however, references to such festivals in the log books had been replaced by accounts of local soirees and annual treats put on for the children. In this way new traditions were being formed and although they were still locally-framed, they were done under the umbrella of the school system rather than in parallel to it. The transition was a subtle one, however, with the two running concurrently for many years. For example, in December 1882 a 'half-holiday' was given to the pupils of Fortingall School to allow them 'to enjoy a treat kindly given to them by Lady & the misses Currie of Garth', and the following January Lady Breadalbane invited the scholars and teachers of Acharn School 'to tea & to participate in the "fruit" of a "Christmas tree" at Taymouth Castle.<sup>551</sup> A similar invite was also extended in person 'by Lord and Lady Breadalbane and Party' to the pupils of Lawers School in 1883.<sup>552</sup> As well as demonstrating their ongoing interest in the schools, such expressions of benevolence by the

<sup>547</sup> R. Cavendish, 'The Gregorian Calendar adopted in England', *History Today* 52:9 (2002). Although Scotland adopted 1 January as the beginning of the year in 1600, the Julian Calendar remained in use until 1752.

<sup>548</sup> Acharn Free Church School Log Book, 1863-1873, p.6.

<sup>549</sup> Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, p.5.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid*, p.147

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid*, p.111; Acharn Public School Log Book, 1873-1903, p.155.

<sup>552</sup> Lawers Public School Log Book, 1873-1907, p.121.

principal landowners marked a shift from involved philanthropy to occasional charitable pursuits. As shown in the previous chapter, the Breadalbanes' financial support of education, and wider socio-economic initiatives aimed at the public good had once been a central facet of parish life. Yet, as the state took charge of schooling and gradually extended its social welfare role, their benevolent actions became a side attraction rather than the main event.<sup>553</sup> In this way, the dynamic between wealthy landowners and the rural populations over whom they held sway began to change. Furthermore, by the end of the school board period, schools treats were no longer the preserve of the major landowners, as shown by the fact that by 1914 Mr and Mrs Steen, shooting tenants of Finlarig were giving an 'annual social meeting to the children attending the Public School' in Killin.<sup>554</sup>

State funding of education and the subsequent development of local government bodies during the later nineteenth century was significant on a number of other fronts. As already noted, schools had long been used for religious meetings and under the school boards they became more formally established as a community resource. Reflecting their status as public institutions, it became common for school buildings to be commandeered as polling places for school board, county council and parliamentary elections, even if this necessitated the closure of the school for a day. For instance, in April 1876 Ardeonaig School was shut when the school was 'required ... for Election purposes', and on the 27 November 1885 Fortingall School was 'used as a polling place for the parliamentary election'.<sup>555</sup> This was the case across the country with schools dominating the polling station lists. In 1892, for example, eighteen out of twenty-four of the polling stations in Western Perthshire were public schools.<sup>556</sup> Furthermore, as stipulated in the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1894, 'the parish electors ... and the parish council (including a landward committee) shall be entitled to use, free of charge, at all reasonable times, except during ordinary school hours, and after reasonable notice, for any purpose under this Act'.<sup>557</sup> There is also evidence that the school buildings were used for additional social and educational events including a 'Winter's Course of Readings' held in Ardtalnaig school at night during the winter of 1878-9 to raise funds for a community library,

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<sup>553</sup> Though excluded from earlier legislation, school meals and school medical inspection were introduced across Scotland following the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908. Such state welfare provision was not welcomed by all, however, and for many 'the local, personal and voluntarist approach to welfare' continued to be 'seen as morally and economically superior to the national, impersonal and statist approach'. J. Stewart, 'This Injurious Measure': Scotland and the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume LXXVIII: No. 205 (April, 1999), p.76. The Children's Act of the same year, alongside other legislation of the period, further cemented the state's role in child welfare, much of which was initially administered through the school boards. Anderson, *Scottish Education since the Reformation*, p.203.

<sup>554</sup> The Valuation Roll for 1910-11 lists W. H. Steen as a sub-tenant of the Finlarig shootings, which were occupied by Joseph W. Todd of Morenish and owned by the Marquess of Breadalbane. Valuation Roll of the County of Perth for the Year 1910-11, p.624; School treat', *Stirling Observer* 28 Feb. 1914. Prior to this, Mr and Mrs Todd took an active role, donating mugs, Boys' Brigade medals and sweets alongside medals gifted by Lord Breadalbane for the 1902 'treat to the children ... attending the school of Killin and the near neighbourhood', *Dundee Courier*, 27 June 1902.

<sup>555</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.22; Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, p.161.

<sup>556</sup> The remaining six were either public halls (Kenmore, Auchterarder [2], Callander), county buildings (Dunblane) or the postmaster's house (Tummel Bridge), 'Perthshire', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 7 July 1892.

<sup>557</sup> Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894 [57 & 58 Vict. Ch.58], pp.26-7

<[http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1894/58/pdfs/ukpga\\_18940058\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1894/58/pdfs/ukpga_18940058_en.pdf)>, accessed 27 July 2015.

and a butter making class in Killin School, conducted by 'Miss Strong, from the West of Scotland Agricultural College, Glasgow' at the request of the school board in 1913.<sup>558</sup>

In terms of employment, while school-age children continued to labour in the fields and at home as and when required the firming up of compulsory attendance procedures under the school boards, which included the employment of a local officer to investigate unauthorised absences from school, emphasised the deviancy of such behaviour. This was reflected in the harshness of the language used to describe the issue, with the Fortingall schoolmaster commenting in May 1883 that 'absenteeism is the prevailing evil'.<sup>559</sup> Accordingly, the compulsory officers became increasingly active and by the early twentieth century were making frequent visits to the schools and to parents, including making enquiries about infants who were of school-age but had 'not yet been admitted'.<sup>560</sup> No matter how much the board members may have sympathised with the reasons why children were kept from school, the public system under which they operated demanded that they take a hard line on the issue due to the fact that the annual grants were 'conditional upon the attendance as well as the proficiency of the scholars'.<sup>561</sup> The difficulty of balancing local concerns with national directives was clearly illustrated in a court case instigated by a Rannoch crofter who appealed against a Sheriff's fine for 'neglecting his duty' to send his five-year-old daughter to school.<sup>562</sup> The judges upheld the appeal, recognising that in a Highland context the three and a half mile journey to the school was 'reasonable cause' to withhold a young child from education.<sup>563</sup>

Although rural school boards could be officious, however, evidence from the case study area suggests that some did retain a degree of sensitivity to local concerns. This was shown, for instance, in November 1911 when the Kenmore compulsory officer visited Fearnan School to follow-up on the case of a ten-year-old girl who had been kept at home for many weeks due to the illness and subsequent death of her mother.<sup>564</sup> The father was reportedly 'unable to get a housekeeper' and required his daughter to 'attend to the house' and look after 'an aged and bedridden grandmother'.<sup>565</sup> Despite being concerned for her education, or at least for the school's attendance figures, the board were sympathetic to the man's plight, and were not heavy-handed in dealing with the case.<sup>566</sup> Therefore, although ensuring regular attendance was a primary concern for the school managers, their familiarity with scholars and parents alike gave them a clearer understanding of the personal circumstances surrounding each case. How they

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<sup>558</sup> Meetings were held in Ardtalnaig School between '7 and 9 o'clock' on the 6 Dec. 1878, and 10 Jan. 1879, Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1874-1912, pp.93-7; *Dundee Courier*, 26 June 1913.

<sup>559</sup> Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, p.120.

<sup>560</sup> PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947, p.16.

<sup>561</sup> 'Mr Walker's General Report for 1873', Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1874, p.35.

<sup>562</sup> 'Important case under the Education Act', *Glasgow Herald*, 24 Feb. 1877.

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>564</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947, p.7.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5

<sup>566</sup> Indeed, when the same girl was required to keep house for her father when they were 'again without a housekeeper' two years later, the board granted a period of exemption and she was absent from school for over four months. *Ibid.*, pp.27, 30.

chose to act was another matter, but the fact that it was in their power to make these decisions gave the burgeoning educational bureaucracy a human face. While the approach taken may not, by the standards of some contemporaries and certainly most current-day commentators, have been in the best interests of the child, responsiveness to familial concerns must be judged on its own terms.

The personal interests of board members and the local elite also came into play and children could be engaged in all manner of pursuits during school hours. For instance, in November 1878 the Acharn teacher noted that ‘on Friday no fewer than 14 boys were out of school at a battue in Drummond Hill, given by the Earl of Breadalbane to a party from Auchmore house’.<sup>567</sup> However, while such events continued to be an accepted facet of rural life throughout the school board period, by the early twentieth century disapproval was beginning to mount. This is illustrated in a series of log book entries by the Ardeonaig schoolmistress, Miss Elizabeth White, who complained in 1915 that four boys had been ‘kept from school to attend at a pheasant drive’ and that this had been ‘allowed by the S[chool] B[oard] M[anagement] for this district’.<sup>568</sup> Objecting to the ‘shooting of birds for sport’, she concluded that ‘this kind of thing destroys the moral[e] of a school & the interest of a teacher in such a school’, and resigned less than two weeks later.<sup>569</sup> The school board was not deterred by this, and five years later another female teacher at Ardeonaig expressed similar disapproval of the fact that ‘four boys were kept off to act as beaters at a pheasant drive’.<sup>570</sup>

Permitted absences aside, the school boards were advised to make regular unannounced visits to the schools to check that the registers were being marked accurately, reflecting concern that local practices and attendance patterns were being covered up by erroneous record keeping either through incompetency or intent.<sup>571</sup> As well as being highlighted in the regional inspector’s official report to the Committee of Council, this was communicated to the school boards through individual HMI reports.<sup>572</sup> For instance, the 1879 summary report for Lawers school advised that ‘the Registers should be carefully checked at uncertain intervals’.<sup>573</sup> In this way, the supervisory function of the school boards became more formulaic with members, who were already in the habit of visiting the schools periodically, now being careful to record that they had called in without notice.<sup>574</sup> Such was the perceived importance of this that the school registers

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<sup>567</sup> The boys would have acted at beaters, forcing out game for members of the party to shoot. Acharn Public School Log Book, 1873-1903, p.85.

<sup>568</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.382.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid, pp.382-3.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid, p.435.

<sup>571</sup> Alexander Walker noted that there had been ‘much laxity hitherto in these matters’ and observed that ‘although there has very seldom been any fraudulent intention ... unhappily it is not unknown’, ‘Mr Walker’s General Report for 1873’, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1874, p.35.

<sup>572</sup> The suggestion was that the school boards should ‘appoint two or three managers for each school, who will undertake to look in now and then, and see that, these subsidiary, but in the new order of things very important, matters of log books, registers and time tables are duly attended to.’ Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> Lawers Public School Log Book, 1873-1907, p.80.

<sup>574</sup> For example, on 10 July 1888, two members of Kenmore noted in the Ardtalnaig log book that they had ‘visited the school this day without notice. Checked register and found correct’, Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1874-1912, p.245.

for Fortingall 'were laid before a meeting of the School Board of date Second April 1874 & examined'.<sup>575</sup> On the same day an 'officer of the Board called ... and took a note of defaulters' and, while it is hard to be sure of a connection, it is intriguing that the incumbent teacher made no further entries in the log book after this and was replaced by a new master in the October.<sup>576</sup> Although not named in the log, the teacher in question was Duncan Cameron, the former parochial schoolmaster who was also the local registrar of births, marriages and deaths.<sup>577</sup> Though quitting the school, he retained his other parish duties, being listed in both the 1881 and 1891 Census records as the 'Inspector of Poor and Registrar', and then in old age reverted to calling himself a retired schoolmaster.<sup>578</sup> Whatever the reasons for Cameron's seemingly rapid exit from the school, it seems reasonable to suggest that the new public system, and its supervisory framework, was in some way a contributing factor. The drive for certificated teachers is also likely to have influenced the decision.

### Shifts in vernacular culture: the case of Gaelic

Looking more specifically at the cultural and linguistic context, the Gaelic language, which had been under threat from anglicising influences for many generations, remained the dominant language in the case study area well into the school board period and only began to lose its foothold during the early twentieth century. Although the local entries to the *New Statistical Account* suggested that Gaelic was in serious decline by the mid-nineteenth century, at the point of transition from the parish system to compulsory state education in the 1870s it is clear that Gaelic was still the language of most households in the area. According to the 1881 Census, which for the first time attempted 'to give an accurate account of the numbers of the population ... who are 'Gaelic speaking', the majority of people in Fortingall (87%), Kenmore (76%) and Killin (79%) were 'in the habit of making colloquial use of the Gaelic language'.<sup>579</sup> Despite contemporary criticism that 'the mode in which the Gaelic census was taken was not quite satisfactory', making 'the result ... but a rough approximation to accuracy', these figures are supported by evidence from the school log books which suggest that it was commonly the only language spoken in the home. This is obvious from numerous entries which stressed the educational difficulties arising from the fact that the youngest scholars had little, if any, grasp of

<sup>575</sup> This entry was written and signed by the chairman of Fortingall School Board, Rev. D. M. Connell. A similar entry was made in June the following year. Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, pp.2, 10.

<sup>576</sup> John McMillan entered on his duties on 12 October 1874 'in the presence of 3 members of the School Board' and resigned after a year, leaving on the 12 August 1875. Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1873-1904, pp.3, 11.

<sup>577</sup> This is confirmed by Alexander Stewart's comment that Cameron 'held the post until a short time after the Education Act of 1872'. A. Stewart, *A Highland Parish*, p.256.

<sup>578</sup> Cameron was still listed as the parochial schoolmaster in the 1871 Census as well as being the local registrar of births, marriages and deaths. In the 1881 and 1891 Censuses, however, he was simply recorded as being 'the Inspector of Poor and Registrar' and then in 1901 he was listed as 'Schoolmaster (retired)'. 1871 Scotland Census, CSSCT1871\_63; 1881 Scotland, CSSCT1881\_104; 1891 Scotland Census, CSSCT1891\_111; 1901 Scotland Census, CSSCT1901\_120.

<sup>579</sup> Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland taken 4th April 1881, with Report. Vol. I, *PP*, 1882 [C.3320], pp.xi, 272. These figures, which relate to the school board districts, differ slightly from those given in the Gaelic Census (Scotland). Return of the numbers of the Gaelic speaking people of Scotland, by counties, parishes, and registration districts, under the Scottish census of 1881, *PP*, 1882 (46), p.6. This return uses the parish/registration district figures which give the following percentages of Gaelic speakers: Fortingall 91%, Kenmore 71%, Killin 81%.

the English language when starting school. To give some examples, in October 1874 the Ardeonaig schoolmaster, George Kerr, complained that ‘provincialisms are very bad in this school’, and in 1879 the newly appointed teacher at Lawers School, Alex Stewart, struggled to teach subtraction to the pupils in Standard I finding ‘it a difficult matter to make them understand it owing to their not knowing English’.<sup>580</sup> Likewise, along the lochside at Fearnan the schoolmaster observed that his scholars’ ‘chief deficiency is their ability to express their ideas well and easily in English’, at Acharn careless preparation of Grammar lessons was seen to arise ‘from a deficiency of English on the part of the children’, and the new teacher in Ardtalnaig found ‘the prevalence of Gaelic a great drawback to successful teaching’.<sup>581</sup> Even as late as 1910, the Ardeonaig teacher experienced ‘considerable difficulty’ in teaching a young girl who had ‘no English – having been brought up in the Gaelic language’.<sup>582</sup>

Given that English had long been the language of the schools in this area, as elsewhere in Scotland, it is significant that Gaelic retained its mother tongue status in this area. Putting this into context, around seventy-four percent of the population living within the Gaelic-speaking districts of the quasi-random sample were still conversing in their native language in 1881.<sup>583</sup> Whilst there was some variation between areas, with the Inverness parishes having the highest proportion of Gaelic-speakers and others significantly less, the overall picture is of an enduring Gaelic tradition. Gaelic was consciously perpetuated by parents who chose to speak nothing but their native tongue to children in their formative years, and although prolonged attendance at school and progression through the Standards gave children a working knowledge of English, use of this outside of the classroom was in no way guaranteed.<sup>584</sup> In this respect, schooling was seen and accepted as a separate cultural sphere, impinging on but not overwhelming local Gaelic culture. That this continued for some time is confirmed by the Census figures for 1891 and 1901, which show only a slight drop in the proportion of Gaelic-speakers across the majority of the case study and sample districts (**Table 3.14** and **Figure 3.7**).

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<sup>580</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.13; Lawers Public School Log Book, 1873-1907, p.88. Standard I was the first level of instruction and, according to the Scotch Code, children were examined in this up to the age of nine. SED Code of Regulations, 1874, p.12.

<sup>581</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911, p.31; Acharn Public School Log Book, 1873-1903, p.18; entry dated 30 Jan. 1874, Ardtalnaig Public Log Book, 1874-1912, p.10.

<sup>582</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.331.

<sup>583</sup> Ten of the sixty-six sample parishes could be described as Gaelic-speaking and are located in the Highland counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland (these have been highlighted in light grey in **Table 3.14**). All of the other districts in the sample had between 0% and 24% Gaelic-speaking population, Kirkmichael (24%) and Nairn (22%) being the highest and most having less than 5%. Ninth Decennial Census, 1882, pp.262-84.

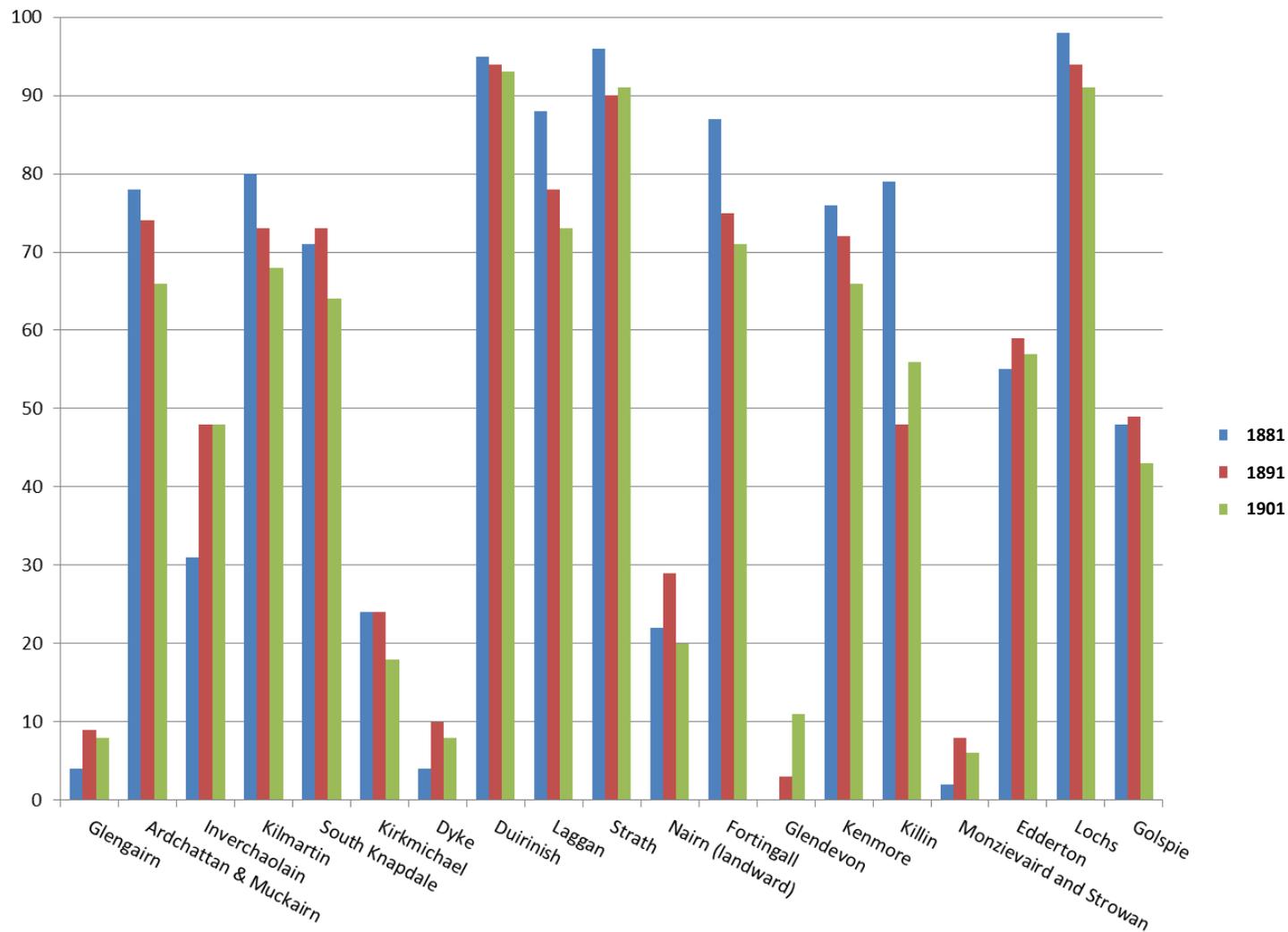
<sup>584</sup> This increasing bilingualism is evident in the census returns which show a significant reduction in the number of people speaking only Gaelic by the turn of the century (**Table 3.14**). Only the insular parishes such as Duirinish and Lochs retained a significant proportion of monoglots into the twentieth century.

**Table 3.14: Gaelic-speaking population in case study and quasi-random sample districts, 1881, 1891 and 1901** <sup>585</sup>

District	County	1881		1891					1901				
		Gaelic speakers	%	Gaelic only	%	Gaelic & English	%	% Gaelic speakers	Gaelic only	%	Gaelic & English	%	% Gaelic speakers
Glengairn	Aberdeen	20	4	0	0	38	9	9	0	0	17	8	8
Ardchattan & Muckairn	Argyll	1,558	78	170	9	1,290	65	74	61	3	1,346	63	66
Inverchaolain	Argyll	125	31	2	<1	170	47	48	2	<1	157	47	48
Kilmartin	Argyll	647	80	11	2	496	71	73	4	<1	449	68	68
South Knapdale	Argyll	320	71	14	3	326	70	73	6	<1	465	63	64
Kirkmichael	Banff	260	24	3	<1	245	23	24	0	0	184	18	18
Dyke	Elgin/Moray	53	4	0	0	103	10	10	0	0	81	8	8
Duirinish	Inverness	4,103	95	1,530	39	2,161	55	94	749	22	2,392	71	93
Laggan	Inverness	810	88	20	2	640	75	78	8	1	532	72	73
Strath	Inverness	2,523	96	639	27	1,525	64	90	372	17	1,591	74	91
Nairn (landward)	Nairn	270	22	1	<1	349	29	29	3	<1	274	20	20
Fortingall	Perth	538	87	88	17	308	58	75	1	<1	327	70	71
Glendevon	Perth	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	0	0	16	11	11
Kenmore	Perth	1,137	76	21	2	923	70	72	11	<1	825	65	66
Killin	Perth	1,003	79	56	2	1,108	46	48	11	<1	781	55	56
Monzievaird and Strowan	Perth	12	2	0	0	38	8	8	0	0	31	6	6
Edderton	Ross & Cromarty	431	55	24	4	357	56	59	10	2	319	55	57
Lochs	Ross & Cromarty	6,128	98	4,103	64	1,947	30	94	1777	38	2,533	54	91
Golspie	Sutherland	742	48	6	<1	707	49	49	21	1	703	42	43

<sup>585</sup> Figures, which relate specifically to the school board districts are displayed for those districts with =>5% population of Gaelic-speakers on at least one of the dates. It should be borne in mind that the methodology for enumerating Gaelic speakers varied slightly between the censuses. For instance, the 1881 Census only counted those 'in the habit of making colloquial use of the Gaelic language', and the 1901 Census did not include children under three in its calculations. Ninth Decennial Census, 1882, pp.262-84; Tenth Decennial Census, 1892, pp.280-302; Eleventh Decennial Census, 1902, pp.134-152; Census of Scotland, 1911. Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census, 1913, pp.126-49.

**Figure 3.7: Gaelic-speaking population in case study and quasi-random sample districts, 1881, 1891 and 1901** <sup>586</sup>



<sup>586</sup> Graphic representation of total Gaelic-speaking figures (Gaelic only, and Gaelic and English combined) from Table 3.14. Ibid.

As shown in **Table 3.14**, seventy-one percent of the population of Fortingall were Gaelic-speakers in 1901, as were sixty-six percent of those living in Kenmore. The figures for Killin, however, suggest a more significant decline with the percentage of those with Gaelic falling to forty-eight percent by 1891 and then up slightly to fifty-six percent in 1901. Much of this can be explained by the erratic demographic changes which occurred during the later nineteenth century, particularly the ballooning of the population in the 1880s due to the construction of the Oban and Callander railway and subsequent reduction after the work was completed. Infrastructural development and the associated immigration of workers therefore had an immediate and lasting effect on the local culture.<sup>587</sup> The proportion of Gaelic-speakers in the aforementioned sample districts also dropped by just a few percent between 1881 and 1901, and given that ‘children under three years of age’ were not included in the later figures, though they had been previously, the change is likely to have been even less.<sup>588</sup> As MacKinnon observes, this was a period of ‘steady attrition’ rather than ‘runaway language shift’, continuing a long-term process of anglicisation over many generations.<sup>589</sup> Moreover, in replicating existing monolingual instruction practices the new system of compulsory education in itself neither challenged nor accelerated linguistic decline. Whilst the 1872 Education Act made no provision for Gaelic, it did not legislate against it. Thus, following Wither’s argument, it was significant because ‘it did not attempt to reverse the ideology that sustained the alienation of Gaelic from education’.<sup>590</sup> In consequence, there was no concrete policy towards the language and at school level the treatment of Gaelic varied a great deal depending on the attitudes of teachers, school board members and parents alike. Far from being black and white, the issue of Gaelic usage was therefore a complex one, and although it could be actively discouraged on one front this did not preclude it being supported on another. In the case study district of Kenmore, for instance, while Gaelic conversation was not permitted during school hours, with the Lawers’ teacher noting in 1874 that ‘no Gaelic is allowed in school’, the vernacular was still held to be of cultural and religious value as shown in 1881 when Ardtalnaig School ‘received a few Gaelic Bibles from Rev. McKenzie to be given away as the teacher thinks fit’.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>587</sup> The village of Crianlarich was transformed by the coming of the railway, and had two stations by the close of the nineteenth century. The ‘lower’ station, on the Oban to Callander line, opened in 1873, and the ‘upper’ station, on the West Highland line, in 1894.

<sup>588</sup> The figure went from 74% in 1881, to 73% in 1891, down to 70% in 1901. The reasons for deliberately not counting young children who, given the case study evidence, may only have spoken Gaelic is not clear. However, there are likely to have been political motivations for doing so. At the very least, it shows a disregard for the cultural significance of Gaelic being the language of the home. Eleventh Decennial census, 1902, p.xvi.

<sup>589</sup> K. MacKinnon, ‘Gaelic Media, Community, and Runaway Language Shift: Report to Bòrd na Gàidhlig’, 3 May 2012 (last revision 17 Nov. 2012), <[http://www.sgrud.org.uk/anfy/report\\_to\\_b%C3%B2rd\\_na\\_g%C3%A0idhlig/gaelic-media-community-runaway-language-shift.htm](http://www.sgrud.org.uk/anfy/report_to_b%C3%B2rd_na_g%C3%A0idhlig/gaelic-media-community-runaway-language-shift.htm)>, accessed 2 Aug. 2015.

<sup>590</sup> C. W. J. Withers, ‘Education and the Gaelic language’, in Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: Education*, p.403.

<sup>591</sup> Rev. McKenzie was the Established Church minister of Kenmore, and was not a member of the school board at this point. Lawers Public School Log Book, 1873-1907, pp.148-9; Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1874-1912, p.148.

Lochtaleside had a strong ecclesiastical tradition of bilingualism with sermons being preached in both Gaelic and English to the lochside congregations, with the local minsters being key proponents of cultural preservation.<sup>592</sup> More importantly, Gaelic had been allowed a place in the school curriculum, and not simply as a means to facilitate the acquisition of English. In the 1860s, the Free Church School teacher in Acharn ran a Gaelic class for pupils in the upper standards and was paid an additional five pounds to do so.<sup>593</sup> Although this does not challenge the view that ‘there was a widespread assumption that the primary purpose of education for Highlanders was to facilitate advancement in an English-speaking world’ in the later nineteenth century, it highlights the subtle nuances of local experience and acts as a reminder that cultural attitudes, though seeming clear and fixed, are pluralistic and in constant flux.<sup>594</sup> In the same way that gender relationships can be seen to be ‘a process of conflict and negotiation, often rife with contradictions’, attitudes to Gaelic varied over time and space.<sup>595</sup> Therefore, although national campaigns by the likes of An Comunn Gàidhealach and the Gaelic Society of Inverness marked the contours of the cultural debate, achieving a level of success in getting Gaelic recognised as a medium of instruction and examination, the views of most Gaelic speakers were rather more nebulous.<sup>596</sup>

**Table 3.15: Case study and quasi-random sample: replies to circular on instruction in Gaelic, 1876**<sup>597</sup>

School board	County [M= mainland I = Insular]	In favour of instruction in Gaelic	Whether Gaelic teachers can be obtained	Public schools which would take advantage of special provisions in favour of Gaelic	Number of children
Fortingall	Perth	Yes	No	1	60
Kenmore	Perth	No return			
Killin	Perth	Yes	Not stated		
Ardchattan and Muckairn	North Argyll (M)	Yes	Yes	6	330
South Knapdale	South Argyll (M)	No	Yes	-	-
Laggan	Inverness (M)	Yes	Yes	4	140
Duirinish	Inverness (I)	Yes	Yes	6	600
Strath	Inverness (I)	No	-	-	-
Edderton	Ross and Cromarty (M)	No	No	-	-
Lochs	Ross and Cromarty (I)	Yes	Yes	11	1347

<sup>592</sup> For example, Rev. James Stewart of Killin worked with local teacher and poet Dugald Buchanan to translate the Bible into Gaelic in the mid-eighteenth century, and the Kenmore Free Church minister, Rev. Allan Sinclair, was a Gaelic scholar who wished to see a revival of Gaelic culture.

<sup>593</sup> See previous chapter, p.65, for further details.

<sup>594</sup> Withers, ‘Education and the Gaelic language’, p.403. This viewpoint was clearly expressed by the Napier Commission, who stated that ‘the first object of all the educational machinery set agoing in the Highlands at the public expense is to enable every Highland child as soon as possible to speak, read, and write the English language correctly’. Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars, 1884, p.78.

<sup>595</sup> H. Corr and L. Jamieson, ‘Introduction’, in Corr and Jamieson (eds.), *Politics of Everyday Life*, p.1.

<sup>596</sup> According to Withers, there was increasing support for Gaelic from the 1870s facilitated by these organisations and ‘influential individuals such as Fraser-Mackintosh, Stuart Blackie and John Murdoch. Withers, ‘Education and the Gaelic language’, pp.403-4. However, as Anderson points out, the revival campaign was seen by many, including Gaelic-speaking SED inspectors, to be the ‘work of sentimentalists and outsiders ... who did not reflect the true feelings of highland people and school boards, and were more interested in preserving the highlands as a picturesque tourist reserve than in economic progress’. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.216.

<sup>597</sup> Education (Scotland). Return of the Names of the School Boards in Certain Parts of Scotland to which the Circular of the Education Department Regarding Instruction in the Gaelic Language, dated 17 May 1876, was Addressed; together with the Replies from the Boards, *PP*, 1877 (99).

This shading between the lines is revealed in a survey of Gaelic-speaking districts in 1876; while a significant number of the schools boards and their constituents were in favour of teaching Gaelic (63%), almost a quarter were against it (24%) and a number of boards simply failed to submit a return (13%).<sup>598</sup> Kenmore was one such board despite Gaelic education and cultural preservation being a recognised local concern (**Table 3.15**). The other two case study districts did make a return showing them to be in favour of instruction in Gaelic. However, for some reason the Killin board gave no further details about the availability of teachers or the number of schools and scholars who would take advantage of special provisions in favour of Gaelic, and Fortingall expressed concern that it would be difficult to obtain a Gaelic teacher for the school. Comparing this to the sample districts, of which seven were sent the circular, four were in favour of Gaelic instruction and three were against.<sup>599</sup> All of those in favour saw no issue with getting Gaelic teachers, but of those against one believed it to be problematic while one did not, and the remaining board did not comment.<sup>600</sup> This survey provides a clear illustration of the differing cultural contexts within the Gàidhealtachd at this time, as well as hinting at the reticence of some boards to nail their colours to the mast.<sup>601</sup> While failing to submit a return may simply have been an administrative oversight, it is also possible that some boards, new in their relationship to a national educational body, chose not to reply because they were uncertain of the ramifications of expressing a preference either way. Equally, the board members may have been divided in opinion over the issue, or were aware of differing opinions within their district and felt unable to make a clear statement. This constraint was recognised at the time, with Henry Craik remarking ‘that nowhere are opinions more widely divided on the subject than in the localities specially interested’.<sup>602</sup> In light of this survey and subsequent enquiries, including the Napier Commission and Craik’s *Report on Highland Schools*, various concessions were made.<sup>603</sup> However, as Withers observes, although these became more concrete over time, moving from an allowance of Gaelic teaching during day school hours to the approval of Gaelic as a specific subject in 1885 and as a voluntary subject in the leaving certificate in 1904, the lack of compulsion prior to 1918 and practical considerations at local level limited the uptake and impact of such provisions.<sup>604</sup> The small rural schools in particular struggled to take advantage of the changes, with staffing and economics proving an insurmountable problem for some.<sup>605</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> Responding to a request from the Gaelic Society of Inverness and the Gaelic School Society, the SED sent a circular regarding instruction in the Gaelic language to 103 mainland and insular school boards across Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Perth, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland. Ibid.

<sup>599</sup> Those in favour were: Ardchattan and Muckairn (North Argyll), Laggan (Inverness, mainland), Duirinish (Inverness, insular), and Lochs (Ross and Cromarty, insular). Those against were: South Knapdale (South Argyll), Strath (Inverness, insular), and Edderton (Ross and Cromarty, mainland). Ibid.

<sup>600</sup> The school board of Edderton felt it would be difficult to get a Gaelic teacher, and the Strath one did not comment. Ibid.

<sup>601</sup> The Gàidhealtachd refers to all Gaelic-speaking areas within Scotland, not just the Highlands.

<sup>602</sup> Craik ‘discussed the matter with inspectors, members of school boards, ministers thoroughly conversant with the needs of the people and with the parents in the different districts; and representatives of every class’. Report on Highland Schools by Henry Craik Esq, LL.D., Senior Examiner in the Scotch Education Department, *PP*, 1884-85 [C.4261], p.4.

<sup>603</sup> Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars,; Report on Highland Schools 1884-85.

<sup>604</sup> Withers, ‘Education and the Gaelic language’, pp.404-5.

<sup>605</sup> As trained Gaelic-speaking teachers were in short supply it was difficult for the smaller, more remote schools to attract them. Furthermore, under the minute of 1885 small Highland schools were not eligible for a grant to teach Gaelic as a specific subject. Ibid, p.405.

## Segmentation and professionalism

To add to the local challenges school managers faced, the professionalisation of teaching and development of a more comprehensive secondary system put the landward schools at the forefront of many discussions and heightened critique of the small rural boards. According to leading educationalist John Clarke, who lectured in education at the University of Aberdeen and was a vocal advocate for the abolition of the school board system, the small boards were not only 'indifferent' and 'wasteful', but also had 'no career to offer to a competent teacher'.<sup>606</sup> Furthermore, he argued that with its 'narrow, parochial' outlook the small board found 'it difficult to do the best for Elementary' and was incapable of managing secondary education which was 'quite beyond its horizons'.<sup>607</sup> Such rhetoric ultimately led to the introduction of much larger education authorities following the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 and was central to the debate around teacher status and employment conditions which, under the direction of the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), had intensified decade upon decade since the passing of the 1872 Act. Signifying an unprecedented break from the past, these calls for reform also prompted a fresh wave of sentimentalism for the parochial tradition.

Looking first at the status and employment conditions of teachers, an interesting case from Kenmore aptly illustrates the growing tension between professional interests and local educational requirements. A well-publicised case at the time, the seemingly abrupt dismissal of the long-serving schoolmaster of Fearnan School, Robert Ramsay, in 1896 led to a protracted dispute between the EIS and Kenmore School Board.<sup>608</sup> While the Perthshire Committee of the EIS 'were thoroughly satisfied that a great injustice was being done to Mr Ramsay', a review of evidence from the school log book and contemporary newspaper reports suggests that the school board's move to dismiss him was by no means 'arbitrary and capricious'.<sup>609</sup> Coming in close succession to another dismissal in Errol, and amid concerns that Perthshire was 'becoming notorious for its treatment of teachers', the Fearnan case attracted considerable interest and heightened critique of the small rural school boards.<sup>610</sup> Initiated by a letter from Ramsay to the Secretary of the EIS Perthshire branch in early November 1896 requesting support, his claim of unfair dismissal was thoroughly investigated and a number of public meetings were held to try and resolve the issue.

<sup>606</sup> Clarke, *Short Studies in Education in Scotland*, pp.140-1.

<sup>607</sup> *Ibid*, p.143.

<sup>608</sup> By this time, Ramsay had served as schoolmaster at Fearnan for twenty years, having been appointed in 1876.

<sup>609</sup> 'Educational Institute of Scotland', *Dundee Courier*, 28 June 1897, p5; 'Dismissal of a Perthshire teacher', *Dundee Courier*, 28 Nov. 1896, p.4.

<sup>610</sup> Another dismissal had taken place at Alyth in 1893. 'The dismissal of teachers', *Dundee Courier*, 28 Nov. 1896, p.4. The reason given for the dismissal of the Errol schoolmaster, David Nicoll, in 1896 was that the school had received bad reports from HMI. 'The Errol dismissal case', *Dundee Courier*, 3 Oct. 1896, p.5. Similar dismissals occurred across Scotland, some examples of which are highlighted in C. Adams and F. Adams, 'Elementary institutions', in Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: Education*, p.113.

With only newspaper reports to go on, it is difficult to piece together the precise facts of the case. However, it is apparent that the impetus for his dismissal came from a group of parents who were no longer willing to accept 'the brutal treatment which their children received from Mr Ramsay during his fits of passion'.<sup>611</sup> Various incidences, dating back over many years, were cited and included stripping a boy of his clothes and putting him 'out in the porch to stand', as well as lifting an unframed slate above a ten-year-old girl's head and threatening to 'put the slate through her skull'.<sup>612</sup> More concerning still was the punishment of young girl who, being unable to 'pronounce a name in Genesis', was allegedly called up by Ramsay who 'took his foot, caught her on the breast and threw her over the seat and knocked her up against the desk'. In relaying this to a meeting of local ratepayers, the father stated that had he not been from home at the time he would have 'made it a case of assault'. Although some concern was also raised about his competence as a teacher, this was clearly not the central issue and was seen to have little basis given the favourable reports received from HMI over the years. Indeed, the most recent report had concluded that, 'the school is in a good state of order and efficiency: the elementary work is well done, class subjects are creditably prepared and sewing is satisfactory'.<sup>613</sup> Further quibbling about him keeping children late at school was also dismissed.<sup>614</sup> Concern at, and changing parental attitudes towards, corporal punishment were therefore at the heart of the case, and yet it received minimal recognition from the EIS who saw it as no justification for dismissal and continued to assert that Ramsay was 'a man of the highest character'.<sup>615</sup> Intent on gaining greater security of tenure for teachers and enhancing the status of the profession, the union skirted over the details of the case and, rather than being balanced in their approach, sought to make an example of Kenmore School Board whom they believed had 'grossly abused the powers trusted to them by the Education Act'.<sup>616</sup>

Despite accusations to the contrary, the decision to dismiss Mr Ramsay was not taken lightly by members of Kenmore School Board, and their approach was far from impulsive and uncaring. Navigating between local opinion, which in itself was divided with some people coming out in support of Mr Ramsay, and the concerns of a national professional body was undoubtedly a challenge and opened them up to personal insult.<sup>617</sup> For instance, at a meeting of the Perthshire EIS branch in December 1896 the 'Kenmore ministers' were ridiculed for having none of the 'milk of sympathy and bowels of compassion' that they were supposed to be full of, and this was reported in the *Dundee Courier* for all to see.<sup>618</sup> Despite this, the board maintained a sensitive approach and

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<sup>611</sup> 'The Perthshire teacher's dismissal', *Dundee Courier*, 29 Dec. 1896, p.5.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid.

<sup>613</sup> Summary report was entered into the log book on 23 Apr. 1896 and verified by the clerk, Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911, p.288

<sup>614</sup> This was mentioned at a number of the meetings reported in the newspapers, and entries in the log book suggest that there was some concern around Ramsay's timekeeping. On 9 October 1896, 'J.Aitken Esq. of Letterellan presented the school with a beautiful eight day clock', and then on 22 Feb. 1897, just prior to Ramsay's final dismissal, a note was made that, 'The clock, according to Mr Aitken's instructions, was taken home to-day as it had not effected the end for which it was given.' Ibid, pp.292, 296.

<sup>615</sup> NRS, Records of the Educational Institute of Scotland: Local Associations, Perth, 1847-1962, GD342/43/2, EIS Perthshire Local Association Minute Book, 1888-1917.

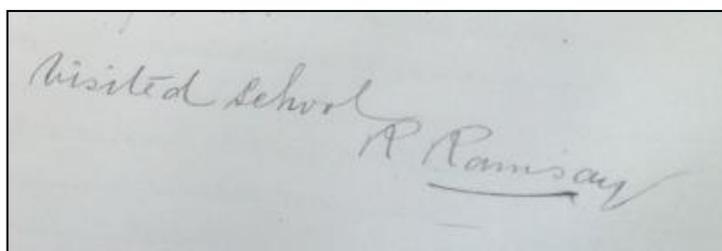
<sup>616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> The dismissal divided opinion locally, and some people wished to see Mr Ramsay reappointed.

<sup>618</sup> 'Teachers' meeting', *Dundee Courier*, 21 Dec 1896, p.4.

though ‘strongly urged to give the public the full reasons that had decided them to dispense with the services of Mr Ramsay ... after considering the matter very carefully, had resolved not to do so’.<sup>619</sup> The reasoning behind this was that ‘Mr Ramsay had long been connected with the Board, and out of consideration for former friendship, and in respect of many good points of character, they wished to pass over his failings as lightly as possible, and bury them in oblivion’.<sup>620</sup> The fact that Ramsay stayed in Fearnan and served on the school board the following term, visiting the schools at regular intervals between 1897 and 1900, is testimony to this (**Figure 3.8**).<sup>621</sup> Yet, the subtleties of this case, and potentially many others, were blurred to fit the emerging narrative that small rural boards were antiquated and ineffective and needed to be replaced, and subsequent historical accounts have done little to challenge this.

**Figure 3.8:** Entry by Robert Ramsay in the Fearnan Log Book, 5 October 1897 <sup>622</sup>



This narrative, which is reflected in Clarke’s work cited earlier, came to dominate educational discourse during the early decades of the twentieth century. However, the rhetoric did not go unchallenged and as plans for a more centralised system with a distinct secondary sector solidified, nostalgia for the parochial tradition intensified and dissenting voices became clearer.<sup>623</sup> The establishment of the Association for Securing Higher Instruction in Scottish Rural Schools in 1912 is a clear example of this (**Figure 3.9**). Capitalising on a revitalisation of, what Anderson terms, the ‘ruralist mystique’, the Association petitioned the Scotch Education Department (SED) for a ‘modification of the present system’ which had withdrawn higher education ‘from many Primary Schools in the country’.<sup>624</sup> The president, Professor G. G. Ramsay, expressed concern that these schools were no longer ‘able to prepare pupils in whole or in part for a University course or other form of higher instruction’ and gave various reasons why this should be regretted.<sup>625</sup> As well as evoking the ‘lad o’ pairts’ myth of opportunity for ‘all boys of brains and energy’ in the country schools, Ramsay and his associates, who included Professor John Harrower, formed their argument around three main complaints: firstly, the hardship children faced in travelling to central schools some distance from where they lived; secondly, the dangers of placing young people in ‘lodgings

<sup>619</sup> ‘The Perthshire teacher’s dismissal’, *Dundee Courier*, 29 Dec. 1896.

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>621</sup> Ramsay’s signature appears in many of the log books and registers for Kenmore, including the Fearnan one, indicating that he took an active role on the school board.

<sup>622</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911, p. 306.

<sup>623</sup> As Anderson points out, the threat of centralisation aroused much indignation amongst rural teachers and school boards. The headmasters of Banffshire were particularly vocal about this, and addressed their concerns to Craik in 1905. R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1983), pp.237-42.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*, p.238; Association for Securing Higher Education in Scottish Rural Schools, ‘Statement of the Aims of the Association’ (Aberdeen, 1913), p.7, reproduced and annotated by the SED. NRS, Secretariat Files: Higher Instruction in Primary Schools, 1912-13, ED7/1/33/236, part 2c.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.*

without proper surveillance; and thirdly, the 'harm done to the teaching of the Elementary Schools themselves by the removal of the incentive to the teacher and the stimulus to pupils which is furnished by the presence of scholars doing advanced work'.<sup>626</sup> Drawing on 'evidence' from across Scotland, though most particularly from Aberdeenshire where the parochial system had been strengthened by the Dick and Milne Bequests, the Association entered into lengthy correspondence with the SED over the issue, and the surviving record of the exchange between them makes for interesting reading.<sup>627</sup>

Although detailed consideration of the Association's campaign, which included deputations to the SED, parliamentary questions and a petition from the Orkney school boards, is not possible here some overarching observations can be made.<sup>628</sup> As well as demonstrating the depth of concern some educationalists felt about centralisation and curriculum development, the SED's detailed rebuttal of their argument sheds light on the nature of policy making at this point. Clearly the product of much time and effort, the files contain notes made by civil servants tasked with preparing a response and show an unwavering commitment to educational reform. Debunking the parochial tradition, the SED was resolute in its belief that centralisation, and further standardisation of policy and practice, were key to ensuring that Scotland's education system met the needs of its increasingly urban population and industrial economy. Therefore, whilst being prepared to humour the traditionalists, the Department never took their claims seriously. At the same time, those defending the old system were not to be swayed from their convictions, even though some of their arguments were shown to lack substance. The inconsistency of Ramsay's views was also highlighted, with much being made of the fact that he had previously spoken of the weakness of 'the ordinary board-schools' which, writing in *Blackwood's Magazine* in June 1887, he felt could not 'prepare students so as to take a distinguished place when they enter the university'.<sup>629</sup> Furthermore, he had called for 'the maintenance, proper equipment, and, if necessary, the improvement of secondary schools' in order to improve the state of higher education in the country.<sup>630</sup> Whether this apparent contradiction was ever raised by the SED is unclear, but it undoubtedly undermined his position and shows his motivations to be far more complex than they originally appear. Though now retired, Professor Ramsay had taught classics at the University of Glasgow for many years and was clearly perturbed by the declining emphasis on Latin and Greek instruction in both schools and universities.<sup>631</sup> At this time the secondary school Leaving Certificate was fast becoming the main route to university, and following the introduction of a Group Certificate in 1902, which called for the study of English and a breadth of other subjects, the classical

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<sup>626</sup> Ibid, pp.13, 7.

<sup>627</sup> In 1875 the annual revenue of the Dick Bequest was £4,300, and the Milne Bequest £1,900. O. Checkland, 'Education in Scotland, Philanthropy and Private Enterprise', in Holmes (ed.), *Scottish life and society: Education*, p.73.

<sup>628</sup> A deputation to the vice-president took place on 10 April 1913, and an interview with the Secretary on 11 April 1913.

<sup>629</sup> This conclusion was based on analysis of the educational background of first-year students who passed a Preliminary Examination, admitting them to a three years' Arts course, in 1886, and the annual bursary competition of 1885. G. G. Ramsay, 'Secondary Education in Scotland', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Volume CXLI: January – June 1887 (Edinburgh, 1887), p.834.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid, p.836.

<sup>631</sup> Ramsay played a pivotal role in the founding of the Classical Association of Scotland in 1902, which 'reflected alarm at the decline of the classics'. R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, p.238.

languages were increasing edged out of the curriculum. Accompanied by a shift in focus to modern languages and the teaching of science, Paterson sees this 'rise to prominence of English over Latin' as part of 'a modernisation of the meaning of liberal education' which marked a significant break from the past.<sup>632</sup> The campaign to secure higher education in rural schools was therefore a last ditch attempt by Ramsay and Harrower to defend classical education against the onslaught of reform. For this reason, though the Association did channel the concerns of rural communities and framed its arguments around contemporary issues, by stressing the traditional nature of rural schooling it entrenched rather than refuted the idea that the small rural boards were an impediment to progress and had no place in a modern education system. More broadly, it fed into the notion that the socio-cultural and economic patterns of rural life were primitive and outmoded, and should be improved along urban lines.

While educational reformers did acknowledge the peculiar characteristics and requirements of Scotland's substantial rural hinterland, the underlying rhetoric of the proposed solutions was to bring the sophistication of urban life to rural settings. This was clearly articulated in the final report of the Scottish Education Reform Committee, published in 1917, which on the one hand stressed the need 'to recognise the existence of a rural problem quite distinct from that of the town, a problem requiring special treatment as regards curriculum organisation, and administration generally', and on the other observed that 'unless we enhance the attractions of rural life, it is idle to expect the educated to remain'.<sup>633</sup> Contrasting the 'dull and often sordid life of the countryman' to the 'brighter, fuller life, and ... wider outlook' of the urban dweller, the attainment of which was held to be a 'natural desire', the report demonstrates the engrained urbanism of policy-making at this time and the overarching hegemony of progressive thought.<sup>634</sup> Furthermore, in arguing for a new administrative system the reformers stressed the economic absurdity, educational unsuitability, and professional inferiority of the small school boards. In their view, not only were these boards unable to 'make proper provision for secondary and technical education, or provide opportunities sufficient to offer a career to teachers entering their service', but they did 'not on the whole attract to their membership the class of men and women most competent to deal with education, and 'often impaired owing to the conflict of petty local interests and personal prejudices'.<sup>635</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Paterson, 'Democracy or Intellect?', p.230.

<sup>633</sup> Scottish Education Reform Committee, *Reform in Scottish education* (Edinburgh 1917), p.66-67.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid. As explored by sociologist Robert Nisbet, the idea of progress dates back to ancient times, but became particularly prominent in Western thought from the Enlightenment onwards with Scottish moral philosophers such as Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson 'advancing the popularity of the idea'. Developed further by the likes of Comte, Marx, Spencer and E.B. Taylor in the nineteenth century, by the early twentieth century it was widely accepted that advances in science and technology and associated economic and social developments (which tended towards urbanisation) were key to improving the human condition. R. Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (London, 1980).

<sup>635</sup> Scottish Education Reform Committee, *Reform in Scottish education*, p.16.

## The impact of war

When Britain declared war on Germany in August 1914, no one could have predicted the human and economic cost of the conflict, or foreseen the socio-cultural changes it would bring. In purely demographic terms, around 100,000 Scots lost their lives, and the toll in rural areas was disproportionately high.<sup>636</sup> In addition, many of those who survived the battlefield subsequently emigrated to avoid ‘the dislocation and depression of the post-war years’.<sup>637</sup> With every family and community affected, education was unavoidably disrupted. As reported by the Committee of Council in 1915,

Of the total number of male teachers, more than one-seventh have been withdrawn for military service, leaving their places to be filled as best could be arranged; the newly created school medical services have likewise been heavily depleted; gaps have been caused in the ranks of janitors, drill instructors, attendance officers, and clerks; and the absence of chairmen and members of School Boards has been felt.<sup>638</sup>

The ‘occupation of school buildings for purposes connected with the War’ also caused some difficulties, and ‘the regular work of providing and extending and improving school buildings’ was restricted. At this stage there was still a feeling that the work of the schools had been able to ‘proceed as far as possible upon normal lines’, but by the following year the effects of war were seen to be more wide-ranging and ‘serious’, with ‘regularity of attendance and efficiency of instruction ... being affected and the normal period of school life curtailed’.<sup>639</sup> In rural areas, exemptions allowing older pupils to engage in agricultural work were common, and the staffing of small schools ‘in sparsely populated and remote districts’ had become more of a challenge.<sup>640</sup> Experience in the case study area attests to this, and although the surviving records provide just a glimpse of the impact of war at local level they offer some tantalising insights. Picking up on some of the issues highlighted in the annual reports, when the Kenmore compulsory officer Peter McMartin died suddenly following a heart attack in May 1916 it was not possible to appoint a replacement and it fell to the teacher to visit ‘the homes of all absentees’.<sup>641</sup> The loss of teachers was not a major concern, however, with most retaining the same staff throughout the war. This was mainly due to the fact that a significant number were under the charge of a headmistress or an elderly schoolmaster, thus minimising the impact of military recruitment. Nevertheless, when a vacancy arose for other reasons it was not always easy to fill the position.<sup>642</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Estimate made in the National War Memorial White Paper of 1920. Harvie notes that while ‘casualties in urban areas reached the British average – Glasgow’s 18,000 dead tallies roughly with the British proportion of 1 in 54 ... the impact in country areas could be twice as severe’. Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*, p.24.

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>638</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1914-1915, *PP*, 1916 [Cd. 7928], p.4.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*; Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1916-17, *PP*, 1917 [Cd. 8648], p.3.

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>641</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947, pp.74, 76. According to the Acharn log book, a new compulsory officer and drill instructor began his duties on 22 May 1917. PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Acharn Public School Log Book, 1903-1933, p.171.

<sup>642</sup> For example, when the long-serving schoolmistress of Ardtalnaig School, Miss Mary Ann Ross, left at the end of the summer term in 1916 entries in the log book ceased until December when the services of a temporary teacher were secured. It then took another six weeks for a permanent schoolmistress to be appointed. Mary Ann Ross had taught in the school since June 1898 (with some prolonged periods of absence due to illness). Miss C. Fraser covered until mid-January, when Miss Bathia M.M. Faith, who had previously served as a temporary teacher at the school, was appointed headmistress. PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/158, Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1912-1940.

The exemption of teenage boys 'for the summer months' also became common, and while irregularity of attendance of both boys and girls at key points in the agricultural year was not new, it was visibly exacerbated by the wartime shortage of labour.<sup>643</sup> In other respects, school life went on much as before with the same occasional visits from members of the school boards, religious knowledge exams and HMI inspections punctuating the educational programme. The war also prompted community action through the schools, uniting children and their families in charitable pursuits to aid the war effort and provide for those affected by the conflict. For instance, one Saturday in October 1915 the pupils of Fearnan School 'collected ... for the Red Cross' and 'had much pleasure in handing over ... their mite for the blind and disabled soldiers' to Rev. Branforth when he visited the school the following month.<sup>644</sup> Likewise, not long after the start of the war, the girls of Ardeonaig School were 'busily engaged working for Belgium Refugees' and produced an assortment of woollen clothing, eye bandages and cuffs to send to the Refugees' committee in London.<sup>645</sup>

The national focus of the war effort, whether it be fundraising, knitting garments or serving in a military or medical capacity, also contributed to a broadening of people's horizons as international affairs became a local concern. Although the impact of this at community level is incredibly difficult to discern, there can be little doubt that the conflict had far-reaching psychological and social consequences. Whether or not the war hastened a shift in loyalty from the parish to the nation, fostering 'a sense of Scottish identity at the expense of local identity' as Finlay claims, is open to dispute.<sup>646</sup> Yet, it certainly fed into the view, already well-developed, that national interests rather than parochial concerns were paramount, and that Scottish citizenship was the cement that would bind the country together through difficult times and beyond. Building on work already in progress to strengthen future generations through physical education and medical inspection, the articulation and development of a clear citizenship agenda in schools reflected this and placed education at the forefront of the debate.<sup>647</sup> Though instruction in 'the rights and duties of a citizen' had been encouraged by the Scotch Code since 1899, with a 'Memorandum as curriculum of Higher Grade schools or Departments' stating that 'a spirit of patriotism should be cultivated' and citizenship promoted through the study of history and English literature, it was increasingly seen

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<sup>643</sup> Entries made by headmistress Miss Roberts in the Fearnan log book between March and May 1917 illustrate this clearly. On 23 March she noted that 'Senior boys and girls irregular ... assisting on the crofts and taking cattle to market, and a week later that a 'Senior boy absent - father ill and other brothers on active service'. She subsequently observed that 'two senior boys have left both being 14 yrs and are working on the land, and in May reported the sad news that 'the scholars were much grieved ... to learn of the death of Hugh Cowan who fell in action'. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947, pp.85-8.

<sup>644</sup> The nine children on roll at this time raised 7/1 (7 shillings and a penny). Ibid, p.67.

<sup>645</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, pp.377-8. Around a quarter of a million Belgians sought refuge in Britain during World War One. D. Winterman, 'World War One: How 250,000 Belgian Refugees didn't leave a trace', *BBC News Magazine*, 15 Sept. 2014, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-28857769>>.

<sup>646</sup> Finlay, *Modern Scotland*, pp.3-4.

<sup>647</sup> Physical training or 'drill' was introduced to schools from the late nineteenth century onwards, and compulsory medical inspection was initiated by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908.

as an overarching subject and by 1942 had been singled out for special attention by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland.<sup>648</sup>

## Conclusion

Lasting almost fifty years, the school board period witnessed significant change in educational policy and practice. Framed within a broader picture of political reform, economic development and cultural transformation, the precise timing and impact of reform at community level varied across rural Scotland depending on local conditions and personalities. However, some overarching trends are discernible, namely: an initial reduction in the number of rural schools followed by stability and growth in provision; the widening of participation in school management; an increasing emphasis on formal teacher training and certification; a decline in the number of teachers who were native to the district in which they taught; and a significant rise in the proportion of female teachers. This feminisation of the profession, with women accounting for over two-thirds of Scotland's schoolteachers by the start of World War One, was particularly marked in rural areas, and especially those with a preponderance of one-teacher schools which were increasingly seen to have little to offer a competent and ambitious schoolmaster. The development of a more distinct secondary sector played a key role in this, gradually limiting the educational scope of Scotland's archetypal all-through school, fuelling critique of the school board system and diminishing the status of the rural schools and their teachers. While some traditionalists embarked on a nostalgic campaign to retain advanced instruction in the small rural schools, by the early twentieth century the commitment to reform was such that the SED paid little more than lip service to their concerns. The impact of educational policy on local and regional culture was also more keenly felt, with the drive for national uniformity aiding and accelerating the erosion of established practices, including Gaelic language use and its associated traditions, and encouraging the young to broaden their horizons. The experience of war further contributed to this, feeding into the view that national interests rather than local considerations were paramount.

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<sup>648</sup> Scotch Education Department. 1899. Code of Regulations for Day Schools, with Appendixes, by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1899 [C.9189], p.97; Scottish Education Department. Training for Citizenship a Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, 1943-44, *PP*, [Cmd. 6495].



## Chapter 4

### Tempered ambition: the interwar and war years, 1918-1945

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 is heralded as a key turning point in the history of Scottish education, marking the modernisation of a school system which, though much changed since 1872, was still administratively rooted in the parochial tradition. In the words of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland at the time, it marked the ‘commencement of a new era’ and an end to ‘the old régime’.<sup>649</sup> The culmination of years of educational debate, the Act received Royal Assent on the 21<sup>st</sup> November 1918, just ten days after the Great War ended, and most clauses came into force the following year.<sup>650</sup> Having been shaped by a wartime appetite for social and democratic reform, and a desire to counteract the ‘seriousness of the interference with school work which the war has entailed’, some provisions, including the extension of the school age to fifteen, were to prove too ambitious for the post-war period of economic austerity.<sup>651</sup> Nevertheless, by setting a clear framework for secondary education, expanding the state system to include Catholic, Episcopalian and other voluntary schools, and replacing the school boards with *ad hoc* education authorities at county level, the Act set a course for sweeping educational change over the coming decades.<sup>652</sup>

#### Transitioning to education authority control

Following elections in April 1919, the new education authorities ‘assumed responsibility in place of the school boards and secondary education committees on 16<sup>th</sup> May’.<sup>653</sup> In the majority of cases a contest was held for seats and, despite the potential for glitches with the new system of proportional representation, ‘the counting of votes was in every case carried out without a hitch’.<sup>654</sup>

<sup>649</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1919 [Cmd. 264], p.3.

<sup>650</sup> There was some delay in fixing ‘appointed days’, and John Sturrock, MP for Montrose District of Burghs asked the Secretary of Scotland on two occasions when the Act would come into force. The first written answer, issued on 17 Feb. 1919, gave no specific date, but an order was subsequently published on 20 Feb. fixing the 24 Feb. as the date when sections 1, 22, 23, 28-31, 33 would come into force. With regard to the remaining provisions, Sturrock raised another question during a Commons sitting on 18 Mar. 1919, emphasising the ‘uncertainty felt by school boards and all engaged in educational work in Scotland’, and Mr Munro replied that ‘an Order fixing “appointed days” for a large numbers of Sections of the Act is being issued to-day’. The order issued that day covered sections 3-13, 24, 27 and 32. Hansard, House of Commons Debate, 17 Feb. 1919, Vol. 112, Col. 610W; Education (Scotland). Order made by the Scottish Education Department, on 20th February, 1919 fixing appointed days under subsection (2) of section thirty-three of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, *PP*, 1919 [Cmd. 47]; Hansard, House of Commons Debate, 18 Mar. 1919, Vol. 113, Col. 1913; Education (Scotland). Order made by the Scottish Education Department on 18th March, 1919, fixing appointed days under subsection (2) of section thirty-three of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, *PP*, 1919 [Cmd. 81].

<sup>651</sup> The operationalisation of portions of the Act relating to Continuation Classes, and the employment of children and young persons was also delayed. The leaving age was eventually raised to 15 following the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.294.

<sup>652</sup> Thirty-eight education authorities were established, including separate bodies for the big urban centres of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and Leith. The Act also led to the renaming of the SED, with it becoming Scottish rather than Scotch (Art.30) and its relocation from Whitehall to Edinburgh.

<sup>653</sup> The elections in the five scheduled burghs took place on Friday 4 April, and in the counties on Friday 11 April. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1919, p.10; ‘Election of Education Authorities’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 28 Feb. 1919, p.4.

<sup>654</sup> Contests were held in 166 of the 173 electoral divisions and, 1,897 candidates competed for 987 seats. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1920 [Cmd.782], p.10. Proportional representation, using the single transferable vote system, was used for the first time. This preferential voting meant that candidates needed a share of the votes, or quota, rather than a majority to be elected. Each voter had one vote, but this could be transferred from their first preference to a second preference if the preferred candidate either had enough votes already or had no chance of being elected. V. Bogdanor, *The People and the Party System: The Referendum and Electoral Reform in British Politics* (Cambridge, 1981), p.133; Electoral Reform Society, ‘How does the Single Transferable Vote work?’, <<http://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/single-transferable-vote>>, accessed 15 Aug. 2015.

However, the electoral turnout was disappointing being just twenty-nine percent overall, and there was a general lack of interest in the whole affair.<sup>655</sup> Reports in the regional press made much of this indifference with one commenting that ‘probably never in the history of electioneering in Arbroath has there been so much apathy and indifference displayed as is being manifested in the election of representatives of the new Forfarshire Education Authorities’.<sup>656</sup> Another noted the ‘marked indifference of the fisher folks’ of Fife, and the ‘dreary day’ faced by polling officials, one of whom reportedly said that ‘he had had the softest job of his life, was glad he had taken a couple of novels with him, and his only regret was that he did not have a third’.<sup>657</sup> Observations were also made about the preponderance of women voters, the lack of awareness that the election was taking place, and disengagement with the ‘new-fangled way of doing’.<sup>658</sup>

The highest proportion of electors voted in Dumbarton and the lowest in the burgh of Aberdeen. Although analysis of the figures reveals no clear regional trends, the large urban areas tended towards the bottom end of the scale, with Glasgow having the highest turnout of these with twenty-eight percent, whereas the Highland counties of Inverness, Sutherland, Argyll, Bute, Caithness and Ross and Cromarty were all above the average. (Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1). This democratic engagement did not extend to the archipelago counties of Shetland and Orkney, however, with both recording very poor voter numbers. Coming shortly after reform of the British electoral system, which saw the franchise extended to include all men over the age of twenty-one and women over thirty who met minimum property criteria, the number of people eligible to vote in parliamentary elections was significantly higher than it had been.<sup>659</sup> Nevertheless, as the women who now qualified had always been part of the school board electorate, the gender significance of the reform in relation to educational affairs was limited.<sup>660</sup> Furthermore, the fact that not all those eligible entered their names on the electoral roll and voted meant that the education authority election results were not necessarily representative of the broadened electorate. In principle though, every male-headed household, and not just the more prosperous ones as had formerly been the case, was entitled to an official say in educational affairs. The situation of poor households with no male to represent them did, however, remain unchanged.

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<sup>655</sup> Ibid.

<sup>656</sup> *Dundee Evening Telegraph*. 11 Apr. 1919, p.6.

<sup>657</sup> *Dundee Courier*, 12 Apr. 1919.

<sup>658</sup> Ibid.

<sup>659</sup> The Representation of the People Act, 1918, abolished most property qualifications for men, and women over 30 were required to be occupiers of property ‘of a yearly value not less than 5l’, or be married to an eligible voter. Female graduates could also vote in a university constituency, H. Fraser, *The Representation of the People Act, 1918 with Explanatory Notes* (London, 1918), pp.xxvi-xxviii. Across Britain, the electorate tripled in size from 7.7 million to 21.4 million, with women accounting for around 43% of the electorate. UK Parliament, ‘Representation of the People Act 1918’, <<http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/parliamentary-collections/collections-the-vote-and-after/representation-of-the-people-act-1918/>>, accessed 17 July 2016.

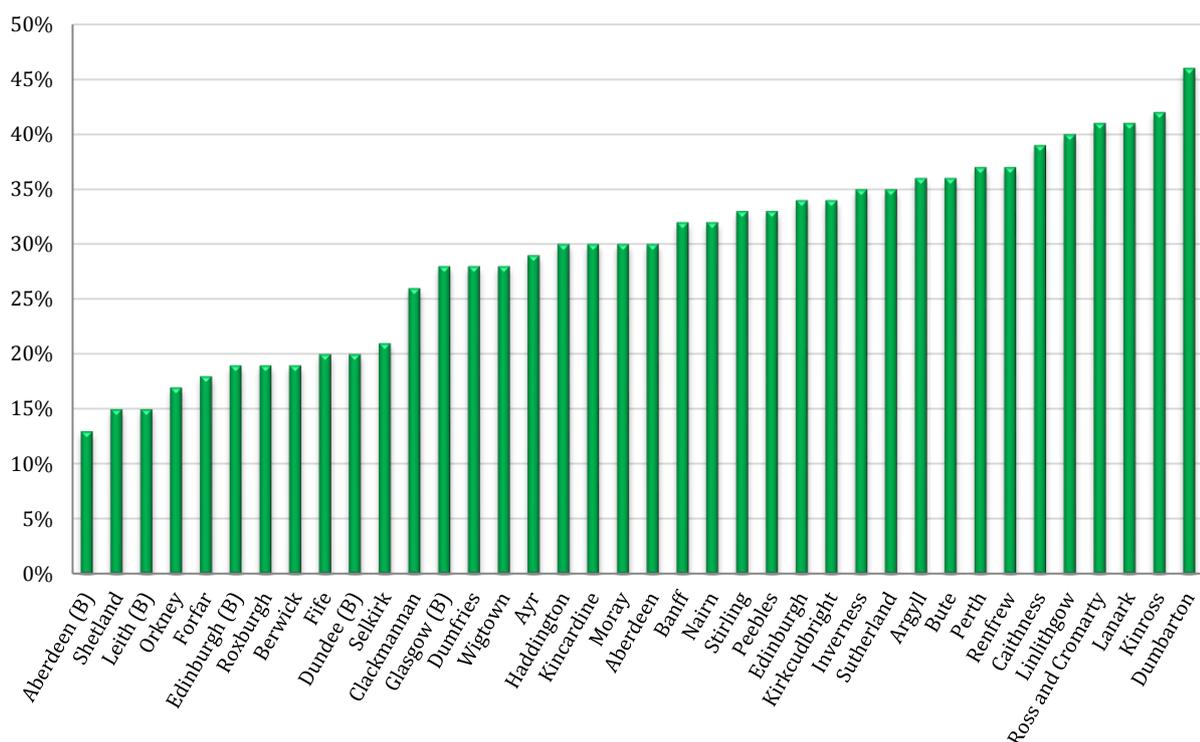
<sup>660</sup> Though it is fair to assume that women would have felt more comfortable exercising their voting rights by this time.

**Table 4.1: Voting figures for education authority elections, 1919** <sup>661</sup>

Education area		No. of electoral divisions	No. of candidates	No. of seats	No. of electors	No. of voters	% voters to electorate
<b>Burghs</b>	Aberdeen	3	44	21	59,727	7,489	13%
	Edinburgh	5	42	23	130,476	24,261	19%
	Dundee	4	35	22	66,312	13,584	20%
	Glasgow	7	91	45	446,311	124,103	28%
	Leith	3	21	14	35,750	5,436	15%
<b>Counties</b>	Aberdeen	9	111	46	50,847	15,506	30%
	Argyll	7	66	35	23,125	8,289	36%
	Ayr	7	102	42	102,686	30,263	29%
	Banff	5	48	30	27,043	8,560	32%
	Berwick	3	38	16	12,723	2,423	19%
	Bute	3	19	12	10,362	3,733	36%
	Caithness	3	32	18	9,725	3,780	39%
	Clackmannan	2	22	15	12,677	3,244	26%
	Dumbarton	5	56	26	48,485	22,160	46%
	Dumfries	5	40	23	26,492	7,441	28%
	Edinburgh	5	58	29	42,181	14,325	34%
	Fife	7	84	44	103,286	20,606	20%
	Forfar	7	73	33	41,150	7,425	18%
	Haddington	3	30	17	17,045	5,047	30%
	Inverness	9	71	41	24,225	8,374	35%
	Kincardine	4	35	20	10,833	3,221	30%
	Kinross	1	14	9	3,100	1,287	42%
	Kirkcudbright	4	33	22	14,918	5,145	34%
	Lanark	9	98	49	159,859	65,957	41%
	Linlithgow	3	53	22	28,949	11,653	40%
	Moray	5	38	21	17,491	5,218	30%
	Nairn	1	17	10	4,320	1,387	32%
	Orkney	5	52	32	11,470	1,906	17%
	Peebles	3	23	11	6,786	2,254	33%
	Perth	6	69	34	48,922	18,159	37%
	Renfrew	4	74	35	107,272	40,002	37%
	Ross and Cromarty	6	74	37	20,865	8,530	41%
	Roxburgh	5	44	25	20,007	3,765	19%
	Selkirk	3	26	17	9,840	2,105	21%
	Shetland	3	36	24	8,330	1,220	15%
Stirling	5	71	33	55,933	18,286	33%	
Sutherland	2	29	17	8,363	2,893	35%	
Wigtown	2	28	17	12,999	3,702	28%	
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>173</b>	<b>1,897</b>	<b>987</b>	<b>1,840,935</b>	<b>532,739</b>	<b>29%</b>

<sup>661</sup> Elector and voter figures relate to the contested districts only. Three divisions (one each in Dumbarton, Dumfries and Forfar) were uncontested. Figures taken from Appendix V, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1920, pp.41-2.

**Figure 4.1: Proportion of electors who voted in the education authority elections, 1919** <sup>662</sup>



**Table 4.2: Education authority election results for Highland and Western county districts of Perthshire, 1919** <sup>663</sup>

Electoral division	No. of electors	No. of voters	% of electorate who voted	Successful candidates	Unsuccessful candidates	First count	Final count
Highland District	5456	1982	36%	Duchess of Atholl		624	316
				James Macnaughton, Merchant, Aberfeldy		433	316
				George F. Barbour, Bonskeld		205	316
				Lieut-Col. Steuart Fotheringham, Murthly Castle		220	327
				Alexander Campbell, farmer, Boreland, Fearnan		158	311
					Rev. W. A. Gillies, Kenmore	204	281
					Rev. J. C. McLellan, Rannoch	48	-
Western County District	6010	2555	43%	Alexander Anderson, factor, The Firs, Dunblane		680	426
				James Macdonald, merchant, Callander*		360	426
				Donald McLaren, farmer, Bracklinn, Callander		322	426
				James McAnish, engineer, Doune		235	434
				James D. McRae, auctioneer, Killin		333	365
					James Rodger, farmer, Keir Mains	183	353
					J. F. Muir, Braco Castle	233	-
					Rev. W. M. Taylor, Aberfoyle	174	-
					Mrs Annie E. McNaughton, Lindon, Braco	35	-

\* Forename given as Thomas in Education Authority minute book

<sup>662</sup> Ibid. (B) indicates that the settlement is a burgh.

<sup>663</sup> Figures taken from a local newspaper report are assumed to be accurate. "The Cloth" again heavily defeated in Perth divisions', *Dundee Courier*, Apr. 1919, p.2.

Focusing in on the case study, Perthshire was divided into six electoral divisions and elected thirty-four members to its education authority.<sup>664</sup> The parishes of Fortingall and Kenmore were part of the Fourth Division, Highland District, and Killin lay within the Sixth Division, Western County District. Both were large geographical areas, spanning in the latter case a distance of almost fifty miles from Tyndrum in the north-west to Dunblane in the south-east, and comprised a diverse range of settlements. The candidates for election ranged from farmers to aristocrats, many of whom were established politicians. This was particularly pronounced in the Highland District contest which involved the Duchess of Atholl, a member of the Scottish Unionist Party and wife of the MP for West Perthshire, her political rival George Freeland Barbour of the Liberal Party, Lieutenant Colonel Steuart Fotheringham, owner of the Fotheringham, Murthly and Grandtully estates, as well as James Macnaughton, an Aberfeldy merchant, the Fearnan farmer Alex Campbell, Rev. Gillies of Kenmore and Rev. McLellan of Rannoch (**Table 4.2**). All but the two ministers were successful, with the Duchess of Atholl topping the poll. The Western Division candidates were equally diverse with farmers competing against merchants, an auctioneer, an engineer, an estate factor, a minister and a gamekeeper's wife. The last of these, Annie Elisabeth McNaughton, who lived in Ardoch parish, appears to have had no political affiliation or prior experience, but having raised and overseen the education of at least nine children she had an established interest in local educational affairs.<sup>665</sup> Unlike the Duchess of Atholl, however, Annie received just thirty-five votes and was not elected. The contrast between these two women is striking, and confirms that gender attitudes continued to differ along class lines. Whilst one had the wealth, title and marital connections to justify her place in the political elite, the other simply had her personality and experience to commend her.<sup>666</sup> Therefore, although the Education Act stipulated that no woman should 'be disqualified either by sex or marriage from being a member of any education authority or committee thereof', the reality, as born out in the candidature and results of these two elections, was that it was difficult for women of low social status to gain positions of authority. Even with the enlarged female electorate, the likelihood of success remained low.

The electoral turnout in these divisions was comparatively high, with thirty-six percent of electors casting their vote in Highland District, and forty-three percent in the Western County District (**Table 4.2**). Although parish level figures are not available, having most likely been discarded following aggregation for the district, it is unlikely that voter turnout in the case study area was anywhere near as high as it had been for the early school board elections, which saw an exceptional ninety-six percent turnout for the 1879 Kenmore election. Therefore, while a far larger

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<sup>664</sup> There were five county districts and one covering the parishes of Perth, Kinnoull, Scone and Tibbermore, Although it was initially planned that there should be 'eight members for the parishes of Perth, Kinnoull, Scone and Tibbermore combined, and four members for each of the five county districts', this was increased and there were thirty-four members noted at the first meeting of Education Authority in April 1919. 'Perthshire Electoral Divisions', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 6 Feb. 1919, p.4; SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/1, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 1, 1919-29, Minutes of meeting 23 Apr. 1919.

<sup>665</sup> The 1901 Census shows her, at the age of thirty-nine, living with her husband Alexander at the Ardoch Keeper's House in Braco with their nine children ranging in age from 5 months to fifteen years. She had been born in England and would have been in her late fifties at the time of the 1919 election. 1901 Scotland Census, CSSCT1901\_115.

<sup>666</sup> The Duchess (Katharine Stewart-Murray) also had the educational advantage of being educated at a private school in London, and the Royal School of Music.

group of people, comprising individuals from across the social spectrum, now had a say in who should govern education only a minority chose to do so. In other words, extending democracy and seeking a more egalitarian system did not lead to more people taking responsibility for local affairs. The delocalisation of authority, shifting power from the parish to county districts, is likely to have fuelled this disinterest with local electors feeling somewhat removed from the process and, due to the scale of the elections, more inclined to leave the decision-making to others. Political manoeuvring and the collaboration of candidates with similar views and allegiances was also a notable feature of the campaigns, adding a new layer of complexity to proceedings. As highlighted in the *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, while several nominees for the Perthshire Education Authority conducted 'an individual campaign ... the selections of the Rotary Club, representatives of Labour, and supporters of the Co-operative movement' were seen to be 'working in "platoons"'.<sup>667</sup> In other areas, the term 'Citizen' candidate was used to describe those of various political leanings who opposed the Labour party and objected to the blatant politicisation of local government.<sup>668</sup> Although not entirely absent from the earlier school board elections, group affiliation and political ideology had not featured heavily in the rural contests.<sup>669</sup> Sectional interests had of course made their mark, particularly in areas where different denominations were vying for dominance or where trade unionism was strong, but the 1919 education authority elections took this to another level.<sup>670</sup>

**Table 4.3: Elected members of Perthshire Education Authority, 1919**<sup>671</sup>

Division 1	Division 2	Division 3	Division 4	Division 5	Division 6
- William A. Barclay - James G. Bryden - Samuel Chapman - John Dow - Frank Eastman - George R. Farquhar - F. Norie-Miller - John Ritchie - Dr Robert Stirling	- Alexander Campbell - Lord Forteviot - Alexander Graham - Rev. Roderick G Macdonald - James Paton	- A. W. Bennett - Sir George Kinloch - Robert Morris - Rev. Charles Stewart - Rev. Robert Stewart	- Duchess of Atholl - G. F. Barbour - Alexander Campbell - James Macnaughton - Lieut-Col. Walter T. J. S. Steuart Fotheringham	- Miss E. S. Haldane - Peter McIntyre - S. Graham Mickel - Lord Rollo - James N. Taylor	- Alexander H. Anderson - Thomas Macdonald - James McAnish - Donald McLaren - James D. McRae

Less than two weeks after the county elections took place, the first meeting of Perthshire Education Authority was held at the County Buildings in Perth, and all but three members were in attendance.<sup>672</sup> The overwhelming majority of those elected were male, with Miss Elizabeth Haldane of Auchterarder being the only other woman alongside the Duchess of Atholl (Table 4.3). The daughter of Robert Haldane of Cloan House, Elizabeth was also from a privileged background and

<sup>667</sup> 'Education Authority election is exciting increase interest at Perth', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 7 Apr. 1919.

<sup>668</sup> As seen in Glasgow at this time, umbrella organisations such as the Good Government League allowed 'Unionists and Liberals to co-operate against Labour while maintaining the tradition of "no politics" in local government'. J. J. Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow 1896-1936: Socialism, Suffrage and Sectarianism* (East Linton, 2000), p.102.

<sup>669</sup> In certain parts of central Scotland the 'strategic combination of common interests' was a feature of school board elections. For instance, in the coal and shale mining areas of West Lothian, 'the common interests of Catholics and workers' could combine to great effect, and when miners 'stood with local denominational backing' they tended to be successful. This was not evident in Fife or Grangemouth, however, and was clearly dependent on local factors. A. Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control of Local Education in Scotland', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 23: 1 (2003), p18.

<sup>670</sup> Bain notes that 'trade union combination' in Fife played 'an important part in getting changes made in social provision within local schools, especially after the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908'. *Ibid*, p.19.

<sup>671</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 1, Minutes of meeting held 23 Apr. 1919.

<sup>672</sup> The first meeting took place on the 23 April, 1919, and G.F. Barbour, James Macnaughton and Lord Rollo gave their apologies. *Ibid*.

had been politically active for many decades prior to 1919.<sup>673</sup> Spurred on by the ‘excitement’ of assisting her brother Robert with his election campaigns and influenced by the socialism of the emergent Fabian Society, Elizabeth spent much of her life balancing the familial demands of caring for her widowed mother with political activism and writing.<sup>674</sup> A suffragist and supporter of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies, she was a well-known feminist and social reformer, and was one of the few women in Scotland to serve on a school board.<sup>675</sup> Her election to the education authority, and subsequent charge of its Special Committee on Rural Libraries, was therefore no surprise.<sup>676</sup> Of the other members, three (in addition to the Duchess) bore aristocratic titles, three were ministers, one was a doctor, and all of the others, regardless of their occupation or social status, were afforded the suffix ‘Esq.’<sup>677</sup> Nevertheless, despite this social mix the members of Perthshire Education Authority were no more representative of the wider population than the school boards had been as wealthy middle and upper class men continued to have a disproportionate presence.

Rather than be critiqued for their social narrowness, as both the school boards and their parochial predecessors had been, the new education authorities were presented as a superior grouping of people, operating in a suitably formal manner and comprising the kind of people who could do the best for education. As one journalist put it, ‘it is thought that the larger administrative area will secure a better type of member and command a higher class of official’.<sup>678</sup> Echoing the rhetoric of fifty years before, the curtailment of ecclesiastical power and a desire to wrest education from ‘the patriarchal control of traditional interests’ were underlying themes, and newspapers were quick to highlight the poor performance of the clergy in certain contests.<sup>679</sup> For instance, the *Dundee Courier* reported that ‘the main feature in the Perthshire results’ was ‘the defeat of so many of the ministerial candidates in the county divisions’.<sup>680</sup> Yet, the fortunes of ministers did vary a great deal, and in many regions, rural and urban alike, they remained a dominant force. This can clearly be seen in Ross and Cromarty, where all four members of the Western Division were ministers, and in Inverness-shire, which had ‘20 ministers returned’ for duty on its education

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<sup>673</sup> Robert was a member of the Society of Writers to her Majesty’s Signet, an association of Scottish Lawyers based in the Signet Library. The WS Society, <<http://www.thewssociety.co.uk>> and <<http://www.thesignetlibrary.co.uk/about/history>>, accessed 28 Aug. 2015. 1851 Scotland Census, Lasswade, CSSCT1851\_186; 1861 Scotland Census, Edinburgh St George, CSSCT1861\_124; 1871 Scotland Census, Edinburgh St George, CSSCT1871\_157.

<sup>674</sup> J. Alberti, ‘Elizabeth Sanderson Haldane’, in E. Ewan, S. Innes and S. Reynolds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp.184-5. Richard was a Liberal Member of Parliament from 1885 until 1911, and served as Secretary of State for War between 1905 and 1912. L. G. Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage 1884-1971: Containing Extinct, Abeyant, Dormant and Suspended Peerages with Genealogies and Arms* (London, 1972), p.141; The Fabian Society was founded in 1884 to promote non-Marxist evolutionary socialism, The Fabian Society, ‘About’, <<http://www.fabians.org.uk>>, accessed 17 July 2016.

<sup>675</sup> Haldane was a member of the school board of Auchterarder at the beginning of the twentieth century. J. Alberti, ‘Inside Out: Elizabeth Haldane as a Women’s Suffrage Survivor in the 1920s and 1930s’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 13, 1990, pp.119-20; J. Stark, ‘Elizabeth Sanderson Haldane 1862-1937’, in C. Hartley, *A Historical Dictionary of British Women* (London, 2003), pp.200-1.

<sup>676</sup> During a meeting on 19 May 1919, ‘on the motion of Miss Haldane, the appointment of a special committee to be known as “The Library Committee” – was agreed to, which would deal with matters connected with rural libraries’, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 1, p.14.

<sup>677</sup> Though once reserved for men of high social status, by this time ‘Esq.’ was widely used as a courtesy title for men operating in formal settings.

<sup>678</sup> ‘Education in Scotland: What the Munro Act means’, *Dundee Courier*, 2 July 1919.

<sup>679</sup> Bain, ‘The Beginnings of Democratic Control’, p.7.

<sup>680</sup> The paper also highlighted the apparent lack of support for candidates associated with the Labour party. ‘Clerical and Labour candidates fare badly in many county divisions’, *Dundee Courier*, 14 Apr. 1919.

authority.<sup>681</sup> Equally in the city of Dundee, ‘the dominating feature of the ... election was the marked success of the denominational candidates, particularly of the Roman Catholics’.<sup>682</sup> While past loyalties and local preferences for educational management would have fed into this, these successes reflected a more deliberate and organised promotion of sectional interests. Just as some candidates sought collaboration and support along political lines, with Labour and Co-operative nominees being the most overt in their campaigning, religious groups looked to present a more united front than had previously been the case.<sup>683</sup> Thus, in March 1919 a ‘conference of representatives of the three Presbyterian Churches was held in the offices of the United Free Church, Edinburgh to consider the desirability of harmonious and concerted action at the approaching election of local education authorities in the Highlands’.<sup>684</sup> Significantly, An Comunn Gàidhealach were also represented at the meeting, and as well as discussing the teaching of Gaelic and the importance of religious instruction a number of delegates ‘referred to the need of maintaining in the schools the liberal studies which had for centuries been a feature of Scottish education and the need for having these restored to their historic place’.<sup>685</sup> Reminiscent of Ramsay and Harrower’s rural schools’ campaign at the beginning of the twentieth century, this highlights a continuing concern that structural and curriculum changes were undermining the distinctiveness and efficacy of Scottish education. Hence, the debate around how best to transform the traditional parochial system into one fit for the modern age lingered on, and the education authorities were seen to provide a new forum for discussion and a platform to promote such interests. In this sense, the education authorities were a different proposition to the school boards, adding a new layer to educational management rather than replacing the earlier bodies like for like.<sup>686</sup>

### Local school management

Much is understandably made of the abolition of the school boards, which has become something of a historiographical watershed with most studies concluding or commencing with the 1918 Act. However, it is often forgotten, or at least not emphasised, that school management committees were quickly established at local level and formed a key part of the new administrative framework. Though constituted differently to the school boards, in effect they were a continuation of these and took charge of the day-to-day management of the schools. As detailed in the Act, the committees were to have ‘all the powers and duties’ of the education authority ‘in regard to the general management and supervision of the school or group of schools’, and it was left to each authority to

<sup>681</sup> ‘Education Authority election’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 17 Apr. 1919.

<sup>682</sup> ‘Success of Roman Catholic candidates in Dundee’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 7 Apr. 1919.

<sup>683</sup> For instance, a number of ‘Labour and Co-operative nominees addressed the electors at a public meeting held in the Town Hall, Falkirk’ prior to the election of the Stirlingshire Education Authority in April 1919, ‘Sunday electioneering in Falkirk’, *Falkirk Herald*, 8 Apr. 1919. Similarly, a number of candidates for the Aberdeen Education Authority ‘decided upon arrangements for conducting a joint campaign’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 21 Mar. 1919.

<sup>684</sup> ‘Highland Education Authorities: Church conference’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 10 Mar. 1919.

<sup>685</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>686</sup> This is also reflected in the type of committees established within the education authorities themselves. For instance, Perthshire Education Authority had a Finance and General Purpose Committee, as well as ones focusing on Higher Education and Bursary, School Staffing, Continuation Classes and Special Instruction, Property and Works, Medical Inspection and General Welfare, Religious and Moral Instruction, and Rural Libraries. Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol.1, Minutes of meeting held 19 May 1919, p.26.

draw up an appropriate scheme for their area.<sup>687</sup> As elsewhere, Perthshire Education Authority wasted no time in doing so and a detailed plan was appended to the minutes of their second monthly meeting of May 1919.<sup>688</sup> Though a consensus was quickly reached it is interesting that members had differing views as to the right way to go about this. In discussing the issue at their first meeting, Mr S. Graham Mickel of Crieff moved ‘that it be remitted to the members of the several electoral divisions to consider and report as to what they consider to be the best grouping of parishes or schools’, but this was not to the liking of some and Lord Forteviot proposed that ‘it be remitted to the Chief Executive Officer, along with Mr T. B. Marshall, Joint Clerk to the County Secondary Education Committee, and Mr Geo. F. Bates, Organiser of Instruction to prepare and submit a scheme’.<sup>689</sup> In essence, one side was for local consultation on the matter and the other for official decision-making. On a vote being taken, the former approach was adopted and twenty-eight groups of schools were identified.

Each cluster of schools was to be managed by a committee of seven, comprising representatives from various local bodies including the education authority itself. In addition, there was to be a teachers’ representative, denominational delegates as appropriate (Roman Catholic and Episcopalian), and parent representatives, with other members drawn from the town or parish council and old school boards. In terms of their selection, the method of election varied between the different groups with representatives of the authority being ‘elected by the Authority itself’, parent representatives being ‘elected by the Authority on the nomination of the parents of children attending the several schools’, teacher representatives being nominated by their peers ‘at a meeting of the whole of such teachers specially called for the purpose’, and representatives of local bodies being chosen by them with no other stipulation other than that they should ‘be persons resident in the locality and otherwise qualified to represent local interest in School Management’.<sup>690</sup> Where denominational schools had been transferred, the Bishop of the Diocese was asked to nominate an appropriate representative. Once constituted, the school management committees were required to meet at least four times a year, and as well as being delegated responsibility for the management and supervision of the schools, they were required to carry out ‘the provision of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, and the Children’s Act, 1908, with regard to neglected children’, and were given the power to grant ‘the use of School Buildings’.<sup>691</sup> These local committees were therefore accountable for the running of the schools, the welfare of the pupils (both within and outside of school), and for facilitating wider community use of school buildings. Unlike the school boards, however, they did not control income and expenditure, could not buy or hold land, and were expected to defer to the education authority in all matters concerning the employment of teachers.<sup>692</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> Article 4, Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, 8 & 9 Geo. 5 c. 48, p.2.

<sup>688</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol.1, 1919-20, Scheme for the constitution of School Management Committees under the Education Authority of the County of Perth.

<sup>689</sup> Ibid, Minutes of meeting held 23 Apr. 1919, p.3.

<sup>690</sup> Ibid, Method of election of members of school management committees’, p.151.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid, p.152.

<sup>692</sup> The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, stipulated that decisions regarding ‘the appointment, transfer, remuneration and dismissal of teachers’ should be made at county rather than local level.

**Table 4.4: Case study: School management committee groups of schools, 1919** <sup>693</sup>

Group 17 - Kenmore		Group 23 - Killin	
School	Roll	School	Roll
Acharn	70	Strathfillan	30
Ardtalnaig	8	Glendochart	22
Lowers	27	Crianlarich	47
Fearnan	11	Killin	102
Fortingall	64	Glenlochay	6
Innerwick	17	Kiltyrie	12
Invervar	6	Ardeonaig	24

**Table 4.5: Case study: School management committee members, 1919** <sup>694</sup>

Representative body	Group 17 - Kenmore	Group 23 - Killin
Education Authority	Mr Alexander Campbell, Boreland, Fearnan Mr James MacNaughton, Edragoll, Aberfeldy	Mr J. D. McRae, Tigh-n-fhinn, Killin Mr Thomas Macdonald, Ach-na-coile, Callander
Parents	Mr A. Cameron, Ruskich, Glenlyon Rev. W. A. Gillies, B.D. Kenmore	Mr Wm Alexander, Postman, Killin Mr Robert Lambie, Farmer, Derrydarroch
Teachers	Mr James Simpson, School House, Fortingall	Mr James McRaw, M.A., Public School, Killin
Parish Council	Mr John Crerar, Kindrochit, Ardtalnaig	Mr John McDiarmid, Ard lach, Killin
School Board	Mr A. Stewart, Woodend, Glenlyon	Rev. Geo. W. Mackay, M.A., The Manse
Clerk	Mr C. J. D. Munro, Solicitor, Aberfeldy	Mr Peter Stewart, Killin

Turning to the case study to examine how the new administrative framework worked in practice, the schools of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin were reorganised into two different groups: Group 17 encompassed most of the Kenmore schools alongside Fortingall and the Glenlyon schools; and Group 23 covered the Killin schools as well as the lochside schools at Kiltyrie and Ardeonaig (Table 4.4).<sup>695</sup> In this way, the remit of the school management committees varied slightly from that of the earlier school boards, but the changes were subtle and based on practical considerations. In the first instance, the work of three neighbouring school boards was combined, and in the second two outlying schools were brought under the charge of their nearest committee.<sup>696</sup> In terms of membership, both groups comprised two members of the education authority, two parents, a teacher, a parish councillor, and a former school board member (Table 4.5).<sup>697</sup> Like the school boards they replaced, the committees were exclusively male and most of their members had prior experience of local school management. Though only one on each committee was noted as being a school board representative, others had also served on the local school boards. For instance, the

<sup>693</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol.1, 1919-20, Minutes of meeting held 23 Apr. 1919, p.3.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid, List of School Management Committees', pp.187, 189.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid, Appendix to minutes of meeting held 19 May 1919, pp.21, 23.

<sup>696</sup> The school boards of Kenmore, Fortingall and Glenlyon were merged into what came to be known as the Kenmore School Management Committee.

<sup>697</sup> Ibid.

Rev. W. A. Gillies, a long-serving member of Kenmore School Board, was now a parent representative, as was Robert Lambie who had served on Killin School Board since 1912.

This continuity of membership shows that the move to education authority control was far less dramatic and consequential at local level than the national narrative of sweeping educational change suggests. Indeed, when reading through the school log books there is little to indicate a shift in school management. In many cases, those visiting the schools to check the registers in early 1919 were the same men who undertook supervisory duties later in the year. For example, Alex Campbell and Rev. Gillies had been frequent visitors to Fearnan School for many years, the first from 1910 onwards and the second from 1912, and this continued unabated following the transfer of control with the only observable difference being a change in acronym from 'M.S.B' to 'M.E.A' or 'M.S.M.C'.<sup>698</sup> Due to its proximity to his farm, Campbell was particularly attentive to this school, whereas Gillies visited throughout the district, most likely tying school visitation in with other pastoral engagements.<sup>699</sup> Lawers School was the only one in Kenmore parish (excluding those included in the Killin group of schools) that he did not visit due to the fact that the United Free Church minister of that district, Rev. W. Calder, had an established presence there, so much so that he continued to visit after 1919 despite not being a formal member of the management committee.<sup>700</sup> In other schools, a change of personnel was more apparent, but those visiting would still have been familiar to pupils and staff. This was the case in Fortingall, where Alexander Stewart, a former member of the school board, became a regular visitor in the place of Rev. Tulloch, who had stopped in at the school every few months for many years and now attended just once in the summer to examine religious instruction.<sup>701</sup> Echoing experience following the implementation of the 1872 Act, such continuities of practice provided a bridge between the old system and the new, engendering a sense of stability and linkage with the past.

Returning to the composition of the local management committees, although the initial groups bore a striking resemblance to the outgoing school boards, over the course of the twenties membership did broaden to include new people, including a number of women. Taking stock in 1922, whilst the Killin committee continued to be exclusively male, the Kenmore group now had a female teachers' representative, the Fearnan schoolmistress Miss Roberts. Looking across Perthshire, twelve of the committees had at least one woman in their midst; some of these were teachers, others were parents, one was a town councillor, and a select number were female members of the education authority who sat on a number of groups within their district (**Table 4.6**).<sup>702</sup> Though

<sup>698</sup> M.S.B. stood for Member of School Board, M.E.A. for Member of Education Authority and M.S.M.C. for Member of School Management Committee. According to the log books, between July 1910 and November 1920 Alex Campbell visited Fearnan School in an official capacity at least thirty-eight times. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1873-1911 and Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947.

<sup>699</sup> Campbell also visited Fortingall School (which was only six miles from his farm) regularly from 1919 onwards. Log book evidence shows that Rev. Gillies was a frequent visitor to most of the schools in his parish (Ardalnaig, Acharn, Fearnan,).

<sup>700</sup> PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/69, Lawers Public School Log Book, 1907-1948.

<sup>701</sup> Rev. Tulloch first appears in the school log book in February 1897 and visited regularly until February 1919, Fortingall Public School Log Book 1873-1904; PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/102, Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1904-1931.

<sup>702</sup> As a member of the Perthshire Education Authority, the Duchess of Atholl sat on four committees (Blair Atholl, Pitlochry, Breadalbane Academy and Dunkeld), and Mrs Bessie Maclaggan of Creiff sat on two (Crieff and Autherarder). SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/4, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 4, 1922-23.

unsuccessful in the education authority elections, Annie McNaughton of Braco had clearly not been deterred and was now serving as a parent representative for the Dunblane group. Women were to remain in the minority, however, and although both case study groups had a female parent representative in 1928 the ratio of men to women was extremely high being 13:1 in Kenmore and 11:1 in Killin (**Table 4.7**). The fact that the size of the committees had grown to permit one parent representative per school meant that in many places, such as Kenmore, the proportion of women had actually gone down. Nevertheless, the enlargement of the groups to include more parents, albeit mostly men, did increase their representativeness by giving each community associated with a school a say in educational affairs. Prior to this, whether under the education authority or school boards, only a few schools had their interests represented by someone living in the immediate vicinity. While the power dynamics within each group would have favoured the interests of some members and limited the influence of others, in principle the wider grouping of elected officials, teachers and parents gave local administration a more collaborative feel, and demonstrated a growing desire to consult with and engage local constituencies in the life and work of their schools.<sup>703</sup>

**Table 4.6: Women on Perthshire school management committees, May 1922** <sup>704</sup>

Group	Rep	Name and address
1 (Perth)	Teacher	Miss Stewart, 11 Queen's Avenue, Perth
	Town Council	Councillor Miss Stewart Richardson, 1 Atholl Place, Perth
7 (Methven)	Parents	Mrs Campbell, The Manse, Tibbermore
8 (Ratray and Blairgowrie)	Parents	Miss Donnelly, St. Stephen's R.C. School Blairgowrie
13 (Blair Atholl)	Authority	Duchess of Atholl
14 (Pitlochry)	Authority	Duchess of Atholl
16 (Aberfeldy)	Teachers	Miss Barbara Cheyne, Breadalbane Academy, Aberfeldy
17 (Breadalbane Academy)	Co-opted	Duchess of Atholl
18 (Kenmore)	Teachers	Miss L. M. Roberts, Schoolhouse, Fearnan, Aberfeldy
19 (Dunkeld)	Authority	Duchess of Atholl
	Parents	Mrs Dow, Dalmarnock, Dalguise, Dunkeld
	Parents	Mrs Miller, Macmaridge, Butterstone
21 (Crieff)	Co-opted	Mrs Bessie Maclaggan, Williamston, Crieff
23 (Auchterarder)	Authority	Mrs Bessie Maclaggan, Williamston, Crieff
28 (Dunblane)	Parents	Mrs McNaughton, Braco

<sup>703</sup> That parent representation was taken seriously, at least in some areas, is clear from the fact that leaflets were distributed and 'a meeting of parents to nominate a representative' held in Fearnan in January 1939. Fearnan Public School Log Book 1911-1947, p.340.

<sup>704</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 4, 1922-23.

**Table 4.7: Killin and Kenmore school management committees, 1922 and 1928** <sup>705</sup>

Group	1922-23	1928-29
<p><b>Group 18: Kenmore</b></p> <p><b>Schools:</b> Acharn, Ardtalnaig, Lawers, Fearnan, Fortingall, Glenlyon, Invervar, Cashlie, Invermearn.</p> <p><b>Clerk:</b> Mr C.J.D. Munro, Solicitor, Aberfeldy.</p>	<p><b>Authority (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr James Macnaughton, Edragoll, Aberfeldy</li> <li>Provost James D. Haggart, Eilean Riabhach, Aberfeldy (Chairman)</li> </ul> <p><b>Parents (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rev. Wm. Gillies, The Manse, Kenmore</li> <li>Mr Hugh Cameron, Ruskich, Glenlyon, by Aberfeldy</li> </ul> <p><b>Teachers (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Miss L. M. Roberts, Schoolhouse, Fearnan, Aberfeldy</li> </ul> <p><b>Parish Council (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr John Crerar, Kindrochet, Ardtalnaig</li> </ul> <p><b>Co-opted (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr Alexander Campbell, Boreland, Fearnan, Aberfeldy</li> </ul>	<p><b>Authority (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr James Macnaughton, Edragoll, Aberfeldy</li> <li>Provost James D. Haggart, Eilean Riabhach, Aberfeldy</li> </ul> <p><b>Parents (9)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rev. W. A. Gillies, The Manse, Kenmore</li> <li>Mr Andrew McLaren, Merchant, Ardtalnaig</li> <li>Mr Alex. Campbell, of Boreland, Fearnan</li> <li>Mr Angus McDiarmid, Shenlarich, Lawers</li> <li>Mr James Cattanach, New Cottages, Fortingall</li> <li>Mr Wm. Finlayson, Factor, Meggernie, Glenlyon</li> <li>Rev. George Drummond, The Manse, Glenlyon</li> <li>Mrs Joan C. Walker, Slatich, Glenlyon</li> <li>Mr Andrew McNaughton, Invermearn, Glenlyon</li> </ul> <p><b>Teachers (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr Joseph J. Coull, M.A. Public School, Acharn</li> <li>Mr D. C. MacAulay, Public School, Fortingall</li> </ul> <p><b>Parish Council (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr John Crerar, Kindrochet, Ardtalnaig</li> </ul>
<p><b>Group 24: Killin</b></p> <p><b>Schools:</b> Strathfillan, Glendochart, Crianlarich, Killin, Kiltyrie, Ardeonaig, Glenlochay.</p> <p><b>Clerk:</b> Mr Peter Stewart, Killin</p>	<p><b>Authority (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr J. D. McRae, Tigh-n-fhinn, Killin (Chairman)</li> <li>Mr Thomas Macdonald, Ach-na-Coile, Callander</li> </ul> <p><b>Parents (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr D. McGregor, Inverchaggernie, Crianlarich</li> <li>Mr Thomas B. Campbell, Main Street, Killin</li> </ul> <p><b>Teachers (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr James McRaw, M.A. Public School, Killin</li> </ul> <p><b>Parish Council (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr John McDiarmid, Ardclach, Killin</li> </ul> <p><b>Co-opted (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rev. Duncan McGregor, U.F. Manse, Killin</li> </ul>	<p><b>Authority (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr Thomas Macdonald, Ach-na-Coile, Callander (Chairman)</li> <li>Mr James Simpson, Primrose Hill, Doune</li> </ul> <p><b>Parents (7)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mrs McColl, U.F. Manse, Tyndrum</li> <li>Mr James Stewart, Luib Hotel, Glendochart</li> <li>Mr John A. McLauchlan, Keilator, Crianlarich</li> <li>Mr T. B. Campbell, Fassofern, Killin</li> <li>Mr John McGibbon, Carwhin, by Killin</li> <li>Mr Archibald Morrison, Balloch, Ardeonaig</li> <li>Mr Donald McIntyre, Duncrosk, Glenlochay</li> </ul> <p><b>Teachers (2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr C. D. Sim, M.A. Public School, Crianlarich</li> <li>Mr James McRaw, M.A. Public School, Killin</li> </ul> <p><b>Parish Council (1)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr Donald McLaren, Bankhouse, Killin</li> </ul>

<sup>705</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 4; SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/10, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 10, 1928-29.

**Table 4.8: Changes in school board composition between 1919 and 1930** <sup>706</sup>

Education Area	Change between 1919 and 1930 (absolute numbers)			
	School Management Committees	Members	Parent representatives	Teacher representatives
City of Aberdeen	0	-8	-4	3
City of Dundee	-6	-41	-10	-11
City of Edinburgh (inc. Leith)	-8	-135	-54	-56
City of Glasgow	0	1	0	0
Aberdeen	-11	-80	-9	-22
Argyll	-34	-253	-63	-38
Ayr	0	50	0	0
Banff	0	-40	-18	-18
Berwick	0	-10	12	-6
Bute	0	-2	3	-2
Caithness	-5	-18	-16	1
Clackmannan	1	0	-1	-3
Dumbarton	0	-24	-7	-1
Dumfries	-5	-29	-19	-10
Fife	-14	-211	-93	-32
Forfar (Angus)	0	-10	16	1
Haddington (East Lothian)	-1	-72	-30	-6
Inverness	-3	-52	-31	-14
Kincardine	-2	-16	0	0
Kirkcudbright	-23	-124	-51	-21
Lanark	0	49	3	0
Linlithgow (West Lothian)	0	-30	0	-7
Midlothian (Edinburgh)	-3	-94	-36	-17
Moray & Nairn (Combined)	-8	-20	-1	-4
Orkney	-2	25	38	3
Peebles	-1	9	14	2
<b>Perth &amp; Kinross (Combined)</b>	<b>-12</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>24</b>
Renfrew	0	12	-1	2
Ross & Cromarty	-3	-37	13	1
Roxburgh	-3	-2	1	-2
Selkirk	-1	-29	-5	-4
Shetland	-2	-4	13	-1
Stirling	-11	-13	-2	-11
Sutherland	-7	-32	-25	-9
Wigtown	-5	-43	8	-6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>-169</b>	<b>-1156</b>	<b>-229</b>	<b>-264</b>

<sup>706</sup> Analysis done using statistics from the Committee of Council reports published in 1920, 1923 and 1930.

Significantly, a review of experience across Scotland reveals that the enlargement of school management committees in Perthshire was not typical. Comparing the composition of the committees in 1919, 1922 and 1930 using statistics published by the Committee of Council, it becomes immediately obvious that the national trend was one of consolidation and contraction.<sup>707</sup> Between 1919 and 1922 the number of committees across Scotland dropped by thirty-six, with the greatest reduction taking place in Argyll, and by 1930 a further 133 committees had been lost (Table 4.8). Perthshire was not immune to this, merging and reconfiguring a number of groups by the early thirties. Yet, whereas the membership of local management committees fell in most education areas, dropping by 1156 overall between 1919 and 1930, in the newly combined county of Perth and Kinross it grew substantially due to their policy of having a parent representative for every school. The figures bear this out with the number of parents going from fifty-four in 1919, to sixty-three in 1922 and then to 180 in 1930. Parallel to this, the number of teachers sitting on the committees also rose, totalling seventy in 1930 compared to forty-six in 1919. A few other counties also saw the number of members rise, but none of them expanded parent or teacher representation to the same extent.<sup>708</sup> This may reflect a preference elsewhere for parent-teacher associations (PTAs) which were beginning to take root in Scottish schools at this time.<sup>709</sup> Even if this were the case, as these were voluntary bodies with no official role in educational management there was less chance of parents, or teachers for that matter, being involved in decision-making such as that undertaken by the management committees. Clearly this is important as the model of local school management adopted by the education authority is likely to have influenced how communities viewed and interacted with their local schools. In this regard, it is interesting to observe that the major cities had a relatively small number of school management committees, and very few parent or teacher representatives despite having a very large school population. Glasgow, for instance, which had over one million inhabitants at this time, a fifth of whom were of school age, had a mere six parents and six teachers sitting on its local committees in 1930.<sup>710</sup> The urban model of school management was therefore very different to that of the rural districts which was built on a parochial tradition of local engagement and responsibility. As shown through this analysis, this was beginning to change during the interwar years with local representation diminishing rapidly in many areas, and it could be argued that this reflected an increasingly urban approach to education.

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<sup>707</sup> To facilitate comparison, changes to the education authority boundaries have been projected backwards, i.e. the 1919 figures for Nairn and Moray have been combined, as have those for Perth and Kinross. Statistics extracted from: Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1920, p.43; Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1923 [Cmd. 1885], p.38; Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1931 [CMD. 3867], p.49. Although, as stated in the report, the figures for 1919 'are in many cases approximate only, as the schemes allow some latitude in interpretation', they offer a good guide to the composition of the committees.

<sup>708</sup> Between 1919 and 1930, the number of parent representatives went up in Berwick (by 12), Bute (3), Forfar/Angus (16), Lanark (3), Orkney (38), Peebles (14), Ross and Cromarty (13), Roxburgh (1), Shetland (13), and Wigtown (8).

<sup>709</sup> Reporting in 1935, the Committee of Council observed that 'parents' associations are to be found under varying names in many districts, and their number is increasing, but on the whole they tended to be confined to the towns'. SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the Year 1935 with Summary Statistics for Scotland for the Year 1934-35, *PP*, 1936 [Cmd. 5140], p.18.

<sup>710</sup> The 1931 Census recorded a population of 1,088,461, with those between the ages of 5 and 14 numbering 199,119. Report of the Fourteenth Decennial Census of Scotland, Vol. 1, Part 2, City of Glasgow (Edinburgh, 1932), pp.41, 68, accessed via <<http://www.histpop.org>>.

## Teaching in the twenties

As highlighted in the Committee of Council's report for 1920-21, 'recovery from the effects of War and ... the establishment in full working order of the new machinery of local administration' dominated the education agenda during the early inter-war years.<sup>711</sup> Central to this was the further development and standardisation of teacher training and practice. With the recruitment of staff now falling to the county education authorities, the prolonged campaign to raise the professional status of teachers, spearheaded by the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) since the mid-nineteenth century, made significant progress during the 1920s.<sup>712</sup> Not only did teachers gain representation on the local management committees, having previously been excluded from the school boards, they also benefited from improved employment conditions and saw a significant increase in their salaries during 1919. As required by the 1918 Act, each education authority devised a 'scheme of salaries' for their teachers in line with a new national salary scale which had been drawn up by a departmental committee on the remuneration of teachers in 1917.<sup>713</sup> Referred to as the 'Craik scale', the recommended salaries were widely interpreted as a standard rather than a suggested minimum as had been intended, and the Education Authorities adjusted teachers' pay accordingly.<sup>714</sup> In hindsight, the timing of this was fortuitous for the teachers but problematic for the authorities who were forced to backtrack slightly, reducing the newly increased salaries following the financial crisis of 1921 and subsequent recession which led to cuts in public spending.<sup>715</sup> In Perthshire, salary reductions took effect from September 1923 on the recommendation of a 'special committee appointed to consider the question'.<sup>716</sup> However, the authority was clearly mindful that sustained cuts or a freeze on salaries would cause upset amongst its teachers, and reintroduced incremental increases in May of the following year.<sup>717</sup>

Given that the remuneration of teachers had varied a great deal under the school boards, both within districts and between different areas, the impact of the new scale was more keenly felt in some places than in others. It also led to greater public awareness of teacher salaries, with lists of pay being printed in the authority minute books and newspapers stating the salaries of newly appointed teachers.<sup>718</sup> In Perthshire, where 'the vexed question of teachers' salaries' had been 'the subject of conference at large and representative meeting' of school board members and teaching professionals in February 1919, the fact that some 'rural headmasters were being paid a smaller rate of salary than railwaymen and mechanics in their own parishes' made the issue especially

<sup>711</sup> SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1920-21, *PP*, 1921 [Cmd. 1266], p.3.

<sup>712</sup> The negotiating power of the EIS was strengthened by the unification of Scottish teacher unions under this name in 1917. Following lengthy negotiations, the Secondary Education Association of Scotland and Class Teacher's Federation merged with the EIS, and instituted a single publication, the *Scottish Educational Journal*, from 1918. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.291.

<sup>713</sup> Report of the Departmental Committee on the Remuneration of Teachers in Scotland (Craik Report), November 1917.

<sup>714</sup> J. Vaizey, *The Costs of Education* (London, 1958), p.210.

<sup>715</sup> A. McPherson, 'Schooling', in Dickson and Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland*, p.84.

<sup>716</sup> 'Cutting teachers' salaries', *Dundee Courier*, 29 May 1923.

<sup>717</sup> SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/5, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book Vol. 5, 1923-24; SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/6, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book Vol. 6, 24-25.

<sup>718</sup> For instance, a list of new appointments included the following: 'Crianlarich head teacher, Mr Charles D. Sim, M.A., assistant Rattray School, salary £410'. 'Perthshire teachers come and go', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 28 May 1923.

pertinent in the country districts.<sup>719</sup> When the review came later that year, therefore, the teaching staff in rural parishes such as Kenmore and Killin fared particularly well. As detailed in **Table 4.9**, most teachers saw their salary more than double and some received significantly more. For instance, the long-serving schoolmaster of Lawers School, William Davie, experienced a 247 percent increase in salary, going from £112 10/- to £390 per annum overnight. Trained schoolmistresses also made substantial gains, although none of them came up to the level of the male teachers.<sup>720</sup> As noted by McIvor, 'sexual discrimination and inequalities in the labour market and at work remained endemic in the interwar period', and women teachers were not paid the same as their male equivalents.<sup>721</sup> Even taking into account the varying nature of work and experience, with men more likely to be given responsibility for teaching supplementary courses which were seen to warrant higher pay than infant and primary work, inequality on the basis of gender alone remained. This can be seen by comparing the highest female salary, that of Lizzie Roberts who had charge of the whole school at Fearnan, with that of the Glendochart teacher Robert Paterson. Both teachers were in their fifties, held an Acting Teacher's Certificate, and had been in post in their current schools for sixteen years. Yet, while Robert was paid a salary of £390, Lizzie received just £330 for teaching a similar number of children in a comparable school. Both salaries, which included a supplement of £30 for being the head teacher, were at the maximum of their pay range.

Looking nationally, in 1920 there were 24,792 full-time teachers working in Scotland's primary, intermediate and secondary schools, and three-quarters of these were women.<sup>722</sup> This gender imbalance was consistent across the country, both in the burghs and counties, and was as true of certificated teachers as it was of provisionally certificated or assistant teachers.<sup>723</sup> In purely economic terms, therefore, there was a clear rationale for continuing to pay women less than men, and this was bolstered by continuing socio-cultural and political pressures to maintain gender inequality. The introduction of a marriage bar for women teachers from 1915, initially in Glasgow and Dundee and more broadly from 1922, was an expression of this and, as Adams observes, the reasons behind it 'were as much ideological as they were economic'.<sup>724</sup> Replicating established practice within the Civil Service which required female clerical workers to retire on marriage, the bar in teaching impaired the professional status of women and enforced the idea that women should be wives and mothers first, workers second.<sup>725</sup> In practice, the application of the bar varied depending on the local context, and it was more likely to be enforced in urban areas, particularly in

<sup>719</sup> 'Salaries of Perthshire teachers', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 14 Feb. 1919.

<sup>720</sup> There were separate scales for male and female teachers. For instance, the Perthshire Education Authority 'Scale of salaries' approved in March 1920, set the basic scales for all recognised teachers as '£150 by £10 to £250' for men and '£130 by £5 to £140 and by £10 to £200' for women, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 1, 1919-20, p.3354.

<sup>721</sup> A. McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth-Century Scotland', in Dickson and Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland*, p.152.

<sup>722</sup> NRS, *Scottish Educational Statistics: School Supply 1920-29*, ED55/882, Education (Scotland), Return Showing Grant-Earing Day Schools and Institutions, with Statistics Relating Hereto for 1919-20 (London, 1921), p.107.

<sup>723</sup> Certificated teachers were those 'recognised under Chapter III, V. and VI. Of the Regulations of Teachers', and provisionally certificated and assistant teachers were defined by 'Article 71 of the Regulations of Teachers', *Ibid.*

<sup>724</sup> The bar was initially introduced in Glasgow, and was extended nationally in 1918. C. Adams, 'Divide and Rule: The Marriage Ban 1918-1945', in F. M. S. Paterson and J. Fewell (eds.), *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh, 1990), p.90.

<sup>725</sup> According to Corr, this meant that urban school boards were inclined to impose pressure on women teachers 'to withdraw their services on marriage'. Corr, *Changes in Educational Policies in Britain*, p.120-21.

major conurbations such as Glasgow where ‘an abundant supply of relatively youthful female labour that was less expensive’ had led to a preference for unmarried teachers since the turn of the century.<sup>726</sup> The wording of Perthshire Education Authority’s resolution on the employment of married women, adopted in 1922, suggests a more pragmatic approach. Rather than introduce a blanket ban, they stipulated ‘that in future no married woman, whose husband is a breadwinner, be engaged in a whole time appointment in the Teaching and Medical Departments and that all present appointments be considered on their merits’.<sup>727</sup> This left the door open for part-time and temporary contracts, and allowed local factors to be taken into account when recruiting staff.

Such pragmatism had long been a feature of educational practice in the more remote rural areas where small one-teacher schools predominated and the supply of staff was limited. This is evident in the case study area where family members were often employed to support the work of a male head teacher. It was not unusual for the schoolmaster’s wife to be paid a modest sum to teach industrial subjects in her husband’s school. Dating back to at least the mid-eighteenth century, this was an established practice under the school boards and continued after the transfer to education authority control. For instance, the wife of the Strathfillan schoolmaster William Grewar, was paid to teach sewing and saw her salary rise from ten to twenty-five pounds between 1919 and 1923.<sup>728</sup> Similarly, Mrs Davie, wife of the Lawers teacher William Davie, received five pounds per year as sewing mistress. In both cases, the schoolmasters had thirty-seven years’ service under their belts and were nearing retirement age, and it is likely that the Killin and Kenmore school management committees simply allowed the schools to operate as before, delaying any changes until the present incumbents had left. This soon happened, with a new teacher being appointed to Lawers in September 1921 and one to Strathfillan in December 1923, and it is telling that both were unmarried women.<sup>729</sup> While it was acceptable for married women to teach industrial subjects which were an extension of the domestic realm, to operate as a certificated teacher was a different matter. Even unqualified teachers were unlikely to continue in post once married, as can be seen in the case of Margaret Stewart who, despite having no formal teaching qualification, had charge of Cashie Side School from January 1920 until her marriage in 1931.<sup>730</sup> Taking a national view, the recruitment preferences of the county education authorities were neatly summed up by the Committee of Council who, whilst recognising some variation in practice across the country, observed that,

Their practice is generally to employ only women in the one-teacher schools, and almost without exception, to employ men as headmasters of schools with three or more teachers. In the two-teacher schools a headmaster is usually employed if obtainable, but suitable applicants are not always forthcoming to fill vacancies and a man has sometimes to be replaced by a woman.<sup>731</sup>

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<sup>726</sup> Ibid.

<sup>727</sup> The resolution was adopted in September 1922. Significantly, there were only ‘twelve married women teachers under the Authority’ at this time, three of whom ‘did not come within the terms of the above resolution’, showing that it was not common practice. Perthshire Education Authority Minutes, Vol. 5, 1923-1924, Fourth Annual Report, Year to 15 May 1923, p.3.

<sup>728</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Books, Vols. 1-5, 1919-1924.

<sup>729</sup> Cecilia Brown (b.1877) became the Lawers headmistress on 13 Sept. 1921, and Margaret Brown (b.1889) took charge of Strathfillan School on 2 Dec. 1923. Ibid.

<sup>730</sup> The headteacher of Glenlyon was paid an additional £5 per annum to supervise her work in the school. Ibid. Margaret married Peter MacDiarmid of Lawers in July 1931. ‘Glenlyon teacher weds’, *Dundee Courier*, 6 July 1931.

<sup>731</sup> Scottish Education Department, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, *PP*, 1929 [Cmd. 3312], pp.11-12.

**Table 4.9: Case study teacher salary increases, 1919** <sup>732</sup>

Teacher	Qualification	Responsibility	Salary before May 1919	Salary after May 1919	% increase
William Davie	Normal Trained	Lawers: Whole school	£112 10/-	£390	247%
Lizzie M. Roberts	Acting Teacher's Certificate	Fearnan: Whole school	£100.00	£330	230%
Eliz. C. McPherson	Acting Teacher's Certificate	Acharn: Juniors & Infants	£85.00	£260	206%
David Webster	Acting Teacher's Certificate	Glenlyon: Whole school	£134.00	£390	191%
Isabella Webster	Normal Trained	Killin: Infants	£109.00	£300	175%
Robert Paterson	Acting Teacher's Certificate	Glendochart: Whole school	£152.60	£390	156%
Joseph I. Coull	MA., Normal Trained	Acharn: Seniors & Supplementary	£157.00	£390	148%
William Grewar	Normal Trained	Strathfillan: Seniors	£167 12/-	£390	133%
James Simpson	Normal Trained	Fortingall: Seniors	£170.00	£390	129%
Bathia M.M. Faith	Acting Teacher's Certificate	Ardalnaig: Whole school	£97.50	£210	115%
Catherine S. Crichton	Normal Trained	Ardeonaig: Whole school	£90.00	£190	111%
Isabella Menzies	Not qualified	Fortingall: Juniors & Infants	£80.00	£160	100%
Mrs Grewar	Sewing	Strathfillan: Sewing	£10.00	£20	100%
James McRaw	M.A. Normal Trained	Killin: Supp. & Sub-Intermediate	£217 12/-	£420	93%
Malcolm MacIntyre	M.A., Normal Trained	Crianlarich: Seniors & Supplementary	£172 12/-	£330	91%
Mary Macdonald	Not Qualified	Invervar Side: Whole school	£60.00	£80.00	33%
Jane McCall	Not Qualified	Glendochart: Sewing	£14.00	£14.00	0%
Mrs Mary Davie	Sewing	Lawers: Sewing	£5.00	£5.00	0%

<sup>732</sup> Male teachers shaded in blue. SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/2, Perthshire Education Authority Minutes, Vol. 2, 1920-21.

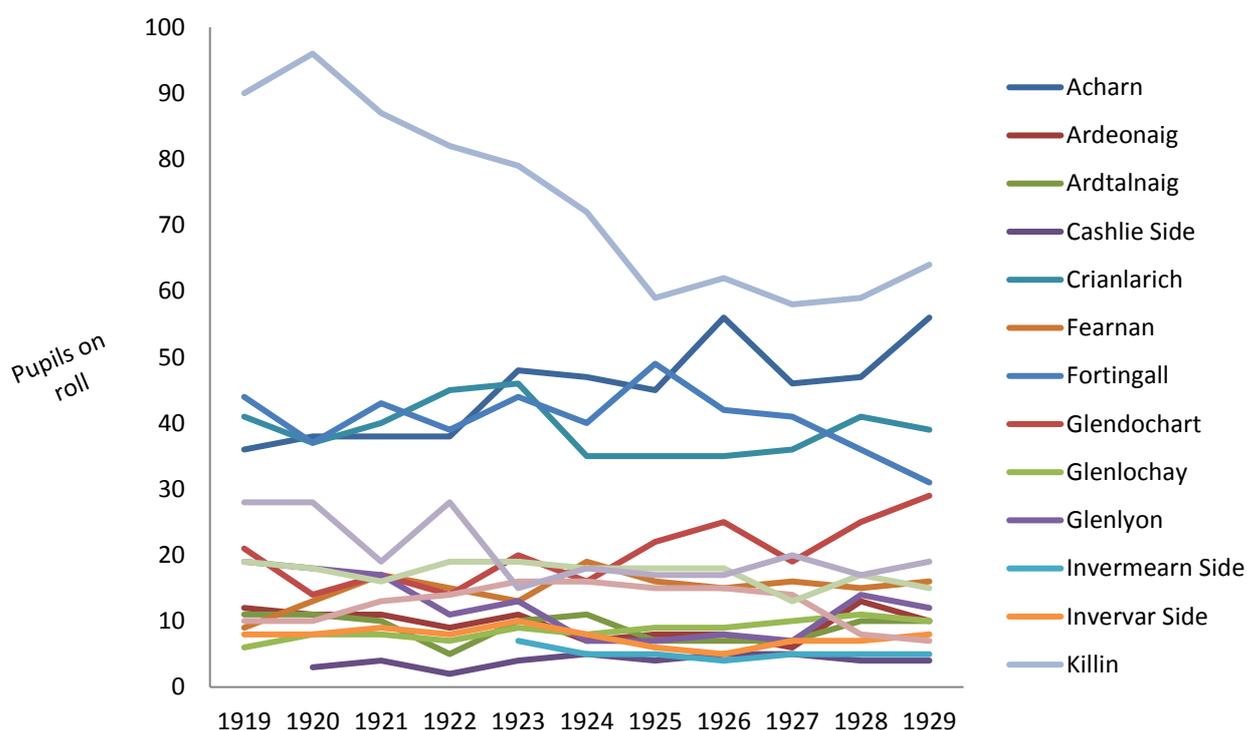
Table 4.10: Case study teachers, 1920 and 1929 <sup>733</sup>

School	1920			1929		
	School Roll	Teachers	Area of responsibility	School Roll	Teachers	Area of responsibility
Acharn	38	Joseph I. Coull	Sen. & Supp. (Head)	56	Joseph I. Coull	Sen. & Adv. (Head)
		Eliz. C. McPherson	Jun. & Infts		Helen S. McIntosh	Jun. & Infts
Ardeonaig	11	Catherine S. Crichton	Whole school	10	Eliz. I. Stewart	Whole school
Ardtalnaig	11	Bathia M. M. Faith	Whole school	10	Bathia M. M. Faith	Whole school
Cashlie Side	3	Margaret Stewart	Whole school	4	Margaret Stewart	Whole school
Criarlarich	37	Malcolm MacIntyre	Sen. & Supp. (Head)	39	Charles D. Sim	Sen. & Adv. (Head)
		Margaret Stein	Jun. & Infts		Mary E. Smith	Jun. & Infts
Fearnan	13	Lizzie M. Roberts	Whole school	16	Barbara M. Mackay	Whole school
Fortingall	37	James Simpson	Senior (Head)	31	D. Campbell Macaulay	Senior & Adv. (Head)
		Isabella Menzies	Jun. & Infts		Catherine S. Crichton	Jun. & Infant
Glendochart	14	Robert Paterson	Whole school	29	Majory S. Fraser	Whole school
		Jane McCall	Sewing			
Glenlochay	8	Jane Macdougall	Whole school	10	Lily E. Smith	Whole school
Glenlyon	18	David Webster	Whole school	12	Jean J. Liddle	Whole school
Invermearn Side				5	Agnes B. Gargan	Whole school
Invervar Side	8	Mary Macdonald	Whole school	8	Catherine McBean	Whole school
Killin	96	James McRaw	Supp. & Sub Inter. Dept	64	James McRaw	Eng. Latin, Math., Sc.
		Annie Baigrie	Senior & Sub. Inter		Annie P. Boyd	Senr. & Jun. & Fr
		Mary W. Craig	Junior		Margt A. Campbell	Infants & Jun. & Fr.
		Isabella Webster	Infants			
Kiltyrie	10	Joan Calderwood	Whole school	7	Mrs Chris. E. Hay	Whole school
Lawers	18	William Davie	Whole school	15	Margt. MacFarquhar	Whole school
		Mrs Mary Davie	Sewing			
Strathfillan	28	William Grewar	Seniors	19	Margaret Brown	Whole school
		Mrs Grewar	Sewing			
		Margaret Robertson	Jun & Infts			

<sup>733</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 2, 1920-21; SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/11, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 11, 1929-30.

Taking a closer look at the case study schools and their teachers during the 1920s, fourteen schools were in operation across the two groups in 1919, and this went up to sixteen with the addition of two side schools in Glenlyon (Cashlie and Invermearn), during the next couple of years. As under the school boards, there were five larger schools located close to the main villages of Kenmore, Crianlarich, Fortingall, Killin and Tyndrum, and eleven smaller ones serving the outlying districts. In 1920, the average school roll ranged from three at Cashie to ninety-six in Killin, and while most were one-teacher schools, others had two or more teachers (**Table 4.10**). Classified as a sub-intermediate school, a primary providing a three year advanced course, Killin had the biggest staff with four certificated teachers taking charge of the different stages.<sup>734</sup> However, over the course of the decade its roll was to drop significantly, falling by a third to sixty-four in 1929, and the number of teachers was reduced to three in May 1922.<sup>735</sup> A number of the other schools, including Fortingall, also witnessed a decrease in the number of pupils on roll during the twenties, but most simply fluctuated up and down (**Figure 4.2**).

**Figure 4.2: Case study school rolls, 1919-1929** <sup>736</sup>



<sup>734</sup> Most of the other schools in the area also taught advanced subjects, but only for one or two years. This is evident from the published statistics. NRS, Scottish Educational Statistics: School Supply, ED55/882, Education (Scotland), Statistical Lists of Grant-Earning Day Schools and Institutions, and of Continuation Classes and Central Institutions for the Year 1928-1929 (London, 1930), pp.60-3.

<sup>735</sup> When the Junior teacher, Miss Mary Craig, transferred to Dunbarney School, 'the Director of Education reported that it would not now be necessary, in view of the reduced number of pupils to appoint a successor, as the Headmaster would be able to re-arrange his staff'. Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 4, 1922-1923, Report of Primary Schools Committee, 10 Mary 1922.

<sup>736</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Books, Volumes 1-11, 1919-30.

Viewing this alongside the Census figures suggests localised demographic trends across the three parishes, with some areas remaining stable or gaining population, and others losing a significant number. As shown in **Table 4.11**, the population of Fortingall parish maintained a healthy growth rate between 1911 and 1931, Kenmore saw its population decline over the same period, and Killin saw an increase to 1921 and then a decrease the following decade. Given the marked drop in pupil numbers in Killin School at this time, it seems likely that much of the population loss was from the village itself rather than the outlying areas. Out migration is likely to have accounted for much of this, but the demographic effects of war were also significant. Killin lost twenty-eight men in the Great War, and saw a dip in the number of infants starting school as a result of reduced fertility during the conflict (**Figure 4.3**).<sup>737</sup> As a result of a smaller intake in 1922 and 1923, the size of the Junior and Senior class was considerably reduced two years later.<sup>738</sup> This fits with the national trend which shows a drop in the total average number of enrolments from 870,900 in 1920-21 to 813,300 in 1924-25 'as a result of the reduced birth-rate of the war period'.<sup>739</sup>

**Table 4.11: Case study parish populations, 1911-1931** <sup>740</sup>

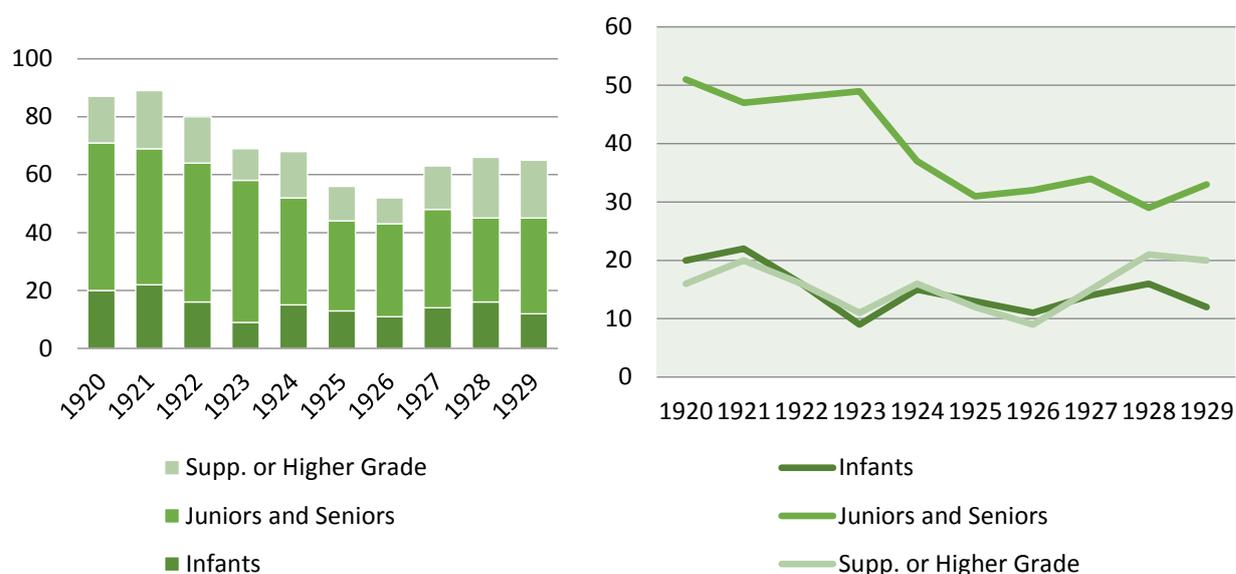
	1911	1921			1931			Percentage increase or decrease	
	Both sexes	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	1911-1921	1921-1931
<b>Fortingall</b>	1524	1629	827	802	1716	1047	689	6.9	5.3
<b>Kenmore</b>	1108	1009	480	529	962	465	497	-8.8	-4.7
<b>Killin</b>	1412	1502	726	776	1414	706	708	6.4	-5.9

<sup>737</sup> Twenty-eight names are listed on the Killin War Memorial. In Scotland, as across Europe, fertility rates fell considerably during and immediately following the war of 1914-1928, and though there was a 'post-war bounce in births' in 1920 (when 137,000 births, 31,000 more than usual, were recorded in Scotland), the impact on the population was felt long-term. NRS, 'First World War', <<http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//statistics/annual-review-2013/html/rgar-2013-first-world-war.html>>, accessed 22 Sept 2015.

<sup>738</sup> The number of infants in regular attendance fell from twenty in 1920 to nine in 1923, and the Juniors and Seniors dropped from forty-nine in 1923 to thirty-one in 1925. Perthshire Education Authority Minute Books, Vols. 1-11, 1919-30.

<sup>739</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, p.5.

<sup>740</sup> Census of Scotland 1931: City and County reports (Edinburgh, 1931), accessed via <<http://www.histpop.org>>, p.1083.

**Figure 4.3: Killin School attendance figures, 1920-1929** <sup>741</sup>

The number of small rural schools in operation also remained stable across the sample districts. Comparison between published statistics for 1901-02, 1919-20 and 1928-29 reveals that only a handful of schools closed during the early decades of the twentieth century and a few were re-opened or established.<sup>742</sup> Most of the closures occurred before 1919, with four fewer schools being recorded at that date, and a further two were shut during the twenties.<sup>743</sup> One school in Shetland, which featured in the 1902 return but not in 1919 statistics, was noted as being recognised by the authority from 1929 (implying that it had continued to operate outside of the public system in the interim), and another school in the same district had been reopened giving a total of 144 schools.<sup>744</sup> The overwhelming majority of these were non-denominational, but amongst their number were two Roman Catholic schools and an Episcopalian one.<sup>745</sup> Interestingly, the latter school remained outside of education authority control and was recognised as an orphanage by 1929. As before, the size of the schools varied tremendously ranging from an average roll of ten up to 418. Yet, though the number of schools and their enrolment figures changed remarkably little between 1902 and 1929, the nature of the teaching

<sup>741</sup> Figures given are the average school attendance for September of the corresponding years. Perthshire Education Authority Minute Books, Vols. 1-11, 1919-30.

<sup>742</sup> Data for the sample districts was extracted from the following sources and combined into a single dataset to facilitate longitudinal analysis: SED, Return showing I. the expenditure from the grant for public education in Scotland in the year 1902; Education (Scotland), Return showing grant-earning day schools and institutions, with statistics relating hereto for 1919-20; SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29.

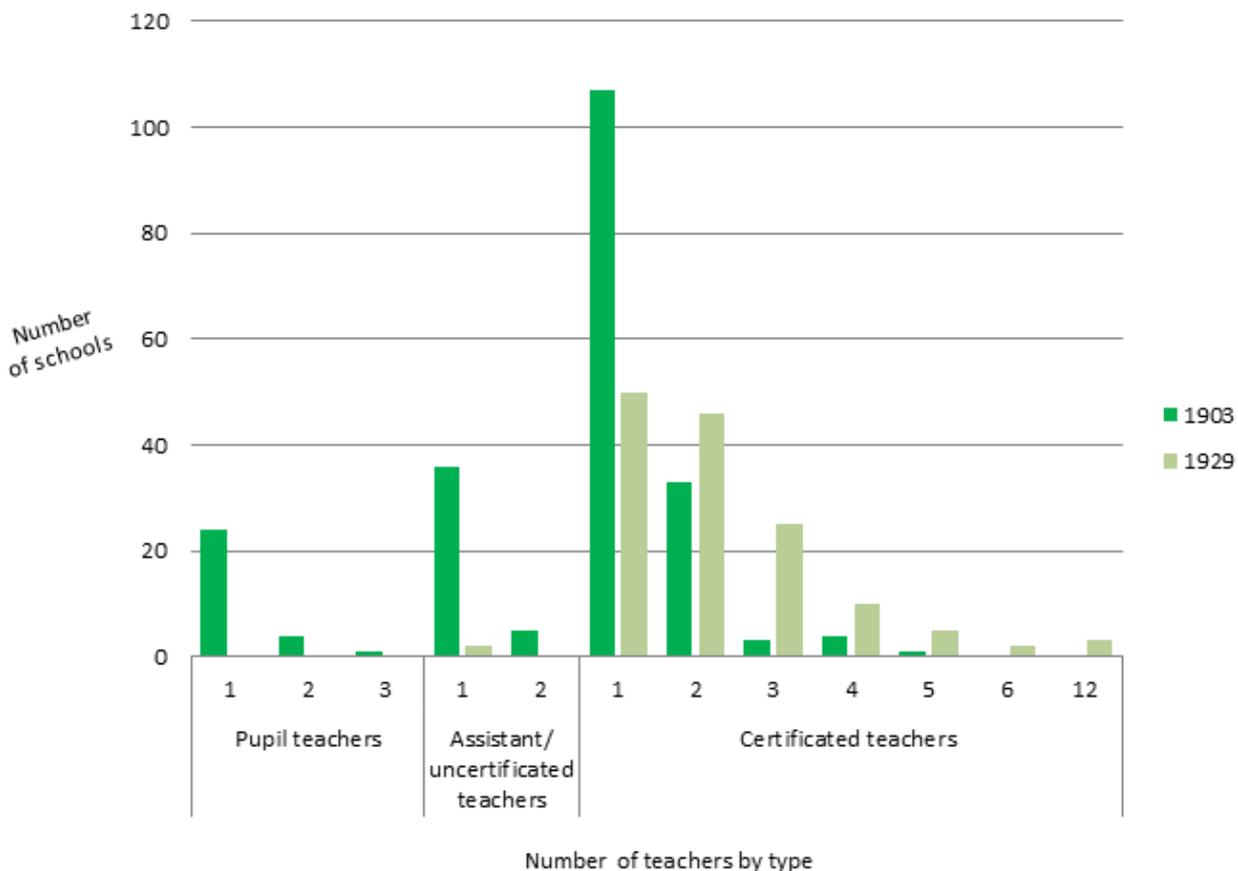
<sup>743</sup> With the addition of Steelend School in Saline, Fife from 1903, there were 149 schools in the sample districts and this had fallen to 145 by 1919-20 (144 if Girsta School which was not listed but appears to have been in operation is not counted). Those closed between 1902 and 1920 were Forbeston Female in Strathdon, Aberdeen; Glenetive in Ardchattan and Muckairn; Newlandrig, in Borthwick, Edinburgh; and Tronda in Tingwall, Whiteness and Weisdale, Shetland. In addition, between 1920 and 1929 Gleneagles School in Blackford, Perth, and Inverneil School in South Knapdale, Argyll were shut.

<sup>744</sup> Girsta School in Tingwall, Whiteness and Weisdale was recognised as from 1 August 1929, and Tronda School, in the same district, was reopened.

<sup>745</sup> Marykirk, The Napier (previously Napier Memorial) in Kincardine was a Roman Catholic school, as was one of the schools in Tomintoul, Kirkmichael, Banff. Charlestown in Aberlour, Banff, was an Episcopalian school and remained outside of education authority control.

workforce altered considerably. As illustrated in **Figure 4.4**, whereas the schools had been staffed by a mixture of certificated teachers, uncertificated assistants and pupil teachers at the turn of the century, thirty years later certification ruled the day and, amongst the ‘whole time’ staff at least, there were very few who were not formally qualified. This shift meant that fewer schools had only one certificated teacher by 1929, and the reduction in class sizes, which brought ‘the maximum number of scholars that may be habitually under the charge of a single teacher’ down from sixty to fifty from September 1928, bolstered the demand for teachers in the larger schools.<sup>746</sup> The figures also hint at other significant changes affecting a number of the rural schools, including the evolution of some into intermediate and secondary schools.

**Figure 4.4: Teachers by number and type in the QRS schools, 1902 and 1929**<sup>747</sup>



<sup>746</sup> SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, p.4.

<sup>747</sup> In addition to these categories, two schools were recorded as having ‘other teachers’ in 1928-29. The sole teacher of Cranshaws School, Berwick was classified in this way, as was the second teacher in Delnies School, Nairn (landward) which also had a certificated teacher.

Beyond simple name changes, of which there were a few, the nature and remit of three of the schools changed as a result of developments in secondary education.<sup>748</sup> Similar to the main village school in Killin, Tomintoul School in Kirkmichael had been designated an intermediate school by 1920 and was referred to as a Higher Grade school in 1929. Taking this a step further, the large village schools in Aberlour and Golspie had been converted into secondary schools by 1920, though they did retain their primary departments. At this point, the main distinction between these types of school was that whereas intermediate schools provided ‘a three year course of instruction ... for pupils who have reached the Qualifying stage’, the secondaries delivered ‘a five years’ course of suitable education leading to the ... Leaving Certificate Examination’.<sup>749</sup> Although significant as an indicator of the changing nature of education at this time, the fact that the majority of primary schools also contained ‘individual pupils or small sections of scholars who are being instructed on the lines of an intermediate school’ shows how protracted the process of differentiation was.<sup>750</sup> Although the number of secondary schools had increased substantially since the turn of the century, quadrupling to around 250 by the 1930s, most post-qualifying pupils did not enter full secondary courses and fewer still completed them.<sup>751</sup> Furthermore, as evident in the case study and sample districts, only a handful of pupils from the smaller rural schools progressed onto an intermediate or secondary school. Of the sixteen schools in Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin, eight had post-primary students in 1928-29, and four of these, including the side school in Glenlochay, taught at least two years of advanced study (**Table 4.12**). Similarly, seventy-seven (55%) of the sample primary schools had pupils enrolled in first year courses, sixty-four of these (46% of the total) also taught second year students, and seventeen (12%) were providing a three-year course.<sup>752</sup> This provides further evidence that many Scottish primary schools, including some one-teacher rural schools, continued to educate from infancy through to school-leaving age well into the 1930s.<sup>753</sup> As Wade points out, there was ‘extreme variation’ in the proportion of primary schools providing advanced division courses both within regions and across Scotland.<sup>754</sup> Furthermore, the number of pupils enrolled in these courses naturally fluctuated over time, and there was a significant dip

<sup>748</sup> Complete name changes, as opposed to spelling adjustments, were made as follows: Selkirk became Philiphaugh; Loanhead in Montrose (landward) became Hillside; Preston in Kirkbean became Loaningfoot. Official school numbers, which are quoted in all three reports, were used to confirm that these were the same schools.

<sup>749</sup> Education (Scotland), Return Showing Grant-Earning Day Schools and Institutions, 1919-20, p.5.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid.

<sup>751</sup> Paterson observes that about a third of the age group entered full secondary courses by the 1930s, with around one in twenty of these taking the Leaving Certificate examinations. Though still limited, this ‘was quite high by wider European standards’. Paterson, ‘The reinvention of Scottish Liberal Education’, p.100. Stocks notes that many pupils dropped out of a five-year secondary course after two or three years. J. C. Stocks, ‘The People Versus the Department: the Case of Circular 44’, *Scottish Educational Review*, 27: 1, (1995), p.57.

<sup>752</sup> Excluding the higher grade and secondary schools leaves a sample of 140 schools. This does not include the unnamed side schools which, unlike Glenlochay Side School in the case study district of Killin (which was listed in its own right in the 1928-29 statistics rather than being listed under Killin school), did not teach post-qualifying classes.

<sup>753</sup> According to Wade, who undertook analysis during the 1930s, ‘advanced division “tops” had been ‘established in primary schools, ranging from the large centralized school with three-year courses to the one-teacher outlying school with a one- or two year course’. He calculated that in 1925 1,341 primaries (46%) had approved advanced division courses and this rose to 1,462 (50%) in 1931. N. A. Wade, *Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland* (London, 1939), p.164.

<sup>754</sup> For example, he observed that ‘in the Northern division, exclusive of Aberdeen City, the range was from 49 per cent. in Caithness to 96 per cent. in Orkney’. Ibid, pp.165-6.

between 1927 and 1930 when ‘the 12-14 age-group decreased by 18.6 per cent and the 14-15 group ... also considerably diminished’ (**Table 4.13**).<sup>755</sup> Cuts in public expenditure and broader economic concerns are also likely to have impacted this.<sup>756</sup>

**Table 4.12: Advanced division education in case study schools, 1929** <sup>757</sup>

School	Average enrolment of scholars in classes above the “qualifying” stage in Primary schools			Number of teachers	Total school roll
	1 <sup>st</sup> Year	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year		
Acharn	1	3	-	2	53
Crianlarich	4	5	-	2	39
Fortingall	2	-		2	32
Glenlochay	2	3		1	10
Killin	11	8	1	3	63
Kiltyrie	1	-	-	1	6
Lawers	3	-	-	1	15
Strathfillan	2	-	-	1	16

**Table 4.13: Pupils enrolled in post-primary courses under Perthshire Education Authority, 1923-1930** <sup>759</sup>

Year	Boys	Girls	TOTAL
1923-24	814	760	1574
1924-25	855	776	1631
1925-26	768	853	1621
1926-27	778	862	1640
1927-28	754	805	1559
1928-29	751	728	1479
1929-30	702	702	1404

To cater for those pupils who were unable to access post-primary courses in their local primary school, the education authorities operated bursary schemes to facilitate attendance elsewhere. Financial support was also provided to enable scholars to stay on once they had

<sup>755</sup> Scottish Education Department. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the Year 1930-31, with Summary Statistics for the Year 1929-30, PP, 1931 [Cmd. 3867], p.15.

<sup>756</sup> As analysis undertaken by Wade in the late 1930s shows, the total amount spent on bursaries across Scotland reached a peak of £262,796 in 1926, but had fallen to £184,000 by 1934. Wade, *Post-Primary Education*, p.152).

<sup>757</sup> Education (Scotland), Statistical Lists of Grant-Earning Day Schools and Institutions, 1928-1929, pp.60-3.

<sup>758</sup> Stocks notes that many pupils dropped out of a five-year secondary course after two or three years. Stocks, ‘The People Versus the Department’, p.57.

<sup>759</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 11, 1929-30, Report of Examination Board, 26 June 1929, p.34.

reached the leaving age of fourteen even if they remained in the same school. In Perthshire, arrangements were made 'for the attendance at a three years' Advanced Division Course with the aid of a travelling grant of all pupils who are qualified to receive the instruction; who are resident more than three miles from the nearest centre and whose parents are unable to meet the expense themselves'.<sup>760</sup> Although most awards were 'normally made for a period of three years', all pupils who satisfactorily completed the first three years then became 'eligible, on the recommendation of their Head Teacher, for further assistance, to enable them to complete a Leaving Certificate Course'.<sup>761</sup> To give some examples, the first recipients of intermediate funding in the case study area were thirteen-year-old Christina Fenton, who was granted a total of sixteen pounds to continue her studies at Crianlarich School, and David Gray of Keltneyburn, also thirteen, who received the same amount to prolong his attendance at Fortingall School.<sup>762</sup> A further three pupils (two boys and a girl ranging in age from sixteen to eighteen) received a secondary award of twenty pounds, one to attend Breadalbane Academy in Aberfeldy, one to go to Oban High School, and another for Fort William Higher Grade School.<sup>763</sup> At the same time, Isabella Fenton of Crianlarich was granted five pounds, as she had been the year before, to support her attendance at Glasgow Training College.<sup>764</sup>

The number of intermediate, secondary and university, technical or agricultural grants made was therefore relatively small, with the total for the expansive county of Perthshire being just 361 for 1919-1920 and 342 the following year. Due to the expense and inconvenience of travel to central secondary schools most pupils in rural areas, and certainly those requiring bursaries, completed the first two or three years of advanced study in their local primary school and, if staying on, only progressed to a secondary after that.<sup>765</sup> For this reason, scholars living in the remote rural districts of Highland Perthshire were highly unlikely to enrol in a five-year course straight after passing the qualifying exam. Indeed, despite growing pressure from the SED to end this progressive approach and make the two post-primary courses distinct, the two-stage system continued to operate for some time and was favoured by the education authority, school managers and parents alike.<sup>766</sup> With only a select number of children continuing in education past the age of fourteen, it made little sense to delineate so clearly between the post-primary

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<sup>760</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 11, 1929-30, Perthshire Education Authority Tenth Annual Report, Year to 15 May, 1929, p.4.

<sup>761</sup> *Ibid*, p.5.

<sup>762</sup> Though receiving the same amount, Christina's was composed of a £1 bursary, £1 for fees, £6 17 3 for travel and £7 2 9 for maintenance, whereas David's was simply a £1 bursary with £15 for maintenance. Perthshire Education Authority Minutes Book, Vol. 1, 1919-1920, pp.105, 108.

<sup>763</sup> Ian Ford from Fortingall went to Aberfeldy, Elizabeth Macnaughton, daughter of the Free Church minister in Glenlyon, travelled to Oban, and Ian Robertson from Tyndrum (who had transferred from Inverness-shire) attended school in Fort William. *Ibid*, p.111.

<sup>764</sup> *Ibid*, p.115.

<sup>765</sup> One pupil from Ardeonaig obtained a county bursary and left to attend a secondary in Edinburgh. *Ibid*.

<sup>766</sup> As expressed in a circular issued in 1921, the SED wanted the five-year secondary course to be entirely separate from the three-year intermediate course, which it termed 'non-secondary'. However, the education authorities, backed up by the recommendations of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, were not supportive of the idea and proceeded as much as possible as before. J. C. Stocks, 'Social Class and the Secondary School in 1930s Scotland', *Scottish Educational Review*, 34:1 (2002), pp.26-39.

and secondary courses and to demand a long-term commitment that few parents and pupils were able to make. As highlighted in the oral testimony of Irene Henderson, who followed in the footsteps of her mother and grandmother to attend Crianlarich School and later became its headmistress, even children who passed the qualifying exam and were granted bursaries were under pressure, for cultural and economic reasons, to leave school,

... my mother's generation, I always think it was so sad, there were a lot of clever children, some of them won bursaries to go to high school but they couldn't all take them up because families were quite big and, and there was also I think this sort of mind-set where you left school at fourteen and you worked. You either helped at home or you got a job or whatever, in fact my mother's first job was as a maid to the minister at Tarbet.<sup>767</sup>

In addition to the primary schools and those accorded intermediate or secondary status, thirteen side schools were listed in the 1928-29 statistics, with just under a tenth of the sample schools having one attached.<sup>768</sup> The majority of these were located in the Highland counties, though there was also one under the supervision of Tweedsmuir School in Peebles, and the average enrolment ranged from three to twenty-four.<sup>769</sup> Despite advances in transport technology, with motorised vehicles becoming an increasingly common sight on the country's roads, these very small schools continued to be an important part of the educational landscape, and were a key feature of rural provision during the early interwar years.<sup>770</sup> So much so that in 1928, despite some closures in the preceding years, there were 194 side schools still in operation across Scotland catering for around 1,161 children (**Table 4.14**).<sup>771</sup> Given that there were 2,919 primary schools at this time, these addendums accounted for just over six percent of the school stock.<sup>772</sup> While side school provision was beginning to wane, having reached a peak of 252 in 1922 before public expenditure cuts hit home, the continuance of such schools in much the same manner as they had been run under the parochial system is a tangible reminder that whilst much had changed since the late eighteenth century certain aspects of the rural experience were strikingly similar. The wide dispersal of population in the more remote rural areas, and the topographical and meteorological conditions under which people lived, posed the same challenges they had always done. However, the drive for greater efficiency and standardisation in educational practice during the early twentieth century problematised the vagaries of rural provision in a new way.

<sup>767</sup> Irene's mother, Nancy Anderson, first went to school in 1925, so would have reached the leaving age in around 1934. Helen Young, *Rural Schools and Community Relations* (Scottish Oral History Centre) [*hereafter* Rural Schools plus name of interviewee] Irene Henderson (2013), SOHCA/053/04.

<sup>768</sup> Thirteen of the 143 schools were noted as having a side school, which equates to nine percent.

<sup>769</sup> There were three side schools in Ardochattan and Muckairn, Argyll, one in Duirinish and three in Strath, Inverness, one in Edderton and two in Lochs, Ross and Cromarty, one in Tingwall, Whiteness and Weisdale, Shetland, one in Golspie, Sutherland, and one in Tweedsmuir, Peebles.

<sup>770</sup> Knox notes that there was an 'inter-war boom in private motoring' with the number of private cars in the UK growing 'from 110,000 in 1919 to 1,056,214 in 1930', W. W. Knox, 'A history of the Scottish people: Transport and Scottish society 1840-1940', n.d. <[http://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2\\_9transport.pdf](http://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2_9transport.pdf)>, accessed 29 Sept. 2015, pp.6-7.

<sup>771</sup> SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, pp.11, 47

<sup>772</sup> Combining the primary school and side school figures gives a total of 3,113 schools, and 194 therefore equals just over six percent. *Ibid.*

**Table 4.14: Number of side schools in Scotland, 1920-1928** <sup>773</sup>

Year ended 31 <sup>st</sup> July	Primary schools	Side schools	
		Number	Average enrolment
1920	2,917	236	1,503
1921	2,907	250	1,539
1922	2,904	252	1,489
1923	2,901	248	1,389
1924	2,895	242	1,344
1925	2,894	228	1,319
1926	2,896	229	1,305
1927	2,903	212	1,251
1928	2,919	194	1,161

The example of Glenlochay Side School in the case study region illustrates this clearly (photograph shown in [Figure 4.5](#)). Dating back to the eighteenth century, the school in the glen had evolved from seasonal society school to parish side school and operated on and off until the 1930s. As with the other side schools in the area, a non-qualified schoolmistress was typically employed, but recruitment was difficult and when the temporary teacher, Katie McIntyre, left in July 1919, the only option was to close the school and convey its pupils to Killin. However, the cost of this, which was reported as being thirty shillings per day, did not sit well with the education authority, and James MacNaughton of Aberfeldy, who was of the opinion that the ‘throwing away of public money was becoming a serious question’, was particularly keen to economise.<sup>774</sup> The suggestions put forward at a meeting of the authority in November 1919 were for cheaper transport to be found, with the Duchess of Atholl proposing that ‘it might be possible to convey the pupils more cheaply if the Education Authority owned the motor car’, or for the children to be boarded in Killin.<sup>775</sup> The latter suggestion was agreed to and Killin School Management Committee was asked ‘to consider whether an arrangement could not be made for boarding the children at Killin’.<sup>776</sup> Although the response of the local committee is not documented, it is telling that rather than pursue this option they redoubled their efforts to find a teacher, and within a month a local women was appointed to the post ‘at a salary of £130 per annum’.<sup>777</sup> This is a clear case of local opinion influencing educational practice, and while transporting pupils long distances to school was accepted out of practical necessity, boarding young children away from their families was considered a step too far.

<sup>773</sup> Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, p.47.

<sup>774</sup> ‘Cost of conveying pupils by motor car’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 24 Nov. 1919.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>776</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 1, 1919-1920, Meeting of Education Authority of the County of Perth, 29 Nov. 1919, p.223.

<sup>777</sup> Miss Jane Macdougall of Fassifern, Killin, an unqualified teacher in her early twenties, was appointed to the post. *Ibid.*, ‘Meeting of the School Staffing Committee’, 18 Dec. 1919, p.232.

**Figure 4.5: Photograph of Glenlochay Side School, 1929**<sup>778</sup>

Staffing was also an issue in the other schools, particularly the more remote one-teacher schools, and the local school management committees had to work hard to fill vacancies when they arose. The appointment of a committed individual who was prepared to stay long-term in a school therefore made an incredible difference in these settings. Taking the example of the lochside school at Ardtalnaig, during the school year 1916-17 it had been unable to open the minimum number of days 'due to the resignation of the former teacher and the difficulty of obtaining a successor' and subsequent 'resignation and removal of the successor of the school', and 'it was only by the courtesy of a former teacher who agreed to come back that the Board ultimately succeeded in securing a teacher to carry on the school'.<sup>779</sup> This former teacher was Bathia M. M. Faith, a single woman in her thirties who had previously provided temporary cover in the school, and she remained the schoolmistress until the school closed for good in 1940.<sup>780</sup> That her teaching was efficient and relations with her pupils were good is in little doubt given

<sup>778</sup> Reproduced from B. Byrom, *Old Killin, Kenmore and Loch Tay* (Catrine, 2004), p.45.

<sup>779</sup> NRS, School Inspection Reports, ED18/2189, School Inspector's Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Ardtalnaig, 1907-1940, SED Form 73 28/29 June 1917. The lack of entries in the school log book from the end of July to the 1 Dec. 1916 suggests that the school was closed for three months. The initial replacement was C. Fraser who commenced duties on 27 Nov. and Bathia Faith started on 15 Jan 1917. Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book 1912-1940, pp.23-5.

<sup>780</sup> Bathia Faith acted as 'interim' teacher between 17 Nov. 1913 and 31 July 1914 (it also appears that her younger sister, Charlotte Y. Faith, took the school for seven weeks just prior to this). Bathia was born in Old Deer, Aberdeenshire (which formed part of the Kininmonth School Board District) and was the daughter of a farmer. The family later moved to Blackfriars, Lanarkshire, and in 1901 her mother, Annie, was listed as an assistant teacher. *Scotland, Select Births and Baptisms, 1564-1950*, Ancestry.com, accessed 1 Oct 2015; 1881 Scotland Census, Old Deer, CSSCT1881\_66; 1891 Scotland Census, Old Deer, CSSCT1891\_69; and 1901 Scotland Census, Glasgow Iron Church, CSSCT1901\_285.

the glowing reports received from HMI. Having inspected the school in June 1933, Mr Wilson wrote,

'This small school is very well taught. The children are well advanced and well improved and show great ease in all their work. They are attending with great regularity'.<sup>781</sup>

Furthermore, in 1936 it was observed that the pupils' 'advancement and attainments in all subjects reflect much credit on the teacher, who has developed the happiest relations with her charges'.<sup>782</sup> Developing a healthy dynamic between teacher and pupils, and by extension the wider community, clearly had educational benefits and was particularly important in the very small one-teacher schools. Such schools presented a unique challenge, and their successful operation rested as much on the personality of the teacher as it did on their professional expertise. This could of course be to the detriment as well as the benefit of those children on the register, whose whole educational experience could be shaped by one teacher over the course of ten or more years.

The depth and breadth of knowledge required of teachers, particularly those in small schools who were expected to teach a wide range of subjects to children of different ages, was also a fundamental concern. As Craik had pointed out to a delegation of Banffshire schoolmasters in 1905, it was unrealistic to expect the same quality of instruction from a generalist as from a subject specialist, no matter how well-qualified they were.<sup>783</sup> As has been seen, this did not stop the small schools attempting to deliver the full curriculum, but as the emphasis on professional training increased it became more and more difficult to recruit suitably qualified staff. This is clear from a minute of a meeting of the Perthshire School Staffing Committee held in July 1919, which noted 'the difficulty of obtaining applications from teachers with qualifications in French, Cookery, Music, and Sewing, as desired' by the headmaster of Killin School.<sup>784</sup> Accepting that they were simply asking too much, the committee 'agreed that the vacancy be re-advertised without requiring qualifications in Cookery, and arrangements made for a Visiting Teacher for this subject'.<sup>785</sup> This appears to have done the trick as a schoolmistress, Miss Annie Baigrie, was appointed to the senior department the following year.<sup>786</sup> However, the proposed solution of employing a peripatetic teacher did not work out so well, and the subject was subsequently discontinued. Responding to a query from the SED about this, HMI Millar explained that due to the size of the school and its 'isolated situation' it was 'impractical to send a visiting teacher of

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<sup>781</sup> HMI Form E.10 1932-33, Ardtalnaig School Inspectors' Report, *NRS*, ED18/2189.

<sup>782</sup> School Inspector's Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Ardtalnaig, 1907-1940, HMI Report, Form E.10 1935-36.

<sup>783</sup> Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, pp.236-7.

<sup>784</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 1, 1919-1920, Meeting of the School Staffing Committee.

<sup>785</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>786</sup> 'Perth educational appointments', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 22 Mar. 1920.

cookery and the number of girls in the Adv. Div. being very small it was felt that the time of the staff could be employed to better advantage in teaching subjects common to boys and girls'.<sup>787</sup>

The expanding curriculum also placed new demands on the school buildings themselves, and much of the rural school estate was seen to be in need of improvement. Despite facing acute economic constraints, the education authorities made some progress during the twenties, with the master of works in each county was kept busy with projects. In Perthshire, this included planning and negotiating the details of a new school and schoolhouse at Invervar in Glenlyon.<sup>788</sup> The existing buildings were judged to be 'totally unsuitable' and, at the recommendation of the Property and Works Committee, the authority agreed in 1923 to erect a new school 'on a site not far distant from the present school'.<sup>789</sup> In the interests of economy, the original plans specified that the buildings be constructed out of corrugated iron. However, the feu superior of the land on which the school was to be built, which was part of Chesthill Estate, enquired 'whether the buildings could be of stone or brick', and the committee agreed to change the plans accordingly.<sup>790</sup> Though not expressly stated, it seems likely that the landowner, who was legally entitled to influence the nature of the building, was representing local interests and intervened to get the best possible facilities for the local children. The desire for, and agreement to invest in, a well-built, permanent structure also shows a continuing belief that small schools were the most viable option for primary education in remote areas. During the early twenties, Invervar had eight pupils, and although there was some debate about whether a certificated teacher should be appointed to teach there, the continuance of the school itself was not questioned.<sup>791</sup> The reasons put forward for appointing a qualified teacher did, however, foreshadow later arguments made for retaining small schools threatened with closure; while Mr Kinloch Smyth 'thought it wrong ... to try to take away from the children in the country the opportunity of getting education', Mr James Macnaughton of Aberfeldy reasoned that 'if education was not provided the depopulation of the country districts would increase'.<sup>792</sup> Within a few years of this the new school had been built, and was to remain in use on and off for many decades to come (Figure 4.6).<sup>793</sup>

<sup>787</sup> NRS, School Inspection reports, ED18/2341, School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Junior Secondary Schools Killin, SED Minute paper to HMI Mr Miller, dated 15 Dec 1925 (query) and 4 Mar. 1926 (reply).

<sup>788</sup> Perthshire Education Authority also approved plans for new schools to be built at Invermearn (another side school in Glenlyon), Spittalfield, Forteviot, Glenlednoch and Greenloaning. 'New schools', *Dundee Courier*, 1 Jan. 1926.

<sup>789</sup> 'New school for Invervar', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 26 Feb. 1923.

<sup>790</sup> According to the Valuation Rolls, Major G. L. K. Wisely was the proprietor, and hence the 'feu superior', at this time. Valuation Roll of the County of Perth for the Year 1923-4; *Ibid*, 1930-31.

<sup>791</sup> Until the appointment of a certificated teacher, Miss Janey M. Robertson, at a salary of £220 in May 1922, Invervar had been conducted by an unqualified teacher. When Mr Barlas tried to get the authority to disapprove of her appointment, he was defeated by a vote of twenty-three to five. 'School with only eight pupils', *Dundee Courier*, 30 May 1922.

<sup>792</sup> *Ibid*. Interestingly the same paper reported in a later edition that Mr Kinloch Smyth had 'supported and seconded the motion by ex-Dean of Guild Barlas against the proposal to appoint a certificated teacher', *Dundee Courier*, 1 June 1922.

<sup>793</sup> Invervar School closed in 1973 and pupils were transferred to Fortingall School.

**Figure 4.6: Photograph of new school at Invervar (building on left), 1930s** <sup>794</sup>



Notwithstanding the concerted efforts of the education authorities, as the close of their tenure approached much remained to be done. The challenge awaiting the next administration was neatly summed up by the Committee of Council as follows,

Some of those [schools] that were planned in less enlightened times must be reconstructed ... so as to provide classrooms better lighted and ventilated and better adapted to modern methods of teaching ... Playgrounds must be re-laid and in some cases furnished with shelter sheds. Teachers' houses must be built or improved. Some small schools are still without an adequate water-supply and drainage system, and the introduction of these is often beset with difficulties owing to the lie of the land.<sup>795</sup>

The facilities at a number of the case study schools were certainly in dire need of attention, and in some instances the school management committees were seen to have been lax in carrying out their duties. At a meeting of the authority in 1927, concern was expressed about the 'sanitary arrangements' at Kiltyrie School, and the Killin committee was criticised for not visiting the school and taking action.<sup>796</sup> Though appearing neglectful, the Killin school managers were not unique in allowing the status quo to continue with regard to sanitary facilities. Across rural Scotland, it was common for school toilets, known as 'the offices', to be little more than a seat above a burn, and due to the expense and difficulties of upgrading facilities in remote settings, traditional practices were slow to change. Turning to the oral testimony of Bunty MacGregor, she clearly remembers that while they 'were lucky in Lawers ... we had boys' toilets and girls' toilets', along the lochside at Fearnan 'there was a burn coming down the playground and they

<sup>794</sup> Photograph taken from 'Rena Stewart Archive', Glenlyon History Society, downloaded from flickr account <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/60679494@N00/420383348>>.

<sup>795</sup> SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, p.9.

<sup>796</sup> Provost Haggart of Aberfeldy was reported as saying that 'it was very unfortunate that they had a Committee of that type'. 'A Kiltyrie school complaint', *Dundee Courier*, 25 Oct. 1927.

had a toilet with a wooden seat with a hole in it'.<sup>797</sup> Similarly, as late as 1938 the HMI report on Acharn School observed that, 'the offices are of a primitive type, and the dumping of refuse on the bank of the stream adjoining the school is a most undesirable practice'.<sup>798</sup> The 'need of extensive improvements at this school' had been reported by the school management committee many years before, but it was felt that nothing should be done until 'the question of erecting a new school at a more convenient site' had been considered.<sup>799</sup> By this point, plans for a more central school had been in progress for some time, with the idea first mooted at a meeting chaired by the Marquis in 1906.<sup>800</sup> However, disagreement over where the replacement school should be sited stalled the project and although discussions were ongoing little action was taken.<sup>801</sup> The fact that the playground was 'small and stony' was also flagged up by the inspector, and this reflected an emerging pedagogical interest in outdoor space.<sup>802</sup> Closely tied to the health and fitness initiatives which already brought doctor, dentist and drillmaster into school, 'the provision of playing fields for the organised sports and games of boys and girls' was seen as a crucial next step in ensuring the physical and moral development of Scotland's children.<sup>803</sup> Arguably driven more by concern for those living in urban areas than for country bairns, these ideas were extended to the small rural schools, and added to the growing list of educational requirements they were expected to meet.<sup>804</sup> That they struggled to do so further entrenched the idea that they were a throwback to a parochial system which, though a source of nostalgic pride, was not fit for modern purposes.

## County Council control

As a result of the Local Government (Scotland) Bill, 1929, the administration of education was brought under the remit of the town and county councils from 15 May 1930 when the *ad hoc* authorities demitted office.<sup>805</sup> While popular with those seeking to maintain a degree of

<sup>797</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Janet (Bunty) MacGregor (2014), SOHCA/053/08.

<sup>798</sup> NRS, School Inspection Reports, ED18/2183, School Inspector's Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Acharn, 1874-1950, 'HMI Report 1937-38' [visit by J.C. Stewart on 21 June 1938].

<sup>799</sup> Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 11, 1929-30.

<sup>800</sup> At a meeting to discuss 'better facilities for the provision of school accommodation for the younger children of the district', the options put forward were to add to Acharn School, demolish the school and build a new one between Acharn and Kenmore, or to leave Acharn as it was and build a small school for juveniles in Kenmore. *Dundee Courier*, 7 Aug. 1906. Following this, a temporary infant school was established in Kenmore which was taught by a schoolmistress under the supervision of the Acharn schoolmaster from 1906 until 1918. Kenmore Temporary Infant School Log Book 1906-1918.

<sup>801</sup> A public meeting was held in December 1907 to discuss the proposed sites for the new school, but it 'terminated without any particular site being selected, and Lord Breadalbane remarked that they were not one whit nearer a solution of the difficulty than they were twelve months ago'. 'Kenmore School deadlock', *Dundee Courier*, 16 Dec. 1907.

<sup>802</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>803</sup> Circular 79, which was issued in January 1928 and drew the attention to the recommendations of the Committees on Sexual Offences and the treatment of Young Offenders, 'invited special attention of Education Authorities to the matter' and called for 'co-ordination must be directed not only to the provision of the grounds, but to the formation of joint schemes to secure their most effective use'. SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1928-29, pp.29-30.

<sup>804</sup> The SED itself acknowledged that the subject of physical education was particularly pertinent to those education authorities 'who have to deal with urban populations'. Scottish Education Department, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1929-30, *PP*, 1929 [Cmd. 3565], p.34.

<sup>805</sup> To mark the change, the Secretary of State paid tribute to all that the authorities had achieved during a difficult period, and thanked them 'for the loyal cooperation and for the generous manner in which they had expended their time, thought and energy in the service of Education and the State'. This was expressed in a letter which was read at a meeting of Perthshire Education Authority on 28 Apr. 1930, Perthshire Education Authority Minute Book, Vol. 11, 1929-30.

autonomy in educational affairs, the narrow focus and financial complexity of these bodies, as well as their inability to engage the electorate, provided the rationale for reform.<sup>806</sup> The wider restructuring of local government at this time, which saw a dramatic reduction in the number of local bodies as the parish councils were replaced by district councils, provided the impetus for this.<sup>807</sup> Recognising the need to maintain a degree of continuity in personnel as well as practice, the councils were required to appoint 'one or more members of the outgoing Education Authority' to their first education committee', and to ensure representation of 'the different types of schools in the area'.<sup>808</sup> It was also stipulated that they should include 'women as well as men among the members of the Committee', but there was no suggestion that they should be in equal numbers. As indicated in a provisional report on the constitution of the new committees, produced before all appointments had been made, most of the councils aimed to have at least two female members on their education committees, and although a few did end up appointing more than their quota the final number of women was just eighty compared to 990 men.<sup>809</sup> This gender imbalance was of course nothing new, but given the increasing emphasis on female representation during the interwar years it is significant that the proportion of women members went down rather than up under the new committees. Although the education authorities had accommodated a similar number of women members, being eighty-two at the last count, the larger overall membership of the education committees effectively increased the ratio of men to women.<sup>810</sup> The gender imbalance could be even more pronounced at town and county level, particularly in the larger council areas.<sup>811</sup> This was the case in Perthshire, where the combined education committee for Perth and Kinross had just two women serving alongside thirty-four men.<sup>812</sup> Both of these, Miss Robertson and Mrs Maclagan, were former members of the education authority. Between them they ensured a female voice on five of the seven sub-committees, with both sitting on the Primary Schools, and Religious and Moral Instruction committees, but neither having a direct say on Property and Works, or Finance.<sup>813</sup> Whilst there was overlap between the different groups, the male exclusivity of these two committees in particular must be borne in

<sup>806</sup> As explored by Fairley, this critique of the *ad hoc* education authorities was reiterated a number of years later when the Wheatley Commission undertook an enquiry into local government during the late 1960s. J. Fairley, 'Local Authority Education in a Democratic Scotland', *Scottish Educational Review*, 30: 1, p.62.

<sup>807</sup> Across Scotland, over 1,300 local bodies were replaced with 430 councils. Ibid. The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929 also abolished the traditional poor law system and transferred these duties to the county councils. The transfer of responsibility for education was therefore part of a wider agenda of reform.

<sup>808</sup> SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland the year 1929-30, p.6.

<sup>809</sup> Although 69 women were 'appointed as such' to meet the gender quota, a further eleven members were female. Ibid, p.49; SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1930-31, pp.5, 48.

<sup>810</sup> As reported by the Committee of Council, the outgoing education authorities had eighty-two female members out of a total of around 990 (8.3%), whereas the first education committees had eighty female members out of a total membership of 1,070 (7.5%). SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland the year 1929-30, p.5.

<sup>811</sup> Lanark had the largest membership of 106, yet their quota for women was two just the same as it was for much smaller council areas which had as few as seventeen members overall. Ibid, p.48.

<sup>812</sup> SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/12, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1, 1930-31, First meeting of the Education Committee, 21 Apr. 1930.

<sup>813</sup> The seven sub-committees were: Primary Schools, Higher Education and Bursary, Property and Works, Continuation Classes and Library, Religious and Moral Instruction, Agricultural Instruction, and Finance and General Purposes. There was also a Joint Committee of Education Committee and of Teachers, and an Examination Board. Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 1, 1930-31, Report of Special Committee of Education Committee, Appendix 1, 29 Apr. 1930.

mind when seeking to understand the decisions that were taken in relation to the small schools throughout this period.

With regard to the school management committees, very few changes took place and although some adjustments were made to the grouping of schools in certain areas the case study districts continued as before. Group 11, now referred to as the Fortingall Group, had fifteen members, including one parent representative for each of the nine schools, and Group 17 had a membership of thirteen to oversee the work of Killin's seven schools.<sup>814</sup> As parish councils had now been abolished, with their powers being transferred to the county councils and newly formed district councils, this element of the school management committees did alter slightly.<sup>815</sup> However, as it continued to be stipulated that those representing the district councils 'need not necessarily be members of these bodies', but should 'be persons resident in the localities and otherwise qualified to represent local interest', the change was not marked.<sup>816</sup> That is not to say that the transfer to larger district authorities was of no significance in the long-run, with future administrative divisions being determined by their boundaries. As shown in a previous study of the south Lothianside settlements of Ardeonaig and Ardtalnaig, the fact that the schools of Kenmore and Fortingall now fell under the Highland District, and those of Killin under the Western District laid the foundations for the subsequent separation of neighbouring communities into different regional council areas whose education systems would become increasingly divorced from one another by the close of the twentieth century.<sup>817</sup> For now though, the shift to county council control caused minimal disruption at local level, with many of the same people serving on the school management committees.<sup>818</sup> As at county level, women remained in the minority though their numbers were slowly increasing, and schoolmasters continued to dominate teacher representation (**Table 4.15**). Fortingall had one woman serving as a parent representative for the small side school of Invervar, and Killin had two, both of whom were from Strathfillan (one being a parent and the other the local schoolmistress). This was fairly typical, and across Perthshire female representatives made up just under a tenth of the local school management committee membership.<sup>819</sup>

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<sup>814</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 1, 1930-31, Scheme for the reconstitution of School Management Committees, Appendix II, 29 Apr. 1930.

<sup>815</sup> The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929 also abolished the Scottish poor law system.

<sup>816</sup> Ibid.

<sup>817</sup> Following the local government reorganisation of 1975, the Western District of Perthshire became part of Central Region (later Stirling District) and the Highland District part of Tayside Region (later Perth and Kinross), H. Young, 'Contributing to the Community Debate: Understanding Social Change in Rural Scotland during the Twentieth Century', *The Local Historian*, 45: 4 (October, 2015), pp.321-35.

<sup>818</sup> Seven of the thirteen Killin members had not served on the previous committee, and only four of the fifteen Fortingall members had not done so. Both of the clerks remained the same.

<sup>819</sup> Across the twenty-four school management committees there were 417 representatives in total, thirty-nine of whom were women. A few did not have any women on them (Doune, Auchterarder, Stanley, and Coupar Angus and Scone), and some had a comparatively high proportion (a quarter of the Dunkeld committee was female, as was a fifth of the Crieff one).

In terms of the teaching staff, most posts continued to be filled by women, with only the four larger village schools remaining under the charge of a schoolmaster.<sup>820</sup> Although the number of male teachers fell to three when, following the departure of its long-serving schoolmaster, Acharn became a one-teacher school in 1934 and was put under the charge of a schoolmistress, a preference for men to take charge of the two and three-teacher schools was still apparent.<sup>821</sup> This was demonstrated towards the end of the thirties when the schoolmaster of the two-teacher school in Crianlarich resigned. Although a schoolmistress was employed to cover the senior and advanced work for the remainder of the session, this was a temporary measure and a new headmaster was subsequently appointed.<sup>822</sup> Across the sixteen schools operating in 1930 there were twenty-one teachers; eight were headmistresses of one-teacher schools (one of whom had additional responsibility for two side schools), four were headmasters, and nine were schoolmistresses (five being in charge of classes in the larger schools, and four working alone in the side schools). The average age of the teachers was thirty-nine, with the youngest being twenty-two, and the oldest fifty-three.<sup>823</sup> As before, most of the women teachers were unmarried or widowed, and those who were married could justify employment due to their husbands not being a 'breadwinner'. For example, Mrs Emslie who took charge of Lawers School in January 1936 was accompanied by her husband, but he was in ill-health, having had to give up the Headmastership of Kinbuck School the previous year, and died not long after they moved to Lochtayside.<sup>824</sup>

The employment of married women in teaching remained a contentious issue, and the new educational committee was more determined to enforce the marriage bar than its predecessor had been.<sup>825</sup> This is apparent in the early minute books which detail the council's deliberations in 1931 over 'the question of the married women teachers whose husbands were breadwinners and whose cases had been considered by the former Education Committee in 1923'.<sup>826</sup> These married women, all four of whom taught in rural schools, had continued in post despite the national imperative to dismiss them, and when the council decided that their employment

<sup>820</sup> Vacancies in the single teacher schools continued to be targeted at women, with advertisements stipulating that a headmistress was required. This was the case for Ardeonaig in 1931, Lawers in 1932 and Glendochart in 1933 and 1936. *Aberdeen Journal*, 30 Sept. 1931; 2 July 1932; 17 June 1933; 28 Nov. 1936.

<sup>821</sup> Having been the Acharn headmaster since 1907, Joseph J. Coull left to take up the headship of Deanston Public School in 1933, and Miss Jane Macdonald was appointed. 'Acharn headmaster for Deanston', *Dundee Courier*, 16 Nov. 1933.

<sup>822</sup> Mrs Flora Brown was appointed in April 1938 following the departure of the headmaster Hugh McDiarmid. She was then replaced by Douglas F. Balch in September of that year. SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/22, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 11, 25 Apr. 1938 to 28 Nov. 1938; SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/24, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 13, 22 May 1939 to 26 Nov. 1939.

<sup>823</sup> The median age was thirty-nine and the mean was thirty-eight and a half. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minutes Book, Vol. 1, 1930-31, 'Staff lists of teachers as at 16<sup>th</sup> May 1930'.

<sup>824</sup> Frank Emslie was around 50 years of age when he died, and both he and his wife were graduates of Aberdeen University. 'Perthshire teacher dead', *Dundee Courier*, 24 Dec. 1936. The other married teacher was Mrs Christina Cameron who took charge of Glenlyon School in August 1932.

<sup>825</sup> Although the proportion of married women in formal employment had risen since 1921, it remained at less than ten percent. The figures from the Census of Scotland are 5.3% in 1911, 6.3% in 1921 and 8.5% in 1931. A. McIvor, 'Gender Apartheid?', p.197.

<sup>826</sup> SCA, County Education Reports, PC3/19/13, Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 2, 1931-32, 'Report of Primary Schools Sub-Committee', 18 Dec. 1931.

'should be terminated' they were not prepared to go quietly.<sup>827</sup> Further investigation reveals that two of the women taught alongside their husbands in a two-teacher school, one in Lochearnhead and the other in Greenloaning, the third had charge of the senior class in Dunning School, and the fourth taught the juniors at Redgorton.<sup>828</sup> Although representatives for the teachers urged the education committee to reconsider 'in view of the circumstances of the individual cases and of the hardship that would be involved in each case', asking that they should at least 'be allowed to remain in service till 60 years of age', the committee was resolute and ruled that 'the engagements ... should be terminated at October, 1932'.<sup>829</sup> The only concession they were prepared to make was that those who had not qualified for a pension by that date 'should receive temporary appointments till they do so'. While these discriminatory actions appear callous and suggest a hardening of opinion against the employment of married women, they were clearly driven by economic concerns as the global economic recession and resultant cuts in public spending began to hit home in the early thirties. Put simply, they offered a quick and, in statutory terms at least, legitimate way to save money.<sup>830</sup> This was certainly the case with regard to the two smaller schools which had been taught by husband and wife as these soon became one-teacher schools. In Greenloaning this was facilitated by Mrs Sutherland becoming a part-time 'teacher of sewing' after her 'recorded services ceased' at the end of October 1932, and in Lochearnhead the headmaster was transferred to another school leaving his wife to be replaced as the sole teacher a few months later.<sup>831</sup> The other two women were placed on temporary contracts, and while one resigned in May 1935 the other regained a permanent position from November 1938.<sup>832</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> As detailed in a later minute, the education committee was required to put the statutory procedure into operation, and when the teachers did not respond to 'the requisite notice' it fell to the convenor of the Primary School Sub-Committee 'to move a formal motion'. SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/14, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 3, 25 Apr.-28 Nov. 1932, Report of the Primary School Sub-Committee, 14 Sept. 1932.

<sup>828</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 1, 1930-31, Staff lists of teachers as at 16<sup>th</sup> May 1930. Charles and Grace Sutherland, who taught in Greenloaning School, were married in 1907, and Alex and Sarah Ferguson, the staff of Lochearnhead School, took their vows in 1919. Register of Marriages, accessed via ScotlandsPeople.

<sup>829</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 2, 1931-32, Report of Primary Schools Sub-Committee, 16 Mar. 1932, p.93.

<sup>830</sup> Although the evidence suggests that the move was driven by a desire to save the council money, broader economic concerns would have helped to legitimise it. For instance, one argument made during the interwar years, and particularly during periods of high unemployment, was that married women should not take jobs that could be filled by male breadwinners. Thus, in reporting on the National Union of Teachers conference of 1926, at which many women expressed concern about 'the dismissal of women teachers who marry', a Perthshire paper questioned whether 'in a time of widespread unemployment it is reasonable that a woman teacher who is also a wife should make way for someone without a position of either sort'. 'Dismissal of married women teachers', *Dundee Courier*, 2 Jan. 1926.

<sup>831</sup> It having been 'remitted to the Director of Education to arrange for the transfer of the Headmaster to the first suitable temporary post' in April 1932, Mr Finlayson was transferred to Kinnoull School before being appointed headmaster at Clunie from Aug. 1932. As reported in the local press, Mrs Finlayson 'carried on the work at Lochearnhead', and it was not until the following January that she was replaced by another teacher and could move to be with her husband. Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 2, 1931-32, Report of Primary Schools Sub-Committee, 18 Apr. 1932; SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/16, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 5, 1933-1934; 'Locheearnhead headmaster's appointment', *Dundee Courier*, 6 July 1932.

<sup>832</sup> Mrs Kitson remained at Redgorton but her appointment was made temporary and she was paid according to that scale plus twenty percent. She then resigned in May 1934. In contrast, Mrs Fairweather was transferred from Dunning to a temporary appointment at Blackwater School in early January 1933, and was made permanent from November 1938. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 3, 25 Apr. to 28 Nov. 1932; Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 5, 1933-1934.

**Table 4.15: Case study school management committee members, 1930**<sup>833</sup>

Representative body	Group 11 - Fortingall	Group 17 - Killin
County Council	Mr James D. Haggart, Aberfeldy (Chairman) Mr William Finlayson, Glenlyon (Vice-chair)	Mr Donald McLaren, Callander (Chairman) Mr Campbell Willison, Tirarthur, Killin
Parents	Mr James McRae, The Garage, Kenmore Mr John Crerar, Kindrochet, Ardtalnaig Mr Duncan McLean, Oakbank, Fearnan Mr Angus McDiarmid, Shenlarich, Lawers Mr James Cattanach, New Cottages, Fortingall Mrs Joan, C. Walker, Slatich, Glenlyon Rev. George Drummond, The Manse, Glenlyon Mr Duncan McLaren, Cashlie Mr Andrew McNaughton, Invermearn, Glenlyon	Mrs Stewart, Inverchaggernie, Crianlarich Mr J. A. Maclachlan, Keilator, Crianlarich Mr James Stewart, Luib Hotel, Luib Mr T. B. Campbell, Fassifern, Killin Mr John McGibbons, Carwhin, by Killin Mr A. Dingwall, The Hotel, Ardeonaig Mr D. McIntyre, Duncrosk, Glenlochay
Teachers	Mr Joseph Coull, Acharn School Mr D. C. Macaulay, Fortingall School	Miss Margaret Brown, Strathfillan Mr James McRae, Killin (Vice-chair)
District Council	Mr John Campbell, Roromore, Glenlyon Rev. W. A. Gillies, The Manse, Kenmore	Mr Eric D. Robertson, Callander Lodge, Callander Mr Robert Stewart, Royal Hotel, Tyndrum
Clerk	Mr C. J. D. Munro, Solicitor, Aberfeldy	Mr Peter Stewart (ed.) Committee Office, Killin

Precipitated by the Wall Street crash of 1929, the financial crisis of the early thirties hit education budgets hard and, as a decade before, teacher salaries were universally cut.<sup>834</sup> In Perthshire, teachers began to feel the squeeze in September 1931, and for the next four years they experienced regular percentage cuts to their pay.<sup>835</sup> At the same time, the cost of upgrading and maintaining the small rural schools came under the spotlight and many, which had survived previous economising measures, were threatened with closure. Prompted by falling rolls, which saw some schools drop to just two pupils, the county education committees seized upon the opportunity to economise, and met with little public opposition.<sup>836</sup> As a result, between 1929 and 1938 the number of Scottish primary schools fell from 2,915 to 2,895, and the remote side schools from 183 to 140.<sup>837</sup> While the situation was regretted by some, there was a general feeling that ‘in these days of improved road transport’ it was only right that an effort be made ‘to avoid wastage of teaching power and ratepayers’ money’.<sup>838</sup> Indeed, with reference to Invervar School it was observed that ‘the ratepayers might raise their hands in horror at the

<sup>833</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 1, 1930-31, School Management Committees as at May 1930.

<sup>834</sup> The impact of the economic crisis is noted in W. Robinson, *A Learning Profession? Teachers and their Professional Development in England and Wales, 1920-2000* (Rotterdam, 2014), p.42.

<sup>835</sup> The initial reduction was applied on 1 Sept. 1931, and salaries were then reduced by a twelfth (of the amount prior to the previous reduction) from 1 Oct. 1931. Small incremental increases were awarded in May 1932 and May 1933, but the salaries were reduced by 8½ percent (of the salary as per scale) until 30 June 1933, by ten percent from 1 July 1933, and by five percent from 1 July 1934 until 30 June 1935. At this point the normal salary scale was resumed, with teachers who had not reached the maximum of their pay scale receiving slightly more than they had before the cuts began (e.g. Miss McIntyre of Crianlarich School was on £145 in August 1931, and was paid £175 from 1935). SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/13-PC3/19/20, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Books, Vols. 2-9, 1931-37.

<sup>836</sup> The situation in Perthshire was neatly summed up in a local newspaper which directed its readers attention to the fact that ‘in the recent economy scheme of the County Council part of the campaign was the closing of small schools in the rural districts’. ‘Three Perthshire schools to be closed’, *Dundee Courier*, 27 Mar. 1934.

<sup>837</sup> SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1938 with summary statistics for Scotland for the year 1937-38, *PP*, 1939 [Cmd. 6007], p.88.

<sup>838</sup> ‘School with two pupils’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 25 Apr. 1934.

mere thought of a teacher having a school, a schoolhouse, a salary of between £100 and £200 – and only two pupils!'.<sup>839</sup> Beginning with Cashlie Side School in 1931, six of the case study schools were closed during the thirties and early forties (**Table 4.16**). No doubt influenced by local feeling, the education committee adopted a policy of mothballing rather than permanent closure, and all but one of the closed schools remained on the district lists.<sup>840</sup> More significantly, those that were listed also retained a parent representative on the local school management committee to ensure that the interests of those residing in the more remote and sparsely-populated areas continued to be served.<sup>841</sup> The arrangements made for the transfer of pupils to another school varied according to local circumstances, and where the distance was not too great daily conveyance was the preferred option. In Glenlochay, this took the form of a car which parents were assured would always be in the hands of 'a competent and skilful driver', and would 'be immediately available when the children were ready to return home in the afternoon'.<sup>842</sup> Although it was initially proposed that the girl living furthest up the glen at Batavime would board in Killin during the week, her mother requested that she 'travel daily by the conveyance' instead. This suggests a continuing reluctance by some parents to send their children away from home to be educated.<sup>843</sup>

**Table 4.16: Case study school closures, 1930-1945** <sup>844</sup>

School Group	School	Date closed	Roll at closure	Pupils transferred to
Fortingall	Cashlie Side	Sept. 1931	3	Breadalbane Academy, Aberfeldy
	Invervar Side	1934 (reopened 1937)	2	Breadalbane Academy, Aberfeldy
	Invermearn Side	November 1936	2	Glenlyon (having moved to Cashlie)
	Ardtalnaig	June 1940	2	Acharn
Killin	Kiltyrie	1932	3	Lawers and Killin
	Glenlochay Side	October 1933	7	Killin

In other instances practical necessity overrode parental preference, and when the Glenlyon schools of Cashlie and Invervar were closed, rather than seeking to transfer the pupils to the nearest remaining school in the district arrangements were made 'to board them at a hostel in

<sup>839</sup> Ibid.

<sup>840</sup> Invermearn was not listed, most likely because there were no families residing in the district. The children who had been in the school at the point of closure had removed to Cashlie.

<sup>841</sup> A list of school management committee members dated Dec. 1938 includes representatives for Cashlie and Invervar (which reopened in 1937) in Fortingall District, and for Glenlochay and Kiltyrie in Killin District. All but one of the mothballed schools (Invermearn) were still being listed at this stage. SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/23, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 12, 12 Dec 1938–24 Apr 1939.

<sup>842</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee minutes, Vol. 5, 1933-1934, Report of Primary Schools Sub-Committee, 11 Oct. 1933.

<sup>843</sup> The girl in question was twelve at the time, soon to turn thirteen, and it is likely that concerns about her safety were intermingled with practical considerations when this decision was taken as she is likely to have undertaken chores within the household. Batavime lies just over ten miles from Killin, and the journey time would have been around half an hour. Age ascertained from Killin Public School Register of Admission, Progress, Age and Withdrawal, 1915-1959 [transcript by Killin Heritage Society].

<sup>844</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Books, Vols. 2-9, 1931-37.

Aberfeldy'.<sup>845</sup> As the pupils who remained on roll at the point of closure were seniors who would most likely be transferring to Breadalbane Academy shortly anyway, the rationale for doing so was clear.<sup>846</sup> However, this strategy could not be applied to younger children and the education committee agreed 'that precautions should be taken to ensure that the way would be left clear for the reopening of rural schools'.<sup>847</sup> The minister of Logierait, Rev. Coll. A. MacDonald, who 'deplored the depopulation of rural areas', was particularly vocal in this regard and he continued to press the Primary School Sub-Committee on the issue. Picking up on the Invervar case, he raised the fact that there was a boy in the district 'who would soon be five and attending school', and suggested that consideration should be given to reinstating the traditional practice of employing 'an uncertificated youthful teacher' who could board locally and teach younger children 'without making use of the school'.<sup>848</sup> He felt that this would serve the local community better than 'removing children of such tender years as five to any hostel', and would 'also have an excellent effect of retaining men in their employment in these difficult and remote places'.<sup>849</sup> Given the drive for uniformity of practice, the committee saw no mileage in this idea, and shelved the discussion until the child had reached school age. Although in most cases those pupils on roll at the point of closure were transferred to the same school, when Kiltyrie was mothballed in 1932 the remaining three children were separated between Killin and Lawers. Bring equidistant from the two, it made sense that pupils should attend whichever of the schools was closest to their home and no objections were raised. Nevertheless, in taking a long-term view of school closures it is important to recognise the subtle, but potentially significant social consequences of this. Given the dispersed nature of the population in such rural areas, regular contact between neighbours was not guaranteed, and the school ensured a degree of interaction that may otherwise have been absent.

For those schools that remained open, the task of bringing the buildings up to date was an onerous but essential one. Despite budgetary constraints, the education committee approved various major works during the thirties including the installation of central heating to improve the working conditions in Fortingall School, and the provision of a new water supply at Glendochart.<sup>850</sup> Upgrading was by no means comprehensive, however, and at the outbreak of war much remained to be done.<sup>851</sup> Even so, the small rural schools continued to serve their purpose, and those that were well-taught and managed were commended for their work.

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<sup>845</sup> Ibid.

<sup>846</sup> Both children were ten years of age when the school closed.

<sup>847</sup> 'Three Perthshire schools to be closed', *Dundee Courier*, 27 Mar. 1934.

<sup>848</sup> 'Boarding of young pupils', *Dundee Courier*, 24 Apr. 1934.

<sup>849</sup> Ibid.

<sup>850</sup> The HMI report on Fortingall School in 1934 noted that 'both classrooms are large, and the open fires are not sufficient to provide adequate heating, the temperature recorded in cold weather being much too low'. Then in 1937 it was reported that 'since the last report central heating has been installed and working condition are now very satisfactory'. NRS, School Inspection Reports, ED18/2238, School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Fortingall, 1874-1950, HMI reports dated 23 Jan. 1943 and 29 June 1937.

<sup>851</sup> For instance, though Glendochart now had a new water supply the 'levelling and surfacing' of the playground 'for the purpose of physical training' still needed attending to. NRS, School Inspection Reports, ED18/2248, School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Glendochart, 1874-1939, Form E.10 dated 23 Jan. 1939.

Thus in his report on Lawers School for 1938, HMI Stewart acknowledged that ‘the premises, though not modern, afford ample accommodation and very good working conditions’, and congratulated the schoolmistress, Mrs Emslie, ‘on the fine tone and spirit’ in the school.<sup>852</sup> Bunty MacGregor, who attended the school at this time, remembers this teacher well and her testimony affirms that the school was a happy place.<sup>853</sup> Rural provision remained a challenge though, and the difficulty of matching the efficiency of larger schools continued to be felt. This was particularly true with regard to post-primary instruction which demanded a depth and breadth of knowledge considered beyond the scope of a single teacher, or even a small team of educators. The HMI report for the post-primary department of Killin School issued in 1936 summed the matter up,

The headmaster takes all stages of the post-primary instruction in English, Mathematics, Latin, Science and Art, and though the numbers are not large, he has a very heavy task in meeting in so many subjects the needs of pupils at different levels of advancement.<sup>854</sup>

With the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1936, which recognised all post-primary courses as secondary and set a timetable for raising the school leaving age to fifteen, the issue became all the more pertinent.<sup>855</sup> Although the outbreak of war in 1939 set these plans back, the schemes for secondary education developed by the county education committees marked the start of a new educational era in Scotland and put the small rural schools on a different footing, with most now being confined to infant and primary work. The demarcation between three-year junior courses and five-year senior courses was particularly significant, and the intended split in students was clearly laid-out in the Perth and Kinross plan for the case study area (**Table 4.17**).

As well as delaying the introduction of the new education schemes, the outbreak of war had a marked effect on the everyday life of the rural schools. The most obvious element of this was the arrival of numerous evacuees fleeing from the threat of bombing in the cities. At the beginning of September ‘no fewer than 101,774 school children accompanied by teachers and helpers were evacuated under the official scheme from ... Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Clydebank and Rosyth’ and a further 6,000 children took advantage of a ‘supplementary scheme’ a few weeks later.<sup>856</sup> They were sent to all but the most inaccessible counties, and most rural schools had at least a few added to their roll.<sup>857</sup> In Killin, ‘about 150 Glasgow children attended under their own teachers’ when the school reopened after the summer holidays, and along at

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<sup>852</sup> NRS, School Inspection Reports, ED18/2276, School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Lawers, 1874-1939, HMI report dated 22 June 1938.

<sup>853</sup> Helen Young, Rural Schools, Janet (Bunty) MacGregor (2014), SOHCA/053/08.

<sup>854</sup> NRS, School Inspection reports, ED18/2341, School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Junior Secondary Schools Killin, HMI report 1935-36.

<sup>855</sup> Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, p.70

<sup>856</sup> SED, Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Years 1939 and 1940, *PP*, 1941 [Cmd. 6317], pp.5-6.

<sup>857</sup> As reported by the SED, ‘the children officially evacuated were ultimately distributed over 28 of the 33 counties of Scotland; the five most northerly and least accessible counties were treated as Reserved Areas’. *Ibid.*, p.6.

Acharn twenty evacuees were admitted.<sup>858</sup> This influx did not last long, however, and by the end of 1940 the number of official evacuees across Scotland had fallen to around 12,500.<sup>859</sup> Though short-lived, the ‘enforced migration from town to country’ was seen to have ‘brought distinct benefits to the children in the form of improved health, the joys of country life, and a general widening of outlook’.<sup>860</sup> Nevertheless, the rhetoric of urban modernity which had come to dominate educational thinking by this time typically identified rural Scotland as a problem.

**Table 4.17: Perth and Kinross scheme for the provision of primary and secondary education, 1939** <sup>861</sup>

School	Accommodation	Courses to be provided	If 3yr Secondary or 5 yr. Secondary Courses are not provided. Pupils will go to...
Acharn	80	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Ardeonaig	30	Infants and Primary	5 years to McLaren High 3 years to Killin
Ardtalnaig	50	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Crianlarich	83	Infants and Primary	McLaren High
Fearnan	38	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Fortingall	88	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Glendochart	50	Infants and Primary	5 years to McLaren High 3 years to Killin
Glenlyon	50	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Invervar	31	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Killin	250	Infants, Primary, 3 yr. Secondary, General Course includes a foreign language	5 years to McLaren High
Lawers	50	Infants and Primary	Breadalbane Academy
Strathfillan	44	Infants and Primary	5 years to McLaren High 3 years to Killin

The requisitioning of schools for medical or military purposes also took place, but most rural schools were not affected by this and continued to operate as before. While disruptions did occur, such as the occupation of the ‘playground and all outside ground’ at Fearnan School by the military, the overall impact was limited.<sup>862</sup> More significant was the demand for increased agricultural production which necessitated the exemption of older children to help on the farms and the wholesale closure of schools at harvest time. Although harvest holidays were not a new

<sup>858</sup> *Dundee Courier*, 15 Sept. 1939. The evacuees sent to Acharn came from a number of different schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow. PKCA, School Registers of Admissions and Withdrawal, 15/05, Acharn Public School Register of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, 1873-1957.

<sup>859</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>860</sup> SED, Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Years 1939 and 1940, pp.6-7.

<sup>861</sup> SCA, Local Government Records: Perth County Council, PC3/19/23, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 12, 12 Dec 1938–24 Apr 1939, Perth and Kinross Education Scheme, 1939.

<sup>862</sup> According to the teacher, the military occupied the school grounds for a few days in October 1943, and caused some damage. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947, entry dated 2 Nov. 1943, p.434.

initiative, having been instituted in response to local requirements for some time, the scale of operations during the war was exceptional. In Perthshire, for instance, the prospect of a record harvest in 1943 led to calls for the mobilisation of ‘a greatly increased amount of civilian labour ... including students and school pupils’, which ‘could only be achieved if the schools all over the country had their holidays for 3 or 4 weeks in summer and then had 5 weeks for harvest work in September or October’.<sup>863</sup> In the case study area, a number of senior boys attended school on a part-time basis during the summer months, and under the emergency conditions of war the SED was happy to allow this.<sup>864</sup> Such was the contribution of young people that in January 1944 the Secretary of State issued a notice ‘thanking the children for in-gathering of crops’, and following the war an Act was passed to enable exemptions for this purpose to continue until the end of 1948.<sup>865</sup> In this way, the drive to separate education from the economic necessities of everyday life was curbed in the national interest, and whilst local imperatives to modify school attendance elicited little sympathy, regulated adjustment by the State for the greater good was seen to be legitimate.

### Cultural assimilation

The other aspect of change clearly evident in the sources is the continued erosion of local cultural practices.<sup>866</sup> Whereas the case study school log books had once been filled with references to the seasonal calendar of events and customs, entries made in the interwar years reflect less of the local culture.<sup>867</sup> While this should not be taken to mean that distinctive local practices had died out completely, it does show that the increased uniformity of educational practice across Scotland, established slowly but surely under the school boards and further reinforced by education authority control, was moulding local practice towards a national standard.<sup>868</sup> Compulsory attendance was at the crux of this and as educational imperatives overtook the socio-economic demands of the household, the related rhythms of life were

<sup>863</sup> PKCA, Perth County and Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/16, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 16, 17 Dec. 1942-2 Dec. 1943, Report of the Emergency Committee of Education Committee, 25 Feb. 1943.

<sup>864</sup> Food production by the schools themselves was also encouraged and in 1941 the SED reported that ‘the schools are now using as much of their gardens as possible for the production of vegetables, whilst many have acquired and cultivated stretches of marginal and waste land’. SED, Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Years 1939 and 1940, p.15.

<sup>865</sup> Receipt of this notice was documented by the Fearnan teacher. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947, entry dated Jan. 1944, p.439. The Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947 made ‘temporary provision for the exemption of children from attendance at school to enable the employment in ingathering the potato crop’.

<sup>866</sup> Current terminology, coined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organisation (UNESCO), defines this as intangible cultural heritage which is ‘transmitted from generation to generation, and is constantly recreated by communities and groups, in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history. It provides people with a sense of identity and continuity, and promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity’. It includes: oral traditions and expressions, including language; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship. UNESCO, ‘Definition of Intangible Heritage’, <[http://www.unesco.org/services/documentation/archives/multimedia/?id\\_page=13](http://www.unesco.org/services/documentation/archives/multimedia/?id_page=13)>, accessed 6 Oct. 2015.

<sup>867</sup> The schools continued to close for local fast days into the 1930s. However, as documented in the school log books, their significance was fading fast, and although holidays were still given around the same time they were increasingly divorced from their original purpose. For instance, in 1925 the Acharn teacher observed that 25 June ‘was recognised as a holiday, in place of the old Fast Day’, as was 20 November. Acharn Public School Log book, 1903-33, pp.234, 236.

<sup>868</sup> Observance of local fast days clearly continued in some districts, though there was a move away from identifying them as such. Thus, while Ardeonaig School was closed on 11 June 1920 it ‘being local fast day’, in 1925 the Acharn teacher noted that 29 June ‘was recognised as a holiday, in place of the local fast day’. Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.434; Acharn Public School Log Book, 1903-33, p.234.

necessarily compromised. That these were viewed by national policymakers as something of an anachronism, having no place or value in modern Scotland, is in little doubt, and although the exemption of pupils allowed a degree of flexibility and responsiveness to local conditions over many decades this was clearly seen as a transitional stage. While many teachers and school managers continued to adopt a pragmatic approach, for instance by allowing children to leave school 'a little earlier in the afternoon to assist their parents on their crofts' and being sympathetic when senior pupils were required to help at home or on the farm, there was now much less room for manoeuvre.<sup>869</sup>

Year on year the SED reviewed attendance figures and tracked exemption rates across the country, and by 1930 the average attendance in primary schools had reached ninety percent.<sup>870</sup> Reflecting on this a few years later, the Committee of Council attributed this to 'a steady improvement in the attitude of parents towards the schools' and a general acceptance that school was 'the proper place for their children'.<sup>871</sup> This, somewhat misleadingly, was seen to be in contrast to fifty years before when 'many parents naturally regarded compulsory attendance as a hardship and looked upon the school and all its activities with indifference, if not positive antipathy'.<sup>872</sup> While the first assertion was undoubtedly true, it was a blatant oversimplification to say that these parents saw schooling as irrelevant. As evidence from the case study and the wider sample of rural districts has shown, parents and communities had often been the driving force behind the establishment of schools, and most saw the value in educating their children to some degree. What many objected to was the imposed formalisation of schooling after 1872, with external regulations dictating at what times and for how long children should be in school, and the cultural impact this had. Little recognition was given to the wider implications of the drive for a uniform national system, however, and the erosion of regional cultural heritage, though regretted by some, was not a paramount concern. Whilst the decline of the Gaelic language in particular had warranted interest for well over a century, and had led to various initiatives to address this, including the insertion of a Gaelic clause in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, campaigning fervour and policy acquiescence merely scratched the surface of the issue rather than getting to the root of the problem. From the perspective of the SED, there is certainly a sense that the 1918 concession was a placatory move rather than being a determined commitment to curtail cultural change.

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<sup>869</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book 1911-47, p.196.

<sup>870</sup> The average attendance for the year ended 31 July 1930 was 589,702, and the average number of scholars on registers was 654,049, giving a percentage of 90.2. The estimated population of school age was, however, slightly higher being 776,391. SED, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the Year 1930-31, p.59.

<sup>871</sup> Scottish Education Department, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the Year 1935 with Summary Statistics for Scotland for the Year 1934-35, *PP*, 1935-36 [Cmd. 5140], pp.22-3.

<sup>872</sup> *Ibid*, p.23.

**Table 4.18: Gaelic speakers in Scotland, 1921 and 1931** <sup>873</sup>

County	Population		Persons speaking						Percentage of population speaking					
			Gaelic only		Gaelic and English		TOTAL		Gaelic only		Gaelic and English		TOTAL	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
Argyll	76,856	63,014	599	335	24,813	20,913	25,412	21,248	0.78	0.53	32.29	33.19	33.07	33.72
Bute	33,711	18,822	-	-	1,453	927	1,453	927	-	-	4.31	4.93	4.31	4.93
Caithness	28,284	25,656	-	-	1,005	633	1,005	633	-	-	3.55	2.47	3.55	2.47
Inverness	82,446	82,082	4,660	3,123	35,577	31,474	40,237	34,597	5.65	3.80	43.15	38.34	48.80	42.14
Nairn	8,790	8,294	-	-	542	411	542	411	-	-	6.17	4.96	6.17	4.96
Perth	125,515	120,772	16	11	6,303	4,828	6,319	4,839	0.01	0.01	5.02	4.00	5.03	4.01
Ross and Cromarty	70,790	62,802	4,860	3,435	35,810	31,098	40,670	34,533	6.87	5.47	50.59	49.52	57.46	54.99
Sutherland	17,800	16,100	68	24	8,831	6,763	8,899	6,787	0.38	0.15	49.61	42.01	49.99	42.16

<sup>873</sup> Figures extracted from the following sources for those counties with more than two percent of their population speaking Gaelic: Census of Scotland, 1921, Preliminary Report on the Thirteenth Census of Scotland, *PP*, 1921 [Cmd. 1473], p.61; Census of Scotland, 1931, Preliminary Report on the Fourteenth Census of Scotland, accessed via <[www.histpop.org](http://www.histpop.org)>.

Though the inclusion of a clause on Gaelic in the 1918 Act was a notable shift in educational policy, which had initially been antagonistic towards the language and later edged towards indifference, its scope was actually very limited. As Withers points out, it ‘was neither the basis to complete longer-term success that many contemporaries hoped it would be nor the significant event some later scholars have claimed’.<sup>874</sup> Not only was Gaelic denoted as a subject to be taught rather than a language to be lived, but the provision was limited to those parts of Scotland which retained a large Gaelic-speaking population. As previous analysis has shown, by the early twentieth century Gaelic monolingualism had all but died out, and bilingualism was on the decline. As a result, by 1921 only one county, Ross and Cromarty, had a majority of Gaelic speakers and the numbers continued to fall over the course of the decade (**Table 4.18**). In targeting such areas, rather than the larger Gàidhealtachd there had once been, the Act effectively drew a line under the sweeping cultural changes that had already occurred, and offered a remedial patch to those whose Gaelic heritage had been eroded the least. For this reason, the case study districts of Highland Perthshire which had been predominantly Gaelic-speaking until the late nineteenth century but could no longer make that claim were little impacted by the Gaelic clause. To a large degree this was due to a lack of demand locally. However, in one instance a request for materials to enable the teaching of Gaelic in one of the Kenmore schools was tactfully declined by the SED. While few would have disputed the educational rationale behind this, which was clearly articulated in the official reply, a closer look at the details of the case reveals an unsympathetic attitude towards those who sought to revive Gaelic culture.

The school in question was at Lawers, midway along the northern shore of Loch Tay, and the request for Gaelic to be taught was made in September 1925. In the first instance, the local management committee approached Perthshire Education Authority for permission to do so, and they then sought ‘the approval of the Department’.<sup>875</sup> Coming just two years after the authority had promised a deputation from the Highland Association and Perth Gaelic Society that they would give ‘sympathetic consideration’ to the teaching of Gaelic in some of the county’s schools, it was supportive of the idea and drew up a specific ‘Scheme of instruction in Gaelic’ for the school to enable the teacher to deliver a two year course in reading and oral composition.<sup>876</sup> The schoolmistress Miss MacFarquhar, who was a Gaelic-speaker, had ‘signified her willingness to give the instruction’, and was considered capable of doing so. When the request reached the SED, however, it was met with less enthusiasm and, having taken advice from the inspector of schools for the area, Mr Millar, they sent notification that they were ‘not prepared to approve

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<sup>874</sup> C. W. J. Withers, ‘Education and the Gaelic language’. p.405.

<sup>875</sup> School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Lawers, Letter from Perthshire Education Authority Executive Officer to Secretary of the SED’, dated 29 Sept. 1925.

<sup>876</sup> ‘Gaelic for Perthshire scholars’, *Dundee Courier*, 27 Feb. 1923; School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Lawers, Perthshire Education Authority, Lawers Public School Scheme of Instruction in Gaelic, dated Sept. 1925.

the addition of this subject to the existing scheme of work'.<sup>877</sup> That they took over four months to reply to the authority testifies to the level of internal dialogue that went on within the Department to determine a suitable reply. Recognising that refusal would 'almost certainly cause trouble' as Gaelic instruction had been 'specially requested by the local S.M.C', the issue was referred to the secretary and a carefully worded letter was produced. The main objection was communicated as follows,

As the one teacher in this school has to teach all the children between the ages of 5 and 14 in all the subjects of the primary school curriculum, it seems to the Department hardly reasonable to impose upon her the task of teaching a language other than English, as a special subject, to the pupils of the Advanced Division.<sup>878</sup>

This was the essence of what HMI Millar had said, but he had been much more dismissive of the request and had told colleagues during a conference of the Southern Division that 'there was no family of children in this school ... whose home language was Gaelic' and that 'the thing was being pushed by some crank in the parish who was anxious to revive Gaelic in Perthshire'.<sup>879</sup> Reportedly, 'the conference seemed to think that that was a pretty hopeless enterprise now' and 'that to impose a foreign language as an Advanced Division subject ... was a little outrageous'.<sup>880</sup>

Rather than convey this message, the SED adopted a conciliatory tone and, though knowing this not to be the case, stated that if 'there are in the school young children whose only language is Gaelic, it would be perfectly right that the teacher, knowing Gaelic herself, should use Gaelic as the principal medium of instruction'.<sup>881</sup> In addition, they pledged to remove their objection if 'the staff were to be so strengthened as to enable the Gaelic speaking teacher to give genuine instruction in Gaelic'. Given the financial constraints of the time and the unlikelihood of additional investment being made, this was very much an empty promise. Having explored this case in detail it is clear that the SED's official response, which was subsequently discussed at the monthly meeting of Perthshire Education Authority and published in the local press, cannot be taken as a litmus test of their attitude towards Gaelic.<sup>882</sup> Rather it suggests that opinion was more akin to the concluding comment on the internal minute paper which observed, 'what a lot of writing because a crank has broken loose in a Perthshire Glen, and Millar is short with him'.<sup>883</sup> Although the matter was 'remitted back for further inquiry' the local management committee did not push the issue.<sup>884</sup> Nevertheless, there is little doubt that this would have caused some consternation locally, not least because the request, though quickly dismissed by the inspector,

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<sup>877</sup> School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Lawers, Scottish Education Department, Minute paper, Regd. No. 25/C 5649.

<sup>878</sup> Ibid, Letter from SED Secretary to Perthshire Education Authority Executive Officer, dated 19 Feb. 1926.

<sup>879</sup> Ibid, Scottish Education Department, Minute paper, Regd. No. 25/C 5649.

<sup>880</sup> Ibid.

<sup>881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>882</sup> 'Teaching of Gaelic', *Dundee Courier* 23 Mar. 1926.

<sup>883</sup> School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Lawers, Scottish Education Department, Minute paper, Regd. No. 25/C 5649.

<sup>884</sup> 'Teaching of Gaelic', *Dundee Courier* 23 Mar. 1926.

had a genuine basis. Whilst it was true that Gaelic was no longer widely spoken in the district, the oral testimony of Bunty Macgregor, who was brought up in the area and attended Lawers school in the early 1930s, suggests that there was one Gaelic-speaking family at the school in her day. Referring to the McDiarmids, who were native to the area, she remembers that ‘their mother would speak Gaelic ... they would get Gaelic in their home’.<sup>885</sup> Furthermore, William Walker, who was interviewed by a researcher from the School of Scottish Studies in 1964, noted that even at that time there were still a few people in Lawers, as well across the loch at Ardtalnaig, who spoke Gaelic.<sup>886</sup>

Despite the shift in educational policy towards Gaelic, this example demonstrates an underlying belief within the SED that the indigenous language of the Highlands continued to be of little educational value beyond helping children to learn English. It also shows how little regard the establishment had for aspects of Scotland’s cultural heritage, which also extended to the Scots language and its associated traditions.<sup>887</sup> While this was nothing new, being rooted in a popular belief that bilingualism at school was a means to improve English literacy, its persistence is surprising given the heightened awareness of linguistic decline and resultant surge in organised cultural events at this time.<sup>888</sup> An obvious example of this is the growing popularity of the Gaelic association, An Comunn Gàidhealach. Having established a national Gaelic festival back in 1892 and formed branches across Scotland, An Comunn augmented its activities during the interwar years with locally-organised competitions, known as provincial Mòds.<sup>889</sup> One such event was established by the Aberfeldy and District branch in 1923 and it became an annual event from then on.<sup>890</sup> This is significant in relation to the Lawers case as, concurrent with the request for Gaelic instruction, the schoolmistress Miss MacFarquhar was taking an active interest in preparations for the next Aberfeldy Mòd, as indicated by her attendance at the annual general meeting in Jan 1926 at which ‘representatives from the various districts in Central and North Perthshire was presided over by the Rev. Mr McKay, Killin’.<sup>891</sup>

The Aberfeldy Mòd was to become a core local event, drawing participants from schools across the region. Yet, though strong links were formed there was never any question that such cultural

<sup>885</sup> Helen Young, Rural Schools, Janet (Bunty) MacGregor (2014), SOHCA/053/08.

<sup>886</sup> Anne Walker, Interview with William Walker, 1964, School of Scottish Studies, SA1964.016, accessed via Tobar an Dualchais <<http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/fullrecord/18539/1>>.

<sup>887</sup> At the conference of the Southern Division referred to earlier, HMI Millar made mention of the fact that ‘a discussion was going on about the teaching of ‘braid Scots’. School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Lawers, Scottish Education Department, Minute paper, Regd. No. 25/C 5649.

<sup>888</sup> As Paterson points out, in the late nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century ‘those officials, boards, teachers and parents who did advocate teaching through the medium of Gaelic did so on the grounds of its educational effectiveness as a means to learning English, not because they had any particular desire to use education to strengthen Gaelic’. Although Gaelic had been in decline for many decades, it remained the language of the home across much of the Highlands and there was no sense that its future was in question. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, p.45.

<sup>889</sup> An Comunn Gàidhealach ‘was founded in Oban in 1891 as a vehicle for the preservation and development of the Gaelic language’. An Comunn Gàidhealach, ‘ACG history’, <<http://www.ancomunn.co.uk/about/history>>, accessed 1 Nov. 2015.

<sup>890</sup> The Aberfeldy branch was formed in 1912. Except for a few years during the Second World War, the Perthshire Provincial Mod has taken place every year since 1923 and has expanded from 25 to 76 competitions which are now spread over two days. Perthshire and Angus Provincial Mod, ‘About us’, <<http://www.aberfeldymod.org.uk/aboutus.html>>, accessed 12 Oct. 2015.

<sup>891</sup> ‘Meeting of Perthshire Provincial Mod’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 18 Jan. 1926.

activities were a pleasing, but non-essential addition to the school curriculum. Participation also depended a great deal on the interest and effort of individual teachers, who either coached the children themselves or facilitated someone else to do so. Thus, while the pupils of Fearnan, Acharn, Ardtalnaig and Fortingall regularly attended the Mòd, with a day's holiday being granted each year to enable them to do so, there is no mention of the festival in the Ardeonaig log book.<sup>892</sup> The fact that Ardeonaig had its own branch of An Comunn Gàidhealach, which was 'entertained to a concert in the School by members of Kenmore Branch' in January 1925', shows that there was some local interest in Gaelic culture.<sup>893</sup> However, there was clearly no presumption, or indeed stipulation, that this should extend to the activities of the school. The disconnect between local cultural practice and national educational imperatives therefore continued, and even in those areas where engagement with the Mòd was substantial and sustained, Gaelic was confined to being a performing art rather than a lived language. This is reflected in the school returns for 1938-39 which confirm that none of the schools were providing any form of instruction in Gaelic at this time despite there being a number of Gaelic-speaking teachers in the area.<sup>894</sup>

### Schools as social spaces

Beyond their core educational purpose, Scotland's schools played a key role in socialising the young and developing community relations. Though true across the board, from the largest urban school to the tiniest side school, the small rural schools were in some respects unique, not least because they were more likely to bring children of differing social backgrounds and circumstances together under one roof. As well as being a feature of the early parochial schools, this continued well into the twentieth century with many estate owners and ministers sending their offspring to be educated alongside the children of shepherds and labourers in the local schools for at least the early years of their education.<sup>895</sup> Although it is difficult to generalise about the rural schools, which varied in size and context, they typically lent towards social integration rather than segregation. There were of course divisions in school provision, even in the more remote areas with parents preferring to send their children to one school over another if the practicalities could be overcome. In the denominational era, this was certainly the case with the Free and Established churches operating as rivals in some districts, and the Episcopalians and Catholics maintaining their own schools. However, as the case study

<sup>892</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-47; Acharn Public School Log Book, 1873-1903; Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1912-40; Ardeonaig Public School Log Book 1873-1927.

<sup>893</sup> 'Highland rally on Loch Tayside', *Dundee Courier*, 19 Jan. 1925.

<sup>894</sup> Copies of the return for 1 Aug 1938 – 31 July 1939 survive for many of the schools including Acharn, Ardtalnaig, Crianlarich, Fortingall, Glendochart, Lawers, Killin, and Strathfillan and are contained in the School Inspectors' Reports held by the NRS. Both Acharn and Fortingall had a Gaelic speaking teacher at this time.

<sup>895</sup> For instance, the Free Church minister of Kenmore, Rev. Allan Sinclair, sent his children to Acharn School in the 1870s, as did the prosperous tenant farmer Alexander McNaughton of Remony. Forty years later, the Rev. William Gillies did the same (his daughters, Barbara and Margaret, both left Acharn aged twelve to continue their education in Edinburgh). At the other end of the spectrum, orphans under the guardianship of Lady Breadalbane, who were housed in a small orphanage in Kenmore, were educated in the local school throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Acharn Public School Register of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, 1873-1957.

illustrates, even at this stage most rural children attended the school closest to their home, particularly in their infant and junior years, and under school board and education authority control this became common practice. The frequent movement of agricultural workers which led to children shifting from one school roll to another was also an accepted facet of rural life, and the schools ensured a level of social interaction which may otherwise have been absent. This extended to itinerant travelling communities, commonly referred to as 'tinkers' at the time, who were encouraged to send their children to the local schools.<sup>896</sup> As evidence from the case study school log books shows, they often did so, and though the attendance of such children was typically sporadic and fleeting it did at least provide an opportunity for engagement.<sup>897</sup> Whether this proved to be positive did of course depend on the personality and attitudes of those within the school, but the potential was there nonetheless.<sup>898</sup>

In tending towards inclusivity, the small rural schools not only facilitated a degree of social integration, but also provided a clear and uncomplicated focus for community activity. The case study schools and those across the sample districts had long attracted the interest and support of local benefactors, and continued to do so after the transfer to state control. By the interwar years, prize-giving events and children's treats were an established part of the local calendar, and helped to engage parents and members of the wider community with the schools.<sup>899</sup> End of year presentations remained popular, and some schools supplemented the usual academic awards with prizes for artistic and practical pursuits, as was the case at Glendochart in 1926 when achievements in drawing, needlework, knitting, bulb-growing and leaf-decorating were recognised.<sup>900</sup> Christmas celebrations, once unheard of in this area, were also now a favourite, and a great deal of time and effort was put into these. To give a few examples, the annual treat given by the proprietor of the Killin Hotel was hugely popular, and in 1926 was attended by numerous locals including the minister, the chairman of the school management committee, the headmaster and his wife.<sup>901</sup> A similar event was held by the Fortingall Women's Association for 'the children and their mothers' of the district, and also attracted great numbers.<sup>902</sup> In like manner, though on a much smaller scale, on the afternoon of 20 December 1929 the children of

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<sup>896</sup> In the late nineteenth century, if parents failed to do so they ran the risk of their children being sent to an industrial school.

<sup>897</sup> To give one example, on 23 Sept. 1921 the Acharn teacher noted that '2 more children (tinker children) are in attendance this week'. Acharn Public School Log Book, 1903-33, p.202.

<sup>898</sup> The arguments for inclusion are complex, and opinion has varied over time as to whether different groups of children should be mainstreamed or given separate provision. In some areas where there were large numbers of 'tinker' children, such as in Pitlochry, they were more likely to be segregated into special classes. Indeed, in 1938 the first special school for tinker children was opened in Aldour, Pitlochry by the Church of Scotland Girls' Association, with the cost of maintenance and teacher's salary being met by the education committee. 'School for tinker children', *Dundee Courier*, 15 Oct. 1938.

<sup>899</sup> The local Sunday schools, which were widely attended at this time, were also a focus of activity and provided treats and trips for the children.

<sup>900</sup> 'Glendochart school prize-winners', *Dundee Courier*, 9 Jul. 1926.

<sup>901</sup> This particular 'children's treat' was instituted in 1924, and as well as tea and games, the children were 'handed presents of fruit and sweets' as they left. *Dundee Courier*, 29 Dec. 1926.

<sup>902</sup> 'Fortingall children entertained', *Dundee Courier*, 2 Jan. 1931.

Ardeonaig 'were entertained to tea and fruit and were visited by Santa Claus after which they entertained their friends with songs, plays and dances'.<sup>903</sup>

Even when festivities were limited, gifts were typically provided by some local benefactor or other, and in many cases they were delivered in person. Thus, in 1923 the shooting tenant at Remony Lodge, James Duncan Millar M.P., attended Acharn School to give 'the scholars a number of Christmas gifts this afternoon when the school was closed'.<sup>904</sup> Although individual schools tended to operate alone, on occasions the pupils of one or more schools were brought together, as was the case in 1928 when Mrs McKinnon of Auchmore House, with the assistance of the Women's Unionist Association, 'gave a treat to the pupils of Killin, Glendochart, Ardeonaig, Kiltyrie and Glenlochay schools in the Public Hall, Killin'.<sup>905</sup> The newly formed Women's Rural Institute in Killin was also keen to ensure that children from the outlying schools were included in their activities. Thus, on 18 November 1927, Ardeonaig School was closed early to allow the children to travel to Killin for 'a children's treat given by the WRI'.<sup>906</sup> In this region, as elsewhere in Scotland, the membership of women's organisations rose significantly during this period, and female committees became the focus and driver of much community activity from this point on.<sup>907</sup>

**Figure 4.7: Photograph of Holder Hall, Kenmore, early to mid-twentieth century** <sup>908</sup>



<sup>903</sup> SCA, School Log Books, PC3/17/13, Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1927-69, p.34.

<sup>904</sup> Acharn Public School log book, 1903-33, p.223. James was the grandfather of the oral history participant of the same name who was interviewed for this study.

<sup>905</sup> 'Killin children's treat', *Dundee Courier*, 18 Jan. 1928.

<sup>906</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1927-69, p.7.

<sup>907</sup> As explored by Wright, the SWRI grew in popularity during the interwar years and by 1932 there were 930 local branches in operation. Initially promoted as 'a help' in food production and preservation, 'the Rurals were built solidly on a democratic basis' and were open to all women. As well bringing country women together socially with the intention of enabling them to better fulfil their responsibilities at home and to the nation, the Scottish Women's Rural Institutes (SWRI) were active campaigners and 'contributed to debates concerning the effects of depopulation on rural areas through its demands for improved housing'. V. Wright, 'The Prevention of Rural Depopulation: Housing and the Scottish Women's Rural Institutes, c.1917-39', *Twentieth Century British History*, 23: 3 (2012), pp.336, 341.

<sup>908</sup> Reproduced from Byrom, *Old Killin, Kenmore and Loch Tay* (Catrine, 2004), p.24. Holder Hall was built in 1903 and was demolished in 1967 when the combined school and community centre was opened.

In addition to school-related activities, many of the school buildings continued to function as a community venue, providing a space for meetings, social events and adult education as well as being used for more formal purposes such as electoral polling and gas-mask fitting on the eve of the Second World War.<sup>909</sup> It is worthy of mention, however, that as control of education shifted to the county councils, the regulations governing the use of schools began to change. Under Perth and Kinross Education Committee, although the right of local managers to grant ‘the use of school buildings for such purposes as the School Management Committee may think fit’ was reasserted, it was followed with the stipulation that ‘where a Public Hall is available, the use of school buildings shall not as a rule be granted’.<sup>910</sup> The reasoning behind this was to ensure adequate and sustained use of local halls, whose maintenance and management depended on revenue from lettings. This arguably laid the foundation for schools to become increasingly closed off from the public and more restricted to education use as the twentieth century progressed. In parallel with the proliferation of formal groups and committees, many village halls were constructed and maintained during the interwar period and, though varying greatly in size and grandeur, they housed all manner of meetings and events. In the case study area, the Holder Hall in Kenmore village (**Figure 4.7**) hosted many concerts, dances and meetings, as did the Fortingall Recreation Hall and its successor the Molteno Memorial Hall. Along the lochside at Acharn the Comrade’s Hut, though a more modest building constructed of corrugated iron, was also a popular venue.<sup>911</sup> One such event was a whist drive held ‘under the direction of Mr J. Coull, headmaster of Acharn School’ to raise funds for the school piano fund.<sup>912</sup> Not every settlement had a public hall, however, and it was in these areas that the schools provided a much-needed venue for community activity.

The want of public space in the more remote outlying districts, which by now were very sparsely-populated, was particularly pronounced and the use of schools was both convenient and economical. In Glenlyon, the new schoolroom at Invervar was put to good use, with meetings such as that held by the local curling club in June 1932 finding a welcome home there, and the same was true at Ardeonaig where concerts and evening classes, including one to instruct local

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<sup>909</sup> Continuation classes became widespread after the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908 compelled school boards to provide them. Technical instruction was a core element of this, and by the interwar period various classes were being run in rural areas. For example, during the winter of 1925-26 a dress-making continuation class was held in Killin School, and the teacher’s wife was one of the attendees. *Dundee Courier*, 25 Mar. 1926.

<sup>910</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1, 1930-31, Powers and duties of School Management Committees.

<sup>911</sup> The following articles highlight a few examples from Kenmore and Fortingall: ‘Successful Kenmore concert’, *Dundee Courier*, 6 Oct. 1927; ‘Foresters’ dance at Kenmore’, *Dundee Courier*, 24 Feb. 1932; ‘Enjoyable Fortingall concert’, *Dundee Courier*, 29 Sept. 1926; ‘Fortingall Women’s Association’, *Dundee Courier*, 12 Sept. 1929; ‘Duchess addresses unionists’, *Dundee Courier*, 18 July 1938. The Molteno Memorial Hall was perhaps the most elaborate of the local halls, being built in the Arts and Crafts style in 1936. Fortingall Village Hall, ‘The hall and story’, <<http://www.fortingallvillagehall.co.uk/the-hall-story>>, accessed 30 Oct. 2015. The hut in Acharn was built following the First World War, and was used extensively for local events such as the one documented here: ‘Acharn Comrades’ Hut’, *Dundee Courier*, 27 Nov. 1925.

<sup>912</sup> ‘Helping Acharn School piano fund’, *Dundee Courier*, 28 July 1927.

women in the art of butter-making, were held.<sup>913</sup> Across at Lawers the small school was also a hub of activity, as local resident Bunty MacGregor recalls,

We used to have dances in the school, you know, and everybody, everybody from all the farms came and people from Killin and we used to have a little band coming from Killin and it was a very happy, happy night. And children and parents, they all went. We all went.<sup>914</sup>

As a rule, head teachers rarely recorded such events in their log, only referencing those which impacted on the work of the school in some way. The schoolmistress who commenced duties at Fearnan School in February 1938, Miss Margaret Purves, made a point of doing so, however, and her detailed notes give a valuable insight into the social usage of a small rural school at this time. As detailed in **Table 4.19**, there was a constant stream of church services and Sunday schools as well as meetings and functions held by various local groups including the Women's Rural Institute, An Comunn Gàidhealach, Drummond Hill Athletic Club and the Perthshire Christian Union. The occasional political meeting was also held in the school, with both candidates in the Kinross and West Perth by-election making it a stop on their campaign trail in 1938.<sup>915</sup> State-ownership of public school buildings made them the obvious choice for such functions, and even if other venues were available schools were often commandeered for official purposes when the need arose. Hence, Killin School 'was shut on 21<sup>st</sup> December 1938 when it was used as a polling booth' in the aforementioned election, just as Ardeonaig School had been many years before when 'polling under the Temperance Act' took place in November 1920.<sup>916</sup> Similarly, amid concerns that Britain was on the brink of another war with Germany, 'a series of six A.R.P. lectures was given in Killin Public School' to inform people about 'the various types of poisonous gases' and fit them with masks, and a few months later lessons were cut short in Fearnan School to allow for the fitting of gas-masks in that district.<sup>917</sup> In this way, the schools were a recognised local resource to which all members of the community could claim some connection, rather than being a purely educational space occupied by teachers and pupils.

Returning to the relationship between parents and the schools, which had been fostered informally under the school boards with end of year prize-giving commonly being the only official point of contact, the issue of parental responsibility and engagement attracted increasing interest during this period. Although the role of parents in ensuring that their children were educated had long been recognised across rural Scotland, with most making provision even before they were compelled to do so by the 1872 Act, official discussions rarely moved beyond

<sup>913</sup> 'Invervar curling club official honoured', *Dundee Courier*, 22 June 1932; 'Highland rally on Loch Tayside', *Dundee Courier*, 19 Jan. 1925.

<sup>914</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Janet (Bunty) MacGregor (2014), SOHCA/053/08.

<sup>915</sup> Mr McNail Snadden (Conservative) and the Duchess of Atholl (Independent) both held election hustings in Fearnan School. The former won the seat. 'Duchess of Atholl beaten by 1,313', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 23 Dec. 1938.

<sup>916</sup> School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Junior Secondary Schools Killin, 1925-48; Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, 'Notice to SED', dated 30 June 1939, p.440.

<sup>917</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947.

the issue of attendance. This began to change during the 1920s, however, as reformers began to call for a more child-centred approach to education, and by the 1930s the idea of nurturing home-school relations had come to the fore.<sup>918</sup> This was reflected in the SED's annual reports, which from 1934 included a section on 'parents and the schools'.<sup>919</sup> Recognising that 'mutual understanding and co-operation between the two are essential to a healthy and effective performance of the work of education in all its aspects', the committee stressed the fundamental importance of contact and called for 'care and intelligence' in devising, regulating and controlling this.<sup>920</sup> In doing so they were acutely aware of the challenges inherent in forming and maintaining such relationships, with the core issue being that 'both parties are by the force of human nature prone to be highly conscious of each other's shortcomings'. Hence, contact could be a force for good or bad, in the latter case leading to 'ill-informed and meddlesome activity on the one side and ... resentment on the other'. Current practice bore this out, with the nature and quality of relations depending on local circumstances, and it was therefore felt that the education committees should take greater responsibility for 'providing organised means of contact'. To this end the SED issued a circular in April 1934 'inviting the Education Authorities to inform the Department of their views on the subject', and the replies indicated a keen interest in this.<sup>921</sup>

The inclusion of parent representatives on the school management committees was well-established by this stage, and the scale of activity in rural areas permitted a higher level of participation than was possible in the towns and cities. Beyond this, the fact that the staff lived locally, with head teachers typically occupying a house that was either attached to or in the near vicinity of the school, created an air of familiarity and ensured a degree of social interaction that was much harder to attain in densely-populated urban areas. This distinction was widely recognised, with the SED acknowledging that while 'special parents' days for acquainting parents with the actual working of the schools or for display of school work' were likely to be required in the large city schools, 'the desirability of arranging for special meetings of parents' was not so clear in rural areas where teachers were 'often in close touch with the parents of practically every pupil attending school'.<sup>922</sup> Nevertheless, the development of an urban model of parent participation, which saw formal parent-teacher associations (PTAs) grow in popularity, undoubtedly began to influence how the rural schools operated. It has already been suggested that the reduction in the number of school management committees and declining number of

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<sup>918</sup> As discussed by Paterson, the interwar years saw 'radical campaigning for reform to curriculum and teaching methods'. Building on the work of the 1916/17 Education Reform Committee, this was heavily influenced by the ideas of the New Education Fellowship, a small group of progressive educationalists and liberal thinkers who advocated a child-centred approach from 1921 onwards. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, p.47.

<sup>919</sup> Scottish Education Department, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the Year 1933 with Summary Statistics for the Year 1932-33, *PP*, 1934 [Cmd. 4601], pp.33-4.

<sup>920</sup> *Ibid*, p.33.

<sup>921</sup> Scottish Education Department, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the Year 1934 with Summary Statistics for the Year 1933-34, *PP*, 1935 [Cmd. 4850], pp.37.

<sup>922</sup> *Ibid*.

parent and teacher representatives across much of Scotland during the 1930s signified an alignment with urban practice, and the trend towards organised groups and regulated contact between teacher and parents could be interpreted in the same light. Though the impact at this stage may have been minimal, the long-term consequences of such subtle moves towards standardisation should not be underestimated.

**Table 4.19: Fearnan School lets, March - December 1938** <sup>923</sup>

Date	Purpose of let
Friday 4 March	WRI social dance
Sunday 6 March	Sunday School
Tuesday 8 March	WRI meeting
Wednesday 9 March	An Comunn Gàidhealach meeting
Sunday 13 March	Church service and Sunday School
Friday 25 March	An Comunn Gàidhealach social and WRI meeting
Monday 4 April	Presentation to Miss McGregor
Sunday 24 April	Church service
Thursday 5 May	WRI meeting
Sunday 8 May	Church service
Thursday 19 May	Drummond Hill Athletic Club meeting
Sunday 5 June	Church service
Saturday 18 June	Perthshire Christian Union meeting
Sunday 11 September	Church service
Sunday 25 September	Church service
Tuesday 25 October	WRI meeting
Friday 28 October	An Comunn Gàidhealach meeting
Sunday 6 November	Church service
Tuesday 8 November	Communicants Class and WRI meeting
Sunday 20 November	Church service
Wednesday 23 November	An Comunn Gàidhealach social
Wednesday 30 November	Election hustings - Duchess of Athol
Tuesday 6 December	WRI meeting
Wednesday 7 December	An Comunn Gàidhealach meeting
Wednesday 14 December	Election hustings - Mr McNair Snadden
Saturday 24 December	WRI Children's Christmas treat

### Sites of citizenship

Seen in broader context, the growing interest in home-school relations during the interwar years and move towards standardised initiatives to promote parent engagement reflect the development of a clearly defined citizenship agenda at this time. While the idea of citizenship itself was not new, with loyalty to king, church and country driving educational expansion from the outset and the early Scotch Codes stressing the importance of manners, duty and respect, the level of articulation achieved by Scottish educationalists in the early forties was

<sup>923</sup> Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-1947., pp.326-39.

unprecedented.<sup>924</sup> The reasons for this were complex, but there is little doubt that the advent of a second world war, which heightened national consciousness and raised fundamental questions about the nature of modern society, brought the concept to the fore. Following the issuing of a memorandum on 'Training for citizenship' by the SED in 1942, the reconstituted Advisory Council on Education in Scotland was asked 'to consider how the educational system of Scotland can most effectively contribute to the training in the duties, rights and practice of citizenship', and the resultant report published at the end of 1943 is an interesting read.<sup>925</sup> As with other Advisory Council reports, the recommendations made on citizenship did not translate into firm policy commitments.<sup>926</sup> However, being seen to 'contain much that is helpful and inspiring', the report was commended 'to the earnest attention of school authorities and their staffs', and gave new impetus to the debate around education and citizenship.<sup>927</sup>

Although written amid the conflict and uncertainty of the Second World War, the report did not major on national concerns or world affairs, and devoted much of its attention to familial and community relations. This fits with Hulme's observation that across Britain 'the local was the prism through which many interwar educators thought about the notion of citizenship', and suggests that even into the war years it remained so in Scotland.<sup>928</sup> The purpose of citizenship education was broken down into four areas starting at a personal level and working up to the global.<sup>929</sup> Thus young people were to be trained 'to become good husbands and wives and fathers and mothers', 'to develop the spirit of responsibility and of tolerant co-operation with their fellows in work or leisure activities', 'to take an intelligent and independent part in the affairs of the community, both local and national', and 'to have a sense of membership of the world community'.<sup>930</sup> Given the lack of experience in this area, the Council proposed a five-year experiment to allow for a body of 'evidence of trial and error' to be built up so that a decision could be made as to 'whether local autonomy and experiment might continue to serve a national plan ... or whether the plan of training should be standardized throughout Scotland'.<sup>931</sup> Although

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<sup>924</sup> For example, the Scotch Code of 1875 called for children to be brought up 'in habits of punctuality, of good manners and language, of cleanliness and neatness' and should be taught 'the importance of cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour and truthfulness in word and act'. This was included as a footnote in the 1875 version, and had been moved to the main body of the text by the following year. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1875 [C. 1266-I], p.lviii; Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1876 [C. 1514], p.48. For an in-depth discussion of citizenship in relation to British imperialism see, D. Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester, 2006).

<sup>925</sup> SED, Training for citizenship, 1944, p.4. The fact that the Fearnan teacher noted receiving the memo on citizenship in 1942 shows that it was circulated to teachers. Fearnan Public School Log Book 1911-47, entry dated 27 Apr. 1942, p.405.

<sup>926</sup> As Young points out, although 'the reports of the Council were highly regarded by the Scottish educational community', they had little impact on Scottish educational policy. J. Young, 'The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland: 1920-1961', (unpublished thesis, Edinburgh, 1986).

<sup>927</sup> SED, Training for citizenship, p.3.

<sup>928</sup> Hulme challenges the view that citizenship had become 'indivisible from national identity' by the interwar years.

Focusing on English experience, he argues that civics, and particular the ideas of the Victorian idealist Thomas Hill Green, remained at the heart of citizenship education throughout this period. Hulme, 'Putting the City Back into Citizenship', p.51.

<sup>929</sup> As Hulme also points out, a tiered approach 'placing citizens in a set of "expanding addresses" was common'. For instance, Florence West's *Stepping stones to Citizenship*, published in 1923, split citizenship into three tiers: the town or district of residence, the Kingdom, and the British Empire. *Ibid*, p.36.

<sup>930</sup> SED, Training for Citizenship, p.4.

<sup>931</sup> *Ibid*, p.5.

the scheme was not taken forward in a coordinated manner by the SED, the suggestions made for experimentation show the multi-faceted view being taken by Scottish educationalists at this time. As detailed in **Figure 4.8**, this included seeing the school as ‘a small community within the larger local community’, encouraging ‘collaboration between parent and teacher’, and promoting ‘health and happiness’.<sup>932</sup> The ideas expressed were not new or radical, with schools touching on most aspects of citizenship training already, but the attempt made to draw the different strands together was.

**Figure 4.8: Advisory Council suggestions for experiment in training for citizenship** <sup>933</sup>



The promotion of citizenship in such a holistic manner was clearly a complex task, and it continued to fall to the teachers and school managers to bring the various aspects together. As has been seen, certain aspects were already well developed with initiatives to promote physical training and provide medical care through the schools being the most obvious signs of coordinated action. The case study log books record a constant stream of health practitioners visiting the schools, and show how routine this had become under the education authorities. Taking Fortingall as an example, the assistant medical officer Dr Sellar began inspecting the school ‘for the health department of the authority’ in 1922, and visited at least once a year. In between times, the district nurse conducted monthly visits and the authority dentist, Dr Cross,

<sup>932</sup> Ibid, pp.6-16.

<sup>933</sup> Ibid.

came periodically to check the children's teeth and operate as required.<sup>934</sup> Experience was much the same elsewhere, and the schools served as both an access point to the child population, and a physical location for services to be delivered. This was seen as a core element of the education authorities' work, and specific reports on the work of the medical schemes were issued each year.<sup>935</sup> In this respect, just as school buildings became sites of democratic citizenship when used as polling stations, they were the place where healthy citizens were made. Vaccinations were a core element of this, and the issuing of medical cards not only engaged parents in the process, but also provided a tangible symbol of citizenship. Free school medical inspection signified the right of every child to healthcare, and its provision through the schools positioned them as a key interface between state and citizen. Health services did of course extend beyond the school walls, with home visits and travel to clinics elsewhere not being unusual. For instance, when there was a bout of 'colds and sore throats' at Fearnan in 1923 'the nurse visited the schools and called at the homes of those suffering', and a decade before a boy had been absent for a week visiting an oculist in Glasgow to get glasses.<sup>936</sup> Yet, the schools were the main conduit of state healthcare for children, and were seen as key to ensuring universal access.

Considering other ways in which Scotland's small rural schools acted as sites of citizenship, as educational practice became more uniform and local events declined in significance during the early decades of the twentieth century, national celebrations rose in prominence. Commemoration of the First World War on Armistice Day was one element of this, as was the celebration of Empire Day on 25 May.<sup>937</sup> Intended to foster a sense of national pride and patriotism, both are evident in the log book entries for the case study schools, and although the level of activity varied observance was across the board.<sup>938</sup> For instance, on Empire Day in 1923 while the children of Ardtalnaig listened to a gramophone record of the King's speech, those in Fearnan were given a short address on Empire by the teacher, 'hoisted the flag and sang the National Anthem'.<sup>939</sup> At times, members of the wider community were involved and this added an official edge to affairs. This was the case at Fearnan in 1931 when Mr MacLean, the parents' representative, addressed pupils at their Empire service and exhorted them 'to attend duties at school and to try to be present at Sunday School & so become good citizens of the British

<sup>934</sup> PKCA, School Log Books, CC1/5/7/102, Fortingall Public School Log Book, 1904-48.

<sup>935</sup> For example, in 1926 it was reported by the principal medical officer for Perthshire that 'a total of 5931 children, whose ages ranged from 3 to 17 years, underwent systematic examinations, while special cases numbered 387, re-examinations 2390, special for vision only 1385, and employed children examined 528, giving an aggregate of 10,621'. A further 298 children were seen by the oculist, 4447 by the dentist and 1698 at a clinic. The provision of clothing to those 'in necessitous circumstances', and number of school meals was also detailed. 'Care of Perthshire children', *Dundee Courier*, 1 Jan. 1926.

<sup>936</sup> An oculist is an optician. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-47, entries dated 17 Oct. 1913 and 16 Mar. 1923, pp.36, 164.

<sup>937</sup> Although instituted after the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, Empire Day was not widely celebrated until 1916 when it was made an official annual event. B. Johnson, 'Empire Day', <<http://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Empire-Day>>, accessed 3 Nov. 2015.

<sup>938</sup> Other events were also celebrated including the centenary of Sir Walter Scott which led to Fearnan School being closed on the afternoon of 21 Sept. 1932. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-47, p.267.

<sup>939</sup> The gramophone record of the King's speech reached Fearnan School the next day and was listened to then. Ardtalnaig Public School Log Book, 1912-40, p.57; Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-47, p.168.

Empire'.<sup>940</sup> Although there was some room for manoeuvre at local level, the fact that the education authority actively encouraged such events and issued instructions helped to embed them in the school calendar.<sup>941</sup> Commemorative days were just one element of citizenship training, however, and alongside these there were a plethora of school initiatives aimed at nurturing good behaviour. The opening of school saving banks and delivery of temperance lectures to pupils in the mid-twenties are clear examples of this.<sup>942</sup> The role of schools in promoting citizenship was therefore multi-faceted and complex.

## Conclusion

Shaped by a post-war appetite for reform and defined by economic recession, the interwar period was a fruitful, but frustrating time for those involved in the policy and practice of education. With the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 setting the course for sweeping changes in the nature of Scottish schooling and its governance structure, it is easy to see this as a turning point marking the end of the traditional parish system and the dawn of a modern age. Yet, while undoubtedly significant in the long-term, with the transfer of authority from the school boards to regional education authorities and then to county council education committees diminishing local engagement and decision-making, laying the foundations for a more centralised system of schooling, the initial impact of reform was tempered by considerable continuity of practice at the local level. Although experience did vary across rural Scotland, with some areas experiencing more substantial change than others, the establishment of local committees to manage the day-to-day operations of the schools provided a bridge between the old system and the new, allowing many established practices to continue including the use of the schools as a venue for local events. Continuity of membership between the school boards and school management committees was key to this, engendering a sense of familiarity and ensuring a degree of responsiveness to local conditions. The broadening of membership to include parent and teacher representatives was also significant, with the rural committees typically having far greater representation than their urban counterparts, who were more likely to run separate parent-teacher associations. This initial emphasis on local representation was not to last, however, with the number of rural committees and their membership plummeting during the late 1920s. Only a few county councils, most notably Perth and Kinross, maintained a large

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<sup>940</sup> This provides an interesting example of the way in which the different tiers of citizenship were communicated to children at this time. In addition to this address, the 'children sang National Hymn; "Here's a Health"; Senior boy recited "England, my England" & the teacher gave a short talk on "Empire". Children saluted Union Jack on entering school.' Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1911-47, entry dated 25 May 1931, p.253.

<sup>941</sup> This is clear from the following entry by the Ardeonaig teacher dated 24 May 1921: 'According to instructions a short address on our Empire was given and the school dismissed at 2pm'. Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1873-1927, p.445. Furthermore, in 1944 the Perth & Kinross Education Committee 'agreed to recommend that the school be encouraged to become corporate members' of the Empire Day Movement'. PKCA, Perth County and Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/17, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 17, 16 Dec. 1943-24 Oct 1946.

<sup>942</sup> According to the Acharn log book, on 14 Apr. 1924 'a school saving bank was started' and '23 scholars paid in contributions', and the following year 'on Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup>, Mr Sutherland the Band of Hope Lecturer gave a temperance address to the scholars'. Acharn Public School Log Book, 1903-33, pp.226, 233.

number of local education sub-committees and by the 1930s the drive to economise and centralise provision was beginning to reshape the rural educational landscape. The designation of all post-primary courses as secondary in 1936 was a key part of this, marking the final stage of separation between the two stages of education and confining the majority of small rural schools to primary work. With school rolls already diminished in many areas as a result of rural depopulation and motorised transport now commonplace, the case for consolidation strengthened and left many small schools under threat of closure. Although bringing a temporary influx of evacuees, the Second World War exacerbated the situation further, with teacher shortages and resource constraints hitting the small rural schools hard and making it increasingly difficult to justify their retention. The interwar years also witnessed a slow but steady erosion of local cultural practices, including a marked decline in Gaelic bilingualism, and the further moulding of educational practice towards an urban-driven national standard.



## Chapter 5

### Post-war consolidation and reform 1945-2000

Termed a period of welfare and individualism by Paterson, the post-war era through to the end of the twentieth century was defined by two distinct political philosophies, first by egalitarianism and later by libertarianism.<sup>943</sup> The basis of political consensus during and for many years following the war, egalitarianism underpinned the development of the British welfare state and a drive to equalise and expand educational opportunity. This then gave way in dominance to libertarianism which encouraged individual enterprise and free market economics from the late 1970s onwards. Both were to have a marked effect on Scottish educational policy and practice, though perhaps not to the degree experienced south of the border, and impacted the small rural schools in multifarious ways.<sup>944</sup> Beginning with an overview of the legislative and administrative changes which shaped schooling following the Second World War, this chapter explores key aspects of the rural experience during the latter half of the twentieth century.

#### Legislation and debate

Drafted and debated during the war, the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945 was the first in a series of legislative measures which redefined the nature and organisational structure of Scottish education in the immediate post-war years.<sup>945</sup> A further Education Act was passed in 1946 to 'consolidate the enactments relating to education in Scotland', and the nuts and bolts of the proposed governance structure were laid out in the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1947.<sup>946</sup> Seeking 'to remedy the defects' of the 1945 Act, another education bill was subsequently drafted and entered the statute books in March 1949.<sup>947</sup> These Acts must, therefore, be viewed together to understand post-war changes and continuities. Reviewing different versions of the draft bills and related government files also reveals some clear areas of contention including the employment of married teachers and the governance structure of education. In relation to the former, following 'discussion at conference of Secretariat' in June 1944 a new clause was added to the Education Bill to the effect that 'no woman shall be disqualified for employment in any public school or be dismissed from such employment by reason only of marriage'.<sup>948</sup> Nevertheless, opinion continued to be divided on this

<sup>943</sup> This is the title given to the section covering the 1940s-1990s in Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*.

<sup>944</sup> Whereas local authority control of public schools was maintained in Scotland, the English education system was transformed by the Conservative self-governance agenda of the eighties and nineties.

<sup>945</sup> Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, 8 & 9 Geo. 6, c. 37.

<sup>946</sup> Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, 9 & 10 Geo. 6, c. 72.

<sup>947</sup> In the words of Lord Morrison, this amendment Bill was intended 'to remedy the defects which have come to light during the two and a half years of experience which we have had since the passing of the 1945 Act'. These 'defects' were seen to be a consequence of the fact that the Act 'had been 'passed without the normal Parliamentary scrutiny and discussion' and was therefore 'almost bound to be imperfect'. House of Lords Debate, 11 November 1947 vol. 152 cc.569-76. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1949 was entitled 'An Act to amend the provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, relating to attendance at junior colleges, to the powers of education authorities to provide education for pupils belonging to the areas of other authorities and to enable persons to take advantage of educational facilities and to other matters; and to amend the provisions of other Acts relating to defective children and the employment of children', 12 & 13 Geo. 6, Ch. 19.

<sup>948</sup> The draft clause (numbered 50) was subsequently extended to cover 'junior colleges and other educational establishments under the management of an education authority'. A similar clause was also added to the English Bill. National Records of Scotland, Legislation Files, Education (S) Bill 1944-1945, ED14/464, Married Women Teachers, 1944.

matter and some education authorities questioned the move. The Banffshire committee, for instance, objected to the clause ‘regarding the continued employment of married women’ because it felt that ‘the present power to dispense with their services is sufficient and necessary’.<sup>949</sup> At the same time, ecclesiastical groups raised concern about the social and moral consequences of the legislation. Particularly vocal in this regard was the Free Church Presbytery of Caithness which expressed the view that while the clause ‘may be necessary for some time, it should nevertheless be a temporary measure until the life of the country comes back to normal, as, eventually, it may result in social and economic discrepancies and injustices’.<sup>950</sup> Thus, the inclusion of this clause in the 1945 Act was driven more by practical considerations than a desire to ensure greater gender equality, and did not signify a sea change of opinion towards the employment of married women teachers.

With regard to the management of education, a tension persisted between those who favoured council control and those who held to the belief that *ad hoc* administration was best, and this was played out through the legislative process. Disagreement was such that three sections of the draft Education (Scotland) Bill, 1945 concerned with the ‘election of education members’, the ‘abolition of school management committees’ and ‘local education committees’ were deleted by the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills.<sup>951</sup> Proposing significant changes ‘to the constitution and powers of education committees’ these draft clauses caused much consternation among members of the existing committees and were considered too contentious to leave in.<sup>952</sup> The Perth and Kinross Education Committee, for instance, held a special meeting in April 1945 to discuss the Bill, and resolved ‘to press strongly for the establishment of *ad hoc* Education Authorities’ and to object to ‘the proposal to establish Local Education Committees’ on various grounds, including that there would be ‘no representation of teachers and of parents’.<sup>953</sup> Their preference was for the ‘School Management Committees to continue with their former constitution, powers and functions’.<sup>954</sup> Having been removed from this legislation, the clauses were revised and included in the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1947.<sup>955</sup> Although certain concessions were made at this point, including agreement that local management should continue much as before just under a different name, these stopped short of allowing for the re-establishment of *ad hoc* authorities. Somewhat ironically, whilst an early amendment to the disputed clauses in the Education Bill had introduced ‘the principle of *ad hoc* representation’, with provision being made for ‘the election by the local government electors of an education area of persons to serve on the education committee’, the Act

<sup>949</sup> Ibid, Education (Scotland Bill) summary of press comments 12-19 Dec. 1944.

<sup>950</sup> Ibid.

<sup>951</sup> These amendments were made by the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills. As detailed in their minutes, clauses 45-47 were disagreed to and were subsequently removed. Standing Committee on Scottish Bills. Minutes of proceedings on the Education (Scotland) Bill, *PP*, 1944-45 (97); Education (Scotland). A Bill to amend the Law relating to Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1944-45 (32); Education (Scotland). A Bill [as amended by the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills] to amend the Law relating to Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1944-45 (65).

<sup>952</sup> SED, Education (Scotland) Bill: Explanatory Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 1944-1945 [Cmd. 6602], *PP*, 1945, p.9.

<sup>953</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 17, 1943-46, Minute of Special Meeting of Education Committee, 5 Apr. 1945, para.325.

<sup>954</sup> Ibid.

<sup>955</sup> Local Government (Scotland) Act 1947, 10 & 11 Geo. 6, c. 43.

of 1947 placed the onus on the elected councils to appoint an education committee.<sup>956</sup> No separate elections were to take place, and ‘at least a majority of the committee’ were to be ‘members of the council’.<sup>957</sup> The dispute between those who desired greater autonomy in educational affairs and those who opposed it also manifested itself in a House of Lords debate over a supplementary Education Bill which took place in December 1947.<sup>958</sup> The post-war administrative framework was therefore not dissimilar to that already in existence, but certain changes in nomenclature and procedure were called for. Local management committees became education sub-committees, and the provisions for their constitution stipulated, as previous legislation had done, that parents, teachers and local officials should be represented.<sup>959</sup> The inclusion of ‘women as well as men’ on every committee was similarly stressed, but no directive was given as to the level of representation required in relation to these groups. Defining ‘due representation’ was therefore left to the councils and their education committees, and where one might engage numerous teachers and parents, and likewise have a good balance of men and women, others would not.<sup>960</sup>

Following the terms of the Perth and Kinross Education Committee (Constitution) Scheme, 1947, the committee appointed in the combined counties following the county council elections in May 1949 comprised thirty-eight members (**Table 5.1**). Of these, six were religious ministers, including the minister of Killin, and only four were women. As previously, there was considerable continuity of membership, with many familiar names on the list, and although the recent legislative changes brought new items onto the agenda, committee business continued much as before. The established sub-committees were reconstituted and representatives of the County Council were appointed to the twenty-two local advisory sub-committees.<sup>961</sup> The representatives on Fortingall District Committee (Group 11) were ex-provost J. D. Haggart and Donald J. Molteno, while Rev. Donald

<sup>956</sup> Education (Scotland). A Bill to amend the Law relating to Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1944-45 (32), pp.34-5.

<sup>957</sup> Clause 109, Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1947.

<sup>958</sup> The debate was over the Education (Scotland) [H.L.], A Bill Intituled an Act to amend the Law relating to Education in Scotland, *PP*, 1947-48 (36). Although introduced to the Lords as a non-contentious Bill, there was strong opposition to a clause dealing with council delegation to the education committees by the Association of County Councils and a number of local authorities. The clause stated that once an administrative scheme for education had been approved ‘the council shall not be entitled to instruct the committee as to the manner in which the function shall be discharged’ unless a revised scheme is agreed. The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, who proposed an amendment, argued that conferring ultimate power of approval on the Secretary of State for Scotland ‘as against popularly elected members of the county councils as education authorities’ was undemocratic. His contention was that ‘in this Bill there is a hidden the wish, the open secret which we know is the fact, of several predecessors of the present Secretary of State for Scotland to return to the *ad hoc* education authority instead of the education authority being the county council’, and that it was ‘an attempt to secure that by the side door’. In response to this, the Earl of Glasgow asserted that the ‘political partisanship’ evident in County Court decisions under the present system was ‘detrimental to education’, and that the clause would ‘ensure that in future decisions of an education committee will not be trammelled and trampled upon for political or other extraneous reasons’. Although the proposed amendment was withdrawn at the end of the debate, disagreement persisted and when legislation was eventually passed in 1949 no such clause was included. Hansard, House of Lords Debate, 16 December 1947, Vol. 153 cc.239-49. This Bill gave way to the 1948-49 Education (Scotland) Bill to amend the provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, and sections from it were included in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1949, 12 & 13 Geo. 6, Ch. 19.

<sup>959</sup> Clause 109 (4) stated that, ‘The provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, relating to school management committees shall cease to have effect, and any reference in any enactment, scheme, trust deed or other document to a school management committee shall be construed as a reference to a sub-committee appointed under this section’. Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1947, 10 & 11 Geo. 6, Ch. 43.

<sup>960</sup> Two education authorities chose not to appoint area education sub-committees. Leslie Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System*, p.41

<sup>961</sup> As before the standing sub-committees were as follows: Property and Works, Assisted Education, Staffing, Continuation Classes and Youth Services, Schools, Library and Supplies, General Purposes, Joint Committee of Education Committee and Teachers, and Promotion Board. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 18, 1946-50, Members of Standing Sub-Committees as approved by the Education Committee on 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1949.

Thomson and Robert Barr served on the one in Killin District (Group 17).<sup>962</sup> Two years later Fortingall District was amalgamated with Aberfeldy to form the Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee (Group 10). As detailed in **Table 5.2**, parents continued to make up a substantial part of the committee, with each school having its own representative, and the proportion of women was far greater than it was on the main education committee.<sup>963</sup> Comparing the 1951 committee with that of 1964 confirms that this changed little during the 1950s and 1960s.

**Table 5.1: Perth and Kinross Education Committee, May 1949** <sup>964</sup>

<b>Appointed under Article 2 of the scheme</b>	
17 Members from Councillors representing Electoral Divisions in Perth County and Councillors representing Small Burghs in that County	Mr G. M Taylor, Bridge of Earn Dr J. O. McDonagh, Stanley Mr A. T. Bryden, Scone Mr George Ashton, Meikle Provost D. Sim, Alyth Treasurer D. MacDonald, Blairgowrie Captain A. M. Lyle, Dunkeld Ex-Provost J. D. Haggart, Aberfeldy Bailie Rev. J. D. Craig, Pitlochry Mr J. C. Dougall, Auchterarder Rev. J. C. Mackinnon, Dunning Bailie J. Paterson, Auchterarder Bailie J. G. Penny, Crieff Rev. Donald Thompson, Killin Mr Robert Barr, Callander Provost Alex Liles, Callander Councillor A. H. Syme, Dunblane
4 Members from Councillors representing Electoral Divisions in Kinross County and the Councillors representing Kinross Burgh	Mrs M. Ramage Dawson, Kinross Mr J. Gray, Kinross Mr D. Whyte, Milnathort Provost A. D. Emslie, Kinross
7 Members from Councillors representing Perth City	Lord Provost J. Ure Primrose, Perth Bailie Philip Scott, Perth Treasurer J. Smart, Perth Councillor J. H. Brims, Perth Councillor John Buchan, Perth Councillor J. R. Christie, Perth Councillor John Young, Perth
<b>Appointed under Article 3 of the scheme</b>	
4 Persons of Experience in Education	Mr T. R. Murray, Invergowrie Mr William Robb, Perth Mr William Tait, Errol Miss E. Walker, Milnathort
<b>Appointed under Article 4 of the Scheme</b>	
2 Persons interested in the Promotion of Religious Education	Rev. D Logan Blair, Scone Rev. Alex White, Perth
<b>Appointed under Article 5 of the Scheme</b>	
2 Representatives of Transferred Schools	Very Rev. Canon John Coogan, Perth Very Rev. Denis Tyndall, Perth
<b>Appointed under Article 6 of the Scheme</b>	
2 Women Members	Mrs Maclagan, Perth Mrs John A. Stewart, Perth

<sup>962</sup> Ibid, Minute of Meeting of Education Committee, 31 May 1949, para.8.

<sup>963</sup> In 1951, seven out of the twenty-nine members of the committee were female.

<sup>964</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 18, 1946-50, Minute of Meeting of Education Committee, 31 May 1949, para.1.

**Table 5.2: Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee, 1951 and 1964** <sup>965</sup>

1951	1964
<b>Representatives of County Council</b>	
Ex-Provost J. D. Haggart, Aberfeldy (Chairman) Mr Ian A. Duncan Millar, Remony, Mr R. J. Cameron Aberfeldy Baillie James Fisher, Aberfeldy Mr Donald J Molteno, Fortingall Baillie Rev. J. D. Craig, Pitlochry	Mr Ian A. Duncan Millar (Chairman) Mr R. J. Cameron Major Neil J. Stewart Meiklejohn Mr D. J. Molteno Councillor D. S. Sligh Provost J. Fisher
<b>Representatives of parents</b>	
Breadalbane Academy: Mrs Walker, Aberfeldy Grandtully: Mrs Esler, Ballinluig Dull: Mr John Menzies, Dull Foss: Mr Robert McPherson, Foss Acharn: Mr John Moir, Kenmore Fearnan: Mr Malcolm McDiarmid, Fearnan Fortingall: Mr John Fraser, Fortingall Invervar: Mr Ian Cameron, Glenlyon Glenlyon: Mrs Wilson, Glenlyon	Breadalbane: Mrs M. A. Hay Grandtully: Mr K. Robertson Dull: Mrs N. Thomson Foss: Rev. Harold Meredith Acharn: Mr R. M. Carlin Fearnan: Mr D. I. Macdonald Fortingall: Mrs A. S. McGregor  Glenlyon: Mr J. Campbell-Smith
<b>Continuation/Further Education classes</b>	
Miss Violet C. Davie, Breadalbane Academy Mr Donald McLaren, Aberfeldy [co-opted]	Mr Stanley S. Summers Mrs E. Fisher
<b>Youth services</b>	
Miss Cath McPherson, Aberfeldy Rev. James Wilson Anderson, Aberfeldy [co-opted]	Mrs Agnes Robertson Rev. H. N. Chisholm
<b>Representatives of teachers</b>	
Dr R. S. Brydon, Breadalbane Academy, Aberfeldy Mr M Matheson, Grandtully School Mrs Ferguson, Fortingall School Miss A L Robertson, Foss School	Dr A. Goldie, Breadalbane Academy (Vice-Chairman) Mrs Agnes Bain, Acharn School Mrs Jessie Cameron, Dull School Mrs Winifred Taylor, Glenlyon
<b>Representatives of Aberfeldy Town Council</b>	
Councillor William J. Crerar, Aberfeldy	Baillie J. G. Moir
<b>Representatives of Highland District Council</b>	
Rev. Ian McLellan, Weem Rev. K. MacVicar, Kenmore Rev. J. Wilson Anderson, Aberfeldy Mr J. C. Cunningham, Aberfeldy Col K. J. H. Lindoh, Fortingall.	Mr W. Finlayson Mrs D. J. Molteno Rev. Kenneth MacVicar Mr S. Gordon Robinson Group-Captain J. Hanchet Taylor, O.B.E.

That the issue of control continued to spark debate at a time of general consensus around the expansion and equalisation of educational opportunities in Scotland, shows the underlying complexity of educational debate and policy-making during the post-war period. Although there was a high degree of political accord around educational purpose and provision immediately following the conflict, rooted in an emergent ideology of Western democracy, many fissures remained.<sup>966</sup> Debate around the character of primary education also ensued as interest in

<sup>965</sup> PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/145/2, Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minute of Meeting, 20 Dec. 1951; PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/146/1, Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, Minute of Meeting, 25 June 1964.

<sup>966</sup> As explored by MacKenzie, the Secondary Education report by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland published in 1947, provided a clear expression of this ideological base. M. L. MacKenzie, 'The Politics of Scottish Education', in T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes (eds.), *Scottish Education* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp.87-8.

educational science continued to grow. Finding new meaning in the work of Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau and embracing the emerging ideas of Piaget on child cognitive development, educationalists increasingly challenged the rigidity of traditional pedagogy.<sup>967</sup> This was reflected in the Advisory Council's report on *Primary Education* which, expanding on earlier work by the Educational Institute of Scotland, encouraged a more child-centred approach to teaching.<sup>968</sup> Interwoven with ideas about the societal purpose of education, specifically the need to develop a nation of active democratic citizens to ward off the evils of totalitarian rule so recently witnessed, and reinforcing the authority of the teacher, this was a far cry from the radicalism of the New Education Fellowship (NEF).<sup>969</sup> Yet, it marked a significant shift in thinking which gradually filtered into practice during the 1950s and early 1960s, and ultimately found expression in the SED's *Primary Memorandum* issued in 1965.<sup>970</sup> Just as previous notions of educational purpose and practice had done, these ideas shaped people's attitudes towards the small rural schools and added weight to the argument that they were both economically and educationally unsound.

The financial and human resource constraints of the immediate post-war years were perhaps the most pressing concern, and the drive to expand and improve educational provision constituted a major challenge in urban and rural settlements alike. Whilst ensuring 'adequate and efficient provision' in Scotland's burgeoning towns and cities was a complex undertaking requiring a huge investment in the school estate, overcoming the logistical difficulties of serving a depleted and dispersed rural populace was an equally onerous task, not least because of the growing contentiousness of rural decision-making at this time.<sup>971</sup> As motorised transport, mechanisation and the advent of mains electricity began to transform rural life in a way hitherto unimagined, a sense of betterment was tempered with foreboding about what the future may hold for rural communities. Continuing depopulation, demographic aging and the loosening of traditional socio-cultural bonds all fed into a belief that unless deliberate action was taken rural society was in danger of disintegrating altogether. These themes come across clearly in the collection of parish accounts and county summaries contained in the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, and give context to educational policy and practice in the immediate post-war period.<sup>972</sup>

<sup>967</sup> According to Darling, the work of Jean Piaget was 'seldom read, but endlessly referred' to in the 1950s and 1960s, and many of the ideas around child-centred education owed much to Rousseau's treatise on the nature of education, *Émile*, which was first published in 1762. J. Darling, 'Scottish Primary Education: Philosophy and Practice', in Bryce and Humes, *Scottish Education*, pp.28-9.

<sup>968</sup> SED, *Primary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland*, PP, 1946 [Cmd. 6973]; EIS, *Report on the Primary School* (Edinburgh, 1939).

<sup>969</sup> As Paterson points out, 'the combining of child-centredness with adult supervision and social purpose was a challenge to the authorities, but would not have been recognised by Neill and his allies as anywhere close to the radical ideas they propounded.' Paterson, *Education in the Twentieth Century*, p.50.

<sup>970</sup> SED, *Primary Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1965).

<sup>971</sup> It was 'the duty of every education authority to secure that adequate and efficient provision' was 'made throughout their area of all forms of primary, secondary and further education (including the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas)', Education (Scotland) Act, 1945.

<sup>972</sup> The initial proposal for this project was made at a meeting of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow in November, 1944 and it was initially taken forward by the Scottish Council of Social Service. J. G. Kyd, 'Third Statistical Account of Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 69: 2 (1953), p.64.

## A 'statistical' view of Scotland

Though often viewed as a poor cousin to the two previous statistical accounts, which by virtue of their age are now treasured historical sources, this third collection of local commentaries is a mine of information and contains much of relevance to this study.<sup>973</sup> Adopting a parochial framework analogous to the earlier studies, the twentieth-century account provides a micro and macro view of Scotland, combining local detail with regional observations on core aspects of life.<sup>974</sup> The fact that the county volumes were published at different times between 1951 and 1992 does limit their comparability to a degree. However, as can be seen from analysis of those relating to the sampled school board districts and those within the case study, most of the accounts contain at least some material produced in the late 1940s or 1950s, and it is therefore possible to draw a composite picture of rural Scotland at this time.<sup>975</sup> Originally written between 1949 and 1952, the accounts for Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin were all revised in 1962.<sup>976</sup> The range of authors is much broader than the previous accounts, and although parish ministers are still the main contributors, with all three of the case study accounts being written by the local clergymen, others construed to have local knowledge, including a few women, also appear.<sup>977</sup> To give an example of the latter, the account for Inverchaolain, Argyll was written by Miss Augusta Lamont who, having been born in 1873, brought her own recollections of life and understanding of change to the table.<sup>978</sup> Having 'witnessed many changes in the neighbourhood, especially in land ownership and local employment', she was nostalgic for the past and was of the opinion that 'the healthy and peaceful rural life of old has given place to depopulation and incipient suburbanisation'.<sup>979</sup> The emotional edge to her writing does not make it any less valid, however, and her comments on the schools

<sup>973</sup> Writing in the early 1980s, the editor of the Orkney volume directly addressed concerns regarding the relevance of early drafts which had not made it to publication and notes the transition from out dated commentary to historical material. In his introduction he makes the comment, 'It may seem odd - even absurd - to publish manuscripts which have been lying in store since around 1950 ... however ... they have passed from the stage of being merely out of date, obsolete, to become vintage material'. R. Miller, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Orkney* (Glasgow, 1985), p.ix. [hereafter TSA with county].

<sup>974</sup> In most cases the county overviews are written at a later date than the accounts, tying in with the date of publication rather than the accounts themselves. This adds another layer to the material.

<sup>975</sup> Given their early absorption into urban settlements, South Leith and Dumbarton (landward) were excluded from this analysis, leaving a sample of sixty-four districts. Of these accounts, forty-eight were originally written between 1949 and 1952 (75%), a further thirteen between 1953 and 1959 (20%) and just three in the 1960s (5%). At best these original accounts have been printed as written, in other cases they have been amended slightly, and in only a few cases has earlier work been disregarded completely, either because it was lost or considered outdated. Just over half of the original accounts (55%) were revised either by the same author or someone else. Of these thirty-five accounts, eleven were revised during the 1950s (31%), fifteen during the 1960s (43%), and nine during the 1980s (26%). The account for Tingwall, Shetland, is the only one written in the 1980s that has completely revised the original 1951 account. Those volumes published in the 1980s and early nineties typically contain two separate accounts, offering a past and present view of rural life and education, and the Roxburgh and Sutherland accounts are particularly useful in this regard.

<sup>976</sup> V. Wands and R. Burnside, 'The Parish of Fortingall' [1951, revised 1962], in D. B. Taylor (ed.), *TSA: The Counties of Perth and Kinross* (Coupar Angus, 1979); W. A. Gillies and K. MacVicar, 'The Parish of Kenmore' [1949, revised 1962], *ibid*; D. Thomson and J. Colquhoun, 'The Parish of Killin' [1952, revised 1962], *ibid*.

<sup>977</sup> Of the eighty-three contributing authors to the sample accounts, fifty-five were religious ministers (66%), twenty-two were men with no stated church connection (27%), and six were women (7%). All authors who contributed to the parish accounts relating to the sixty-four school board districts in the sample were counted. In addition, the author of the Lonmay account (containing information relating to Kininmonth School Board District), acknowledged input from T. T. Davidson, headmaster of St. Combs School, and Miss M. Henderson, a former teacher at Kininmonth School. J. A. Scott, 'The Parish of Lonmay' [1951], in H. Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Aberdeen* (Glasgow, 1960), p.312.

<sup>978</sup> Although she died in 1958 before the account was published, the volume editor made 'no attempt to interfere with the tense of her comments and reminiscences'. Footnote by general editor to A. Lamont, 'The Parish of Inverchaolain', in C. M. MacDonald (ed.), *TSA: The County of Argyll* (Glasgow, 1961), p.332.

<sup>979</sup> A. Lamont, 'The Parish of Inverchaolain', in MacDonald (ed.), *TSA: The County of Argyll*, p.328.

provide a rare insight into local experience.<sup>980</sup> Her observation that, in contrast to the current day, there had been ‘many a little gathering at the school at Inverchaolain, an occasional dance, a political meeting, perhaps a lecture’ offers a glimpse of how the social function of the school changed over time.<sup>981</sup> Suggesting similar patterns of use to the schools of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin, this helps to relate the case study to its wider rural context, and confirms its resonance with experience across Scotland. Recognising the value of this source, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the sample accounts has been undertaken, extracting data, identifying emerging themes and cataloguing comments made in relation to each one.<sup>982</sup>

**Table 5.3: Statistical analysis of *Third Statistical Account*: QSR schools by type**

Date sample	Schools in operation			School type (schools in operation)			
	1929	Date of account	% decrease	Infant	Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary
1948-1954	58	50	14%	1	45	3	1
1955-1959	40	39	2.5%	0	33	5	1
1960-1964	32	24	25%	0	20	4	0
1965-1969	8	6	25%	0	6	0	0
1970 onwards	6	3	50%	0	2	1	0
TOTAL:	144	122	15%	1	106	13	2

Starting with a quantitative overview, the sixty-four accounts were sub-divided into five date-range samples to ensure a degree of comparability within them: 1948-1954, 1955-1959, 1960-1964, 1965-1969, and 1970 onwards.<sup>983</sup> As summarised in **Table 5.3**, across all subsets there were fewer rural schools than there had been previously, indicating a trend of closure from the 1930s onwards. This reflects experience in the case study area, where four small schools had been closed or mothballed during the 1930s and early 1940s.<sup>984</sup> Local experience did vary, however, and the majority of parishes had not experienced closure at the point at which their parish account was written.<sup>985</sup> Furthermore, detailed consideration of the data reveals that new schools were opened

<sup>980</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, only one of the sampled accounts, that of Tongland, Kirkcudbright, contains an overly sentimental statement about parish life. Clearly feeling poetic, the author comments that, ‘the children are bright and happy, well clad and nourished, their gay smiles and cheerful greetings like the fragrant breath of a sweet summer morning’. G. Tuton, ‘The parish of Tongland’ [1952], in J. Laird, D. G. Ramsay, M. C. Arnott (eds.), *TSA: The Counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown* (Glasgow, 1965), p.297.

<sup>981</sup> *Ibid*, p.330.

<sup>982</sup> In addition, where data relating to the schools is given, either in the accounts or county summaries, this has been extracted and analysed accordingly. Given the nature of the source, the level of quantitative analysis possible is limited, but the figures are worthy of review nonetheless, not least because viewing them alongside the commentary permits more nuanced research and engenders an appreciation of local experience often missing from statistical analysis. Details of the case study schools, reviewed separately and drawing on a range of other sources, are also given.

<sup>983</sup> If known, the date of the statistical information given was used to determine the correct sub-sample rather than the date of the account itself. Where no indication is given, the date of the account is used. All of the accounts in the 1965-1969 sub-sample are in Forfar and were written in 1967. Similarly, all those in the 1970 onwards group are located in Shetland and contain information relating to the situation in 1983. While all accounts indicate the number of schools in operation, not all of them provide further educational statistics and the sample sizes therefore vary depending on the focus of analysis. Unfortunately, parish level statistics are hard to acquire for this period as the published government statistics no longer list individual schools. Although many of the original school returns are still extant in the archives (NRS), the fact that they are stored by county in separate files makes the compilation of such statistics a hugely time-consuming task which is outwith the scope of this study. These returns have been consulted for the case study districts.

<sup>984</sup> The schools at Ardtalnaig, Kiltyrie, Cashlie and Invermearn had been closed or mothballed.

<sup>985</sup> In forty-five of the sixty-four parishes (70%), the same schools were open in the late forties/fifties/early sixties as had been in 1929.

in two of the sample districts during this period with forestry, quarrying and hydro-electric construction driving population growth in certain areas.<sup>986</sup> In Ardchattan and Muckairn, Argyll a small school was opened at Inverawe to accommodate the children of quarry workers, and another was re-established in Barcaldine where ‘a valuable new industry’ in the form of a processing factory had been introduced and the Forestry Commission employed ‘a large number of workers’.<sup>987</sup> While the latter was to remain open, and is still in operation today, the former was shut in 1945 ‘when work ceased or slackened and the parents sought employment elsewhere’.<sup>988</sup> Similarly, in Strathdon, Aberdeen a new school was erected at Semeil in close proximity to the forestry plantation when operations intensified following the war, but this was also to close after a short period in operation, being amalgamated with Strathdon Primary in 1961 (**Figure 5.1**).<sup>989</sup>

**Figure 5.1: Semeil Primary School, Strathdon** <sup>990</sup>



Those parishes which experienced school closure during the middle decades of the century were located throughout Scotland from the lowland and Southern Upland counties to the Highlands and Islands, suggesting no particular regional trend. Whilst those losing multiple schools were mainly located in the insular parishes of Skye, Lewis and Shetland, this is arguably a reflection of the size of these parishes, which were far larger than most on the mainland and had a greater number of small rural schools, than an indication that closure was more likely there. Hence, both Lochs on the Isle of Lewis and Duirinish on the Isle of Skye witnessed the closure of two schools, but retained far more schools than most other rural parishes had ever had.<sup>991</sup> Closure was therefore a feature of rural life for some but not a reality for all at this stage and the number of very small schools in operation remained high. Viewing the national figures for 1956, just over a quarter of Scotland’s primary schools, 617 out of 2,255, had a roll of less than 25 (**Table 5.4** and **Figure 5.2**).

<sup>986</sup> In addition, South Knapdale gained a school which had previously been under the administration of the burgh of Lochgilphead (Ardrishaig), and Glenfoudland School moved from Inch parish into Drumblade.

<sup>987</sup> M. A. M. N. Campbell-Preston, ‘Ardchattan’, in MacDonald (ed.), *TSA: The County of Argyll* (Glasgow, 1961), p.180.

<sup>988</sup> Rev. M. MacDonald, ‘The Parish of Ardchattan and Muckairn: Muckairn’ [1953-55, revised 1955-58], in MacDonald (ed.), *TSA: The County of Argyll* (Glasgow, 1961), p.186.

<sup>989</sup> The Semeil School log book held by the Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives dates from 1945 until 1961.

<sup>990</sup> Image taken from Google maps, Street View, Sept. 2011 (57.1906608,-3.012957), accessed 15 Feb. 2016.

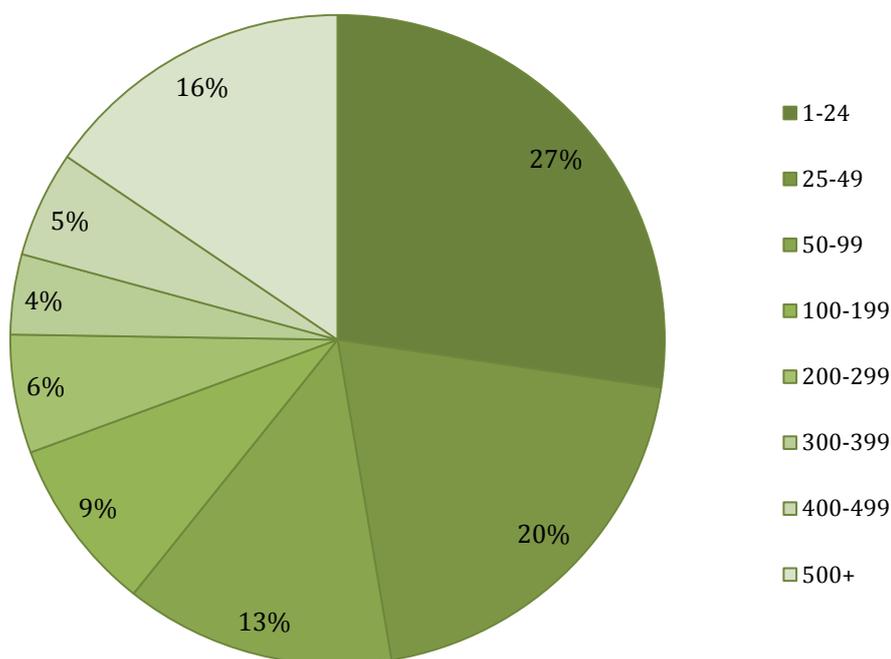
<sup>991</sup> Lochs, Isle of Lewis, Ross and Cromarty had twelve schools in 1929 and ten in the mid-1950s, and Duirinish, Isle of Skye, Inverness, had eight schools in 1929 and six in 1965.

Nevertheless, the accounts leave no doubt that the threat of closure loomed large in many rural areas, particularly in districts with one-teacher schools.

**Table 5.4: Scottish primary schools by average size of roll, 1956**<sup>992</sup>

Total number of primary schools	Average size of roll							
	1-24	25-49	50-99	100-199	200-299	300-399	400-499	500+
2,255	617	451	301	195	133	90	119	349

**Figure 5.2: Scottish primary schools by average size of roll, 1956**<sup>993</sup>



The parish accounts also reveal a great deal about the teachers, pupils and remit of the rural schools and point to the key educational issues of the day. As well as demonstrating the increased separation of primary and secondary provision, with the majority of schools now confined to primary work and a select few providing secondary courses to the wider district, the extracted data highlights the variation both within and between parishes.<sup>994</sup> Taking the school rolls for instance, the schools in this sample ranged in size from six to 273, with two-fifths of them having fewer than twenty-five on their registers, all of which were one-teacher schools (Table 5.5). In some parishes the proportion was far greater, with the majority of schools having a very small roll. The case study bears this out, with nine of the area's ten schools having fewer than twenty pupils in 1947. Only the

<sup>992</sup> Data extracted from Table 1, 'Public and Grant-aided Schools: Analysis by Type and Size for Year ended 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1956', SED, Education in Scotland in 1956: A Report of the Secretary of State for Scotland, PP, 1957 [Cmd. 162], p.116.

<sup>993</sup> Ibid.

<sup>994</sup> The 'clean cut' approach, calling for age-related transfer to secondary school, had now become the norm. It was first introduced in the late 1920s, and was gradually established throughout Scotland though the precise promotional arrangements varied between education areas. For more detailed discussion see, Stocks, 'Social Class and the Secondary School in 1930s Scotland', pp.26-39.

village school in Killin, now designated a junior secondary, was substantially larger. In most cases, there had been a marked decline in pupil numbers since 1929, the only exception being Glenlyon School whose roll was given a boost by the mothballing of Invervar School (**Table 5.6**). The smallest school at Lawers had dropped to just four pupils and was subsequently closed.<sup>995</sup> However, many of the others experienced a slight resurgence in numbers by 1955, with attendance at Acharn and Crianlarich increasing enough to justify the employment of a second teacher. Illustrating the subtle but significant divergence in experience within parishes, this serves as a reminder that whilst the overarching trend was one of decline, the fortunes of each school were determined by a complex interplay of social, economic and demographic factors at local level.

**Table 5.5: Statistical analysis of *Third Statistical Account*: QSR teachers and pupils**

Date sample	Schools in operation	Teachers					Pupils				
		Schools for which statistics given	Number of teachers				Schools for which statistics given	Approximate school roll			
			1	2	3	4+		<25	25-49	50-100	>100
1948-1954	50	38	16 (42%)	13 (34%)	6 (16%)	3 (8%)	38	15 (39%)	11 (29%)	11 (29%)	1 (3%)
1955-1959	39	37	16 (43%)	8 (22%)	8 (22%)	5 (13%)	35	14 (40%)	9 (26%)	8 (23%)	4 (11%)
1960-1964	24	24	10 (42%)	7 (29%)	2 (8%)	5 (21%)	23	10 (43%)	6 (26%)	5 (22%)	2 (9%)
1965-1969	6	5	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	0	0	5	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	0	0
1970+	3	0	-	-	-	-	3	0	1	1	1
TOTAL:	122	104	45	30	16	13	104	42	29	25	8

**Table 5.6: Case study school rolls, 1919-1955**<sup>996</sup>

District	School	1919	1929	1947	1955
Fortingall	Acharn	36	56	19	37
	Lawers	19	15	4	0
	Fearnan	9	16	8	14
	Fortingall	44	31	19	19
	Invervar	8	8	0	14
	Glenlyon	19	12	21	15
Killin	Ardeonaig	12	10	11	9
	Crianlarich	41	39	18	30
	Glendochart	21	29	15	13
	Killin	90	64	82	100
	Strathfillan	28	19	11	17

<sup>995</sup> Lawers Schools was mothballed towards the end of 1948. The decision was taken in light of the fact that two children were leaving the district in November, taking the roll down to three. 'The action of the Director of Education in closing the school temporarily and transferring the pupils to Fearnan School was approved' at a meeting of the Schools Sub-Committee in September. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/19, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 19, 23 May 1950-21 Apr. 1953, Report of School Sub-Committee, 9 Sept. 1948, para.831.

<sup>996</sup> Figures taken from returns documented in the local authority minute books.

Returning to the sample, although most of those with higher rolls were central schools providing either junior or secondary education, there were also a number of large primary schools. The biggest of these was Philiphaugh Primary which, having been 'extended and redecorated' in 1957, housed 268 infants and primary pupils in 1962.<sup>997</sup> In terms of student numbers, it was comparable in size to Aberlour Senior Secondary School in Banff which had 273 pupils and a staff of fourteen in 1955.<sup>998</sup> Once in the landward portion of Selkirk, the primary school was now incorporated into the burgh and, though always on the large size, had grown considerably as a result of a housing scheme established after the Second World War.<sup>999</sup> Though on a smaller scale to South Leith and Dumbarton, whose landward portions had long since disappeared due to urban expansion, the example of this small town in the Scottish Borders shows the impact that urbanisation was having even in predominantly rural areas. Eastriggs Primary in Dornock, Dumfries also bucked the trend, and was recorded to have 200 pupils and six full-time teachers in 1959. A successor to the old parish school, this primary was built to accommodate an enlarged population following the establishment of a munitions factory in 1915 and sat within a planned housing development.<sup>1000</sup> As Rev. Stewart observed in his revised account of 1959, the establishment of the cordite factory on an extensive site 'stretching from Longtown in Cumberland, through Gretna to Eastriggs farm' heralded 'the greatest known change in the fortunes of the parish' and brought both employment and new people to the area.<sup>1001</sup>

At the other end of the scale, some of the junior secondary schools were relatively small. The one in Orphir, Orkney had just three teachers and a roll of sixty-three in 1952, eight of whom were secondary pupils, and another at Leurbost, Lochs, on the Isle of Lewis had three full-time staff and sixty pupils in 1955.<sup>1002</sup> Comparing to the case study, at this time Killin Junior Secondary, which was the smallest school of its type in Perth and Kinross, had 100 pupils in attendance, nineteen of whom were in the first three years of secondary education.<sup>1003</sup> On the Isle of Lewis, having only recently been upgraded to junior secondary status the Lochs school was still being developed when the parish account was written, but once additional classrooms had been added the intention was to 'accommodate pupils who at present travel to Stornoway from this area and surrounding districts'.<sup>1004</sup> The school building at Orphir was also in need of improvement, so much so that pupils

<sup>997</sup> D. Kennedy, 'Selkirk' [1962], in J. B. P. Bulloch and J. M. Urquhart (eds.), *TSA: The Counties of Peebles and Selkirk* (Glasgow, 1964), p.354.

<sup>998</sup> D. Stewart Mackenzie, 'The Parish of Aberlour' [1952, revised 1955], in H. Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Banff* (Glasgow, 1961), p.384.

<sup>999</sup> The burgh boundaries were extended in 1948. Referring back to previous analysis, in 1903 the school had 222 on roll, in 1920 it had risen slightly to 239 and in 1929 it had fallen to 181.

<sup>1000</sup> The village of Eastriggs was developed alongside the town of Gretna to provide housing for the factory workers. According to one account, by 1917 it was employing 17,542 people (11,576 women and 5,966 men). Timberland Girls, 'H M Factory Gretna', <<http://www.gretna-firstworldwar.org.uk/the-devils-porridge>>, accessed 3 Feb 2016.

<sup>1001</sup> C. E. Stewart, 'The Parish of Dornock' [1952, revised 1959], in G. Houston (ed.), *TSA: The County of Dumfries* (Glasgow, 1962), p.292.

<sup>1002</sup> V. Pogue, 'The Parish of Orphir' [1952], in R. Miller (ed.), *TSA: The County of Orkney* (Glasgow, 1985), p.141; K. D. Smith, 'The Parish of Lochs: Leurbost, Crossbost, Ranish and Grimshader' [1955], in A. S. Mather (ed.), *TSA: The County of Ross and Cromarty* (Edinburgh, 1988), p.404.

<sup>1003</sup> PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/20, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 20, 28 Apr. 1953- 17 Apr. 1956, Return of attendance for four weeks ending 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1955. The only other junior secondary of comparable size was Comrie, which had 180 pupils in 1955, 138 being primary and forty-two secondary.

<sup>1004</sup> Smith, 'The Parish of Lochs: Leurbost, Crossbost, Ranish and Grimshader'.

from the small one-teacher school in the parish were not yet transferring at the age of twelve due to the lack of hot meal facilities.<sup>1005</sup> Whilst arrangements had been made for this, the lack of a water supply, the provision of which had been under discussion for many years, held back operations.<sup>1006</sup> As well as illustrating the difficulties faced in remote rural areas, where the introduction of mains utilities was costly and complicated, this shows the ongoing pragmatism of school management in such districts. Akin to the operations under the school boards, in response to competing demands local education sub-committees had little choice but to allow practical considerations to override certain policy directives. In other words, fulfilling one educational requirement, such as the provision of a hot meal to children travelling over a certain distance to school, often meant compromising on another.<sup>1007</sup> As conceded by the SED in its report for 1950, 'in several districts, and in the Highlands in particular, some pupils are still in primary schools where there are no proper facilities for secondary education'.<sup>1008</sup>

In terms of teaching staff, the schools in the sample parishes had between one and sixteen teachers. The majority were one or two-teacher schools, but there were also a fair number with three, and a few with four or more (**Table 5.5**).<sup>1009</sup> Although not all accounts relay the gender of the teachers, those doing so show a continuing pattern of female appointments to one-teacher schools and a preference for male heads in all others. All nine schools with a lone teacher, whose rolls ranged from eleven to twenty-four, were under the charge of a woman, and all but one of the fourteen with two or more had a schoolmaster at the helm.<sup>1010</sup> This aligns with experience in the case study districts, where all the schools except Killin were under the charge of a female teacher by the end of the Second World War. Crianlarich was the last to lose its male head, with Mr Vallance transferring to Portmoak School when the 'staff was reduced from two to one in 1944'.<sup>1011</sup> His replacement was to be a Mrs Armstrong, but when 'unforeseen circumstances...compelled her to withdraw her application' the post was re-advertised.<sup>1012</sup> Four female candidates were selected for interview, two of whom were married, and Mrs Effie McDougall of Braes of Garthly School, Huntly was subsequently appointed.<sup>1013</sup> In contrast, at around the same time Mr James Cunningham moved from Kinbuck Public School to take up the headship of Killin in place of Mr McRaw, maintaining the

<sup>1005</sup> When the account was written in 1952, Kirbister Primary had one teacher and twenty-seven pupils ranging in age from five to fifteen. Pogue, 'The Parish of Orphir' in Miller (ed.), *TSA: The County of Orkney*, p.142.

<sup>1006</sup> According to Rev. Pogue, the provision of water to the school had been 'mooted many years ago and then shelved', but having 'recently been again brought under consideration' it seemed that 'a satisfactory scheme may soon be evolved'. Ibid, p.141.

<sup>1007</sup> First legislated for in 1908, when it became the duty of school boards to provide meals for necessitous children, the provision of hot meals in school became a universal requirement after the Second World War with the 1946 Act stipulating that education authorities should 'provide milk and a midday meal ... for pupils in attendance at public schools and junior colleges'. Upgrading facilities to meet this obligation was a huge undertaking, and a particular challenge for the small rural schools. Clause 47, Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, 9 & 10 Geo. 6, Ch. 72.

<sup>1008</sup> SED, Education in Scotland in 1950, A Report of the Secretary of State for Scotland, *PP*, 1951 [Cmd. 8200], p.16.

<sup>1009</sup> Across all subsets, forty-five percent of the schools for which details were given had one teacher, a further thirty percent had two, sixteen percent had three, and thirteen percent had four or more.

<sup>1010</sup> The gender of the teacher(s) was noted for twenty-three schools.

<sup>1011</sup> NRS, School Inspection reports, ED18/2215, School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Crianlarich, 1879-1951, HMI Report 1947-48 [visit by J. S. Brunton on 22 Oct 1947]; Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 17, 1943-46, Report of Staffing Sub-Committee, 13 July, 1944, para.456.

<sup>1012</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 17, 1943-46, Report of Staffing Committee, Dec. 1944, para.119.

<sup>1013</sup> The unsuccessful applicants also taught in schools outwith the county; one was teaching in Bowmore H.G. School, Islay, another in Knock School, Port William, and the other in Kirn School, Dunoon. Ibid, Report of Staffing Committee, 8 Feb. 1945, para. 182; Ibid, Report of Staffing Sub-Committee', 15 Feb 1945, para.217.

tradition of having a schoolmaster in the main parish school.<sup>1014</sup> In consequence of a decreased roll, Killin was about to lose one of its teachers, reducing the staff to three.<sup>1015</sup> However, its elevated status as a junior secondary school was enough to maintain its appeal to male candidates.

That only one of the two-teacher schools in the sample had an entirely female staff is also indicative of the gender bias that persisted in the teaching profession, with management positions still being seen as a male preserve. Although women now dominated the primary sector across Scotland, with eighty-four percent of those employed in primary departments in 1956 being female, very few were in promoted posts.<sup>1016</sup> Yet, just as women had supplanted men in the very small schools, the case of Tillibardine Primary in Blackford, Perth which had a female head and an assistant teacher in 1963, shows the gradual shift of women into more senior roles.<sup>1017</sup> As explored in the previous chapter, the low professional status now attributed to teaching in the very small rural schools, deterred men from applying and opened up opportunities for women to take on headships. Indeed, such was the reluctance to limit a male teacher to the primary teaching of a few children that when Marvig School in Lochs, Isle of Lewis, was downgraded to a one-teacher school in the early 1950s, the incumbent headmaster, though continuing to reside in the schoolhouse, was ‘transferred to Cromore School with his senior pupils’.<sup>1018</sup> As can be seen in the case study area, once a school had gone down to one teacher and was put under the charge of a headmistress, it was unlikely to regain a male head even if numbers rose and more staff were required. Hence, though ‘an increase in enrolment at Acharn School’ led to the appointment of a second teacher in 1952 the incumbent headmistress, Miss Waugh, remained at the helm.<sup>1019</sup> Her replacement Mrs Bain commenced duties in November 1957, and subsequently took on the headship of the replacement school at Kenmore the following decade.<sup>1020</sup> It is telling, however, that on Mrs Bain’s retirement in 1973 the leadership of the new school, which was now the only school in the parish with an increased roll of fifty-five, was taken on by a man.<sup>1021</sup> At the same time, the traditional teaching partnership of husband and wife which had been a common occurrence in rural districts during the nineteenth century was not yet a thing of the past, with the small school in Whitsome, Berwick being taught by a headmaster and his wife.<sup>1022</sup> While illuminating certain trends, this analysis highlights the subtle but significant differences in experience between areas, and cautions against making too broad a statement about the nature of Scotland’s rural communities and their schools in the mid-twentieth century.

<sup>1014</sup> Ibid, Report of Staffing Committee, 8 Feb. 1945. para.183.

<sup>1015</sup> Five other schools, including those in Kinbuck and Dunbarney, also lost one teacher due to falling rolls. Ibid, para.179.

<sup>1016</sup> Out of a total of 18,342 certificated teachers working in primary department in 1956, 15,381 were women and 2,961 were men. Figures taken from Table 25: Certificated Teachers Employed as 1<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1956 in SED, Education in Scotland in 1956, p.141.

<sup>1017</sup> D. S. Stewart and W. McCallum, ‘The Parish of Blackford’ [1950, revised 1963], in D. B. Taylor (ed.), *TSA: The Counties of Perth and Kinross* (Coupar Angus, 1979), p.504.

<sup>1018</sup> D. Mackay, ‘The Parish of Lochs: South Lochs’ [1953], in Mather (ed.), *TSA: The County of Ross and Cromarty*, p.425.

<sup>1019</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minute of Meeting, 17 Sept. 1952.

<sup>1020</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, Minute of Meeting, 14 Nov. 1957.

<sup>1021</sup> Neil MacLeod commenced duties as headmaster on 18<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1973. PKCA, School Log Books, 15/05, Acharn/Kenmore Public School Log Book, 1933-77, p.242.

<sup>1022</sup> R. Y. Cairns, ‘The Parish of Whitsome’ [1952], in J. Herdman (ed.) *TSA: The County of Berwick* (Edinburgh, 1992), p.406.

Taking a qualitative view, some core themes emerge from the sample and case study accounts.<sup>1023</sup> These can be summarised under the following headings: perceptions and particulars of rural life (social, demographic, economic and cultural); the wider social and educational role of school and teacher; logistics and the school estate; and school closure and centralisation.<sup>1024</sup> As detailed exploration of each topic is not possible here, a summary of the findings is given and select examples are presented to provide an empirical basis to discussion. Evidence relating to the case study continues to be considered alongside that of the sample districts, adding a depth of perspective only possible through detailed analysis of various sources including school log books, education committee minutes and oral testimonies.

### Perceptions and particulars of rural life

The accounts contain a wealth of information on the social, demographic, economic and cultural dimensions of rural life mid-century, and give a sense of how the countryside and its people were being viewed at this time. While some authors are undeniably pessimistic in their outlook, others expressed optimism for the future. To give some examples of the former, in 1950 it was stated that ‘the future of such places as the Cabrach is not too bright’, and that although the village of Lilliesleaf ‘has a past of considerable antiquity; it would appear to have no future’.<sup>1025</sup> In contrast to this gloomy rhetoric of decline, other authors majored on the benefits of modern life, and the perception of progress. Hence, the Strathdon account revelled in the fact that ‘transport has revolutionised life and a measure of material prosperity is within everyone’s reach’.<sup>1026</sup> Likewise, in the account for Strath, Inverness written in 1966, it was asserted that ‘those who have been living in the parish all their days and who can look back on 20, 40 or even 50 years, are agreed that the way of life in the parish now is on the whole an improvement’.<sup>1027</sup>

In relation to the demographic profile of the parishes, many noted the prevalence of rural-urban migration, particularly among young people, and the emergence of an aging population. Writing in 1951, the author of the account for Barr observed that, ‘girls are less disposed to go into domestic service and, like the young men, are moving out to be nearer towns’.<sup>1028</sup> The situation in Cranshaws, Berwick was much the same with girls finding ‘no attraction in domestic service, preferring low paid jobs in towns as typists and shop girls’.<sup>1029</sup> For the boys, the appeal of ‘the full amenities of urban life’, and a want of agricultural jobs, was seen to have hastened their departure. The lack of

<sup>1023</sup> Adopting a systematic approach, emerging themes were identified from a first reading of the text, and the accounts were further reviewed to identify all references of relevance. Both the parish accounts and county overviews were analysed, and the extracted material was sorted by date to allow differences over time to be discerned. Given the focus of this study on understanding the relationship between small rural schools and their communities, some core themes were selected and detailed consideration given to each.

<sup>1024</sup> Although the accounts for the sixty-four parishes selected for this research represent a small part of the *Third Statistical Account*, the amount of material extracted from these, being considered pertinent to the core themes, was substantial. Over 50,000 words were initially extracted, and this was reduced to around 25,000 after thematic analysis.

<sup>1025</sup> G. W. Moore, ‘The Parish of Cabrach’ [1950], in H. Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Banff* (Glasgow, 1961), p.356; J. McKenzie, ‘The Parish of Lilliesleaf’ [1950], in J. Herdman (ed.), *TSA: The County of Roxburgh* (Edinburgh, 1992), p.203.

<sup>1026</sup> B. Forbes and R. F. Bolton, ‘The parish of Strathdon’ [1956], in Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Aberdeen*, p.286.

<sup>1027</sup> A. MacVicar, ‘The parish of Strath’ [1966], H. Barron (ed.) *TSA: The County of Inverness* (Edinburgh, 1985), p.543.

<sup>1028</sup> J. Strawhorn and W. Boyd ‘The Parish of Barr’ [1951], in J. Strawhorn and W. Boyd (eds.), *TSA: The County of Ayrshire* (Edinburgh, 1951), p.844.

<sup>1029</sup> C. S. Eddy, ‘The Parish of Cranshaws’ [1950], J. Herdman (ed.), *TSA: The County of Berwick* (Edinburgh, 1992), p.1.

local employment opportunities is perhaps the most persistent theme with numerous references being made to this. In Tongland, Kirkcudbright for instance, it was regretted that ‘our young people, when school days are over, have to go away because, apart from farm work, there are few openings for them’.<sup>1030</sup> Similarly, in South Lochs on the Isle of Lewis, the dearth of local wage-earning opportunities was seen to have heralded the departure of the younger generation ‘for the more attractive life of the cities and for places where they can earn good money’.<sup>1031</sup> As a result the villages were ‘peopled by the middle- and old-aged’.<sup>1032</sup> Nevertheless, though this was the experience in many rural areas, some parishes fared better than others in the immediate post-war period. Whitsome was one of these, with the author observing that although ‘much is heard in the press about the scarcity of workers and the migration of younger folk to the big industrial centres’, ‘not many of the young men of the district desert country for the town’.<sup>1033</sup> In the same way, it was noted that ‘Dyke, unlike many parishes in Scotland, shows little or no drift from the rural areas to the big areas of population’.<sup>1034</sup>

These observations fit with Anderson’s assessment that while ‘over most of rural Scotland population decline was endemic and often profound’ there were some exceptions, mainly in the ‘prosperous small farming areas of the far north-east and east’.<sup>1035</sup> Comparison of urbanisation figures over time and between counties also confirms these differentials, with Berwick and Moray showing far less urban growth between 1931 and 1951 than most other areas (**Figure 5.3**).<sup>1036</sup> Indeed, the proportion of people living in settlements of 1,000 or more in Moray actually fell from fifty-seven percent in 1931 to fifty-five in 1951, and over the same period urban dwellers in Berwick only went up by three percent, rising from twenty-four to twenty-seven percent of the total population.<sup>1037</sup> In contrast, whereas around a third of the inhabitants of Argyll lived in urban areas in 1931, this was nearer to half by 1951.<sup>1038</sup> To put this in context, the overall figures for Scotland had edged over eighty percent in 1931, and had risen to eighty-three percent by 1951.<sup>1039</sup> Many changes occurred over the following decade, with the Moray population becoming far more urbanised and urban growth in Argyll slowing, and such examples show that despite an overarching trend of rural depopulation and urbanisation, experience continued to vary both between and

<sup>1030</sup> Tuton, ‘The Parish of Tongland’ [1952], p.299.

<sup>1031</sup> Mackay, ‘The Parish of Lochs: South Lochs’ [1953], p.419.

<sup>1032</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1033</sup> R. Y. Cairns, ‘The Parish of Whitsome’ [1952], in J. Herdman (ed.), *TSA: The County of Berwick* (Edinburgh, 1992), p.408.

<sup>1034</sup> N. Macdonald, ‘The parish of Dyke and Moy’ [1953], in H. Hamilton (ed.) *TSA: The Counties of Moray and Nairn* (Glasgow, 1965) p.356.

<sup>1035</sup> M. Anderson, ‘Population and Family Life’, in Dickson and Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland*, pp.15-16.

<sup>1036</sup> Viewing these statistics alongside the absolute population figures shows the situation in Moray to be even more remarkable. Between 1931 and 1951 the county population rose from 40,806 to 48,218. The population of Berwick declined slightly, however, going from 26,612 to 25,068, which suggests that rural depopulation here was higher than the urbanisation figures suggest, with people migrating out of the county. Figures from Census of Scotland, 1951, County Report, accessed via <<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census>> on 25 Feb 2016.

<sup>1037</sup> Figures extracted from Table 2: Comparative levels of Scottish urbanisation: Percentage of inhabitants in Settlements of 1000+ by counties, 1861-1971 in R. Roger, ‘Urbanisation in Twentieth-Century Scotland’, in Devine and Findlay, *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, p.127.

<sup>1038</sup> Thirty-three percent of the population of Argyll lived in settlements with 1,000 or more inhabitants in 1931, and by 1951 forty-six percent did. Ibid.

<sup>1039</sup> The population of Argyll had reduced from 63,361 in 1951 to 59,390 in 1961 and the proportion of urban dwellers dropped to forty-five percent. This suggests that population was being lost from both urban and rural areas in the county during this period. Ibid.

within counties.<sup>1040</sup> As Rodger notes, there ‘was considerable variation in the trajectory of urban expansion’, and where some towns and cities flourished, others stagnated or went into decline.<sup>1041</sup>

With regard to incomers, rural experience also varied with some areas experiencing significant in-migration and others maintaining a predominantly native population. At one extreme, in Cranshaws, Berwick it was observed in 1950 that ‘none are natives of the parish beyond one generation, except one shepherd at Cranshaws, whose father and grandfather were also shepherds there’.<sup>1042</sup> This was also the situation in Aberlady, East Lothian where there had ‘been a large infiltration from outside’ since the First World War, with both urban workers and rural families from other districts taking houses in the parish.<sup>1043</sup> Implying initial tension between the locals and newcomers, it was noted that by 1949 there was ‘less evidence of feeling of coldness towards incoming residents’. Further north in Laggan, Inverness ‘the percentage of people born in the parish’ had fallen to ‘not more than 20 per cent at most’.<sup>1044</sup> Yet, far from being seen as a problem, this social transformation was perceived as a benefit to the area with one inhabitant commenting to the author ‘that the reason the people of Laggan agree so well, is that they are nearly all “incomers”’. This does mean that tensions did not persist between native and incomer, or that relations between newbies were always easy, but such comments highlight the changing dynamic of rural communities and the social impact of migration. In contrast, some parishes, particularly the insular ones, attracted very little in-migration. Although incomers were not unknown on the islands, they were few and far between and the native population was little diluted. Hence, in Strath on the Isle of Skye ‘most of the population were born in the parish’, and of the families living in Orphir, Orkney, ‘hardly more than one third [had] come into the parish in the last fifty years’, and most of these had moved from other parts of the island.<sup>1045</sup> The only people without ‘Orkney connection’ were ‘the postman, the district nurse, the parish minister and a farmer’, suggesting a tendency for key community roles to be filled by outsiders. Predominantly native populations were not confined to the outer-reaches of Scotland, however, with the author of the Blackford account reporting that ‘most of the inhabitants of the village and district have been brought up in the parish’.<sup>1046</sup> Yet, such trends were clearly localised as just eight miles down the road in Glendevon it was observed that ‘a very small percentage of the population is composed of people born in the parish or county’.<sup>1047</sup>

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<sup>1040</sup> Between 1951 and 1961, the proportion of people living in urban areas increased from 55% to 67.4%. Ibid.

<sup>1041</sup> Roger, ‘Urbanisation in Twentieth-Century Scotland’, p.128.

<sup>1042</sup> At this time, the population of the parish was 121. C. S. Eddy, ‘The Parish of Cranshaws’ [1950], p.4.

<sup>1043</sup> T. Caldwell, ‘The Parish of Aberlady’ [1949], in C. P. Snodgrass (ed.), *TSA: The County of East Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1953), p.331.

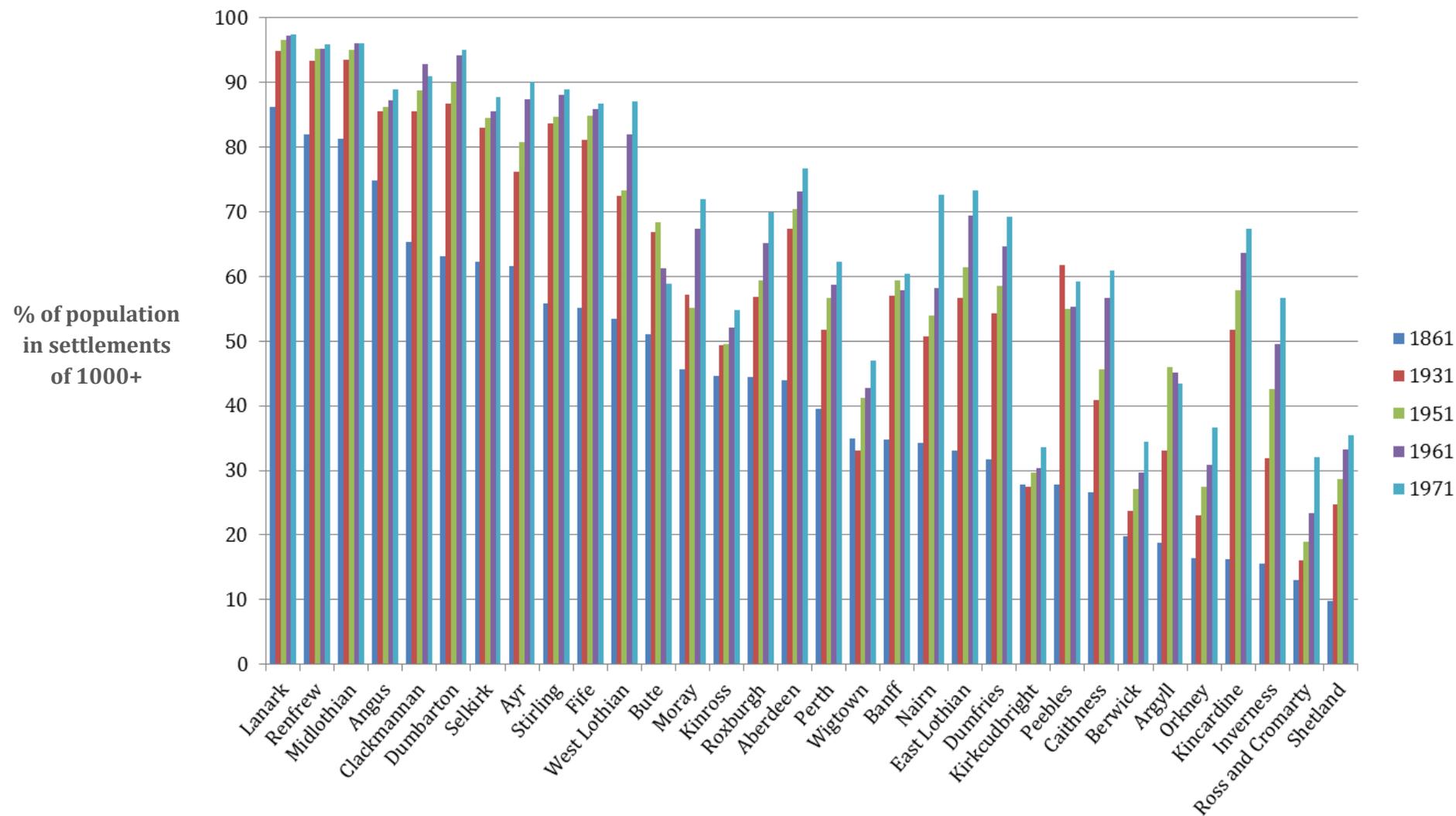
<sup>1044</sup> T. J. Titterton, ‘The Parish of Laggan’ [1952, revised 1964], in H. Barron (ed.) *TSA: The County of Inverness* (Edinburgh, 1985), p.325.

<sup>1045</sup> M. MacLeod MacSween and A. MacVicar, ‘The parish of Strath’ [1951, revised 1966], H. Barron (ed.) *TSA: The County of Inverness* (Edinburgh, 1985), p.533; Pogue, ‘The Parish of Orphir’ [1952], p.138.

<sup>1046</sup> Stewart and McCallum ‘The Parish of Blackford’ [1950, revised 1963], p.500.

<sup>1047</sup> B. Sibbald and D. MacNeill, ‘The Parish of Glendevon’ [1951, revised 1963], in Taylor (ed.) *TSA: The Counties of Perth and Kinross*, p.537.

**Figure 5.3: Levels of urbanisation in Scotland, 1861-1971** <sup>1048</sup>



<sup>1048</sup> This chart has been produced using selected figures contained in Table 2: Comparative levels of Scottish urbanisation: Percentage of inhabitants in Settlements of 1,000+ by counties, 1861-1971 in Roger, 'Urbanisation in Twentieth-Century Scotland', p.127.

Although agriculture remained the basis of Scotland's rural economy after the war, with government subsidies and mechanisation enabling it to prosper at a time when many other industries were in decline, the rapid expansion of forestry operations and establishment of vast hydro-electric schemes had a marked affect in many areas.<sup>1049</sup> Building on previous initiatives and overcoming a raft of objections, which in the case of hydro-electricity was centred on the issue of environmental damage, the post-war development of both industries was driven by legislation; the Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act was passed in 1943 and the Forestry Act in 1945.<sup>1050</sup> Besides providing much-needed resources, the expansion of these activities was advocated as a means to stem the flow of rural economic decline. The potential of forestry to 'increase rural employment in healthy surroundings' was widely recognised and frequently cited in discussions, including a House of Commons debate on forest policy held in November 1945 from which this quotation is taken, and many of the same arguments were made in relation to hydro-electricity.<sup>1051</sup> Such was its perceived importance that the Hydro-Electric Act contained a so-called 'social clause' calling on the newly established North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board to carry out 'measures for the economic development and social improvement of the North of Scotland District'.<sup>1052</sup> Whilst this ambition for widespread rural renewal was not to be realised in the long-term, the initial impact during the 1950s and into the 1960s should not be underestimated. An influx of foresters and their families sometimes boosted a population enough to justify the establishment or reopening of a school, and while it remained a labour-intensive industry, forestry and the associated road-building and sawmilling went some way towards counteracting the decline in farming jobs.<sup>1053</sup> As Alastair Kininmonth, a farmer from Fortingall, remembers from his childhood, the Forestry Commission employed a lot of men at Drummond Hill and other local plantations during the 1950s and 1960s, and a number of children he attended school with were from forestry families.<sup>1054</sup> He clearly recalls 'there used to be two lorries went round every day and it was an open lorry with a cab on the back of it and

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<sup>1049</sup> According to Ferguson, during the 1950s 'only agriculture was on a relatively stable and prosperous basis, partly owing to government subsidies but more to increased mechanisation and skilful utilisation of assets'. W. Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1965), p.391.

<sup>1050</sup> The Forestry Act, 1945 laid the foundation for an ambitious planting programme across Britain, the aim being to establish five million acres of productive woodland by the close of the century. A number of administrative changes were made to facilitate this including bringing the Forestry Commission under ministerial control (in Scotland it was placed under the charge of the Secretary of State) and establishing national committees. M. Winter, *Rural Politics: Policies for Agriculture, Forestry and the Environment* (London, 1996), p.287. With regard to hydro-electricity, although schemes had been constructed earlier in the century, for instance the Galloway hydro-electric power scheme which was built in the early 1930s, the 1943 Act laid the foundation for extensive developments across northern Scotland.

<sup>1051</sup> Hansard, House of Commons Debate 30 Nov. 1945, Vol. 416 cc1779-84 1779, Forest Policy (Government Programme), Statement by The Minister of Agriculture (Thomas Williams).

<sup>1052</sup> P. Payne, *The Hydro: a Study of the Development of the Major Hydro-Electric Schemes undertaken by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board* (Aberdeen, 1988), p.45. Smout also touches on this in his essay on 'The Highlands and the Roots of Green Consciousness, 1750-1990' in T. C. Smout, *Exploring Environmental History: Selected Essays* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.34-5.

<sup>1053</sup> In addition to foresters, labourers were employed to build the necessary roads. According to one informant, Dochie McLaren from Fearnan who worked at Drummond Hill from 1947, 'there were two squads – the road squad and the forestry squad'. Many of those employed in road construction in this area were Polish. In some remote areas, such as at Dalavich on Lochaweside in Argyll, new villages was established to provide housing for forestry workers and their families. M. Stewart, *Voices of the Forest: A Social History of Scottish Forestry in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 2016), pp.128, 131.

<sup>1054</sup> Alastair was born in 1954, and has lived and farmed in Fortingall all his life. Like his father and grandfather before him, he is a tenant farmer. Helen Young, Rural Schools, Alastair Donald Kininmonth (2014), SOHCA/053/10.

the men climbed into this lorry to go to work and then they were dropped off again'.<sup>1055</sup> By the time Alastair was in his late teens, however, 'same as farming, machinery came along', and as new technologies and techniques were introduced, with manual saws being replaced by chainsaws, and horse giving way to tractor, the number of people working for 'the Forestry' dropped dramatically. As highlighted in a recent publication charting the social history of forestry in Scotland, while technological advances were slow to take hold following the war, in part due to recognition that the industry provided much-needed employment for ex-servicemen and displaced persons, by the 1960s mechanisation was in full swing.<sup>1056</sup>

The construction phase of the hydro-electric schemes also required a huge workforce, and many rural areas were temporarily transformed by the arrival of workers and, in some cases, their families. Despite some initial reluctance to approve the north of Scotland schemes, the first station at Sloy, Loch Lomond, was commissioned in 1950 and by 1965 a total of seventy-eight dams and fifty-four main power stations had been built across Highland Scotland.<sup>1057</sup> While the average number of workers employed was approximately 4,500, during the most intense periods of construction this ballooned to around 12,000.<sup>1058</sup> Much like the forestry, these schemes were a welcome source of employment, led to significant rural population growth, and stimulated local economies throughout the Highland region.<sup>1059</sup> As noted in the account for Strath, 'were it not that hydro-electric works and a certain amount of employment on the roads were available when the menfolk returned from the Second World War, then undoubtedly they would have had to seek employment elsewhere'.<sup>1060</sup> Furthermore, the availability of such jobs 'encouraged a number of the young people to settle down in the parish, marry and have children'. In the case study area, the Lawers and Killin sections of the Breadalbane Scheme required four dams and four main power stations to be built.<sup>1061</sup> During the 1950s dams were constructed at Lochan na Lairige to the north of Lawers, Loch an Daimh above Glenlyon, Stronuich by Cashlie, and Lubreoch at the head of Loch Lyon, and power stations were located at Finlarig, Lubreoch, Cashlie and in Glen Lochay.<sup>1062</sup> Besides its environmental consequences, which included raising the water level of Loch Lyon by around twenty-one metres and flooding the west end of the glen (**Figure 5.4**), the social and economic impact of the scheme was felt across the area.<sup>1063</sup>

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<sup>1055</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1056</sup> Stewart, *Voices of the Forest*, pp.124, 128.

<sup>1057</sup> Scottish Hydro Electric, *Power from the Glens* (2005), p3.

<sup>1058</sup> The Hydro workforce was typically a mixture of British workmen, Poles and Czechs, as well as German and Italian former prisoners of war. Ibid, pp.3-4.

<sup>1059</sup> Hydro work paid well, and a tunneller could earn as much as £35 a week. This was significantly higher than the £3 or £4 earned by many estate workers at this time. Ibid, p.4.

<sup>1060</sup> MacLeod MacSween and MacVicar, 'The parish of Strath' [1951, revised 1966], p.532.

<sup>1061</sup> The Breadalbane scheme has three main sections: Lawers, Killin and St Fillans. Scottish Hydro Electric, *Power from the Glens*, p.20.

<sup>1062</sup> Ibid, pp.20-1.

<sup>1063</sup> As announced in a local newspaper, the disused school and schoolhouse at Invermearn (sometimes spelt Invermearan or Invermeran), was to be 'submerged as the result of the North of Scotland Hydro Board's Breadalbane Scheme'. 'Four schools for sale', *Dundee Courier*, 22 Apr. 1953. The few residents moved out in October 1957, all but one of the buildings were

**Figure 5.4: Photograph of Invermearn by Loch Lyon, 1940s, subsequently submerged** <sup>1064</sup>



Due to its position and size, the village of Killin became the main thoroughfare for materials, equipment and labour, and was transformed from a quiet agricultural village into a noisy industrial base.<sup>1065</sup> As documented by a local historian, large camps were constructed in the glens to house a multitude of workers and the population of the region ‘eventually increased by thousands’.<sup>1066</sup> Gladys Farquharson, who was teaching in Killin School at this time and lived near to a camp at Morenish, clearly remembers the disruption as ‘this idyll disappeared in a welter of every kind of earth moving equipment you could imagine’.<sup>1067</sup> Yet, her lasting impression was a positive one, with memories of ‘the whole place [becoming] a hive of activity’ dominating her narrative.<sup>1068</sup> Whatever the inconveniences of the time, her feeling looking back on events of many decades before was that ‘there was no hassle or real disturbance, we just lived happily on the “fringe”, as it were, and made some new friends’.<sup>1069</sup> Other accounts, however, suggest that relations between locals and the Hydro staff were not always affable. Though overwhelmingly positive about his experiences, Tom Hammond, who served as deputy to the Chief Resident Engineer from 1953, admits that the Hydro ‘was not felt to be universally popular amongst the people of Killin whose peace was disturbed by the “schemies” as they were called’.<sup>1070</sup> Although the hotels and shops gained new business, he got the sense that ‘there was a certain amount of resentment at the traffic and the noise’.<sup>1071</sup>

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demolished and flooding began the following month. The power station located at Lubreoch was operational from January 1959. Ford (ed.), *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.31.

<sup>1064</sup> Photograph taken by Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, 1940s. © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

<sup>1065</sup> Ford, *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.6.

<sup>1066</sup> Ibid. As the period of construction falls between the two Censuses of 1951 and 1961, it is not possible to chart the demographic impact without more detailed research into the hydro-scheme.

<sup>1067</sup> ‘Testimony of Galdys Farquharson’, in Ford, *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.7.

<sup>1068</sup> When thinking back to this period, Gladys remembers the sights and sounds of her experience recalling that, ‘families moved into the bungalows, washing flapped on the lines and children raced round’. Ibid.

<sup>1069</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1070</sup> ‘Testimony of Tom Hammond’, in Ford, *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.9.

<sup>1071</sup> Ibid.

The behaviour of the workers was also a concern, and the fact that ‘party nights were hectic and noisy’ is unlikely to have endeared them to locals.<sup>1072</sup> Like elsewhere, drinking was the main pastime in the camps and, as another engineer who worked on the Breadalbane Scheme recounts, this fuelled rowdy behaviour.<sup>1073</sup> Gwyn Saunders, who was posted to Killin in July 1956, vividly remembers the celebration in Glen Lochay to mark the tunnel break-through from Stronuich when ‘two tunnel gangs’ came to blows.<sup>1074</sup> Providing piano accompaniment at the event, during the last song he ‘gathered from the shouts and crashes of broken bottle that a fight had broken out between the rival groups’ and ‘fully expected a bottle in the back of the head at any moment’.<sup>1075</sup> Though somewhat apart from the everyday life of the village, locals would have had some awareness of what went on in the camps and are likely to have felt uneasy about the drinking and unruliness. As Wood observes in her study of the hydro schemes, ‘many of the older folk ... worried that the incoming workforce would threaten the peace of their villages with rowdiness and lax behaviour’, and although ‘people’s worst fears were not realised’ the presence of so many strangers undoubtedly caused some anxiety.<sup>1076</sup> This is reflected in the testimony of Jessie who grew up on Lochluichart Estate in Ross and Cromarty for although she recollects that the locals and the hydro workforce ‘got on really well together’ and enjoyed dances in the village hall, her memories of walking home from work during this time were that ‘you always felt the fear, which wasn’t very nice’.<sup>1077</sup>

In the main, however, a nostalgic haze has come to rest of this period, and past anxieties have been forgotten. In Killin, the negative aspects of the Hydro are rarely commented upon with local informants preferring to engage in positive reminiscence. This is reflected in the observation, by an incomer to the area, that, ‘stories about the “scheme” frequently creep into the conversation of local residents and often result in laughter, as memories come flooding back’.<sup>1078</sup> Such exceptional events in an area’s history provide a clear focus for the formation and nurturing of collective memories, which in turn reinforce people’s sense of identity and their belonging to a place. From the Durkheimian perspective of Halbwachs, such ‘landmarks in time’ serve a clear societal purpose by binding groups together and helping to shape their community identity.<sup>1079</sup> A sense of a shared history, which is transmitted between generations and imparted from local to incomer, is therefore a fundamental part of establishing and strengthening social relations. Whilst those who have experienced aspects of this history, or have a family connection to it, will

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<sup>1072</sup> Another engineer, Gwyn Saunders, who worked in Killin from 1956 until 1959 recalls that the ‘Auchmore parties were legendary and usually finished about breakfast time’. ‘Testimony of Gwyn Saunders’, in Ford, *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.23.

<sup>1073</sup> An overview of the history of the North of Scotland Hydro Electric Board schemes notes that ‘off duty, there was little for the workers to do but drink’, and ‘as a result, alcohol-fuelled fights were commonplace, with local police being called upon to restore the peace all too regularly’. Scottish Hydro Electric, *Power from the Glens*, p.4.

<sup>1074</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1075</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1076</sup> E. Wood, *The Hydro Boys: Pioneers of Renewable Energy* (Edinburgh, 2004), p.110

<sup>1077</sup> *Ibid.*, p.112.

<sup>1078</sup> G. M. Ford, ‘The Breadalbane Scheme: Introduction’, in Ford, *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.3.

<sup>1079</sup> M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (ed. and trans. L. Coser (Chicago and London, 1992), p. 175.

always be in a privileged position, by getting to know the tales that people tell and engaging with this storytelling, incomers can increase their own attachment to a place and integrate more effectively.<sup>1080</sup> Arguably this is why many local history groups are driven by interested incomers who seek to embed themselves in and nurture a sense of belonging to a community by proactively cultivating the documentation and transmission of its past. Whilst the process of integration and the whole notion of belonging is far more complex than this, with ethnographers observing minute subtleties of experience and social theorists such as Bourdieu emphasising its 'fluid and contingent' nature, even a simplified understanding adds depth to historical analysis.<sup>1081</sup> Put simply, for locals and incomers alike belonging rests on 'learning the rules of the game'.<sup>1082</sup>

Keeping this in mind, it is significant that recollections of the Hydro period often include some mention of the impact it had on the local schools and the social life of village. Roy McGregor, who was a teenager in the secondary department of Killin School when the work began, remembers there being 'a big influx at the school'.<sup>1083</sup> This is also apparent in the education committee minutes which gave approval to the 'conveyance of fifteen pupils from Carrie [sic] to Killin' in 1952, and in the school admissions register which records a steady stream of enrolment for pupils living in the bungalows at Tirarthur, caravans on various sites and the Hydro camps as well as in rented accommodation in Killin itself.<sup>1084</sup> Similarly, a number of children were conveyed from Lubreoch Camp and Stronuich to Glenlyon School.<sup>1085</sup> The numbers in Killin district were such that Roy's father, who 'owned the local garage in the village along with his

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<sup>1080</sup> As noted in a previous study of social life on south Lochtay side, 'living and working locally undoubtedly gave newcomers a foot in the door, and if they were seen to be committing to and contributing to the community some form of acceptance eventually followed'. H. Young, 'Contributing to the Community Debate: Understanding Social Change in Rural Scotland during the Twentieth Century', *The Local Historian*, Vol. 45, No 4, (October, 2015), p.331.

<sup>1081</sup> In exploring the contemporary significance of belonging Savage et al draw on 'Bourdieu's interest in how people may feel comfortable or not in any one place, relating this to the habitus and capital of its residents'. M. Savage, G. Bagnall and B. J. Longhurst (eds.), *Globalization and Belonging* (London, 2005), p.11.

<sup>1082</sup> Kimberley Masson uses the example of an engaged couple, one being a local and the other an incomer, to illustrate this. She notes that 'by meticulously learning the local idioms and even trying to master the dialect, the young woman secures her place not by marrying in but by learning the rules of the game'. K. Masson, 'Incorporating Incomers and Creating Kinship in the Scottish Highlands', *Anthropology Matters*, 7: 2 (2005), p.3. To give an example from the case study, this could be as simple as picking up aspects of the local dialect as Rev Kenneth MacVicar did when settling into his pastoral duties in Kenmore parish during the early fifties. Noting that 'while in Kintyre we went 'up' or 'down' the road; in Lawers one went 'East' or 'West', he incorporated this into his vocabulary and knew what was meant when asked to 'pass east the scones'. MacVicar, *The Wings of the Morning*, p.160.

<sup>1083</sup> Helen Young, Rural Schools, Duncan Roy Macgregor (2013), SOHCA/053/01.

<sup>1084</sup> Located on north Lochtay side, Carrie was the site of one of the main worker camps. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 19, 1950-53, Applications for Boarding, Conveyance etc. considered by the Assisted Education Sub-Committee on 29 Jan. 1952. Without further research, it is difficult to identify which of the children in the admissions register were linked to the Hydro scheme. However, many entries suggest a connection, either through the address or the occupation of the father, which is listed in many cases entered between March 1957 and June 1959. These entries confirm an occupational mix, with the schools catering for the children of labourers, drivers, civil engineers, farmers, shepherds, vanmen, bankers, firemen, plant and mining engineers, quarry foremen, railway workers, sawing contractors, roadmen, gamekeepers, drillers, cashiers, painters, electricians, housewives, motor mechanics, builders, cattlemen, ploughmen, inspectors, office workers, hall keepers, and gardeners. Killin Heritage Society, Killin Public School Register of Admission, Progress, Age and Withdrawal, 1915-59 [transcription].

<sup>1085</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minutes of meeting, 14 Sept. 1955, p.324. The children of Hydro workers also attended other schools in the district. For instance, in 1957 it was noted that 'two children from the houses occupied by employees of the Hydro-Electric Board were in attendance' at Invervar School. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/21, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 21, 1 May 1956-21 Apr. 1959, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 26 Nov. 1957, para.303(4).

brother Jimmy' and provided the school transport, 'had to buy a bus for all these kids that were coming from the ... construction camps'.<sup>1086</sup> Reflecting the Hydro's heavy reliance on Irish labour, many of these children were Roman Catholic and Roy recalls being perplexed that they 'had to stay out in the porch when we said prayers'.<sup>1087</sup> Admitting that he and his friends knew little about Catholicism, it was 'a big culture shock', but to his mind there was no overt sectarian tension.<sup>1088</sup> The reality may of course have been different, and without access to the memories of all those who attended the school as outsiders it is difficult to comment on how well they integrated.

Equally, the fact that this era is now viewed as a highlight when 'the social life of the village took on a new lease of life', makes it difficult to unpack what the dynamic was between locals and the diverse range of people who came to live in the area at this time.<sup>1089</sup> Nevertheless, returning to Roy's testimony, it is interesting that one of the Hydro children, whose father was employed locally as a civil engineer, has recently moved back to the village and told Roy that despite having 'been all over the world with my father and my work ... we've always considered Killin to be our home'.<sup>1090</sup> Davies McGuire and his older brothers and sister spent a number of years in the village, the older ones attending both Killin School and McLaren Senior Secondary, and formed a strong attachment to the area.<sup>1091</sup> Though just one case out of many, this highlights the potential for childhood experiences, including school attendance, to cement a sense of belonging to a place even if the physical connection is then broken for many years. Experience did of course vary, and while some workers and their families settled for a number of years, integrating into local life and gaining a sense of belonging, many came for just a short period.<sup>1092</sup> This was equally true of forestry workers, and particularly those connected with the travelling sawmills, who moved between plantations on a regular basis.<sup>1093</sup> In consequence, many children had an itinerant lifestyle, shifting from one place to another and enrolling at various schools during the course of their education.<sup>1094</sup> The oral accounts captured by Stewart in her social

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<sup>1086</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Duncan Roy Macgregor (2013), SOHCA/053/01.

<sup>1087</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1088</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1089</sup> Ford, *Tunnellers, Tango Dancers and Team Mates*, p.6.

<sup>1090</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Duncan Roy Macgregor (2013), SOHCA/053/01.

<sup>1091</sup> Backing up Roy's testimony, Davies and his brother Gavin recently shared their memories of the Killin Branch Railway in a local newsletter which states that Davies 'has recently returned to live in Killin after living here during the early/mid 1950s'. Gavin remembers that 'it was common practice for the village boys (including me) to hang around the station and hitch a ride in the guard's compartment whilst shunting was carried out', and also that 'on the McLaren School run back from the Junction to Killin, the driver might let one of us ride in the engine cab for the journey home and even work the brake lever'. *Killin News*, Issue 148, Oct./Nov. 2015, p.20.

<sup>1092</sup> The admissions register shows some children enrolling at the school for a matter of days, while others stayed a few months and some a number of years. This reflects the fact that employment contracts varied a great deal, with some being very short-term and others longstanding or even permanent. Killin Public School Register of Admission, 1915-59.

<sup>1093</sup> According to Stewart the movement of sawmill workers was a 'uniquely Scottish, phenomenon'. Stewart, *Voices of the Forest*, p.129.

<sup>1094</sup> This is particularly interesting given that agricultural workers were now moving less frequently, with farming communities becoming far more settled during and following the Second World War. As highlighted by Sprott, the Essential Work (Agriculture) (Act), 1941, colloquially termed the 'Stand Still Act', stopped 'farm servants moving from one fee to another without good reason, and effectively broke the habit of flitting from one place to another'. G. Sprott, 'Lowland Country Life', in Devine and Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, p.180. Increased regulation of wages and employment benefits also contributed to this (various pieces of legislation were passed including the Agricultural Wages

history of forestry testify to this, with one informant, octogenarian Charlie Smith, commenting that 'we wasnae long in one place' which necessitated him attending 'seven different schools'.<sup>1095</sup> Drummuir School in Banffshire was one of these, and Charlie was enrolled here on two separate occasions having moved to Corse, Aberdeenshire in the interim. Giving an insight into the experiences of children who lived their early years as constant incomers, never settling and becoming part of a community for a sustained period of time, Charlie's younger brother Gordon remembers that one of the Drummuir teachers 'always referred to us as the barbarians from the wood!'.<sup>1096</sup> Though they would be considered highly unprofessional today, such off the cuff remarks were not unusual at this time, and should not be over-analysed for meaning. However, whether or not this particular comment was made in jest or not, it marked these children out as different and implied a certain hierarchy of pupil within the school. It is certainly a reminder that schools could perpetuate a sense of being an outsider as much as they could nurture a sense of belonging. This is also apparent from a newspaper report on a breach of the peace in Fortingall from 1948 which details how a couple 'confronted some school children, shouted and cursed and conducted themselves in a most alarming manner' because, being incomers to the district, they 'had felt for some time that their children had been victimised by the other children'.<sup>1097</sup>

Returning to Killin, regardless of how long children stayed in the village school the sustained boost to the school roll evident in the register of admissions was enough to influence education committee discussions regarding the future status of the school and the level of investment this warranted. Reviewing the committee minute books, various matters were discussed during the late 1940s and 1950s including whether to purchase the disused Free Church building adjacent to the school to expand the school site and if Killin should remain a junior secondary. As detailed in a minute of March 1950, a special sub-committee had visited Killin to discuss the future of the school and reported back that 'the Local Advisory Sub-Committee were unanimously of the opinion that, in view of the forthcoming Hydro-Electric development in Killin and district, the secondary department at Killin School be continued and provision made for practical room for woodwork and also for a school dining hut'.<sup>1098</sup> Although there was some concern that, even with the temporary increase in population and promise of a number of permanent posts once construction was complete, there was not 'a sufficient number of secondary pupils in the district to justify such a department', in January 1952 it was agreed that it 'be retained and a technical subjects room to be provided'.<sup>1099</sup> Although it was listed as a fairly low priority, with no major

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(Regulation) (Scotland) Acts, 1937-47, and the Holidays with Pay Act, 1938. These were then consolidated by the Agricultural Wages (Scotland) Act, 1949.

<sup>1095</sup> Stewart, *Voices of the Forest*, p.129

<sup>1096</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1097</sup> 'We're being victimised', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 26 Jan. 1948.

<sup>1098</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 18, 1946-50, Report of School Sub-Committee, 28 Mar 1950, para.925,

<sup>1099</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 19, 1950-53, Education Committee, Appendix: School Accommodation, 22 Jan. 1952. As documented in the *Third Statistical Account*, ten houses were built in Killin to house the permanent staff of the power house 'at the head of Loch Tay and a large switching station at the east of Glenlochay. It was

work planned within the next five years, the wheels had been put in motion and after much deliberation a new two-storey building was built on the vacant church site in 1959.<sup>1100</sup> This remained a junior secondary until 1969, and in consequence many children stayed locally for the entirety of their education rather than transferring to McLaren High School in Callander.<sup>1101</sup> As explored in more detail later, the conveyance or boarding of children outwith their home district continued to cause concern, not least because it was seen to lessen the next generation's attachment to rural life and hasten their departure from it. Whether or not this was the case is difficult to determine, but there can be little doubt that the continuance of all-through schools such as Killin was of some social significance.

Drilling down a bit further to consider the cultural implications of these demographic, economic and social changes, it comes as no surprise that in many rural areas a sense of local distinctiveness was fast diminishing. The mid-fifties account for Wiston and Robertson, Lanark gives clear expression to this with the following observation,

'In this parish, as elsewhere, local peculiarities tend to be ironed out. Clothes, food, furniture, houses, tools - everything now comes from the factory. Speech shows a progressive approximation to standard English, though the people like to hear and use their own idiom.<sup>1102</sup>

Though an overarching concern, from a rural perspective this shift towards cultural homogeneity was typically viewed as an encroachment of urban patterns of living into rural life. Whilst this had long been a concern, with commentators bemoaning the consequences of urbanisation for well over a hundred years, the technological advances of the early twentieth century and socio-economic transformations of the period had an unprecedented impact. As noted by the author of the St Martin's account, by the early sixties 'the changes in the way of living of the agricultural community [had] largely obliterated the characteristics which distinguish the country man from the townsman'.<sup>1103</sup> In many cases this was regretted, but for some there was a pragmatic acceptance that progress, as it was perceived, came at a cost. This attitude is apparent in the Lilliesleaf account which, though noting a 'corresponding loss of familiarity with the rich Doric' of Roxburghshire, welcomes the fact that 'easy access to the

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seen as important to house them locally so that they would 'become an integral part of the community'. D. Thomson and J. Colquhoun, 'The Parish of Killin' [1952, revised 1962], in Taylor, *TSA: The Counties of Perth and Kinross*, pp.638-9.

<sup>1100</sup> Killin Junior Secondary School was marked as a project involving major additions, but was put in the category of schools 'at which no project is proposed within the next five years'. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 19, 1950-53, Education Committee, Appendix: School Accommodation, 22 Jan. 1952. The new block of the school was 'ready for occupation at the beginning of session 1959-60'. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/22, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 22, 28 Apr. 1959-9 May 1962, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 23 June 1959, para.124.

<sup>1101</sup> On completion of the alterations and additions to Killin School it was agreed that 'all "C" and "D" pupils from Strathfillan, Crianlarich and Glendochart should attend it instead of McLaren High School, as at present'. C pupils were those considered fit for a non-language course, and those graded D for a modified course. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/5/3/22, Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 22, Schools Sub-Committee, 5 May 1959, para.31(4).

<sup>1102</sup> M. A. Simpson, 'The Parish of Wiston and Robertson' [1954], in G. Thomson (ed.), *TSA: The County of Lanark* (Glasgow, 1960), p.628.

<sup>1103</sup> A. H. Forbes, 'The Parish of St Martin's' [1951, revised 1962], in Taylor (ed.), *TSA: The Counties of Perth and Kinross*, p.321.

towns enables young people to dress as well as their urban kindred' and also that 'newspapers, cinemas and wireless enlarge their views and enrich their vocabularies'.<sup>1104</sup> The impact on Gaelic was also noted, with the accounts confirming the ongoing diminution of the Gàidhealtachd. Infrequent use of the language in everyday life and subsequent weakening of inter-generational transmission were at the root of this, and although various efforts were made to maintain Gaelic culture in most areas there was a sense of fighting a losing battle. Thus in Kilmartin, Argyll though Gaelic services were still being held monthly in the mid-fifties, the language was 'falling out of use not only for worship but also for colloquial purposes' with very few people able to 'speak it correctly or fluently, much less read and write it'.<sup>1105</sup> Similarly, in Laggan, Inverness it was observed that 'only the older people can now speak Gaelic, and beyond a few phrases, the children none at all'.<sup>1106</sup> Even in the Outer Hebrides, a recognised stronghold of the language, the encroachment of English was observable. In the Kinloch district of Lochs on the Isle of Lewis, for instance, though Gaelic was 'still the language of the people' it was seen to be 'losing its hold with the coming generation' despite being taught as a subject in all the local schools. The main reason for this was that even children who could read, write and converse in their native tongue, often preferred to speak English. According to the author, this was apparent 'when one boards the scholars' bus and listens to the children's conversation'.<sup>1107</sup>

These observations give context to the discernible shift in educational policy towards Gaelic at this time, with greater recognition being given to the cultural value of the language. Reflecting the further development of a child-centred approach following the war, the SED memoranda of the early 1950s recommended 'a dual role for Gaelic in education', allowing Gaelic-speaking children to express and develop their cultural identity as well as promoting the maintenance of a minority language.<sup>1108</sup> This approach was subsequently formalised in the 1956 School (Scotland) Code and an early assessment of the impact of post-war changes, undertaken by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) in 1957, found that around a fifth of primary pupils in the surveyed counties were being taught Gaelic, and roughly five per cent received instruction in other subjects through this medium.<sup>1109</sup> As the example from Lochs shows, expanding and enhancing the teaching of Gaelic was no panacea, and did not guarantee a resurgence of the language. However, by allowing education committees to tailor school provision to the cultural context, it reinforced the idea that schools were a community resource, serving local interests as well as meeting national imperatives. Outside of the Gaelic-speaking

<sup>1104</sup> McKenzie, 'The Parish of Lilliesleaf' [1950], p.205.

<sup>1105</sup> MacLeod, 'The Parish of Kilmartin' [1952, revised 1955], in MacDonald (ed.), *TSA: The County of Argyll*, p.234.

<sup>1106</sup> Titterington, 'The Parish of Laggan' [1952, revised 1964], p.325.

<sup>1107</sup> A. McKillop, 'The Parish of Lochs: Kinloch' [1954], in Mather (ed.), *TSA: The County of Ross and Cromarty*, p.412.

<sup>1108</sup> O'Hanlon and Paterson, 'Gaelic Education since 1872', p.309.

<sup>1109</sup> As detailed by O'Hanlon and Paterson, the SCRE survey covered Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Sutherland, and found that Gaelic was being taught to '4,848 primary pupils within 211 schools (19 per cent of the primary school population in these areas), with 1,257 pupils also being taught other subjects through the medium of Gaelic'. Ibid, pp.309-10. SCRE, *Gaelic-speaking Children in Highland Schools* (London, 1961).

areas, the preservation of Gaelic culture depended much more on local effort and initiative.<sup>1110</sup> Gaelic societies were typically the driving force behind this, with branches of An Comunn Gàidhealach continuing to operate in many areas, and enthusiastic individuals keeping certain practices alive.<sup>1111</sup> In the case study area, for instance, the Killin headmaster, Stewart Cunningham, ‘formed a Gaelic choir’ which went on to win the Perthshire Mod in 1950.<sup>1112</sup> Although Roy MacGregor, who was a member of the choir, admits that ‘we were all singing parrot fashion ... we didn’t know what we were singing’, involvement in such events gave children, and by extension their families, an awareness of the area’s cultural heritage.<sup>1113</sup> Given that many cultural traditions had become little more than a memory, including observance of the old reckoning of Christmas and the New Year, such intentional activities took on a new significance.<sup>1114</sup>

With the tractor rapidly replacing horse and human labour across Scotland during the 1950s and 1960s, the agricultural traditions which had once permeated rural life became increasingly detached from everyday farming practice and the intrinsic sociality of labour-intensive work was lost. The ‘collective mindset’ of previous generations, expressed through acts of reciprocity such as the neighbouring practices documented by West in his ethnography of rural Perthshire, was also undermined as farmers became increasingly self-reliant.<sup>1115</sup> Even in the crofting districts of the Highlands and islands such as Strath on the Isle of Skye, mutual cooperation became less important as ‘the new sort of approach to work and wage-earning’ took hold, and ‘the distinct communal spirit shown in connection with spring and harvest time’ diminished.<sup>1116</sup> While some communities maintained traditional practices longer than others, the shift towards a more ‘modern’ approach was universal.<sup>1117</sup> The old rhythms of the agricultural calendar did retain a symbolic value, however, and continued to shape people’s notions of rural distinctiveness. Claims to a slower pace of life and more relaxed approach to timekeeping are the most obvious sign of this, with lateness being an accepted, and indeed expected, part of rural

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<sup>1110</sup> Gaelic-speaking areas were defined by the SED in 1960 as ‘the Outer and Inner Hebrides and some of the more remote coastal districts of the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll’. SED, *Education in Scotland in 1960, A Report of the Secretary of State for Scotland*, PP, 1961, [Cmd. 1359], p.37.

<sup>1111</sup> For example, the Aberdeenshire parishes of Strathdon and Muckairn both had active Gaelic societies. In Strathdon, the Lonach Society held an annual gathering in August, and in Muckairn ‘the Cruachan or Taynuilt branch of An Comunn Gàidhealach’ ran a monthly programme of ceilidhs and concerts, from October till March which were ‘kept going by a few enthusiasts’. Forbes and Bolton, ‘The Parish of Strathdon’ [1956], p.286; MacDonald, ‘The Parish of Ardchattan and Muckairn: Muckairn’ [1953-55, revised 1955-1958], p.188.

<sup>1112</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Duncan Roy Macgregor (2013), SOHCA/053/01.

<sup>1113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1114</sup> The decline of this practice in the case study area is documented in the previous chapter. The account for Golspie, written in 1950, confirms that this was also the case elsewhere, with the author commenting that ‘up to fifty years ago the old style Christmas and New Year (January 5th and 12th) were still being observed. Now this custom has died out’. Fast days did ‘continue in name, if not in practice’ though. C. Alexander Dodds, ‘The Parish of Golspie’ [1950], in J. S. Smith (ed.), *TSA: The County of Sutherland* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.203-4.

<sup>1115</sup> West, *An Historical Ethnography*.

<sup>1116</sup> MacVicar, ‘The Parish of Strath’ [1966], p.543.

<sup>1117</sup> It was asserted, for example, that such practices persisted in the Kinloch district of Lochs, where it was observed that ‘the characteristic spirit of co-operation among island crofters is still much in evidence at such times as sheep-shearing and dipping seasons, peat cutting and gathering, and the securing of crops’. McKillop, ‘The Parish of Lochs: Kinloch’ [1954], p.412.

life. Thus, the account for Marykirk, Kincardine notes with pride that, while much has changed, 'life still proceeds at much more leisurely pace than in the towns and it is not so dominated by the clock'.<sup>1118</sup> As a result, 'meetings, concerts, dances and other entertainments rarely start at the appointed time, and even then there are late-comers'.<sup>1119</sup> Although such practices were common across rural Scotland, subtle differences in local timekeeping served to distinguish one community from another and provided a means by which people could demonstrate their understanding of local culture and belonging to that place.<sup>1120</sup> In other words, knowing and conforming to the rules of social engagement made you something of an insider whether you were an established local, settled incomer or recent newcomer.

### Logistics and the rural school estate

Shifting focus to consider the physical environment of the rural schools and the logistical considerations which shaped educational experience, the challenges of the post-war period were immense. Not only were the education committees tasked with modernising the school estate, with its stock of unwieldy Victorian buildings, but they also had to map out suitable transport and boarding arrangements for vast numbers of children, and provide a hot meals service. With cars and buses now commonplace even in the more remote areas, it was far easier to convey pupils to and from school than it had been. However, as in other areas of life, technological advances fostered an expectation of convenience and brought new pressures to bear on those tasked with ensuring adequate educational provision. As evident from the minutes of the Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-committee, local administrators spent an inordinate amount of time negotiating travel contracts and devising suitable arrangements for each school under their charge.<sup>1121</sup> This was also the case elsewhere, with it being observed in the overview for Peebles that 'county transport has to be arranged for quite a number of children; taxis lift children from remote cottages, bus fares are paid, and an occasional child from the hill country has to be boarded ... through the week to obtain secondary education'.<sup>1122</sup> Given the stipulation that children under the age of eight should not be expected to walk more than two miles to school and older ones no further than three miles, transportation was a major

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<sup>1118</sup> W. Eadie, 'The Parish of Marykirk', in D. Smith (ed.) *TSA: The County of Kincardine* (Edinburgh, 1988), p.255.

<sup>1119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1120</sup> For instance, so-called 'Ardeonaig time' continues to dictate when local social events should begin although precise start times are agreed and advertised.

<sup>1121</sup> For instance, at the meeting held in September 1952, as well as discussing a 'circular letter from the Education Committee drawing attention to the high cost of conveyance and to the necessity for the utmost economy', the local committee considered four individual requests for conveyance and/or boarding each of which required a tailored response. Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minutes of Meeting, 17 Sept. 1952, pp.251-2.

<sup>1122</sup> J. P. B. Bulloch and J. M. Urquhart, 'Peebles', in Bulloch and Urquhart (eds.), *TSA: The Counties of Peebles and Sekirkshire*, p.28.

expense in most rural areas and something of a logistical nightmare in places with a small but dispersed population.<sup>1123</sup>

Taking a closer look at the arrangements for school transport and boarding in the case study districts of Kenmore and Fortingall, local school administrators dealt with numerous issues. As well as managing transport contracts with local businesses, the main contractor being Aberfeldy Motor Coaches, the committee negotiated agreements with various other providers including a number of parents who were paid a modest sum to convey their own children to school (**Table 5.7**). That they did so reflects the difficulties faced in many rural areas where the public transport infrastructure was weak or non-existent. It was particularly hard to arrange transport along the single-track roads, as was apparent when Rev. Thomson, who had been driving two children from Claggan to Ardeonaig School, left south Lochtayside in 1955 and great difficulty was ‘experienced in obtaining another conveyance’.<sup>1124</sup> Although another local man ‘kindly agreed to the work pending further arrangements’ which were subsequently made, such contracts for the small schools were an ongoing concern.<sup>1125</sup> Issues over the timing of transport also arose from time to time, and while some parents were complaining that ‘their children had to wait outdoors in all weather until the bus departure time’, others were raising concern that pupils were being picked up too early.<sup>1126</sup> In Glenlyon, for instance, the Meggernie Estate car ‘called in the afternoons as early as 3.15 whereas school did not close until 4 o’clock’, and when a new teacher was appointed in January 1956 she was quick to point this out.<sup>1127</sup> Having raised the issue through the parents’ representative for the school, she was advised to contact the Estates Office and the times were ‘changed satisfactorily to all concerned’. In this way, school management struck a balance between meeting educational requirements and responding to local conditions.

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<sup>1123</sup> As detailed in the SED’s report for 1950, ‘Education Authorities are required to make such arrangements as they consider necessary for the conveyance of pupils without charge for the whole or part of the journey between their homes and the schools or other educational establishments they are attending, for making bicycles or other suitable means of transport available to them, or for paying the whole or any part of their reasonable travelling expenses’. Furthermore, ‘the general practice of Authorities is, where practicable, to make one or other of these arrangements for pupils who live more than walking distance from school, which is two miles in the case of children under eight years of age and three miles for older pupils’. SED, Education in Scotland in 1950, p.50.

<sup>1124</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minutes of Meeting, 21 Dec. 1955, p.329

<sup>1125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1126</sup> The Fortingall parents made this complaint in relation to the school transport from Breadalbane Academy. In response, the Rector responded that ‘the Fortingall pupils, amongst others, have repeatedly been informed that a room in the School is available for them if they so desire, but that these pupils very seldom, if ever, take advantage of this arrangement’. Ibid, Minutes of Meeting, 28 Mar. 1956, p.332.

<sup>1127</sup> Ibid, p.334; Ibid, Minutes of Meeting, 10 May 1956, p.336.

**Table 5.7: Aberfeldy and Fortingall contracts for conveyance, 1955/56** <sup>1128</sup>

Contractor	Contract number	Amount
Aberfeldy Motor Coaches Ltd	2529	£481 10 6
	2539	£4 10 -
	2540	£3 - -
Donald J. Aird, Tummelbridge	2530	18/- per day
William Finlayson, Meggernie Estate Office	2531	12/- per day
	2532	45/- per day
Miss I. C. Stewart, Fearnan	2533	11/- per day
John Grindlay, Fearnan	2554	14/- per day
J. A. Kininmonth, Fortingall	2535	2/- per day
J. McRae & Son, Kenmore	2536	10/- per day
	2537	10/- per day
Rev. A. Thomson, Ardeonaig	2538	16/6d per day

The Aberfeldy and Fortingall minute books suggest that much consideration was given to individual cases, and that the concerns of parents, teachers and the wider community were heard and heeded. This does not mean that requests were always granted or that local feeling naturally overrode county policy, but given the clear lines of communication between all parties concerned there was a sense of meaningful engagement.<sup>1129</sup> As the composition and culture of education sub-committees varied from place to place and over time, this cannot be taken as representative of experience across rural Scotland throughout this period. However, it points to the potential these committees had to ensure collaboration and compromise at local level and to integrate educational policy and practice with other aspects of rural life. This can be seen in the Aberfeldy and Fortingall committee's decision to grant a meals transport contract to a local business despite their estimate being the highest. It was reported that 'if Messrs MacRae, who at present hold the contract, did not get it again they might require to close down their business, which was a small one'.<sup>1130</sup> As they also held the contract for transporting pupils to Acharn the committee recognised that 'it would be exceedingly difficult to find other conveyance in the district' and justified the additional expense on the grounds that bringing in someone from outside for this run would cost considerably more. Such consideration is less likely to have been given by administrators in Perth. This example also highlights the economic importance of the small rural schools for as well as offering various employment opportunities, many local businesses and individuals benefitted from the additional income that transport contracts provided.<sup>1131</sup> A wide range of people therefore had a vested interest in their local school.

<sup>1128</sup> Ibid, Minute of Meeting, 14 Sept. 1955, p.325.

<sup>1129</sup> To give an example, in August 1956 when a number of parents refused to move their children from Invervar School to Glenlyon, the committee allowed them to do so 'on the understanding that ... they would require to provide their own transport'. Ibid, Minutes of Meeting, 30 Aug. 1956, p.346.

<sup>1130</sup> Ibid, Minutes of Meeting, 10 May 1956, p.337.

<sup>1131</sup> In addition to teaching posts, the schools employed cleaners and meals attendants and were an important source of local part-time employment, particularly for women.

With regard to school buildings, taking stock in 1950 the SED admitted that ‘although considerable progress had been made ... the results were, on the whole, rather disappointing when considered alongside the magnitude of problems to be faced’.<sup>1132</sup> Of particular concern was ‘the development of large new housing areas ... and the need to make provision for the increased school population resulting from the high post-war birth rates’, and it was regretted that ‘no surplus was available for the building of school meals centres or community centres’.<sup>1133</sup> The funds available for upgrading existing schools was also limited and the level of investment varied considerably from place to place. This is apparent in the *Third Statistical Account* which captures the diversity of experience within and between education areas. The entries for the sample districts in East Lothian are a case in point for while Aberlady could boast ‘a modern building equipped with the latest improvements – electric light, central heating, kitchen and gymnasium’, ten miles down the road in Yester frustration was expressed that ‘the accommodation is cramped and according to modern standards far from sufficient’.<sup>1134</sup> Furthermore, it was observed that although ‘a site has been chosen for a new school ... there does not seem to be any prospect of its taking material form for some considerable time’.<sup>1135</sup>

That the old school buildings and sites did not lend themselves to easy adaptation is also clear, with the overview for Fife lamenting that ‘some of the older ones have defeated every effort to make them pleasing; sanitary arrangements are often a sore problem; while grass playgrounds are scarcely known at all’.<sup>1136</sup> The variance between schools understandably caused some consternation amongst parents who were now much more likely to complain and request a transfer elsewhere if they felt that any aspect of their local school was inadequate. This can be seen in the Aberfeldy and Fortingall minutes which document numerous cases of parental intervention. Though more often related to the aptitude and personality of the teacher than to the facilities of the school itself, environmental considerations undoubtedly played on parents’ minds and influenced decisions to seek education elsewhere. The comparative advantage of larger rural schools in this regard was certainly a factor, as can be seen in an application from a Coshieville parent requesting that ‘her daughter should be allowed to enrol at Breadalbane Academy instead of Dull School’.<sup>1137</sup> Although the stated reason was that the bus times did not tie in with the opening of the school, leaving the girl waiting outside for some time, the same parent later complained about the ‘condition of the entrance road’ to the school and clearly preferred the facilities in Aberfeldy.<sup>1138</sup> Catchment areas were now well-defined and the

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<sup>1132</sup> Ibid, p.45.

<sup>1133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1134</sup> Caldwell, ‘The Parish of Aberlady’ [1949], p.334; J. Cumming ‘The Parish of Yester’ [1950], Ibid, p.286.

<sup>1135</sup> Cumming, ‘The parish of Yester’.

<sup>1136</sup> A. Smith, *TSA: The County of Fife* (Edinburgh, 1952), p.151.

<sup>1137</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minutes of Meeting, 22 Jan. 1953, p.260. At this time, the primary department of Breadalbane Academy had over 200 pupils in attendance, whereas Dull had just thirteen. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 19, 1950-53, Return of School Attendance for Four Weeks ending 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1953.

<sup>1138</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minutes of Meeting, 29 Oct. 1954, p.304.

Committee was reluctant to depart from 'the principle that Primary children should attend the School nearest their home' unless a good reason was given.<sup>1139</sup>

The small schools across the case study area faced similar challenges, and complaints were frequently made about access routes as well as the premises themselves. Besides being off-putting to pupils and parents alike, the poor condition of these schools was also blamed for recruitment difficulties. Hence in August 1958, the Highland District Council wrote to the local education committee 'directing attention to the condition of the access road to Acharn School, and expressing the decision of the Council that the lack of amenities in the country schools in Perthshire was mitigating against suitable applicants coming forward when a vacancy arises'.<sup>1140</sup> The physical aspects of schooling therefore had social as well as educational ramifications, acting as a further disincentive to rural employment. As detailed in a SED report on teacher supply, there was a national shortage of approximately 2,300 teachers in 1949 and as demand grew during the early 1950s, the problem intensified.<sup>1141</sup> In consequence, recruitment to rural posts became even more difficult as the gap between the facilities on offer in the very small rural schools and larger village, town and city schools widened. In other words, as the 'relative deprivations' of rural life and schooling became more apparent, it was increasingly difficult to attract people to live and work in the country.<sup>1142</sup> Unless they were very remote, being far enough removed from another school to make the transfer of pupils unfeasible, small one-teacher schools were costly and uneconomical to upgrade and it became increasingly difficult to justify keeping them open. The situation in Kenmore parish, which by now had just two schools, illustrates this clearly. As noted earlier, plans for a new school to replace the old building in Acharn had been discussed and delayed for decades, with failure to agree a site putting pay to the initial idea and economic constraints holding back progress thereafter. By the 1960s, however, the rationale and resources were such that the project could finally go ahead.<sup>1143</sup>

The debate around school provision in Kenmore parish reignited in September 1959 when the local education committee questioned 'whether it was desirable to proceed with a major

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<sup>1139</sup> For example, in 1956 a farmer requested that his son be transferred from Grandtully School to the primary department at Breadalbane Academy, but his application was refused because 'the letter disclosed no reason which would justify the Committee departing from the principle'. Ibid, Minutes of meeting, 30 Aug. 1956, p.347.

<sup>1140</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1957-75, Minutes of Meeting, 5 Sept. 1958.

<sup>1141</sup> Due to wastage, building works, the post-war bulge in the school population and development of further education, the total demand for teachers was projected to increase from 1,625 in 1949-50 to 2,205 in 1955-56. Although many rural schools had small classes and were therefore able to 'absorb the "bulge" without any real hardship', the national shortage undoubtedly affected the supply of teachers to these schools. SED, Supply of Teachers: First Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 1950-51, PP, 1951 [Cmd. 8123], pp.8, 13-14.

<sup>1142</sup> In discussing rural depopulation and the abandonment of crofts and farms in the more remote areas of Scotland, Jedrej and Nuttall note that 'the introduction of public utilities such as electricity ... introduced differences and relative deprivations which rendered some holdings unlettable'. Jedrej and Nuttall, *White Settlers*, p.12.

<sup>1143</sup> Various other renovation and building projects were undertaken in the case study area during the late 1950s and 1960s, including the construction of a new school and schoolhouse in Crianlarich. The old buildings were demolished in 1967 and the children were 'taught in Strathfillan School and Schoolhouse' from 15 May until the new school was ready for occupation in April 1968. Crianlarich Primary School, Crianlarich Public School Log Book 1947-1977, pp.175, 187.

extension to Acharn School in light of the proposal in the Tay Valley development plan that the village of Kenmore should be the functional centre of the Parish and District'.<sup>1144</sup> They subsequently recommended to the county education committee that the matter 'should be examined carefully before committing all concerned to Acharn as opposed to Kenmore as the centre of education for the district'.<sup>1145</sup> Having considered the two alternatives and consulted with stakeholders in the various settlements, the local committee expressed its preference for a new school in Kenmore, but being mindful of the implications for the other small school in the district added the caveat that 'Fearnan School should be kept open for as long as is practicable'.<sup>1146</sup> Though accepting that rationalisation of provision was necessary, the committee did not wish to hasten the closure of one of their schools and was eager for the established patterns of schooling in the district to continue.<sup>1147</sup> That they were 'strongly opposed to any proposal which would involve the transfer, for educational purposes, of pupils from the Parish of Kenmore to the Parish of Fortingall' demonstrates this clearly and shows how parish identities continued to shape educational policy. Whilst to an outsider the parish boundary would have seemed of little consequence, local administrators recognised the enduring significance of historic constructions of community and pushed for future developments to reflect these.

Redefining catchment areas when a school closed or was moved was not therefore simply a matter of determining which school was closest to pupils' homes and drawing the line accordingly. Account also had to be taken of the association between different settlements and consideration given to the socio-cultural framework within which the schools operated. Therefore, once plans for a two-teacher school at Kenmore were underway and the closure of Fearnan School was officially on the cards, the local committee noted their desire that 'pupils should be transferred to the school with which their district would normally be in community:- thus pupils from Fearnan should be transferred to Kenmore rather than to Fortingall'.<sup>1148</sup> In this way, the continuance of education sub-committees of this type ensured a responsiveness to local conditions that external consultation with communities would have struggled to achieve. This does not mean that local preference always held sway, but the ongoing involvement of parents,

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<sup>1144</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1957-75, Minutes of Meeting, 25 Sept. 1959.

<sup>1145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1146</sup> Ibid, Minutes of Meeting, 19 Jan. 1960. Although there was some disquiet in Acharn about the move, the relocation of the school to Kenmore was accepted on the condition that transport would be provided for all children from Acharn.

<sup>1147</sup> Even after the plans to erect a 'two-teacher school with a schoolhouse' at Kenmore had been approved, there was a continuing reluctance to commit to the closure of the two existing schools. Thus it was stated 'that the future of Acharn and Fearnan Schools be reviewed when the proposals ... have been completed'. Ibid, Minutes of Meeting', 23 June 1960. In fact, as late as 1967, when the new school was about to be opened, the local committee recommended to the Director of Education that as there was a 'likelihood of an increased school population in the Kenmore district ... so long as the roll at Fearnan justifies the retention of the school, and certainly so long as Miss Maynard continues as the head-teacher there, the school should be kept open'. Ibid, Minute of Meeting, 9 Feb. 1967.

<sup>1148</sup> Ibid, Minutes of meeting, 28 Sept. 1962. The significance of parish boundaries can also be seen in the decision to allow a pupil who resided close to Acharn but had been attending Ardeonaig School to transfer to the new school at Kenmore and 'to offer conveyance ... if desired by his parents'. The established relationship between these settlements made this unproblematic. Ibid, Minutes of Meeting, 3 Aug. 1967.

teachers and other interested parties in educational decision-making undoubtedly bolstered a sense of community ownership and responsibility for the schools in their midst.

The nature of the new school at Kenmore also points to the community dimension, with it being agreed that it should serve a dual purpose as a primary school and community centre. As Kenneth MacVicar, who served as minister of Kenmore from 1950 until his retirement in 1990, recalls in his autobiography, 'by the early sixties people had got fed up with the discomfort of the Holder Hall and ... after a lot of negotiation and discussion it was agreed to put forward an imaginative scheme in which the school would incorporate a community centre with hall which would serve both school and community'.<sup>1149</sup> Given the additional cost of doing so it was agreed that 'contributions totalling £3,700 would be made available by the local Hall Committee and the Highland District Council over a period of 5-7 years'.<sup>1150</sup> In consequence, once the building was ready for occupation in 1967 a 'Memorandum as to ownership and arrangements for management' was drawn up and it fell to the local education committee to 'appoint a Special Sub-Committee to be known as the Kenmore Community Centre Sub-Committee'.<sup>1151</sup> There were to be eight members, including the local and district councillors, Kenmore head teacher and parish minister as well as representatives appointed at a public meeting.<sup>1152</sup> Although the fabric of the building and grounds were 'wholly vested in the County Council as Education Authority' as was the responsibility for all repairs and maintenance, it was expressly stated that should the property ever be sold the community would have first refusal.

The advantages of combining school and centre were clear to see. While local people retained a directional role, the financial and logistical strain of maintaining a community venue was reduced and the facilities were kept up to modern standards. This was not without its disadvantages, however, as the regulations governing use could be restrictive. As well as serving as a member of the management committee, Kenneth MacVicar ran the local Boys' Brigade and youth club and remembers conflicting feelings about the hall for although it 'was magnificent in comparison, well heated and beautifully decorated', the requirement to return it 'to pristine condition after every let' was 'restricting ... to the children's more hectic activities'.<sup>1153</sup> From the school's perspective, the fact that one of the classrooms also served as a stage for the hall caused

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<sup>1149</sup> Giving details of the Holder Hall, he noted that it 'was constructed of wood and corrugated iron and being of a good size it met most of the needs of the local organisations. However, as the heating system was 'temperamental ... one usually had the alternative of a warm hall filled with smoke, or a smoke-free hall with an arctic temperature'. MacVicar, *The Wings of the Morning*, pp.153-4.

<sup>1150</sup> The cost of the school was initially estimated at £21,958, with the County Architect suggesting that it would cost between £8,794 and £11,095 more to incorporate a community centre into the school. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/3/1/42, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minutes Book, 1961-63, Schools Sub-Committee, 4 Dec. 1962, para,292(1). Once detailed plans had been drawn, the estimated additional cost was brought down to £5,226 'including £1,233 for the layout of additional playing fields'. Ibid, Schools Sub-Committee, 9 Apr. 1963.

<sup>1151</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, Appendix to Local Education Sub-Committee Minutes, 2 Nov. 1967.

<sup>1152</sup> Ibid, Minutes of meeting of the Committee of Management of the Kenmore Community Centre, 15 Dec 1967.

<sup>1153</sup> He goes on to observe that 'every breakage or mark on the wall was blamed on the young', but that 'it was almost worth it for the pure delight it gave us when we could prove that someone else was to blame'. MacVicar, *The Wings of the Morning*, p.156.

frustration from the start, and having managed the inconvenience for little more than a year the head teacher expressed concern that the 'clearing of the classroom, especially midweek, is very bad for the smooth running of school work'.<sup>1154</sup> As time passed the inherent tension between educational and community use became more apparent, and the school became increasingly territorial about the space. Reflecting on this in his oral testimony, Kenneth observed,

The community had use of the hall and that worked very well as long as people who were involved in the setting up of the thing were still in place, but the time came when ... all the people who had been involved had gone and the Education Committee in Perth more or less took over and while the community still has the use of the hall, it's like drawing teeth, which makes me very cross.<sup>1155</sup>

Although numerous factors would have been at play over many years, the withdrawal of key actors at the beginning of the 1990s allowed for a shift in policy and marked a watershed in the relationship between school and community. As has been seen throughout this study, the way in which educational policy has been translated into practice has been heavily influenced by the people involved at local level. For instance, continuity of personnel in the face of administrative change eased various transitions including the shift from school boards to education authorities, and decisions relating to school provision were frequently deferred until a teacher retired or left.<sup>1156</sup> The case of Kenmore School and community centre shows that this remained as relevant at the close of the century as it had been at the start, with local personalities providing a stabilising influence. Maintenance of the status quo can of course seem stifling to those seeking change. However, in creating a sense of familiarity and order, such continuities in everyday life had clear social benefits, particularly at a time of rapid social, economic and technological change. The association of people with place, and the embodiment of community in key local figures such as the Kenmore minister and his long-serving associates makes this all the more pertinent.

### **Wider social and educational role of the rural school**

Turning now to consider the wider social and educational role of the rural schools themselves, the accounts show that a fair number continued to operate as a venue for community meetings and events. School buildings, those still in use as well as those which had been mothballed, closed or replaced, were a key resource in many communities, operating alongside or in lieu of village halls and other communal spaces.<sup>1157</sup> In some places, such as Tongland, Kirkcudbright, an old school building had been turned into a local hall serving many community interests

<sup>1154</sup> Entry dated 24 October 1968, Acharn/Kenmore Public School Log book 1933-1977, p.214.

<sup>1155</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Kenneth MacVicar (2014), SOHCA/053/05.

<sup>1156</sup> Even the decision over whether to close Fearnan School was delayed until the incumbent teacher, Miss Maynard who had been in post since 1951, resigned in December 1968. The following February the County Council intimated that the school would close when she left and the pupils were subsequently transferred to Kenmore School on 4 March 1968. PKCA, *School Log Books*, 15/05, Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1947-1968, p.242.

<sup>1157</sup> Thanks to a surge of building following the First World War, many villages had at least one community hall by mid-century and the accounts abound with references to activities taking place in them.

including 'bowling and badminton clubs, Women's Rural Institute, dances, Woman's Guild, and religious services', and in others they were taken on by specific groups.<sup>1158</sup> This was the case in Strathdon where a small congregation of Roman Catholics met 'in the old schoolhouse at Forbestown'.<sup>1159</sup> Use of current schools also prevailed with education committees regulating use through their local sub-committees. Access to the schools was particularly important in areas without a hall, and gratitude was expressed in a few of the sample accounts. For instance, the commentator on Drumblade parish reflecting on life in the mid-fifties, concluded that 'were it not for the friendly and enlightened policy of the Education Authority, which permits the school to be used by the Women's Rural Institute and similar groups, social functions would be impossible'.<sup>1160</sup>

Likewise, as there was no school in the parish of Kinnaird the school was 'used as a meeting place' with 'occasional whist drives and other social functions' being held there.<sup>1161</sup> Due to 'the scattered nature of the parish and the small population' there was 'little communal life' here, with people travelling to neighbouring areas for groups such as the WRI and Woman's Guild, and the gatherings in the school were one of the few formal expressions of parish identity left.<sup>1162</sup> Utilisation of school buildings for church services was also important as it allowed ministers to continue the tradition of local preaching at a time when declining church attendance and corresponding resource constraints were limiting the scope of pastoral activity. This can be seen in Glengairn, where 'the incumbent of Glenmuick Church' ministered to a congregation in Glengairn as well as providing monthly services 'at Girnock School and Birkhall School'.<sup>1163</sup> Similarly, in South Knapdale 'in addition to the usual morning and evening services' an afternoon service was held in the old school building at Inverneill.<sup>1164</sup> The ministers in the case study area also made frequent use of the small schools.<sup>1165</sup> As the county overview for Moray and Nairn shows, such practices were not confined to rural areas with schools buildings 'commonly used for non-school activities both in town and country' well into the 1960s.<sup>1166</sup> However, the significance of the schools as social spaces was clearly heightened by the lack of other venues and the infrequency of casual social contact in dispersed rural settlements.

Attitudes towards the use of schools for community purposes did vary, however, and whereas some people embraced such multi-functionality, others bemoaned the inconvenience or

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<sup>1158</sup> Tuton, 'The Parish of Tongland' [1952], p.301.

<sup>1159</sup> Forbes and Bolton, 'The Parish of Strathdon' [1956], p.284

<sup>1160</sup> G. McCutcheon, 'The Parish of Drumblade' [1955], in Hamilton, (ed.), *TSA: The County of Aberdeen*, p.601.

<sup>1161</sup> A further comment that 'owing to scattered nature of the parish and the small population there is little communal life'.

H. T. Ferguson and R. Daly, 'The Parish of Kinnaird' [1962], in Taylor (ed.), *TSA: The Counties of Perth and Kinross*, p.400.

<sup>1162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1163</sup> W. E. Adam, 'The Parish of Glengairn' [1949], in Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Aberdeen*, p.343.

<sup>1164</sup> J. MacDonald Gillies, 'The Parish of South Knapdale' [1955], in MacDonald (ed.), *TSA: The County of Argyll*, p.253.

<sup>1165</sup> For example, the minister of Kenmore took services in Fearnan School and the disused school at Ardtalnaig. This was aided by the fact that booking was easy, 'you just asked the headmistress and that was it'. Helen Young, Rural Schools, Kenneth MacVicar (2014), SOHCA/053/05.

<sup>1166</sup> W. F. Lindsay, 'Education', in H. Hamilton, *TSA: The Counties of Moray and Nairn* (Glasgow, 1965), p.75.

commented on its inappropriateness. On the one hand, the 'large gymnasium' in Drumblade School was seen as 'an excellent substitute for a village hall', with funds being raised to augment it with a permanent stage, and on the other, the author of the account for Cameron felt that the use of the school for all meetings in Dunino was 'not a satisfactory arrangement'.<sup>1167</sup> Most accounts sit somewhere in the middle, expressing a pragmatic acceptance of the situation. In the Cabrach, Banff, for instance, it was simply observed that a committee had been 'set up about two years ago to raise funds for the building of a hall, but in the meantime any social functions and dances have to be held in the school'.<sup>1168</sup> This was also the situation in Fearnan on Lochtayside where the hall committee made use of the local school for meetings and fundraising events during the early 1950s.<sup>1169</sup> The cost of providing separate facilities was clearly burdensome, requiring much time and effort on the part of local people, whereas school buildings were established venues maintained by the county council through their education committees. As noted in the previous chapter, school use had become increasingly regulated since the transfer to education authority control, with it being stipulated that such bookings should not take business away from local halls.

Nevertheless, access to school space remained important even in those parishes with other venues, and small one-teacher schools often serving as a social outpost for those living in more remote districts. Thus in Holywood, Dumfries while one branch of the Women's Rural Institute, with around seventy members, convened in the church hall, another 'with a similar membership' met in Steilston School.<sup>1170</sup> By facilitating such localised activity, the schools played a role in developing social relationships which in turn helped to shape people's notion of community and their sense of place-based identity. As Cresswell observes, there has been a 'recent resurgence in interest in place across disciplines and in the wider world' with geographers leading the way in grappling with a notion which is 'both simple and complicated'.<sup>1171</sup> Tied up with the idea of belonging, this clearly resonates with the community debate and is central to understanding the significance of the small rural schools. In simple terms, place signifies a 'meaningful location' and, drawing on the work of political geographer John Agnew, can be seen to have three core aspects: location, being a fixed physical site; locale, meaning the 'material setting for social relations'; and sense of place, the 'subjective and emotional attachment' people feel towards it.<sup>1172</sup> When seen from this perspective, the act of meeting in the local school rather than

<sup>1167</sup> McCutcheon, 'The Parish of Drumblade' [1955], p.601. The parish accounts in the Fife volume do not indicate particular authors. It is therefore assumed that the editor, Alexander Smith, a Survey Officer, compiled them himself. Thus, the negative attitude towards the use of the school may simply reflect his opinion as an outsider, rather than representing the views of locals. A. Smith, 'The parish of Cameron', in A. Smith (ed.) *TSA: The County of Fife* (Edinburgh, 1952), p.772.

<sup>1168</sup> Moore, 'The Parish of Cabrach' [1950], p.353.

<sup>1169</sup> For example, the Fearnan Hall Committee booked the school to hold a public meeting on 12 Sept. 1955, just a few months before the new hall was opened. Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minute of meeting, 14 Sept. 1955. According to McGregor, 'the village hall was built on land given by the Forestry Commission and opened in November 1955'. I. McGregor, *Fearnan: The Story of a Highland Village of Northern Perthshire*, (Perth, 2012), p.59.

<sup>1170</sup> W. Arnold Reid, 'The Parish of Holywood' [1959], in G. Houston (ed.), *TSA: The County of Dumfries* (Glasgow, 1962), p.152.

<sup>1171</sup> T. Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2014), pp.1, 6.

<sup>1172</sup> *Ibid*, p.12; J. A. Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society* (London, 1987).

travelling to another part of the parish or further afield, is likely to have been very significant not only in terms of forging social links, but also engendering a sense of identity and belonging. If, as is widely agreed, 'a sense of belonging is achieved by being and doing in the world', then people doing things close to where they live, turning the physical location into a locale and gaining an attachment to it, is fundamental to the development of community relations.<sup>1173</sup>

Reflecting on experience within the case study parishes, and the various settlements within them, this understanding of place-making facilitates deeper social analysis. In particular, it points to the potential significance of the schools in shaping a locale and giving definition and purpose to those people living there such that they recognise themselves as, and are seen by others to be, a distinct community. As explored in the previous chapters, the small rural schools of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin had long been utilised as venues for local events and, due to their remoteness and the lack of alternative communal facilities in outlying parts of the parishes, many of them continued to be used as such following the Second World War. As in the sample districts, the nature and frequency of lets did vary between the schools, but whether commandeered for social use regularly or not they all served a wider purpose beyond being a site of schooling for the local children.<sup>1174</sup> For example, from December 1952 Fearnan School was occupied by 'Fearnan and Lawers W.R.I. on the second Tuesday of each month' and by the 'Fearnan Coronation Committee one evening per month'.<sup>1175</sup> At the same time, the disused school at Lawers, just a few miles along the lochside to the west, had been requisitioned by the Lawers Coronation Committee for a 'party and dance' at the end of January, for a 'Whist Drive on Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> March' and by the 'Fearnan and Lawers W.R.I. for a meeting on 2<sup>nd</sup> April'.<sup>1176</sup> The fact that these neighbouring settlements had clear social connections, manifested in a joint Women's Rural, but maintained a distinct separateness when organising Coronation events speaks to the complexity of place and the multidimensionality of belonging. As May points out, 'few of us feel a sense of belonging merely to one group, culture or place but rather experience multiple senses of belonging'.<sup>1177</sup> Whether or not this includes a significant attachment to the precise location in which people live is not a given, however, with it only becoming a locale if social interaction takes place there. The question therefore arises whether the small rural communities at Lawers and Fearnan would have retained the same degree of separation, nurturing unique identities, had they not had the use of the school buildings in their midst. This is all the more pertinent given that the children from Lawers were now travelling to Fearnan for

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<sup>1173</sup> May, 'Self, Belonging and Social Change', p.372.

<sup>1174</sup> Of the schools under the management of the Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee, which included some no longer in educational use, Fearnan, Glenlyon, Lawers, Invervar and Ardtalnaig were those most frequently let.

<sup>1175</sup> This was conveyed to the local sub-committee in a letter from the County Clerk dated 7 May 1953. Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minute of Meeting, 22 Jan. 1953, p.261. The following year this committee also made use of it for social events, holding one dance in the February and another at the beginning of April. *Ibid*, Minute of Meeting, 25 Mar. 1953, p.263.

<sup>1176</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>1177</sup> May, 'Self, Belonging and Social Change', p.370.

their education, the school at Lawers having been closed in 1948, and were no longer gaining a sense of belonging to their local district through that.

Across the loch at Ardtalnaig, the disused school also continued to serve as a venue. Having been shut at the start of the Second World War, the importance of the building to local groups was recognised when in May 1953, the Education Committee agreed 'that the property be retained, but that the lease of the school be offered to the local community'.<sup>1178</sup> This was reviewed periodically, with the county clerk 'requesting the view of the Committee as to the desirability of retaining the school as a community centre', in June 1958.<sup>1179</sup> Noting that 'at present the school is used once a fortnight for church services; that it was formerly used by the Ardtalnaig Men's Club, at present in abeyance, who have certain equipment stored there, and that Mr Crerar, the tenant of the school house acts as caretaker to the school as required', the sub-committee recommended that it should be retained, and also that the caretaker 'be formally given the tenancy of the school house'.<sup>1180</sup> Similar arrangements were made elsewhere, but there were also cases of disused schools being sold off. This was the fate of Kiltyrie School and schoolhouse, under the management of the Killin Sub-Committee, whose sale 'to the Ground Superior at the District Valuer's price of £700' was agreed in November, 1956.<sup>1181</sup> Furthermore, retention of school buildings did not always mean that community use was guaranteed, as can be seen by the fact that, with reference to the small school in Glenlochay, the Property and Works Sub-Committee Education Committee resolved in August 1955 'not to approve a recommendation by the Local Education Sub-Committee that this disused school be offered to Killin Church without compensation for use as a church hall'.<sup>1182</sup> Given budgetary constraints, the education authority was under increasing pressure to make such properties pay or to dispose of them and release the capital. The level of community use and income from lettings therefore remained under close scrutiny. Thus, in June 1962, 'the possible disposal of Ardtalnaig School' was once more on the agenda, and though confirming that 'it was unlikely that this school would ever require to be re-opened', the local sub-committee implored the education authority to 'bear in mind that the schoolroom was of considerable advantage to the local community as a public hall'.<sup>1183</sup> Economics were always at play and a balance had to be struck between perceived social benefits and the financial cost to the council, and ultimately the tax-payer.

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<sup>1178</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minute of meeting, 2 July 1953, p.269.

<sup>1179</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, Minute of meeting, 20 June 1958, p.26.

<sup>1180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1181</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 21, 1956-59, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 27 Nov. 1956, para.291.

<sup>1182</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 20, 1953-56, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 30 Aug. 1955, para.149.

<sup>1183</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, Minute of Meeting', 28 June 1962, p.113.

Having developed a standard scale of charges for school lets, the Perth and Kinross Education Committee was keen to cover the cost of out-of-hours use and kept these under constant review. Increases were rarely welcomed by the local sub-committees, however, and much negotiation went on with regard to who should pay what. In 1950, for instance, the Property and Works Sub-Committee received 'representations from Perth, Dunkeld and Doune Local Advisory Sub-Committees that the scale of charges for the use of schools be altered in certain respects', with the main complaint being that 'the charges were too high'.<sup>1184</sup> Although the committee was not initially of a mind to alter the charges, detailed in **Table 5.8**, they did recommend that the local advisory sub-committees 'make no charge for the use of schools by parent-teacher associations or by school staffs for functions wholly in aid of school funds provided that janitors and cleaners are remunerated for overtime duties'.<sup>1185</sup> Nonetheless, this concession was not enough for many groups, who were themselves under pressure from their constituent communities to reduce the charges for school use, and a special meeting was convened some months later to consider the matter in more detail.<sup>1186</sup> The delegation, consisting of one representative from each local sub-committee, 'urged that the present charge against such clubs [social and recreational] in small communities, particularly where the school was the only meeting place, be reduced', and a revised scale was subsequently issued (**Table 5.9**). Significantly, this allowed for discounted rates in areas where no alternative accommodation was available, and left some fees to the discretion of the local sub-committees.

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<sup>1184</sup> Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 19, 1950-53, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 19 Dec 1950, para.556.

<sup>1185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1186</sup> Ibid, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 30 Jan 1951, para.637.

**Table 5.8: Perth and Kinross scale of charges for the use of schools, 1950** <sup>1187</sup>

Use	Charge
1. Youth Clubs (including F.P. Clubs) i.e. clubs where majority of members are under 18 years of age.	2/- to 5/- inclusive for two-hour session
2. Social and Recreational Clubs, e.g. Dramatic Classes, Scottish County Dancing.	10/- inclusive for two-hour session, plus 2/6 per night for use of piano
3. W.R.I.'s for regular meetings (Social functions come under no. 6)	5/- inclusive per night
4. College of Agriculture for individual lectures or short courses	5/- inclusive for two-hour session
5. Horticultural Societies etc.	5/- inclusive for two-hour session
6. Entertainments, whist drives, dances, etc.	(a) Where Hall is available - £1 inclusive from 7 p.m. until 10.30 p.m., and 10/- inclusive per hour thereafter. (b) Where no Hall available - 5/- inclusive per hour
7. Meetings of candidates during elections, local or national	2/6 per hour for janitor/cleaner, fuel and light
8. Meetings of political parties etc. on other occasions	7/6 inclusive per hour

**Table 5.9: Perth and Kinross revised scale of charges for the use of schools, 1952** <sup>1188</sup>

Use	Charge
1. Youth Clubs (a) Organisations for children of school age (b) Organisations including Former Pupils' Clubs where the majority of members are under 18 years of age.	No charge if alternative accommodation is not available; otherwise the scale for 1(b) will apply 2/- to 5/- inclusive for two-hour session
2. Social and Recreational Clubs, e.g. Dramatic Classes, Scottish County Dancing and Athletic Clubs	10/- inclusive for two-hour session (5/- in schools with no janitor) plus 2/6 per night for use of piano (Special charge for Perth Railway Athletic Club - 7/6 inclusive for two-hour session)
3. School Staff Badminton Clubs	Cost of heating and lighting only
4. Parent-Teacher Associations	No charge provided janitors and cleaners are remunerated for overtime duties
5. Churches or denominational bodies (for religious purposes or for Sunday School picnics)	At discretion of Local Advisory Sub-Committees
6. W.R.I. Branches for regular meetings (for social functions see (9) below)	5/- inclusive per night
7. Colleges of Agriculture (for individual lectures or short courses)	5/- inclusive for two-hour session
8. Horticultural Societies etc.	5/- inclusive for two-hour session
9. Entertainments, Whist drives, Dances, etc. Note: No charge to be made for functions wholly in aid of school funds, which are organised by school staffs or by bodies approved by Local Advisory Sub-Committees, provided that janitors and cleaners are remunerated for overtime duties.	(a) Where Hall is available - £1 inclusive from 7 p.m. until 10.30 p.m., and 10/- inclusive per hour thereafter. (b) Where no Hall available - 5/- inclusive per hour
10. Local Government and Parliamentary candidates within statutory periods before elections	2/6 per hour for janitor/cleaner, fuel and light
11. Meetings of political parties etc. on other occasions	7/6 inclusive per hour

<sup>1187</sup> Ibid, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 24 Oct 1950, para.373.

<sup>1188</sup> This scale of charges was operative from 1 Jan 1952. Other points were considered at a smaller meeting on 20 November and general regulations were set, including that the Women's Guild should be treated the same as the WRI. Ibid, Special Sub-Committee on Use of Schools, 15 Oct 1951, para.415.

That local groups continued to push for discounts is evident in the Aberfeldy and Fortingall minute book which records numerous requests. For instance, in December 1953, the Fearnan teacher Miss Maynard made an application 'on behalf of An Comunn Gàidhealach and Mr John McLean on behalf of Fearnan Hall Committee for a reduction in the charges for the use of Fearnan School in respect of functions organised for these bodies'.<sup>1189</sup> As well as facilitating the activity of local groups, the schools remained an important venue for political hustings, allowing candidates of every persuasion to address voters across Highland Perthshire. To give some examples, in 1955 the Unionist Election Agent booked the schools at Glenlyon, Fortingall and Fearnan for political meetings to be held during May, and in 1963 Glenlyon School housed meetings of the Liberal and Unionist Parties.<sup>1190</sup> The Unionist Party also held a political meeting in the disused school at Lawers. The association between educational spaces and democratic affairs was therefore maintained, with schools continuing to function as sites of citizenship for adults as well as children. Furthermore, this was periodically reinforced by the requisitioning of schools at election times which typically required lessons to be cancelled, as can be seen in the Fearnan log book which records, in an entry made by Miss Maynard on 27 May 1955, that the 'school children had holiday yesterday, as school was in use as polling station for General Election'.<sup>1191</sup>

In addition, many small schools continued to function as further education outlets and community libraries. In relation to the former, evening classes covering all manner of subjects, both practical and academic, were held across Scotland. Whereas it was possible for the young people in Aberlady to travel to Edinburgh or Prestonpans to attend 'technical schools and advanced classes in the evenings', such opportunities were out of reach for those living in more remote rural parts.<sup>1192</sup> Given that most courses still took place during the winter months, following the age-old pattern of increased educational activity during the least intensive part of the agricultural year, travel to urban centres was further complicated by the likelihood of inclement weather, and localised provision was therefore key to ensuring widespread access to further education. For this reason, the county education committees were eager to facilitate school use, and evidence from the *Third Statistical Account* suggests a certain amount of success in doing so. In Strathdon evening classes were 'held on a large variety of subjects' at both Towie School and at Strathdon in 1956.<sup>1193</sup> According to the account authors, 'provided at least 10 pupils enrol for an evening class, and also providing, in the case of practical classes, suitable equipment and accommodation are available, the Education Authority is normally willing to

<sup>1189</sup> Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1951-57, Minute of Meeting, 24 Dec 1953, p.286.

<sup>1190</sup> Ibid, 'Minute of Meeting', 1 July, 1955, p.322; Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, Minute of Meeting, 28 Nov. 1963, p.144.

<sup>1191</sup> The election was held on Thursday 26 May, 1955. Fearnan Public School Log Book, 1947-1968, p.131.

<sup>1192</sup> Caldwell, 'The Parish of Aberlady' [1949], p.334.

<sup>1193</sup> Forbes and Bolton, 'The Parish of Strathdon' [1956], p.285.

provide a teacher'.<sup>1194</sup> Similarly in the Kinloch district of Lochs on the Isle of Lewis, 'evening continuation classes in woodwork and dressmaking' were 'held in Balallan School during the winter months'.<sup>1195</sup>

Enthusiasm and commitment to such courses should not be over-estimated, however, and a number of accounts draw attention to the difficulties faced. Commenting on the efforts of the Orkney Education Committee, the author of the Orphir account complained that, 'it is only with difficulty that such classes hold together for their whole course of fifteen weeks'.<sup>1196</sup> The preponderance for 'numbers to fluctuate considerably' was also noted in Leurbost where 'evening classes in woodwork and navigation' were held.<sup>1197</sup> Nevertheless, at certain times and in particular areas further education was considered a great boon to local life and was keenly taken up. Thus, in the combined parishes of Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho classes 'held in the Central School during the winter months, from October to March' were reported to have been well attended, with 'a very large proportion of the available population' taking advantage of them.<sup>1198</sup> Adult education classes were also popular, with a course in current affairs running successfully each year, and an annual 'series of lectures with a definite local basis' drawing people in.<sup>1199</sup>

The county library services were equally dependent on school space and the accounts suggest that a great many schools were serving their communities in this way. As with receptiveness to evening classes, how these libraries were viewed and used varied over time and between settlements. Whereas Denholm, the main village in the parish of Cavers, had 'three very active libraries – one in the school, and one in each of the two village halls', the 'lending library ... provided at the school' in Glamis, Angus was 'made little use of'.<sup>1200</sup> Similarly, although each school in Lonmay parish, including Kininmonth, had a library, it was reported that 'the reading habit is at a low ebb, and in Morham few residents took advantage of the school library which was the only one in the parish'.<sup>1201</sup> In light of such cases, it is tempting to conclude that such facilities were no longer required. However, regardless of the level of usage, these libraries further cemented the idea that the schools were a community resource, not simply confined to the young and those directly associated with them. Though hard to quantify, the symbolic value of such things should not be forgotten. Following the ethnological argument of Anthony Cohen that community is as much of a 'symbolic construction' as it is a physical reality, the existence of

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<sup>1194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1195</sup> McKillop, 'The Parish of Lochs: Kinloch' [1954], p.410.

<sup>1196</sup> Pogue, 'The Parish of Orphir' [1952], p.143.

<sup>1197</sup> Smith, 'The Parish of Lochs: Leurbost, Crossbost, Ranish and Grimshader' [1955], p.406.

<sup>1198</sup> C. Blacklaw, 'The Parish of Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho' [1952, revised 1963], in J. P. B. Bulloch and J. M. Urquhart (eds.), *TSA: The Counties of Peebles and Selkirk* (Glasgow, 1964), p.108.

<sup>1199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1200</sup> H. G. Mhuir Watson, 'The Parish of Glamis' [1951, revised 1967], in W. A. Illsley (ed.), *TSA: The County of Angus*, (Arbroath, 1977), p.349.

<sup>1201</sup> J. A. Scott, 'The Parish of Lonmay' [1951], in Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Aberdeen*, p.317; J. M. Urquhart, 'The Parish of Morham' [1950], in C. P. Snodgrass (ed.), *TSA: The County of East Lothian*, (Edinburgh, 1953), p.297.

subtle markers, like a shared resource, helps to shape people's sense of place and their belonging to it. Low usage should not therefore be taken to mean that the libraries, and their positioning in the schools, were of no consequence. As Cohen observes, it is not 'the doing of social behaviour' that is important but 'the thinking about it' that matters.<sup>1202</sup> Far from detracting from the earlier argument that localised social activity plays an important role in place-making and identity-formation this perspective highlights the importance of less overt expressions of social connectivity. While the idea of imagined communities, a term coined by Benedict Anderson in his work on nationalism first published in 1983, is generally used to refer to spatially separate groups, it is also of relevance where face-to-face contact is possible.<sup>1203</sup> Indeed, given the dispersed nature of many rural settlements, and the trend of depopulation, increased mechanisation and greater individualism following the Second World War, the imagination of community has arguably taken on a new significance within geographically-defined communities as physical contact between residents has diminished.

Beyond providing a space for social and political activity and a site for shared resources, those schools in operation also brought one or more teachers into connection with the area, and the accounts suggest that many of these played a significant social as well as educational role. Following the established custom of a schoolmaster serving as session clerk and parish registrar, in some parishes the teacher performed additional roles within the community. The headteacher in Dunbog played her part in upholding this tradition by acting 'as registrar, as organist in the church' and generally doing 'much for the social and cultural life of the parish'.<sup>1204</sup> Likewise, Miss Davidson, who had charge of the one-teacher school in Dolphinton, Lanark served as the registrar, and was commended for the care she took of her pupils. According to the local minister, so interested was she in their welfare that she supplied 'little titbits, not officially on the menu', supplementing the school meals from her own pocket and giving the children further reason to 'adore her'.<sup>1205</sup> As observed in the county report for Peebles, the continued practice of providing houses for teachers in rural areas was central to this, locating staff within the community and encouraging them to become embedded in local life. In the early 1960s, houses were 'available for all teachers in the single-teacher schools', with those teaching elsewhere being given assistance to find accommodation, and this was seen to be 'an important factor in securing teachers' and preventing 'the disruption of community life so frequently found in larger communities'.<sup>1206</sup> In contrast to densely populated industrial areas where a teacher could 'live two separate lives, one inside the school and the other unrelated to it', the 'more intimate life' of the county was perceived to encourage greater contact with the teacher being 'invariably a well-

<sup>1202</sup> A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London, 1985), p.98.

<sup>1203</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

<sup>1204</sup> A. Smith, 'The Parish of Dunbog', in Smith (ed.) *TSA: The County of Fife*, p.742.

<sup>1205</sup> A. J. Anderson, 'The Parish of Dolphinton' [1952], in G. Thomson (ed.), *TSA: The County of Lanark* (Glasgow, 1960), p.573.

<sup>1206</sup> Bulloch, 'Peebles', p.26.

known and active figure, particularly in the countryside, and a leader in many sides of work'.<sup>1207</sup> As the examples given above show, such a generalisation was not without basis. However, it was by no means a reflection of experience everywhere, a fact clearly articulated by Stewart Geddes in his oral testimony. Born in 1937, Stewart attended Kinloch Laggan School and recalls, 'the two teachers that I remember were very sort of staid and didn't do anything'.<sup>1208</sup> Furthermore, although they were considered 'part of the community' he has no memory of them taking part in anything.

Given the diversity of experience within and between parishes, counties and regions in a Scotland, the idealised view of the rural teacher, which frequently drew on existing notions of the domineering but dutiful dominie to create something of a caricature, has understandably attracted critique. In the same way that the 'lad o'pairts' image of the bright boy of humble origins progressing from parish school to university has been scrutinised and labelled a myth, the idea of the socially active rural teacher has been dismissed as a romanticised representation of the past. For this reason, the wider contribution that some, though by no means all, teachers made to community life is often downplayed or ignored. A recent article exploring the question of whether school closures have had an impact on rural development is a case in point for although detailed consideration is given to the use of school buildings and local adjustment to changes in educational provision no mention is made of the social role played by teachers.<sup>1209</sup> Earlier research by Forsythe and others in the early 1980s did emphasise the importance of the teacher, highlighting the loss felt when small schools were closed.<sup>1210</sup> Yet, little of this interest has been carried forward, and current policy dialogue, most recently articulated in the report of the Commission on the Delivery of Rural Education published in 2013, does not engage with the issue.<sup>1211</sup> Though recognising that 'the village school can be an important part of the symbolic capital of a community', no reference is made to the social consequences of removing teaching staff from an area.<sup>1212</sup> Reflecting a heightened sense of individualism and professional separation which now precludes any suggestion that teachers should live where they teach and perform a wider social role, this omission highlights the danger of allowing current perceptions to limit historical analysis. As with any near contemporary historical study, it is important to recognise the ontological and epistemological dimensions of research, and attempt to step back from prevailing notions to appreciate how they have been shaped by the very processes under review.

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<sup>1207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1208</sup> Helen Young, Rural Schools, Stewart Murray Geddes (2014), SOHCA/053/11.

<sup>1209</sup> Slee and Miller, 'School Closures as a Driver of Rural Decline in Scotland: A Problem in Pursuit of some Evidence?'

<sup>1210</sup> Forsythe et al, *The Rural Community and the Small School*.

<sup>1211</sup> Although the report did highlight 'the challenges that staff faced in finding affordable accommodation or dealing with the costs of travel in some remote areas', no detailed assessment was made of where rural teachers live in relation to their schools. Furthermore, no consideration was given to how residency patterns may affect the relationship between school and community, The Scottish Government, *Report of the Commission on the Delivery of Rural Education* (Edinburgh, 2013).

<sup>1212</sup> Ibid, p.30.

Returning to the accounts and the role of the teacher in the community, there are signs that the greater separation between work and home experienced in the cities was becoming embedded in town and country life. Writing in 1951, the editor of the Ayr volume observed 'how much poorer socially are some of the places like mining villages where the teachers are non-resident and travel in daily from places where they make their homes'.<sup>1213</sup> The social impact of improved transport was also being felt in Renfrew and Bute where by 1962 there was 'little in the way of rural education', with 'the school-house rapidly disappearing', and with it 'the tradition of the headmaster as an essential figure in the community'.<sup>1214</sup> The inherent tension between individual rights and societal concerns, which had long been a feature of the campaign to professionalise teaching, was clearly intensifying. In particular, there was a new drive to define and defend the professional remit of the teacher, and delineate tasks within the school. This is evident in the observation that the Ayrshire teachers, described as 'a body of folk with definite ideas of their rights', were reluctant 'to supervise school meals on the grounds that this is outwith their functions as teachers'.<sup>1215</sup> Such demarcation of responsibilities is indicative of an increasingly compartmentalised approach to life which flourished in post-war Britain, and while individual teachers continued to exercise their own judgment in relation to these matters, the professional imperative to draw a clear line was to have a marked influence on future practice. As has been seen, previous generations of rural teachers had accepted, whether grudgingly or not, a blurring of the boundary between their primary role as educators and secondary considerations such as ensuring pupil welfare and contributing to the social life of the village or district. Yet, by the mid-twentieth century the legitimacy of the all-encompassing job was being questioned, with the new human rights framework giving impetus to the claim that it was an infringement of individual freedom and the right to privacy.<sup>1216</sup> Although this shift in thinking was by no means a sudden development, the adoption of a language of rights and freedoms following the war did much to cement the idea and bring it into the public consciousness.

Reviewing the various comments made about teachers in the community, it is significant that although women had long been a presence in the rural schools, and now far outnumbered men, the powerful image of the dominie continued to loom large. Highlighting the gendered edge to Scotland's pride in its educational tradition, the following remarks by the Peebles-shire editor,

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<sup>1213</sup> Strawhorn and Boyd (eds.), *TSA: The County of Ayrshire*, p.211.

<sup>1214</sup> A. G. Thain, 'Education', in H. A. Moisley, A. G. Thain, A. C. Somerville and W. Stevenson (eds.), *TSA: The County of Renfrew and Bute* (Glasgow, 1962), p.101.

<sup>1215</sup> Strawhorn and Boyd, *TSA: The County of Ayrshire*, p.211

<sup>1216</sup> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1948 as 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations'. Although Article 29 explicitly stated that 'everyone has duties to the community' and should 'exercise his rights and freedoms' with 'due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society', the inherent tension between individual rights and responsibility to others has made interpretation of this problematic.

James Bulloch, demonstrate how culturally ingrained the preference for male teachers was.<sup>1217</sup> Referring to the county's single teacher schools, Bulloch observes,

In some such cases there is a woman teacher but, however popular and respected these may be and undoubtedly are, the countryside prefers to have a married man in the schoolhouse. He fills a niche in local life.<sup>1218</sup>

The gender bias is clear and unashamed. Yet, this statement is far from being a simple one about the comparative value of male and female teachers. Rather, it shows an appreciation of the social aspect of a teacher's role and hints at the added benefits of having a family in the schoolhouse. Not only could the schoolmaster's wife be expected to make a contribution to local life, but there was also a far greater chance of there being young children in the household who would bolster the school roll. The editor of the Fife account also makes reference to this, remarking that 'the village "dominie" is not entirely gone, and in a number of parishes in the rural areas, the schoolmaster (and often his wife) figures prominently in the general life of the place'.<sup>1219</sup> Seen from this angle, the decline in the number of married men taking up teaching appointments in the small rural schools, and their replacement not with married women, but with spinsters who were less likely to be accompanied by other family members was bound to have some social impact. Yet, by emphasising this patriarchal model and lauding it as an ideal, such narratives effectively downplay the social significance of women teachers as a whole, whether married or not. This perhaps helps to explain why, even with the removal of the marriage bar and the launch of a national campaign to encourage married women teachers back into the classroom, the image of the rural school as a shadow of its former self was never shaken.

By the late 1950s the desirability of getting 'married women certificated teachers to come back into the profession' was widely recognised and the SED attempted to track 'these ladies' down.<sup>1220</sup> As there were around 19,000 such teachers at this time, compared to 6,900 who had already returned to service, the rationale was clear.<sup>1221</sup> These efforts formed part of a wider campaign to boost teacher numbers and various strategies were employed to get the message across.<sup>1222</sup> One of the proposals was 'to persuade "Illustrated", or another picture paper, to produce an attractive feature on the life of a Scottish teacher', and it is telling that the Department was keen for this to relate 'to a young man in a new secondary school' rather than

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<sup>1217</sup> James Boyd Prentice Bulloch (1915-1981) was an ordained minister who wrote a number of books on church history. In 1980, he was appointed Chaplain to the Queen in Scotland. At this time he was 'Minister of Stobo and Drumelzier, Tweedsmuir, Broughton and Skirling'. 'State intelligence', *London Gazette*, 1 Apr. 1989 [pub. 9 Apr. 1980].

<sup>1218</sup> Bulloch, 'Peebles', in Bulloch and Urquhart (eds.), *TSA: The Counties of Peebles and Selkirk* (Glasgow, 1964), p.27.

<sup>1219</sup> Smith (ed.), *TSA: The County of Fife*, p.152.

<sup>1220</sup> NRS, Training and Supply of Teachers Files, ED51/8/393, Supply of Teachers, Recruitment of Married Women Teachers: Publicity Campaign, 1957-1961, Memo from Mr Mitchell to Mr Drummond dated 7 Mar. 1958. Ibid, 'Memo from Mr Mitchell to Miss Coull dated 14 Mar. 1957.

<sup>1221</sup> Ibid, Draft Submission Setting out Arguments For and Against Proposal, attached to Memo from Mr Baird to Mr Rodger dated 20 Feb. 1958.

<sup>1222</sup> Various initiatives were introduced during and following the war to augment the supply of teachers including an Emergency Training Scheme initiated in 1944.

succumbing to the populist choice of 'a glamorous female in a Highland primary school'.<sup>1223</sup> All this points to the fact that while women teachers were now firmly established as the pragmatic choice, particularly in the primary sector, the professional ideal of the male graduate teacher persisted. Although the Teachers' Salaries (Scotland) Regulations, 1956 set the course for equal pay between men and women, with annual instalments leading to full implementation in 1961, certain groups were singled out for differentiation including 'women primary teachers trained at training colleges'.<sup>1224</sup> Whereas graduate primary teachers could earn between £575 and £985, non-graduate women teachers with three years college training were limited to between £470 and £780.<sup>1225</sup> As the majority of women primary teachers were non-graduates, with just a quarter of those in employment in 1956 having undertaken a degree, this disparity in wages further entrenched the idea that having a woman in the schoolhouse was something of a compromise and warranted less esteem.<sup>1226</sup>

Nevertheless, looking beyond the dominie ideal to discern everyday experience at local level, it is interesting to observe that women teachers, and particularly those taking on the headship of a remote one-teacher school, could earn the same level of respect as any previous schoolmaster had done and make a significant social as well as educational contribution to the community. As one schoolmistress had been at pains to point out to colleagues at the EIS congress in 1937, 'all the sadness about the disappearance of the Scottish dominie is rather a reflection upon the rural schoolmistress, who performs a very "useful" function in the community, and who takes a very large share in the running of the W.R.I'.<sup>1227</sup> Furthermore, as an increasing number were married and moved into the schoolhouse with their spouse, the social effects were multiplied. The example of Mrs MacInnes, who taught at Ardeonaig School from November 1968 until her retirement in 1982, demonstrates this clearly. As well as managing the demands of teaching in a one-teacher school, which had a roll of seven when she commenced duties, Mrs MacInnes quickly integrated into the local community and played a key social role.<sup>1228</sup> Though it is difficult to discern and capture all that went on during her time in Ardeonaig, the school log book abounds with references to socials and fundraising events held

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<sup>1223</sup> Supply of Teachers, Recruitment of Married Women Teachers: Publicity Campaign, 1957-1961, Memo from Mr Mitchell to Mr Rodger dated 12 July 1957.

<sup>1224</sup> SED, Education in Scotland in 1956, pp.85-6.

<sup>1225</sup> The salary range for those completing a four-year college course was slightly higher (£500-£810). Ibid, p.85

<sup>1226</sup> As at 1 Oct. 1956, of the 15,381 women certificated teachers working in primary departments 3,856 were graduates and 11,525 were non-graduates. Table 25, Ibid, p.141. Reviewing figures for the number of women gaining the General Certificate, whereas just over half (56%) that did so in 1938-9 were non-graduates, the proportion rose year on year during the fifties and reached seventy one percent in 1955-56. Table 24, Ibid, p.142. This change in the ratio of graduate to non-graduate women trainees was identified as a point of special interest by the departmental committee on numbers of teachers required for service in Scotland. SED, Supply of Teachers: First Report of the Departmental Committee, 1951, p.17. Perceptions of the teaching profession as a whole were further influenced by the expansion of college teacher training during the 1960s which, to quote Paterson, 'tended to reinforce this perception of a diminished status for school teaching. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, p.162.

<sup>1227</sup> Miss A. B. Muir of Edinburgh expressed this view, and further commented that women teachers in two-teacher rural schools 'remained very frequently, under something of an indignity' having 'placed in authority over her a young, inexperienced schoolmaster'. She felt it was an injustice that 'in most districts the only hope that a woman had of a headship was of a single-teacher school'. 'Teaching in remote areas of Scotland', *Glasgow Herald*, 30 Dec. 1937.

<sup>1228</sup> Ardeonaig Public School Log Book 1927-1969, p.308.

in the school and shows easy collaboration between parents and teacher. To give some examples from 1969, in October 'a travel talk and film show of the U.S.A. was given in the schoolroom ... to a gathering of sixty people', and the following month 'parents and teacher met in school ... to arrange a whist drive for school funds and the annual Children's Party at Christmas'.<sup>1229</sup> Mrs MacInnes was also an active member of local groups and, in the words of Margaret Taylor, 'was really very good at getting us all, the whole community together to things'.<sup>1230</sup> Indeed, she is attributed with starting a local branch of the WRI in the early 1970s which, unlike many of the Rurals in this area, is still in operation today. Though it is harder to ascertain how well her husband fitted into the community, the comment by Margaret's husband Kenneth that 'you went to meeting with Mrs MacInnes, and then you came back home and had a dram with Mr MacInnes' suggests that he was on equally good terms with the locals.<sup>1231</sup>

To help understand the social role played by this teacher, and arguably by others, it is useful to consider in brief the idea of 'bridging social capital' put forward by Putnam. Distinguishing different forms of social capital in his study of social connectivity in America, Putnam proposed that 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' could be defined as bonding or bridging.<sup>1232</sup> Whereas bonding social capital is exclusive in the sense that it is 'inward looking and tend[s] to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups', bridging social capital is outward-looking and inclusive, 'encompass[ing] people across diverse social cleavages'.<sup>1233</sup> Although Putnam sees bridging social capital most clearly at work in large-scale organisations such as youth service and ecumenical religious groups, the notion is arguably applicable to local level community relations. At first glance, the integration of Mrs MacInnes and her husband into Ardeonaig life looks very much like bonding social capital, with them becoming part of a local, inward-looking group. However, while this may reflect something of their experience, by serving as headteacher and facilitating social events that brought different members of the community together, Mrs MacInnes provided something of a social bridge. It is important to remember that small rural populations are not homogeneous and contain many different groups, some of which overlap and others that do not. Numerous lines of demarcation can be drawn, including that between native or long-term resident and incomer, and many interest groups identified, the most obvious one being the linkage between farmers. Rather than simply reinforcing existing networks, Mrs MacInnes bridged between different groups and encouraged a wider community view. The establishment of a WRI branch, for instance, brought women together in a new way and strengthened relationships that may

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<sup>1229</sup> SCA, School Log Books, PC3/17/14, Ardeonaig Public School Log Book, 1969-1986, p.3.

<sup>1230</sup> Margaret grew up at Mid Lix Farm by Killin and moved to Ardeonaig when she married a local farmer in 1963. Helen Young, *Lochside Life: Ardeonaig and Ardtalnaig* (Scottish Oral History Centre, 2011-2013) [*hereafter* *Lochside Life* + name of interviewee], Margaret Taylor (2012).

<sup>1231</sup> *Lochside Life*, Kenneth Taylor (2012).

<sup>1232</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*. Putnam attributes the coining of these terms to R. Gittel and A. Vidal, *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif, 1998), p.8.

<sup>1233</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, p.22.

otherwise have been weak or non-existent. It also gave newcomers a way in, and offered a means to develop a sense of place-based belonging. This is not to say that there was harmony and happiness at all times, or that some people did not feel excluded, but simply that the personality and social efforts of the teacher had a discernible impact in this remote rural setting. To use another social capital term coined by Burt, Mrs MacInnes can be seen to have filled a 'structural hole' in social relations. Due to her position as teacher and personality, she was able to 'span strategic gaps in social connections' and broaden people's understanding and experiences of community.<sup>1234</sup>

Given the importance of personality in determining how well a teacher settled into a rural position and the social role they were able to play, it is not surprising that while Mrs MacInnes was nurturing social relations in Ardeonaig, other rural teachers were struggling to integrate into their respective communities and some even faced strong parental opposition. Without disclosing too many details, one school in the case study area went through a very unsettled period during the early 1960s when numerous complaints were made concerning the conduct of the teacher.<sup>1235</sup> A number of meetings took place, including one involving the Director of Education, and despite agreement 'to start afresh and co-operate in solving difficulties which seemed to have faced them in the past' relations quickly broke down and the teacher was eventually transferred to a post elsewhere.<sup>1236</sup> The most alarming feature of this case, and the reason why action had to be taken, was that families began to leave the area with parents citing 'their unwillingness to send their children to school' under the current teacher as the main factor.<sup>1237</sup> Clearly reminiscent of the Fearnan case at the end of the nineteenth century, which saw the long-serving dominie removed from his post after a series of complaints by parents, this shows that local opinion continued to hold sway over the management of small rural schools. It also demonstrates the wider social significance of educational experience, and the importance of congenial relations between pupils and teacher in building trust and engendering respect within the community.

### School closure and centralisation

Returning to the *Third Statistical Account* for an insight into experience across rural Scotland, the entries for the sample districts confirm that the closure of small schools and centralisation of provision had become a paramount concern by the 1960s. As noted in the Aberdeen volume, 'the national policy of centralising schools has been much debated in the country' and cautious

<sup>1234</sup> R. Burt, *Structural Holes: the Social Structure of Competition* (Cambridge, MA, 1992) quoted in Field, *Social Capital*, p.74.

<sup>1235</sup> It was reported that 'two parents had complained independently to the Director of Education of treatment of their children ... of such a nature as to put their children in a state of fear'. The local doctor was also 'of the opinion that one of the children was suffering from nervous docility attributable to a fear of school'. Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75. Minutes of Meeting, 21 Oct. 1964, p.49.

<sup>1236</sup> Significantly, the teacher was transferred to a larger school situated in a town. Ibid, Minutes of Meeting', 26 Sept. 1963, p.44.

<sup>1237</sup> The teacher stayed in post for three years and was a member of the local education sub-committee during this time. Ibid, Minutes of meeting, 21 Oct. 1964, p.49.

moves were being taken to apply it.<sup>1238</sup> The main arguments against it were that 'young children should not be taken out of familiar surroundings and that that the school is a valuable centre in a rural community', and justification for it were seen in 'the fall of population in rural areas, the improvement of transport, rising physical standards for schools [and the] scarcity of teachers'.<sup>1239</sup> The desire for improved facilities was particularly influential and set a course for the closure of one-teacher schools in many areas. For instance, in Moray and Nairn it was 'decided, as a matter of principle, that in time all their one-roomed schools should be discontinued and consideration given to area schools in certain instances'.<sup>1240</sup> The overarching rationale was that such schools had 'ceased to be a sound educational unit'.<sup>1241</sup> That this was the opinion of parents as well as policymakers was also apparent, with it being observed in Wigtownshire that there had been 'opposition by some to the closing of schools, but others felt that centralisation was a good thing for the children and for education generally'.<sup>1242</sup> This highlights conflicting feelings at local level and the difficulty faced in finding a balance between modernisation and the sustenance of tradition.

This tension was also felt at national level, with politicians and education officials wrestling with the issue over many years. As evidenced in the previous chapters, the debate over rural schooling was a long-running one, with the creation of a public education system raising concerns from the start and the steady development of a distinct secondary sector polarising opinion. It therefore comes as no surprise that further centralisation of secondary education following the Second World War was the catalyst for renewed debate. Reviewing SED files from the period reveals that numerous discussions went on within the department and across the government as a whole, and detailed monitoring of school closures was undertaken. They also show that many different interest groups were engaged with the issue. To give some examples, in 1950 the Agricultural Advisory Committee for North Argyll sent a letter to the Secretary of the State for Agriculture in Scotland calling for consideration of a resolution that 'the educational value of the concentration of rural pupils in urban areas from the ages of 11 to 15 should be assessed particularly with regard to the impact on agricultural life'.<sup>1243</sup> Likewise, the following year the Ayrshire Agricultural Committee wrote that 'it was against the interest of hill sheep farming and the obtaining of young shepherds, that schools in remote districts should be closed' and asked that the Department of Agriculture 'use their influence with the Education Authorities to prevent the closing of country schools, and also to secure that the education of country pupils should be completed as far as possible at country schools with a curriculum more suited for

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<sup>1238</sup> H. Hamilton, 'Education', in Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The County of Aberdeen*, p.87.

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1240</sup> Lindsay, 'Education', in Hamilton (ed.), *TSA: The Counties of Moray and Nairn*, p.69.

<sup>1241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1242</sup> M.C. Arnott, 'Wigtown', in J. Laird, D. G. Ramsay and M. C. Arnott (eds.), *TSA: The Counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown* (Glasgow, 1965), p.376.

<sup>1243</sup> National Records of Scotland, Primary and Secondary Education Files, ED48/74/1, Closure of Small Rural Schools, Centralisation etc., 1950-1963, Letter from Agricultural Advisory Committee for North Argyll to Secretary of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, dated 24 July 1950.

rural employment'.<sup>1244</sup> Adding another element to this, a resolution from the Blackface Sheep Breeders' Association was enclosed with a request that 'conditions at our rural schools should be improved in order to attract the right type of teacher'.<sup>1245</sup> In response, the SED stressed that there was 'no evidence that Authorities are pursuing a deliberate policy of centralising educational facilities in urban districts to the detriment of the rural schools' and that 'any proposal to close a school is carefully considered on its merits and with due regard to local conditions'.<sup>1246</sup>

Questions continued to be asked and various proposals were put forward to stem the flow of small school closures. For instance, in an adjournment debate on the closing of village schools held in November 1953 the MP for Orkney and Shetland, Jo Grimond, made three suggestions: that more use should be made of travelling teachers for specialist subjects; that inducement grants should be increased; and that the permanent employment of part-time teachers in remote areas should be considered.<sup>1247</sup> On this last point, he somewhat controversially suggested that 'it is not so much intellectual education which is needed in the primary schools as a good, sensible motherly teacher'.<sup>1248</sup> The SED subsequently drafted a memo to the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr Henderson-Stewart, confirming that the remote school allowance was due to be considered under a review of teacher salaries, and advising him that 'the employment as a teacher of some local woman, not necessarily a certificated teacher' was justified 'only as a last resort and as a temporary expedient' as 'the results are seldom satisfactory'.<sup>1249</sup> Highlighting that they were 'constantly under criticism for employing uncertificated teachers', it was made clear that 'extension of the practice' should not be encouraged.<sup>1250</sup> Shortly after this the Minister of State queried whether 'a circular to Education Authorities would have any effect on the closure of rural schools', and the SED replied that a circular issued in 1947 had already made explicit that 'they should not close a small school merely because of diminished numbers' and gave reassurance that 'Authorities are resorting to closure only where there are the strongest grounds for doing so'.<sup>1251</sup> In general, internal correspondence on the matter was carefully worded and conciliatory. However, on occasions the frustration felt within the SED at some of the arguments being put forward for the retention of small schools crept in. Dubbing many of these 'fallacious', including the view that closure inevitably led to the 'impoverishment of social

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<sup>1244</sup> Ibid, Letter from Ayrshire Agricultural Committee [West of Scotland Agricultural College] to Secretary of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, dated 16 November 1951.

<sup>1245</sup> Ibid, Blackface Sheep Breeders' Association Resolution on Education, enclosed with Letter from Ayrshire Agricultural Committee.

<sup>1246</sup> It was also pointed out that 'the closing of a school requires the sanction of the Secretary of State', although there were some internal discussion about whether ministerial approval for every school closure was really necessary. Ibid, Reply from SED to Ayrshire Agricultural Committee, dated 6 Dec. 1951.

<sup>1247</sup> Hansard, House of Commons Debate, 4 November 1953 Vol. 520 cc293, Village Schools (Closing).

<sup>1248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1249</sup> Closure of small rural schools, centralisation etc. 1950-1963, Minute to Mr Henderson-Stewart from W.S.M, SED, dated 20 Nov. 1953.

<sup>1250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1251</sup> Ibid, Memo to Minister of State from W.S.M, SED, dated 20 Nov. 1953. The Earl of Home, Alec Douglas-Home, was Minister of State having been appointed to this newly created position in 1951.

life', one minute from the SED stressed 'the indefensible implications of the argument ... that pupils should be kept in their immediate environment for their education in case experience of wider opportunities should lead them to seek employment elsewhere'.<sup>1252</sup> Such comments reflect mounting concern that arguments with a legitimate basis in certain areas were being evoked when 'there was no local ground for complaint'.<sup>1253</sup> This was compounded by the fact that those raising concerns at a national level tended to be wealthier members of rural society 'whose own children quite frequently had been sent to boarding school in towns in spite of the strong views of their parents about rural depopulation'.<sup>1254</sup> In this way, simplistic generalisation about closures and contradictory practice undermined the legitimacy of the campaign to keep small rural schools open. Calling into question the validity of core concerns, this arguably fuelled the notion that certain claims, and particularly those which were hard to quantify such as the impact on community life, were more imagined than real. As one SED minute put it, 'many of the representations received in support of the general arguments for keeping a given school in being are founded on vague and unsubstantiated claims of a sentimental kind'.<sup>1255</sup> Over time this undoubtedly influenced discussions around rural development, encouraging a dismissive view of the social and community arguments being put forward. Thus by 1970, a member of the Inspectorate felt justified in asserting that the idea that 'small schools contribute to a local community' was 'an oft-repeated but not necessarily sound thesis'.<sup>1256</sup>

Taking a quantitative view of schools closures in Scotland during the post-war period, 213 primary schools and seventy-one secondary departments were closed between 1950 and 1962 (**Table 5.10** and **Figure 5.5**). A number of these were in the sample districts, including Steelend School in Saline and Dunan School in Strath both of which were closed during 1952, and the specifics of each case were noted in detail.<sup>1257</sup> A breakdown of the figures reveals that at the point of closure the primary school rolls ranged from one to seventy-two, with the majority

<sup>1252</sup> Ibid, Minute to Mr Henderson-Stewart from W.S.M., SED, dated 7 May 1954.

<sup>1253</sup> Following a political meeting held at Duns on 30 Jan. 1953, it was noted that the Director of Education for Berwickshire was under the impression 'that farmers who had attended meetings of the National Farmers Union, at which resolutions were passed against the closure of small country schools, sometimes came back to their own areas and denounced the practice as if it existed there when, in fact, there was no local ground for complaint'. It was further pointed out that it was the experience of the SED that 'complaints about the closure of remote country schools tended to come not so much from the parents of the children who attended them as from the employers of those parents whose own children quite frequently had been sent to boarding schools in towns in spite of the strong views of their parents about rural depopulation'. Ibid, Memo to Mr Brunton from Mr Arbuckle, dated 17 Jan. 1953.

<sup>1254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1255</sup> NRS, Primary and Secondary Education Files, ED48/1776, Educational Provision: General: Closure of Small Rural Schools, Centralisation etc., 1963-1970, Minute from J. W. Sinclair to Mr Baird on Closure of Small Rural Schools, dated 20 June 1963.

<sup>1256</sup> Though not stated in the minute, it would appear from the reference to 'my colleagues and I in the District' that Mr Reid was a district inspector in Aberdeenshire. NRS, Primary and Secondary Education files, ED48/929, Educational Provision: Reorganisation of Rural Schools, 1969-1971, Minute from J. J. Reid to R.E. Collins, Division VII, dated 30 July 1970.

<sup>1257</sup> The reasons given for closure in these cases were as follows. For Steelend Primary, with a roll of eighteen, it was stated that 'School originally opened for miners' children. Pit now abandoned and most of the houses destroyed by fire. Unlikely to be replaced. School building affected by dry-rot. £700 already spent on repair. Considerable expense necessary to keep building open'. Dunan was shut because of its 'low roll. E.A. cannot afford to employ experienced teacher when estimated roll for next five years is 3,2,3,1 and 2 respectively. No developments likely to increase school population but E.A. will retain buildings in case need for re-opening should arise'. The pupils from Steelend were 'transferred to Saline Junior Secondary School (3 miles distant), and the few from Dunan were 'conveyed to and from Broadford J.S.S (4½ miles distant)'. Ibid, Schools closed since date of submission to Minister of State in January, 1952, dated 10 Dec. 1952.

having fewer than ten pupils, and the secondary departments from three to 104.<sup>1258</sup> The economic rationale was therefore clear, and the supposed educational benefits of larger, better equipped and staffed schools made a strong case for rationalisation. Furthermore, in relation to the primaries it was hard to question the logic of transferring a small number of children just a few miles down the road to another local school. The centralisation of secondary education was more problematic, with many people remaining convinced, as they had been at the start of the century, that long journey times and the transfer of pupils to urban settings at an impressionable age was detrimental both to the children and to rural life as a whole. Furthermore, the widespread railway closures of the mid-sixties, known as the Beeching cuts, added another layer of complication in areas where most secondary pupils were conveyed to school by train. This was the case in Killin where the closure of the Callander to Oban line in 1965 necessitated a new bus service. Though this was implemented without too much difficulty, concerns were expressed about the precariousness of driving through 'the pass of Glenogle which rises to almost one thousand feet and is often blocked by snow or made impassable through icy conditions'.<sup>1259</sup> The SED recognised the importance of taking account of 'other current policies which may have an effect on the viability communities, particularly the Beeching plan proposals ... and the proposals in the forthcoming white paper for a possible reorganisation of local government'.<sup>1260</sup> Nevertheless, in all but a few instances the Secretary of State gave his approval to requests for closure and the pattern of school provision in rural Scotland continued to be transformed.<sup>1261</sup>

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<sup>1258</sup> Educational Provision: General: Closure of Small Rural Schools, Centralisation etc., 1963-1970, Discontinuance of Rural Primary Schools and Secondary Departments: Approvals given by the Secretary of State between January 1950 and December 1962 [handwritten calculations], 1963.

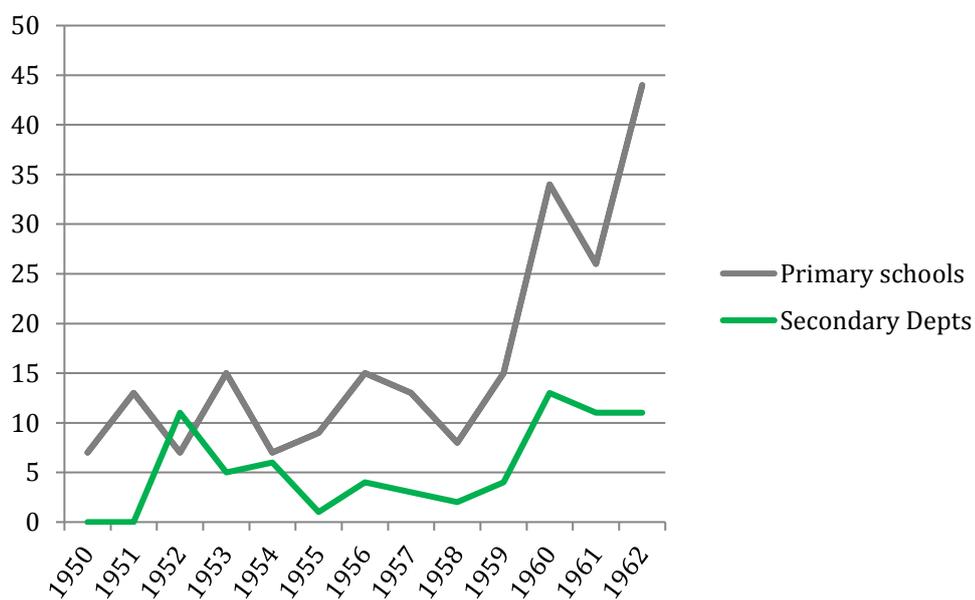
<sup>1259</sup> PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/3/1/43, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minutes Book, 1963-65, Schools Sub-Committee, 7 Jan. 1964, para.392.

<sup>1260</sup> In response to concerns raised by the Minister of State, a note of current policy and practice on the discontinuance of rural schools was issued in 1963. Educational Provision: General: Closure of Small Rural Schools, Centralisation etc., 1963-1970, Minute from J.W. Sinclair to Mr Baird, 10 June 1963.

<sup>1261</sup> In some cases, it was felt that 'the general social considerations are not outweighed by the economic or the educational'. For instance, in East Lothian the decision was taken 'to withhold approval to the closure of the schools at Humble, Garvald and Oldhamstocks' because 'the view was taken, with the concurrence of Ministers, that the school concerned would have an adverse effect on the life of the area not outbalanced by other considerations'. Ibid.

**Table 5.10: Scottish rural school closures, 1950-1962** <sup>1262</sup>

Year	Number of primary schools	Number of Secondary Depts
1950	7	-
1951	13	-
1952	7	11
1953	15	5
1954	7	6
1955	9	1
1956	15	4
1957	13	3
1958	8	2
1959	15	4
1960	34	13
1961	26	11
1962	44	11
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>71</b>

**Figure 5.5: Scottish rural school closures, 1950-1962** <sup>1263</sup>

<sup>1262</sup> Educational Provision: General: Closure of Small Rural Schools, Centralisation etc., 1963-1970, Discontinuance of Rural Primary Schools and Secondary Departments: Approvals given by the Secretary of State between January 1950 and December 1962 [handwritten calculations], 1963.

<sup>1263</sup> Ibid.

Engagement with the rural schools debate was ongoing throughout the 1960s, and by the close of the decade the reorganisation of rural schools was well under way. The extent of rationalisation did vary between counties, however, with some education authorities adopting a determined policy of centralisation and others taking slower steps towards it.<sup>1264</sup> As one SED official observed in 1969,

Few authorities seem to have any very clear-cut policy on centralisation of primary schools and there is considerable disparity between the policies of those who do have them. Many authorities just seem to deal with the circumstances of the moment without regard to the broader picture.<sup>1265</sup>

Taking this broader view, the SED was increasingly concerned that there should be a more coordinated strategy to determine the long-term pattern of primary schooling. A desire to quantify the benefits of rationalisation also became apparent, with the Secretary proposing an exercise to determine the costings of a scheme in Easter Ross.<sup>1266</sup> Recognising the likelihood 'that there would be considerable opposition locally to any closure of primary schools', he stressed that this should be 'a purely theoretical exercise' and kept 'strictly confidential'.<sup>1267</sup> Various discussions ensued, but on the advice of the Chief Inspector, Mr Forsyth, who pointed out that it would be nigh impossible to 'carry out such an exercise in strict confidence', the idea was dropped in favour of a retrospective study of 'an area in which reorganisation has already been carried out'.<sup>1268</sup> Due to staff shortages and other matters arising, this research was also shelved. Yet, though no action was taken the internal dialogue on this matter shows the extent to which the centralisation agenda had taken hold within the department. While 'centralising developments' were allowed to develop at a more natural pace at county level, there was a sense of inevitability to the rationalisation of schooling and an underlying acceptance that it was only a matter of time before most of Scotland's small rural schools would be closed.<sup>1269</sup> There was certainly seen to be no mileage in attempting 'to build up and bolster up the system, more or less as it is at present'.<sup>1270</sup>

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<sup>1264</sup> It was reported in 1963 that 'areas where fair numbers of small rural schools have been closed include Caithness, Inverness, Moray, Banff, Aberdeenshire, East Lothian, parts of the Borders and Galloway, and Argyll'. Educational Provision: General: Closure of Small Rural Schools, Centralisation etc., 1963-1970, Minute from J.W. Sinclair to Mr Baird on closure of small rural schools: Appendix A, dated 20 June 1963.

<sup>1265</sup> Educational Provision: Reorganisation of Rural Schools, 1969-1971, Minute from Mr Bell to Mr McIndoe', dated 28 Apr. 1969.

<sup>1266</sup> This idea arose from a meeting between the Secretary, the Director of Education for Ross and Cromarty (Mr Inglis) and the district inspector (Mr Caird). Ibid, Minute from SED Secretary to Mr Rendle, dated 27 Mar. 1969, Ibid.

<sup>1267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1268</sup> Mr Forsyth also pointed out that 'closure of rural primary schools is a very live issue, a very controversial issue, a social and political as well as an educational issue, and a very sore point with many people', and stressed that 'each case must be considered on its merits and must not be subject to external pressures'. Ibid, Minute from J. P. F. [Mr Forsyth, HMCI] to Mr McIndoe [SED], dated 16 May 1969; Ibid, Minute from Mr McIndoe to Mr Rendle, dated 19 May 1969.

<sup>1269</sup> The desirability of allowing 'centralising developments' to take place 'more naturally' had been highlighted by the HMCI Mr Forsyth. Ibid.

<sup>1270</sup> Although this was listed as a potential 'method of dealing with the problem' of rural reorganisation, it was written in such a way as to discourage serious consideration. 'Minute from J. J. Reid to R.E. Collins, Division VII, dated 30 July 1970, Ibid.

That little credence was being given to community arguments in the schools debate is all the more surprising given the burgeoning interest in rural community development at this time. Drawing inspiration from research and initiatives across the globe, the Scottish Council of Social Service, which had been founded in 1943 'to promote, initiate, plan or assist schemes or activities directed towards the social well-being of the community', established a Rural Community Development Committee in 1964.<sup>1271</sup> With the aim of promoting 'a national policy of rural community development', this body provided support to local community groups and encouraged, what was now being called, a grassroots approach.<sup>1272</sup> Reflecting the egalitarian ideal of a classless society to which every individual had a right and a responsibility to contribute, the emphasis was very much on empowering 'the people' to shape their own social, economic, cultural and political world. Recognition was given to the fact that conditions varied immensely, even between neighbouring parishes, and meaningful local engagement was seen as an important step 'in helping to discover and express the needs and potentialities of communities'.<sup>1273</sup> Whilst the initial emphasis in the 1940s had been on establishing village halls, the fruits of which are apparent in the *Third Statistical Account*, by the mid-sixties a broader community remit had been developed with a view to fostering 'the growth of local community councils', known at this time as 'local councils of social service'.<sup>1274</sup> In pushing for 'genuine community expression', the committee stressed that to be 'truly representative' these councils should not 'be created by outsiders nor those in official positions within the community'.<sup>1275</sup> The egalitarian logic of this is clear. However, as has been demonstrated in this study, local officials such as the minister, teacher and principal landowner, often played a fundamental role in community life. For centuries, the structure and functioning of rural society had been shaped by religious and class structures, and though these had been seriously eroded by this time, the associated patterns of social behaviour remained embedded. Therefore, to draw a distinction between those working in an official capacity within a community and other residents, who were seen to be the legitimate locals, was somewhat naïve and potentially counter-productive.<sup>1276</sup>

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<sup>1271</sup> NRS, Informal Further Education Files, ED27/292/1, Rural Community Development in Scotland, 1965-69, Note on the Scottish Council of Social Service by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, dated 30 Aug. 1966.

<sup>1272</sup> Ibid. This coincided with a call by the Development Commission, which had been 'established in 1909 by a Government which was concerned to take action to increase the material rewards and to enrich the quality of life of those who lived in rural areas', for 'reassessment by central government of plans for a rural policy, especially in the main areas of depopulation'. NRS, Primary and Secondary Education Files, ED48/993, Educational Provision: General Policy on Rural Development, 1963-1964, Memorandum from Development Commission to Prime Minister', dated 7 Dec, 1963; Ibid, Draft Memorandum from Development Commission to various Departments: Development Commission Proposals for Rural Development and Redevelopment, dated 17 Apr. 1964.

<sup>1273</sup> Ibid, Address by A.M. Dickie (Chairman, Scottish Rural Community Development Committee) to the Rural Councils of Social Service Conference, Highlands and Islands Area, dated 9 Dec. 1965.

<sup>1274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1276</sup> It was stated that though 'such people can assist the formation of a Council by e.g. convening meetings but the actual initiative for formation much come from the people themselves'. Ibid, Note on the Scottish Council of Social Service by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, dated 30 Aug. 1966.

Returning to the example of the Kenmore minister who operated in an official capacity but was also a husband, father, youth-worker, friend and neighbour with a long-term commitment to the area, to imply that he was not one of 'the people' seems somewhat absurd. Whilst such rhetoric may not have filtered down into practice, with a more pragmatic approach being taken at local level, its presence in the policy dialogue signalled an ongoing prejudice against those whose archetypal forebears had once dominated rural society.<sup>1277</sup> Though couched in different terms, this can be seen as an extension of the ideological argument which, in calling for an end to the old power structures of church and aristocracy, led to the abolition of the school boards in 1918.<sup>1278</sup> With the position of the landed gentry considerably weakened since the Great War, after which many of Scotland's large estates were broken up and sold, and the influence of the church waning in the face of secularisation, this continuing drive for democratisation threatened to destabilise rather than strengthen rural communities. Though it made sense in egalitarian terms to override the existing social order and redress power imbalances, ignoring the social significance of established patterns of association and leadership was likely to hinder rather than help community development. Looking back at local responses to administrative change in the case study area, the fact that there was considerable continuity of membership between the school boards and local management committees, and subsequently between them and the area sub-committees, shows a tendency to replicate existing structures and rely on the same social actors to represent community interests. This was arguably still the case in the 1960s, and to suggest that communities should do otherwise showed a complete disregard for the distinct social dynamics of rural life.

It is also significant that very little consideration was given to educational issues in formal discussions around community development. Rural school closures received no mention and only one of the official community groups, Arran Council of Social Service, identified educational provision as a core concern.<sup>1279</sup> Furthermore, the role of schools as a social venue was completely overlooked, with the emphasis repeatedly being put on village halls. The fact that the education committees were responsible for awarding grants for the building and maintenance of halls did link the two, but in most cases funds were channelled towards dedicated community facilities rather than seeking to enhance the letting element of the schools. In this sense, the Kenmore idea for a joint school and community centre was somewhat unusual and though it has

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<sup>1277</sup> That some people continued to acknowledge the importance of key local actors is apparent in the remarks made by Mr Scholes of the Highlands and Islands Development Board at the first meeting of the Working Group to review Rural Community Development in Scotland in Nov. 1966. As reported in the minutes, 'he spoke of the need for seeking out and involving certain identifiable leaders in the community such as the minister, the doctor etc.' Ibid, Minutes of Meeting: Working Group to Review Rural Rural Community Development in Scotland, 2 Nov. 1966.

<sup>1278</sup> For example, the vast Breadalbane Estate, which encompassed the parishes of Kenmore and Killin, started to be broken up in 1920 when financial pressure forced the Marquis to sell 'Taymouth Castle and the eastern portion of his Perthshire estates' to 'over forty different owners'. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, p.231.

<sup>1279</sup> The Arran Council had five standing committees, one of which was concerned with 'Culture, Education, Town and Country Planning'. Rural Community Development in Scotland, 1965-69, DAFS Note on Arran Council of Social Service, dated Nov. 1966.

grown in popularity in recent years, with the establishment of community campuses encompassing schools, libraries, sports facilities and other resources in many parts of Scotland, the main drive in the sixties was to create separate social and educational spaces.<sup>1280</sup> Likewise, no consideration was given to the social role played by the teachers themselves. It is perhaps for this reason that the community arguments for the retention of small rural schools were so readily dismissed, and why current discourse rarely emphasises these aspects of the schools debate.

Returning to local experience and honing in on the case study, by 1970 only six of the area's schools were still in operation; the one-teacher schools at Fearnan, Glendochart, Invervar and Strathfillan had been closed, and the old school in Acharn replaced by the new school and community centre in Kenmore (**Table 5.11** and **Figure 5.6**). In addition, as a consequence of the drive for comprehensive education and growing parental dissatisfaction with the facilities on offer, Killin's secondary department had been discontinued and the school downgraded to a primary in 1969.<sup>1281</sup> The reorganisation of secondary education on comprehensive lines began in 1962 and by 1971 the majority of pupils were attending schools of this type.<sup>1282</sup> Despite the threat of closure looming over the smaller schools for years, the decision to close one sometimes took people by surprise especially when recent work had been carried out to improve the building. For instance, the construction of a new toilet block was underway when Glendochart School was 'temporarily closed' in April 1963 following the resignation of its head teacher, and it was to remain shut.<sup>1283</sup> As Sheena Leszke, who was a pupil at the school at the time, recalls, 'I can remember them building it and where it was, and having to, when it was half finished, you know having to step carefully but I don't actually remember it finished and us using it, so ... they must have okayed it and then closed it'.<sup>1284</sup> A significant financial investment had also been made

<sup>1280</sup> For instance, over the last few years Perth and Kinross Council have invested heavily in building community campuses which incorporate a school or schools alongside a range of facilities for wider community use (leisure and business facilities, libraries, catering services). There are currently six in operation (including Breadalbane Community Campus in Aberfeldy) and over a quarter of all schoolchildren across Perth and Kinross attend one of these. Perth and Kinross Council, 'Community Campuses', <<http://www.pkc.gov.uk/communitycampuses>>, accessed 26 May 2016.

<sup>1281</sup> Following 'the recent appointment of a new Head Teacher of this school who has no Secondary teaching qualification', and supported by the view expressed by parents that 'their children would have better educational opportunities at the Secondary stage if they were transferred to the McLaren High School, Callander', it was agreed in June 1969 'that the whole of the Secondary Department at Killin be closed at the end of the current session'. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/3/1/46, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minute Book, 1969-71, Staffing Sub-Committee, Closure of Secondary Department at Killin J. S. School, 30 June 1969, para.138(2).

<sup>1282</sup> In 1972 it was reported that 'secondary education in 22 education authority areas is organised on comprehensive lines and all other authorities are presently at different stages of implementing schemes of reorganisation, and that 'in 1971, 72 per cent of secondary pupils were attending schools with a comprehensive intake'. In consequence, the number of secondary schools in Scotland dropped from 752 in 1962 to 516 in 1972. SED, Education in Scotland: A Statement of Policy, 1972, *PP*, 1972 [Cmd. 5175], p.9. Circular 600 issued by the SED in 1965 'recommended the "all-through" comprehensive school as the only acceptable form of secondary provision for Scotland'. J. Gray, A. F. McPherson and D. Raffe, *Reconstructions of Secondary Education: Theory, Myth and Practice since the War* (London, 1983), p.231.

<sup>1283</sup> An SED 'list of names of schools' circulation sheet noted that 'Glendochart Primary School (No.433) has been temporarily closed with effect from 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1963', School Inspectors' Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Glendochart, 1874-1939. The education committee minutes confirm that the decision was taken in light of the fact that 'the Head Teacher had resigned and ... only four pupils were now on the roll'. Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minute Book, 1963-65, Staffing Sub-Committee, 23 Apr. 1963, para.524.

<sup>1284</sup> Interestingly, Sheena lived with her parents in the old schoolhouse in Glendochart, which was used to house estate workers, and the teacher commuted by car from Crianlarich. Helen Young, Rural schools, Sheena Elizabeth Leszke (2014), SOHCA/053/09.

at Invervar just a few years prior to the school being shut in 1962, with various ‘alterations and additions’ being completed in 1959.<sup>1285</sup> The closure of Strathfillan School in Killin parish was less unexpected, however, as the plans for a replacement school building in Crianlarich were drawn up with the intention of amalgamating the two schools.<sup>1286</sup>

**Table 5.11: School closures within case study area, 1955-1970** <sup>1287</sup>

Group	Schools	
	1955	1970
Aberfeldy and Fortingall	Acharn Primary (closed 1967) Fearnan Primary (closed 1968) Fortingall Primary Glenlyon Primary Invervar Primary (closed 1962)	Kenmore Primary (opened 1967)  Fortingall Primary Glenlyon Primary
Killin	Ardeonaig Primary Crianlarich Primary Glendochart Primary (closed 1963) Killin Junior Secondary Strathfillan Primary (closed 1966)	Ardeonaig Primary Crianlarich Primary (new build 1967)  Killin Primary

**Figure 5.6: Map showing case study schools in operation, 1970** <sup>1288</sup>



<sup>1285</sup> Alterations and additions were made between 1958 and 1959. This included the provision of dining accommodation. Perth and Kinross Education Committee Minute Book, Vol. 21, 1956-59, ‘Property and Works Sub-Committee’, para.49(1).

<sup>1286</sup> Strathfillan School was ‘closed with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1966’. Its pupils were transferred to Crianlarich and the disused buildings were subsequently used as temporary accommodation while Crianlarich School was demolished and a new school built in 1967. NRS, School Inspection reports, ED18/2318, School Inspectors’ Reports: Perth and Kinross, Primary Schools Strathfillan, 1874-1952, Lists of Names of Schools Circulation List’; Crianlarich Primary School, Crianlarich Public School Log Book 1947-1977, pp.175, 187.

<sup>1287</sup> Various sources used including the school log books and education committee minutes.

<sup>1288</sup> Base map from <<https://www.google.co.uk/maps>>, accessed 9 Apr. 2016. Glen Lyon School is situated at Bridge of Balgie.

Though these closures affected just a handful of pupils, the impact on these individuals could be marked. Returning to Sheena's testimony, she recounts the difficulty she had settling into Killin School and the isolation she felt when transferring from there to Fearnan School. Looking back on the closure of Glendochart she recollects not wanting to move to the bigger school: 'being an only child I was very shy, very shy and sensitive and Killin was an absolute nightmare'.<sup>1289</sup> Even so, she did well at the school and 'was top of the class that first week', a fact she credits this to the 'brilliant primary education' she had received under Miss MacIntryre in the 'tiny little school'.<sup>1290</sup> Her transfer to Fearnan School not long after was also unsettling, and though she has few memories of the school there she recalls, 'I didn't like the kids ... I think I was bullied a bit there'.<sup>1291</sup> Tied up with the death of her father who passed away shortly after the move to Fearnan this period in her life, including the disruption to her schooling, is remembered with sadness. While Sheena's experience is unlikely to be representative, and should certainly not be taken to suggest that all children were negatively impacted by small school closures, her testimony draws attention to the emotional distress it did cause for some.

Considering the wider community impact of the closures, in the short-term Glendochart School continued to function as a social venue, and the school building at Invervar was let to the local community association on reasonable terms.<sup>1292</sup> Reflecting continued educational interest in the promotion of 'recreation and social and physical training', the disused school at Invervar subsequently became a base for outdoor pursuits following a request in 1968 from the headmaster of Glebe School, Scone to make use of the disused school to enable him to 'take small groups of pupils for weekends to participate in outdoor activities'.<sup>1293</sup> As highlighted by Simpson, many education authorities made residential provision for outdoor education during the 1960s and 1970s, and many disused rural schools were put to this purpose.<sup>1294</sup> Although the focus of activity at Invervar shifted from locals to outsiders, which may have caused some consternation, community groups were still able to utilise the building from time to time. In

<sup>1289</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Sheena Elizabeth Leszke (2014), SOHCA/053/09.

<sup>1290</sup> Sheena remembers the teacher being 'very strict but ... a good teacher'. Ibid. That the school had high academic standards, or aspirations, is also apparent in the testimony of Roy MacGregor, an attendee of Killin School, who laughed when recalling 'we used to call it Ardchyle Academy'. Helen Young, Rural schools, Duncan Roy Macgregor (2013), SOHCA/053/01.

<sup>1291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1292</sup> The disused school at Invervar was let to the Invervar Community Association from 1 Oct. 1962. No rent was charged but the association agreed to 'accept responsibility for maintaining the school buildings and such furniture and furnishings as may be left therein', and to 'be responsible for all electricity charges' and 'pay the rates'. Aberfeldy and Fortingall Local Education Sub-Committee Minute Book 1957-75, 'Minutes of Meeting', 9 May 1963.

<sup>1293</sup> Having been allocated this role from the outset, with the 1918 Act laying the ground for 'holiday or school camps', education authorities were tasked with 'securing adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz 2, Ch. 47, Clause 6. Many disused rural schools were therefore put to use for this purpose. The disused school at Lawers had been used for the purpose for many years and, reflecting the growing popularity of outdoor education, was improved for use 'as an outdoor training centre for youth activities' and renamed 'Lawers Outdoor Training Centre' in 1962'. PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/3/1/42, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minutes Book, 1961-63, Property and Works Sub-Committee, 21 Nov. 1961, para.268; Ibid, Further Education Sub-Committee, 18 Dec. 1962, para.313. Following its closure, Fearnan School was also remodelled as an outdoor training centre. Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minute Book, 1969-71, Further Education Sub-Committee, 16 Sept. 1969, para.222(4).

<sup>1294</sup> P. A. Simpson, *Residential Outdoor Education in Scotland* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Stirling, 2007), p.27.

1971, for instance, the school was 'made available for use by the local Church during the winter when not required for use by the Glebe School'.<sup>1295</sup> This retention as a community and educational resource also proved fortuitous for the school children of the glen, who were quickly relocated to Invervar following a fire at Glenlyon School in December 1973.<sup>1296</sup> The fire, which was caused by an electrical fault, completely destroyed the school located at Bridge of Balgie and though discussion ensued as to whether it was worth rebuilding it, the remoteness of the glen and inadequacy of the smaller school made a strong case for doing so. Approval was therefore given for the construction of a replacement school on the existing site and the pupils and teacher transferred back from Invervar as soon as it was completed.<sup>1297</sup>

**Table 5.12: Scottish primary schools by size of roll, 1966-1974** <sup>1298</sup>

Size of roll at January	Primary schools (not attached to secondary)									
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Size of roll at January	1971	1972	1973	1974
1-24	500	489	465	432	390	1-25	387	382	355	331
25-49	376	365	353	349	335	26-50	311	303	293	292
50-99	274	258	263	258	255	51-100	245	252	262	276
100+	1065	1088	1117	1137	1203	101+	1240	1264	1275	1295
<b>Total</b>	<b>2215</b>	<b>2200</b>	<b>2198</b>	<b>2176</b>	<b>2183</b>		<b>2183</b>	<b>2201</b>	<b>2185</b>	<b>2194</b>

Nationally, the reduction in the number of small schools during the late 1960s and early 1970s was equally marked. According to the published statistics, the number of very small one-teacher schools went down by a third from 500 in 1966 to 331 in 1974 (**Table 5.12**).<sup>1299</sup> Whereas the decline was gradual and sustained for the very small and small schools, those with a slightly larger roll went up and down in number reflecting the consolidation of provision.<sup>1300</sup> In many rural areas, the transfer of pupils to another local primary school provided a welcome boost to the roll there, and lessened the likelihood that it too would be closed. This was the

<sup>1295</sup> Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minute Book, 1969-71, Minutes of Meeting, 11 Feb. 1971.

<sup>1296</sup> The fire started in the early hours of Saturday 22 Dec. 1973, the day after the twelve pupils and their teacher, Mrs Begg, had broken up for the Christmas holidays. 'School blaze will cause no problems', *Courier and Advertiser (Perth and Perthshire Edition)*, 24 Dec. 1973; 'Fire destroys county school', *Perthshire Advertiser*, 26 Dec. 1973.

<sup>1297</sup> PKCA, Perth and Kinross County Education Records, CC1/3/1/48, Perth and Kinross Joint County Council Minute Book, 1973-75, Schools Sub-Committee, 5 Mar. 1974, para.534(7). The estimated cost of the replacement school was £58,000 and following a re-evaluation of 'the arguments for and against rebuilding Glenlyon Primary School' in March 1976, the rebuild was approved. Perth and Kinross Local Studies [hereafter PKLS], Minutes of Meetings of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 23 May 1974 - 16 May 1975, Appendix to Minute of Meeting of the Committee of Education, 17 Feb. 1975; *Ibid*, Minutes of Meeting of the Policy and General Purposes Sub-Committee, 1 Mar. 1976, para.10, p.908.

<sup>1298</sup> Data extracted from SED annual reports for period 1966-1975. SED, *Scottish Educational Statistics* (London).

<sup>1299</sup> Although the figures do not distinguish between rural and urban schools, it is fair to assume that the overwhelming majority of the very small schools (roll of 1-24 until 1970, 1-25 from 1971) were in rural areas. Only one of the 500 very small schools listed for 1966 was located in Edinburgh. SED, *Scottish Educational Statistics 1966* (London, 1966), pp.120-1; SED, *Scottish Educational Statistics 1974* (London, 1974).

<sup>1300</sup> These figures relate to primary schools not attached to a secondary department, therefore some schools, such as Killin, may have been excluded from the earlier figures, but included in the later ones.

situation in the case study parishes where closure and consolidation justified the building of new schools at Crianlarich and Kenmore, as well as in many of the sample districts. Reflecting on this process in Laggan, Isobel Geddes, who taught in this area of Inverness-shire from 1969 onwards, recalls how the closure of the one-teacher school at Kinloch-Laggan School 'saved Gergask' because the roll went up enough to justify keeping it open.<sup>1301</sup>

### The rural school after regionalisation

Finding ultimate expression in the local government reorganisation of 1975, the belief that centralisation was the key to efficiency and effectiveness continued to shape educational experience throughout the late twentieth century.<sup>1302</sup> As in 1947, the administrative framework of Scottish education came under review and various changes were implemented. However, the scale of reform far exceeded that of the previous legislation, and the impact at local level was more keenly felt. Replacing the old county structure with a two-tier system of regions and districts, the reorganisation led to numerous boundary changes, many of which cut across existing patterns of association. Significant changes occurred in Perthshire which was split between Tayside and Central, and the new regional border divided the case study area into two: Killin, along with the rest of the Western District, was moved into Central Region while Fortingall and Kenmore, which formed part of the Highland District, fell under Tayside Regional Council. Besides upsetting those who treasured their Perthshire identity, the division proved particularly significant on south Lochoyds where the neighbouring hamlets of Ardeonaig and Ardtalnaig now sat either side of a major administrative boundary. As explored in a previous study, although cooperation between the two councils made it possible for the Ardtalnaig children to continue attending Ardeonaig School, and for the Ardeonaig children to travel across the border to Aberfeldy for their secondary education, after the closure of Ardeonaig's one-teacher school in 1986 the boundary took on a new significance.<sup>1303</sup> From that point on, the children in Central Region were conveyed to Killin Primary, and those in Tayside Region to Kenmore. With regard to secondary education, while the flexible approach to provision did persist for a while, once it became common for pupils living in Ardeonaig to opt to follow their Killin friends to McLaren High School in Callander, transport charges for conveyance to Aberfeldy were introduced.<sup>1304</sup>

<sup>1301</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Isobel McIntosh Geddes (2014), SOHCA/053/11.

<sup>1302</sup> Following recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland, which issued its report (known as the Wheatley Report) in 1969, the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1973 came into force on 16 May 1975.

<sup>1303</sup> Helen Young, 'A Tale of Two hamlets: Continuity and Change in Lochside Life during the Twentieth Century' (unpublished MRes dissertation, Stirling, 2012). In Feb. 1975, Tayside Education Committee, which had been shadowing the existing ones and was due to take over on 16 May, noted that 'Ardeonaig School will transfer to Central Region, but parents have indicated a very strong wish to retain the connection with Breadalbane Academy and this would be the subject of further discussion with Central Region'. Minutes of Meetings of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 1974-75, 'Draft Paper on School and College Councils', dated 25 Feb. 1975, p353.

<sup>1304</sup> Oral history informant Joan MacKenzie's daughter Donna was one of the few children left at Ardeonaig School when it closed, and both she and another local girl attended Breadalbane Academy despite having been transferred to Killin for the remainder of their primary education. As she recalls, 'a wee bus, a minibus came ... and they got home every night [at] half four'. Helen Young, Lochside Life, Joan MacKenzie, 4 Nov. 2011. According to another local, Donald Hancock, by the time his children went to secondary school in the nineties, transfer to McLaren 'was automatic then. I think we could have sent them

As a result, children living within a few miles of each other began travelling in opposite directions for both their primary and secondary schooling.<sup>1305</sup>

Regionalisation also led to a feeling of peripherisation in this area, with one local commenting that when they went into Central Region, ‘there was literally people in Stirling didn’t know we existed’.<sup>1306</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed in the *Third Statistical Account* with the 1982 entry for Lilliesleaf, Roxburgh, observing that ‘this whole change-over has been heartily disliked, because the new Councils seem so remote from the people’.<sup>1307</sup> This feeling of detachment from local government had been foreseen by the Wheatley Commission, who stressed the need for representation below the district level, and this led to the establishment of community councils ‘to ascertain, co-ordinate and express to the local authorities for its area, and to public authorities, the views of the community which it represents’.<sup>1308</sup> In addition, the regional authorities were tasked with appointing specific local bodies to manage their schools and colleges, and by 1977 there were 302 school councils in operation across Scotland.<sup>1309</sup> Indicating a shift in educational governance, the aim was ‘to create independent bodies with the ability to interact with education committees rather than anything in the nature of sub-committees’.<sup>1310</sup> The precise details were to be determined by the education committees, the only stipulation being that there should be ‘due representation’ of parents and pupils and ‘at least one person interested in the promotion of religious education’.<sup>1311</sup> According to Macbeth, who undertook detailed research into the school councils at this time, there was significant variation in the grouping of schools, the size of the councils and their composition.<sup>1312</sup> However, the preferred option in most areas was for one council to cover a single secondary school and those primaries which fed into it.<sup>1313</sup>

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to Aberfeldy had we wanted to ... but we thought well seeing as they’d grown up with the kids in Killin they’d be better to continue their education with them’. Helen Young, *Lochside Life*, SOHC, Donald Hancock, 26 Jan. 2012.

<sup>1305</sup> As explored in the lochside study, to maintain a sense of community between the two settlements after Ardeonaig School closed a joint community association was formed and an annual programme of events akin to that which the school had run was instituted. Many of these, including a Halloween party and Christmas treat, continued to be held in the old school building and in this way the school, though no longer providing a shared educational experience for the children of the district, retained its symbolic value as a marker of community. Young, ‘A Tale of Two Hamlets’.

<sup>1306</sup> Helen Young, *Lochside Life*, SOHC, Donald Hancock, 26 Jan. 2012.

<sup>1307</sup> W. A. Mactaggart and Sprot ‘The parish of Lilliesleaf’ [1982], in J. Herdman (ed.), *TSAS: The County of Roxburgh* (Edinburgh, 1992), p.212.

<sup>1308</sup> Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, Ch.65, Part VI.

<sup>1309</sup> A. M. Macbeth, ‘Scottish School Councils: A New Initiative in School-Community Relations?’ in G. Baron (ed.), *The Politics of School Government* (Oxford, 1981), p.106.

<sup>1310</sup> SED Memorandum 14/1974, quoted in Macbeth, *Ibid*, p.113.

<sup>1311</sup> Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, Part VIII 125(3).

<sup>1312</sup> The largest grouping linked five secondary schools and their primaries, while there were seventeen others which served just one school (most being in remote rural areas). Councils ranged in size from three to seventy-six members, the average being twenty-six, and the membership of different groups varied a great deal. Thus while school membership (headteachers, teachers and non-teaching staff) varied from an average of twenty-five percent in Orkney to fifty-one percent in Lothian. Pupils and parents varied from an average of twenty-two percent in Fife to forty-five percent in the Highland Region, and community members from eight percent in Shetland to forty-three percent in Orkney, forty percent in Borders and forty percent in Dumfries and Galloway. Macbeth, *Ibid*, p.107. Macbeth co-authored a number of other publications on school councils including A. M. Macbeth and M. L. M. MacKenzie, ‘Community Participation and the Scottish School Councils’, *Scottish Educational Studies*, 8: 2 (1976); Macbeth et al, *Foundation Facts about Scottish School Councils* (Glasgow, 1977); Macbeth et al, *Scottish School Councils: Policy making, participation or irrelevance?* (London, 1980); Macbeth et al, *Scottish School Councils: Case studies* (Glasgow, 1980).

<sup>1313</sup> *Ibid*.

Following extensive consultation, the secondary catchment structure was adopted throughout most of Tayside, and the school council covering Kenmore and Fortingall was based around Breadalbane Academy.<sup>1314</sup> Given that Breadalbane drew pupils from across Highland Perthshire, the geographical scope of new council was wider than that of its predecessor, the Aberfeldy and Fortingall sub-committee, and the practice of having a parent representative for each school was discontinued.<sup>1315</sup> Democratic representation did increase in another direction, however, with membership being extended to include two senior secondary pupils who were elected by their peers and given full voting rights. Influenced by the drive for child-centred education, this demonstrated an emerging belief that children should have some kind of say in the running of their schools.<sup>1316</sup> Constituted in 1975, the first Aberfeldy School Council contained a few familiar faces, including Rev. MacVicar, and demonstrated a good overall balance of men and women (**Table 5.13**).<sup>1317</sup> Unfortunately, the same could not be said of the Tayside Education Committee which was extremely male-dominated due to the persistence of a marked gender imbalance in local, as well as national, politics (**Table 5.14**).<sup>1318</sup> Significantly, the Lochtayside landholder Alastair Duncan Miller, who owned Remony Estate by Acharn, was both a member of this committee and convenor of the regional council, and was thus able to represent the interests of his rural constituents at a high level. Reflecting on this in his autobiography, Kenneth MacVicar remembers that, though they were of different political persuasions with one being a Tory and the other a Liberal, he ‘was keen to support Alastair and begged him to stand as an Independent’ in the regional elections.<sup>1319</sup> Having done so he ‘was elected with a large majority’ which understandably made the people of Kenmore ‘pleased and proud’.<sup>1320</sup> Alastair had equal respect for the minister and gave a similar tribute in his own memoirs, recalling how they had enjoyed ‘a long period of partnership in local affairs ... and did much to help the parish in many ways’.<sup>1321</sup> Reminiscent of the leadership provided by laird and minister during the

<sup>1314</sup> In a draft paper on school and college councils, the Director of Education and Director of Administration reported that ‘various models’ had been ‘put out for consultation ... with the widest possible range of individuals and bodies’. Minutes of Meetings of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 1974-75, Draft paper on school and college councils, dated 25 Feb. 1975, pp.353-9.

<sup>1315</sup> The new school council initially covered Amulree, Ardeonaig (subsequently transferred to Central Region), Breadalbane Academy, Butterston, Royal School of Dunkeld, Fortingall, Georgetown, Glenlyon, Grandtully, Kenmore, Kinloch Rannoch and Logierait. The justification given for having a select number of representatives was that ‘an unnecessarily swollen membership would tend quickly to undermine any such conviction [that each member had a worthwhile role to play] and might in turn discourage people who really had something to offer from participating’. Ibid, pp.355, 258.

<sup>1316</sup> Unfortunately, it is outwith the scope of this study to investigate whether pupil representation was tokenistic.

<sup>1317</sup> The structure proposed in the draft paper appears to have been followed, and while the parent representatives were all women, there was a balance among the teachers, and a predominance of men in the religious, co-opted and councillor categories. The draft paper had advised the appointment of three parents and three teachers for the primary schools, three parents and three teachers for the secondary school, the head teacher of the secondary school and two of the primary school head teachers, two church representatives (one Roman Catholic, one Church of Scotland), one district councillor, up to two people (teachers or parents) to represent any special schools/units/classes, two senior pupils (one boy and one girl), up to three people to be co-opted, and that ‘the relevant Regional Councillor should have the right ex officio to attend any or all meetings’. ‘Draft paper on school and college councils’, Ibid, pp.358-9.

<sup>1318</sup> Given that very few elected members of the council were women, it is no surprise that the reconstituted committee appointed in 1976 contained just one female councillor. PKLS, Minutes of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 22 May 1975–2 Apr. 1976, Minute of Meeting of Tayside Regional Council, 12 Feb. 1976, p.710.

<sup>1319</sup> K. MacVicar, *The Wings of the Morning*, p.163

<sup>1320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1321</sup> Alastair served as a County Councillor for many years and was Convenor of Perth and Kinross Joint County Council from 1970-75. Kenneth MacVicar was a District Councillor from 1950 to 1978. Duncan Millar, *A Bit of Breadalbane*, p.193.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this demonstrates the ongoing social and cultural importance of local ‘dignitaries’ in shaping and directing community action. The fact that both men lived in Kenmore with their families and sent their children to the local school, even if only for the infant years, helped to embed them in the everyday life of the parish, and legitimised their leadership role.<sup>1322</sup> As Alastair’s wife Lois, now widowed, recalls, ‘we all took an interest in the school ‘cause, well all my children were there until they went off to Secondary School, and yes you took an interest and you went to prize-giving and the sports day and all that sort of thing’.<sup>1323</sup> This highlights the importance of shared experience and interests in creating strong community ties and representation, and points to the potential for social deficit when key figures, such as the minister or teacher, no longer reside in an area.

**Table 5.13: Aberfeldy (Breadalbane Academy) School Council, 1975** <sup>1324</sup>

Teachers	Parents & Pupils	Religious & Co-opted	Councillors
<b>Primary</b> - Mrs C. C. Maynard (Kinloch Rannoch P.S.) - Mr J. Wilson (Royal Sc. of Dunkeld) - Mr D. J. Warburton (Breadalbane Academy P.S.) - Mr N. MacLeod [Head] - Mrs M. Van Blerk [Head]	<b>Primary</b> - Mr W. Duff (Breadalbane Academy) - Mrs P. M. Menzies (Kenmore Primary) - Mrs P. M. McDiarmid (Breadalbane Academy)	<b>Religious representatives</b> - Rev. A McCarthy (RC) - Rev. K. MacVicar (CofS)	<b>District</b> <i>Unnamed</i>
<b>Secondary</b> - Mr G. Price (Breadalbane Academy) - Mr H. F. Watt (Breadalbane Academy) - Mrs M. S. Rhind (Breadalbane Academy) - Breadalbane Head teacher	<b>Secondary</b> - Mrs I. T. Barnett (Breadalbane Academy) - Mrs I. G. MacVicar (Breadalbane Academy) - Mrs M. K. Finlayson (Breadalbane Academy)	<b>Co-opted</b> <i>Unnamed</i>	<b>Regional</b> (ex officio) <i>Unnamed</i>
	<b>Pupils</b> - David Carlin - Gwendoline Carmichael		

<sup>1322</sup> Furthermore, Alasdair and Kenneth had children of similar ages who attended Acharn School during the fifties. Acharn Public School Register of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, 1873-1957.

<sup>1323</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Lois Reid McCosh Duncan Millar (2014), SOHCA/053/06. The Duncan Millar children attended Acharn School for the first three years of their education and then transferred to a prep school in Crieff. As well as being noted in the Admissions Register, Lois’ son James makes reference to this in his oral testimony: ‘I went to Crieff to Ardvreck and then I did five years there and then I went onto Loretto in Edinburgh or Musselburgh and did another five years there ... I was boarding in all cases’. Helen Young, Rural schools, James Duncan Millar (2014), SOHCA/053/07.

<sup>1324</sup> Minutes of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 1975-6, Appendix to minutes of meeting of the Policy and General Purposes Sub-Committee, 8 Oct, 1975, p.302.

**Table 5.14: Council membership of Tayside Education Committee, 1976** <sup>1325</sup>

Conservative	Nominated by Labour Group	Nominated by Independents
Angus Wallace (Convener) W. K. Fitzgerald Miss E. Carnegy (Vice-Convener) James A.O. Fordyce W. I. Malcolm Nigel R. F. Law Bruce Mackie Andrew Mansion Duncan S. Miller Sir David Montgomery Gavin L. McLuggage Douglas R. Paton James Scott Ian W. Stevenson James S. R. White	John Stewart Terry Fagan Fred Welsh Ernest Vigrow Allan Inglis Maurice McManus Ian Borthwick	I. A. Duncan Miller A. M. Lyle Kenneth Barton

Despite the change in status and composition, the school councils took over much of the work which had been carried out by the area sub-committees, including dealing with truancy issues, setting local holidays, buildings maintenance and managing school lets. As with the other areas of business, the regional education committee quickly turned its attention to aligning the letting policies of its constituent divisions and new regulations governing the 'use of schools for non-school purposes' were introduced in 1976.<sup>1326</sup> Marking a further bureaucratisation of the system, the charges for lets were categorised into standard, nominal or free, and numerous conditions were laid down.<sup>1327</sup> With inflation running high and oil prices spiralling out of control during the 1970s, supplementary policy guidelines were also issued calling for a reduction in the evening use of schools, with very precise guidance as to the decrease required.<sup>1328</sup> Although discretion was advised 'in rural areas, where no alternative premises are available ... in order to sustain local activity', the cost-saving drive to limit non-school use undoubtedly helped to embed the idea that school spaces, and particularly primaries, were best kept for educational purposes.<sup>1329</sup> As has been seen, beyond the economic rationale there was a strengthening conviction that shared use was disruptive to the work of the school and should be discouraged.

<sup>1325</sup> In addition, there were five non-council members: three persons interested in promotion of religious education and two teachers. Although not listed here, subsequent minutes suggest that these members were Rev. W. U. MacDonald, Rev. John B. Hanlon, Mr J. B. Lacey, Mr J. C. Smith and Dr T.E. Faulkner. Other councillors, including female members, also attended from time to time (e.g. Mrs Greta Young attended the meeting on the 19 April). Minutes of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 1975-6, Minute of Meeting of Tayside Regional Council, 12 Feb. 1976, p.710; PKLS, Minutes of the Tayside Regional Council and Committees, 8 Apr. 1976 - 30 Mar. 1977, Minutes of Meeting of the Education Committee', 19 Apr. 1976, p.15; Ibid, Minutes of Meeting of the Education Committee, 19 May 1976, p. 160.

<sup>1326</sup> Ibid, Appendix to Minutes of Meeting of the Policy and General Purposes Sub-Committee', 7 June 1976, p.291.

<sup>1327</sup> Ibid, p.299

<sup>1328</sup> For instance, it was stated that 'a school which, in session 1975-76 opened on five nights a week, should only open on four nights a week in session 1976-77' with a 'pro rata reduction' being effected elsewhere. Ibid, p.300.

<sup>1329</sup> It was noted that 'in urban areas and small burghs, where more than one school is available for use, it should be the Committee's policy to concentrate activities on secondary schools'. Ibid.

Financial and practical considerations therefore limited the operation of schools as a wider community resource.

The situation was much the same in Central Region, where the Killin sub-committee gave way to Callander School Council. Based around McLaren High School, the council covered a large geographical area and had oversight of seventeen primary schools including Killin, Crianlarich and Ardeonaig.<sup>1330</sup> Reflecting the previous grouping of these schools, each district was allocated a certain number of parent and teachers representatives, and the three Killin schools fared well in being able to appoint two of each. This was the same number as the districts with five primary schools were allowed. In total, there were to be twenty parent and twenty teacher representatives on the council as well as a further five adult representatives and two senior pupils.<sup>1331</sup> Interestingly, some of the other school councils in Central Region, namely those in Clackmannanshire, followed the pattern of having at least one parent and one teacher representative per school, but this was not made standard practice.<sup>1332</sup> While it made practical sense to focus activity around the high school, linking the administration of primary and secondary provision and providing a central location for meetings and training, the vastness of the catchment area left those on periphery at a considerable disadvantage. Given that Killin was situated over twenty miles from Callander and the other two settlements nearer thirty miles distant, with Ardeonaig being a precarious twenty-minute drive from Killin along a single-track lochside road which could be impassable during the winter months, engagement with the new school council was not a simple matter and required a significant amount of travel.

The harsh economic climate of the 1970s also heralded significant political change, with public discontent with Callaghan's Labour Government leading to a landslide victory for the Conservatives under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher in May 1979.<sup>1333</sup> Favouring a *laissez-faire* approach to economic development, Thatcher immediately embarked on a policy of monetarism to reduce inflation and set out to limit the power of the state and develop an unrestricted free market economy. Marking a definite end to the post-war consensus, this discernible shift from Keynesian economics to neoliberalism had a profound impact on British society.<sup>1334</sup> With libertarianism becoming the dominant political philosophy, personal autonomy and freedom of choice became paramount concerns and educational policy quickly

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<sup>1330</sup> In addition to McLaren High, the other schools were Callander, Balquhidder, Lochearnhead, Strathyre, Trossachs, Thornhill, Kincardine, Deanston, Doune, Aberfoyle, Gartmore, Inversnaid, Kinlochard, and Port of Mentith. SCA, Local Government Records, CR1/1/3, Central Regional Council Minute Book, 1975-1976, Table III: Numbers of Representatives of Parents and Teachers to be Nominated for Appointment to Serve on School Councils', p.220.

<sup>1331</sup> The five additional adult members represented the district council, community education, religious education, trade unions, commerce or other employment. Ibid, Appendix III: School Council Members, Ibid, p.227.

<sup>1332</sup> For instance, the Alloa, Hillfoots and Lornhill school councils all had a teacher and parent representative for each of their primary schools. Ibid, Table III: Numbers of Representatives of Parents and Teachers to be Nominated for Appointment to Serve on School Councils', p.220.

<sup>1333</sup> The Labour Government's attempt to control inflation by limiting pay increases led to widespread public sector strikes during the winter of 1978-79, now known as the 'winter of discontent', and this paved the way a Conservative victory.

<sup>1334</sup> D. T. Studlar, 'From Collectivist Consensus to Twenty-First Century Neoliberalism: Orders and Eras in Post-war Britain', *The Forum*, 5: 3, Art.3 (2007), p.1.

came to reflect these principles. The drive to extend choice and encourage greater parental involvement in the running of schools, which found ultimate expression in the government's self-governance agenda, was the most obvious outworking of this and various legislative steps were taken during the 1980s to allow market forces to shape educational provision. The first of these, the Parents' Charter of 1981, gave parents the right to request a place at a school other than their local one, and the subsequent School Boards (Scotland) Act 1988 placed school governance firmly in the hand of parents. In contrast to the school councils they replaced, the new boards were to be consumer-driven, with parent members being in the majority, and confined to individual schools.<sup>1335</sup> The underlying assumption was that those with a vested interest in a school were best placed to manage it and would be motivated to ensure an efficient, effective, and community-responsive service.

After decades of centralisation and administrative enlargement, this move promised to return school management to its local roots. As well as encouraging the use of 'premises by members of the community in which the school is situated', the boards were tasked with promoting 'contact between the school, parents of pupils ... and the community' and fostering a spirit of cooperation.<sup>1336</sup> From the outset, however, there was little appetite for such a high degree of 'parent power' in Scotland. This was clearly demonstrated during the consultation phase when an unprecedented number of responses were received, the majority of which rejected the school board proposal.<sup>1337</sup> Whilst the legislation was passed, leading to the establishment of the first boards in 1989, this underlying opposition to parent-led governance prevented the government realising its ultimate aim of getting schools to opt-out of local government control.<sup>1338</sup> For various reasons, the Scottish school boards, regardless of location and size, did not wish to take on full management responsibility for their schools.<sup>1339</sup> From a rural perspective, the reintroduction of school boards, albeit in a very different guise to the earlier ones, and increased emphasis on parental choice of school, posed a number of distinct challenges. The most obvious

<sup>1335</sup> School Boards (Scotland) Act, 1988, Ch.47, Clause 2(2).

<sup>1336</sup> The 'formation of parent-teacher and parents' associations' was particularly encouraged' and it was stipulated that the school board should 'make a report to parents of pupils in attendance at the school in order to inform parents of the Board's activities' at least once a year and 'ascertain the views of parents'. Ibid, Clauses 12 and 14(1).

<sup>1337</sup> Over ninety percent of the 8,000 responses to the consultation opposed the move despite the Scottish Parent Teacher Council (SPTC) being supportive of it. According to Gillespie, the proposal was rejected by parents 'largely on the grounds that they didn't trust other parents to run their child's school and they particularly didn't trust the type of parent who would put themselves forward'. J. Gillespie, 'The Parent Dimension in Education', in Bryce and Humes, *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution*, p.195.

<sup>1338</sup> The Self-Governing Schools etc. (Scotland) Act, 1989 came into force on 1 Feb. 1990.

<<http://legislation.data.gov.uk/uksi/1990/86>>, accessed 23 Apr. 2016. According to Humes, the lack of enthusiasm in Scotland was because 'the philosophy of individual consumerism ran counter to the image of civil society as an embodiment of certain principles (notable equality and social unity) valued in the national consciousness'. To his mind, the fact that this image 'is as much a myth as reality is not important'. W. Humes, 'Policy Making in Scottish Education', in Bryce and Humes, *Scottish Education*, p.79

<sup>1339</sup> Only two schools became self-governing: Dornoch Academy and St Mary's Primary in Dunblane. When the Education (Scotland) Act, 2000 rescinded the opting-out legislation, Dornoch returned to education authority control, and St Mary's followed in 2003 after parents lost their court battle to retain independence. Although the legislation was invoked by other boards, in most cases the intention was to delay the closure of a school rather than seeking self-governing status. J. Gillespie, 'The parent dimension in education', Ibid, p.196. According to Paterson, 'these moves were always vetoed by the Government since restricting public expenditure had a higher priority for them than parental power'. Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*, pp.139-40.

issue was that the wide dispersal of rural schools meant that there were few educational options to choose from, and in remote areas there was effectively no choice unless pupils were prepared to travel very long distances or board away from home. Introducing market mechanisms to education therefore made very little sense in rural areas, and brought new financial and educational pressures to bear on the small schools. The new governance agenda also proved problematic, particularly for the very small schools which lacked an adequate number of parents to establish their own school boards.<sup>1340</sup> In such cases, no election process was attempted and the regional education authority took over the local management functions.<sup>1341</sup> Furthermore, the very small schools were not alone in operating without a board. According to the Scottish School Board Association, in May 1994 only seventy-four percent of primary schools who were eligible to hold elections had managed to form their own board.<sup>1342</sup> This partial coverage continued and though the proportion of primary schools with boards had gone up to eighty-two percent by May 2000 many schools, in both rural and urban areas, operated without one.<sup>1343</sup> There was also considerable disparity between education areas; by 2002 only six authorities had school boards established in all of their schools, and the coverage in some was as low as fifty-nine percent (**Figure 5.7**).<sup>1344</sup> As highlighted by O'Brien, various studies were undertaken to assess the school board system and these revealed a divergence of opinion and experience.<sup>1345</sup> For instance, a study commissioned by the government in the early nineties found that the role of the boards varied widely, and while some merely rubber-stamped decisions made by the head teacher, others engaged in 'more open discussion'.<sup>1346</sup>

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<sup>1340</sup> The Act allowed education authorities to 'decide not to establish a School Board for a school ... if they are satisfied that by reason of the small number of pupils in attendance at the school there are insufficient parents of such pupils who are qualified to serve as parent members to satisfy the requirements of this Act'. Where no board was established, the functions were to be 'exercised by the education authority'. School Boards (Scotland) Act, 1988, Clause 21(1)(a).

<sup>1341</sup> Little attention was paid to this at the time, with one commentator being content to observe, 'that by November 1989 practically every school in Scotland should have its own school board, made up of parents in a voting majority, together with staff and co-opted members from the neighbourhood'. P. Littlewood, 'The Return of the Board? "Parent Power" and Participation in the Scottish School System', *Critical Social Policy*, 9: 27 (1989), pp.96-7. Littlewood was also happy to accept the simplified view that the education sub-committees established after 1947 'were generally regarded as tokenist, and were largely ineffective' and that the new schools marked a big change in creating 'at least the *possibility* for parents, teachers and other locally based interests to have once again a degree of direct influence over the nature of schooling'. These statements do not capture the variety of experience highlighted in this study. *Ibid*, pp.96, 101,

<sup>1342</sup> 'Eligible schools' were those in which school board elections were required. Interestingly, this report also claims that prior to the reintroduction of school boards, 'schools were administered by the education authority ... with little involvement of the local community in the decisions of management'. This generalisation is clearly misleading, and shows how the promotion of a particular agenda can lead to a distortion of the facts about what has gone before. Scottish School Board Association, 'Scotland - School Organisation and Management in Scotland', <<http://www.schoolboard-scotland.com/conference/Scotland%20-%20Education%20System.htm>>, accessed 23 Apr. 2016. These figures also appear in a government press release. Scottish Executive News Release, School Boards in Scottish Schools: May 2002 (Edinburgh, 21 Nov. 2002).

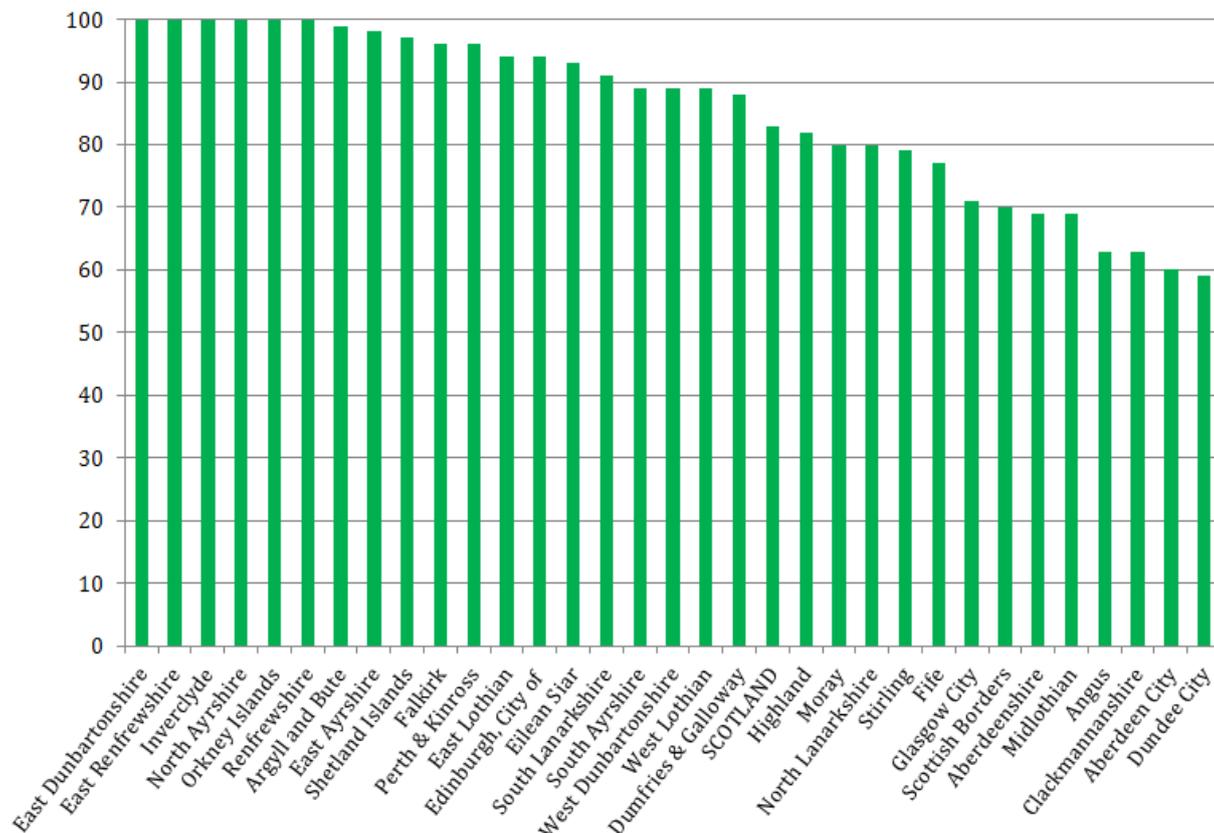
<sup>1343</sup> Scottish Executive News Release, *Ibid*.

<sup>1344</sup> East Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, Inverclyde, North Ayrshire, Orkney Islands, and Renfrewshire had school boards in all of their primary schools, whereas the coverage in Dundee City (59%), Aberdeen City (60%), Angus (63%), Clackmannanshire (63%), Aberdeenshire (69%) was far lower. *Ibid*.

<sup>1345</sup> J. P. O'Brien, *An Analysis of Participatory Democracy in Scottish School Boards up to 1994* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Glasgow, 1998), pp.280-5.

<sup>1346</sup> *Ibid*, p.283.

**Figure 5.7: Proportion of Scottish primary schools with a school board by education authority, 2002** <sup>1347</sup>



The difficulty of getting parents involved in school board matters was perhaps the biggest challenge, particularly if the new system of governance was perceived to be tokenistic, and many small rural schools struggled to maintain an adequate level of engagement. Taking Killin Primary as an example, although the school had been able to establish a board in 1989 within two years it was struggling to replenish its members. The fact that ‘no parent could be found to stand for election’ was reported in a local newsletter and it was stressed that unless two parents were willing to be co-opted the board would have to be ‘suspended till the next elections in two years’ time’.<sup>1348</sup> Just a few months earlier, the same author had acknowledged that the powers of the board were limited, with it seeming that ‘every time we try to put a question or make a point we are told that this particular topic is not within our remit’.<sup>1349</sup> Yet, it is telling that this concern to keep the school board running was not rooted in a desire to gain greater influence, but in a determination to mount ‘effective resistance’ to the self-governance agenda.<sup>1350</sup> Although it was

<sup>1347</sup> These figures relate to ‘eligible education authority schools’ which were required to have a school board election. Ibid.

<sup>1348</sup> D. Syme ‘Killin School Board’, *Killin News*, 5 (Nov. 1991), p.6.

<sup>1349</sup> D. Syme, ‘Killin School Board’, *Killin News*, 3 (July 1991), p.2.

<sup>1350</sup> Syme ‘Killin School Board’, *Killin News*, 5 (Nov. 1991), p.6.

acknowledged that the proposals could be ‘seen as an opportunity to free ourselves from the rather remote bureaucracy in Stirling and to make better use of our funding’, the practical reality lacked appeal.<sup>1351</sup> Given the already low level of engagement, the idea that parents and other locals would be ‘obliged ... to take a much bigger role in the management of the school’ was a worrying prospect, particularly given the pressure to maintain a parallel parent-teacher association and deliver an ongoing programme of ‘social, educational and fundraising events’.<sup>1352</sup> Add to this various other groups within the village that required time and effort, and there were simply not enough willing volunteers to go around. While a few determined individuals did manage to keep Killin School Board going, it is easy to see why so many schools failed to establish and maintain one.

Looking more specifically at the very small schools, these changes to the local governance structure, moving from area sub-committees to school councils and then to individual school boards, left many rural teachers feeling professionally isolated and dependent on informal local mechanisms for support. This is captured in the testimony of Sheena Chisholm who took on the headship of the one-teacher school at Ardeonaig in 1982. Although this school had closed by the time the board system was introduced, her experiences show the level of detachment even before the intermediary layer of management had been removed. Sheena remembers a great deal of autonomy at school level, to the extent that she was appointed to the post on the recommendation of the existing head teacher who simply phoned her up to ask, ‘would you be at all interested in taking on ... Ardeonaig’.<sup>1353</sup> Reflecting back on this, she wonders at the fact that ‘no-one interviewed me’. The other side to this was that the regional education authority took very little interest in what she was doing. As she recalls, ‘I went along there and I could’ve been teaching absolute rubbish, no-one came to see what I was doing ... until the end of the first year ... on a lovely summer day two people arrived up from Stirling’.<sup>1354</sup> In contrast, ‘the people of Ardeonaig, couldn’t have been more supportive’ and provided ‘stuff that the children needed’.<sup>1355</sup> Sheena was the first of the Ardeonaig teachers to live outwith the community, choosing to commute daily along the single track road from Killin. Nevertheless, having previously taught in the school on supply and being well-known in the area, she was quickly accepted as a core member of the community and treasures the fact that ‘to this day, the ones that knew me when I was along there, still make me feel as if I’m part of ... the Ardeonaig scene’. Things could of course have been different, with much depending on personality and the nature of existing school-community relations, but there was clearly potential for easy collaboration in such settings. In this instance, minimal input from the school council and education committee

<sup>1351</sup> Syme, ‘Killin School Board’, *Killin News*, 3 (July 1991), p.2

<sup>1352</sup> Syme ‘Killin School Board’, *Killin News*, 5 (Nov. 1991), p.6; ‘Killin Primary School PTA’, *Killin News*, 9 (July 1992), p.4.

<sup>1353</sup> Helen Young, *Rural schools*, Sheena Agnes Chisholm (2013), SOHCA/053/03.

<sup>1354</sup> Stirling was the base for Central Regional Council. *Ibid.*

<sup>1355</sup> Members of the Taylor family who owned much of the farmland in the district were particularly active in supporting the work of the school. *Ibid.*

had a positive effect, allowing for a local responsiveness to recruitment needs and nurturing a sense of community responsibility for the school. However, this was in no way guaranteed, and if issues had arisen it would have been difficult to get the required support.

Considering the broader context, it comes as no surprise that the significant political and economic developments of this period led to a surge of interest in rural affairs, specifically in relation to 'sparsely populated areas'. As a result, the small rural school received a considerable amount of attention during the late 1970s and early 1980s and was the subject of detailed research. The Interskola annual conference, which had been instituted following a meeting between Norwegian and Scottish teachers in 1967, was particularly influential in highlighting rural educational concerns, and the proceedings of the 1974 meeting held in Golspie were central to SED discussions at this time.<sup>1356</sup> Lasting six days, the Golspie conference 'was attended by about 60 prominent educationalists, including 20 delegates from abroad' and stimulated discussion of key issues facing rural communities, including how to promote cultural and linguistic identity.<sup>1357</sup> With participants from Ireland, Wales, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Scotland, the conference encouraged international comparison and collaboration, and stirred policy-makers to do likewise. This is apparent in correspondence between the French Ambassador and the SED in 1982 with regard to the difficulties faced in maintaining 'schools in under-populated areas, especially mountain areas in France'. The French Ministry of Education had requested information on 'how similar problems form their solutions in Scotland' and the Scottish Chief Inspector provided a detailed reply.<sup>1358</sup> Interestingly, this included the observation that,

A very high proportion of our teachers in our most report areas, including the Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland, were born and educated in those areas. They have an affinity with these areas, and they provide stability.<sup>1359</sup>

Such requests from foreign governments, provided further stimulus for research into Scottish rural schools, and a major study was commissioned by the SED to inform the debate. Published in 1983 under the title *The Rural Community and the Small School*, this research project encompassed policy analysis, an interview survey, case studies, an economic review and a study of children's attitudes.<sup>1360</sup> One of the key findings from the interview survey was that 'public perception of small rural schools varies greatly from area to area' and is heavily influenced by

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<sup>1356</sup> The proceedings of the 1974 conference were kept on file by the SED. NRS, Primary and Secondary Education files, ED48/2115, Educational Provision: Provision of Education in Rural Areas: General, including School Closure Proposals, 1974-1984.

<sup>1357</sup> 'Educationalists air views on rural areas', *Scotsman* 17 July 1974. In relation to cultural and linguistic identity, a detailed paper on Gaelic was discussed at the conference. , Educational Provision: Provision of education in Rural Areas: General, including School Closure Proposals, 1974-1984.

<sup>1358</sup> *Ibid*, Letter from French Embassy in London to SED, dated 20 Sept. 1982.

<sup>1359</sup> *Ibid*, Scottish Chief Inspector reply to French Embassy, dated 11 Oct. 1982.

<sup>1360</sup> 457 people were interviewed in sixteen catchment areas in Highland and Tayside. Forsythe et al, *The Rural Community and the Small School*.

'the extent to which the teaching staff are seen as good teachers'.<sup>1361</sup> This was seen to challenge the view that one and two-teacher schools were 'necessarily too small to be educationally viable', and called into question the recommendation of the influential Plowden Report that primary schools should have at least three classes.<sup>1362</sup> Key to this was the observation that pupils educated in small schools were neither socially nor psychologically disadvantaged.<sup>1363</sup> As can be seen in the oral testimony of Sheena Chisholm, who admits to being slightly worried at the end of her first year teaching in Ardeonaig when the initial cohort of pupils moved up to high school, this was a common concern even amongst the teachers themselves.<sup>1364</sup> However, just as Sheena was reassured by news that the children had transitioned well and 'had covered what they were meant to cover', such fears often proved to be unfounded.<sup>1365</sup>

Looking at the community angle, the study also found that school closures had 'social effects for the general community', the most significant one being 'a greatly increased feeling of powerlessness or alienation'.<sup>1366</sup> Put in simple terms, it increased 'the social distance between school and community', and made school a more remote institution for parents and non-parents alike.<sup>1367</sup> Thus, while people adjusted to the change and came to accept a new pattern of provision, the level of contact with school and between parents typically diminished.<sup>1368</sup> Although noting, as this study does, 'the diversity of ways in which primary schools fit into rural communities' and emphasising the importance of a good match between teacher and community, the case study material showed that, regardless of the circumstances, most small schools had 'symbolic value in the eyes of local residents' and could, by their 'very presence ... promote a sense of community identity'.<sup>1369</sup> Though such arguments were not new, the level of articulation and emphasis on the intangible, cultural aspects of educational provision marked further development of the debate. Influenced by other initiatives at this time, including research and lobbying undertaken by the Rural Forum, the rural schools study added weight to the argument that the persistent policy of reorganisation should be reviewed.<sup>1370</sup> Its

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<sup>1361</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>1362</sup> Although the Plowden report acknowledged that 'local circumstances will make exceptions inevitable', these were considered a regrettable compromise. Department for Education and Science, *The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools – A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)* (London, 1967), pp.177-8.

<sup>1363</sup> Forsythe et al, *The Rural Community and the Small School*, p.5.

<sup>1364</sup> Sheena took on the headship of the one-teacher school at Ardeonaig in 1982. Helen Young, Rural schools, Sheena Agnes Chisholm (2013), SOHCA/053/03.

<sup>1365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1366</sup> Forsythe et al, *The Rural Community and the Small School*, Ibid, p.2.

<sup>1367</sup> It was observed that 'even many years after ... the alternative schools remains to both parents and non-parents a more remote institution'. Clearly, for the pupils themselves this would not have been the case. Ibid, p.3.

<sup>1368</sup> Ibid, p.6. Interestingly, the ability of communities to adjust to changes in provision has been seen by some commentators as proof that the impact of closure is minimal. For instance, Slee and Miller argue that the 'long run evidence of adaptation sits uncomfortably with public sentiment and political rhetoric, which tend to posit that small school closures are undesirable and have adverse consequences for rural areas'. Slee and Miller, 'School Closures as a Driver of Rural Decline in Scotland', p.86.

<sup>1369</sup> Ibid, pp.3-4.

<sup>1370</sup> The Rural Forum, an alliance of organisations representing people living in the Scottish Countryside, was very active at this time, and its activities were driven by the likes of Jim Hunter and Mark Shucksmith, two academics who have become renowned for their rural-focused research. Hunter, whose social history of the Scottish Highlands, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, was first published in 1976, was acting as project officer for the Rural Forum in 1984, and Shucksmith wrote numerous reports, including one on *Scotland's Rural Housing*, which were submitted to the Scottish Development

inconsistency with other policies was also a concern, as articulated in a Rural Forum news release which posed the question, 'what is the point of encouraging official bodies like the Scottish Development Agency and the Highlands and Islands Development Board to spend public money on rural development if the good effects of such investment are to be offset by school closures?'.<sup>1371</sup> Advocating broader analysis of the economic costs of rural school provision, which for many years had been confined to an assessment of education budgets, this agenda encouraged a more joined-up view of rural affairs and a pragmatic approach to resource allocation. The fact that not all rural school closures resulted in a net saving for the local authority provided further impetus for this.<sup>1372</sup>

Seeking to gain a better understanding of the community dimensions of the small rural school, a number of other research projects were undertaken during the 1980s including an investigation into the attitudes and experiences of rural head teachers. Carried out by Anne Caskie, the head teacher of Aberuthven School, this study focused on 'a group of small rural schools in the Perth and Kinross Division of Tayside Region, and used a postal survey to ascertain the views of the teachers on various issues'.<sup>1373</sup> As well as exploring the educational aspects of the small school, the head teachers were asked to comment on parental involvement in the schools, their interaction with the community both socially and as a leader, and the social importance of the school.<sup>1374</sup> Perhaps the most interesting finding was that living in a schoolhouse or close to the school did not determine the 'frequency of social interaction within the community'.<sup>1375</sup> Neither was there seen to be an expectation or desire for the teacher to perform a leadership role. However, the schools were viewed as 'a uniting link within the community', with a number of them serving as local venues even if there was a village hall nearby. This provides additional evidence that whilst experience did vary, small schools were generally seen to have some bearing on community life. Of course, this should not be taken to mean that people did not have conflicting feelings about the retention of a small school. Indeed the survey suggested that there was 'a greater desire to retain the school than to have one's children educated there', and this is supported by the testimony of a parent from Ardeonaig who,

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Department. Its activities in 1984 are documented in the SED file, Educational Provision: Provision of Education in Rural Areas: General, including School Closure Proposals, 1974-1984. Hunter, now Emeritus Professor of History at the University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI), was made a CBE in in 2001, and Shucksmith, who is currently Director of the Newcastle University Institute for Social Renewal, received an OBE in 2009 for services to rural development and to crofting. Newcastle University, 'Professor Mark Shucksmith', <<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/guru/staff/profile/mark.shucksmith>>; UHI, 'Professor James Hunter', <<https://www.uhi.ac.uk/en/research-enterprise/cultural/centre-for-history/staff/professor-james-hunter>>, accessed 30 Apr. 2016.

<sup>1371</sup> Educational Provision: Provision of Education in Rural Areas: General, including School Closure Proposals, 1974-1984, Rural Forum (Scotland), News Release, dated 16 July 1984.

<sup>1372</sup> The Forsythe study used a simple cost-benefit model to check the savings estimated by local authorities. They looked at fifteen cases of closure and found that in at least four of them there was no net saving. Forsythe et al, *The Rural Community and the Small School*, p.5.

<sup>1373</sup> The study was undertaken for a Master's degree in education. A. Caskie, 'The Small Rural School in its Community - Perceptions of the Headteacher' (unpublished MEd dissertation, Stirling, 1982).

<sup>1374</sup> Ibid, p.ii.

<sup>1375</sup> Ibid.

despite regretting the closure of the lochside school, was thankful that his children would automatically go to the larger village school in Killin.<sup>1376</sup>

As highlighted earlier, teaching in a very small rural school was challenging on a number of fronts, and the need for appropriate training and support was an ongoing concern. The emphasis on this in Caskie's research reflects the experiences of the rural teachers interviewed for this study, all of whom made some comment about the difficulties and distinctiveness of rural teaching. For instance, Nancy Mackenzie who taught in Barr Primary, South Ayrshire for twenty-seven years, remembers the strain of being 'the only person in the school' and never getting a break.<sup>1377</sup> In her words, 'you never got away from it, I mean I did dinner duty everyday as well so really when I went in the door in the morning that was me till I came out at night'.<sup>1378</sup> Balancing teaching and supervision with management responsibilities was also an issue. Reflecting back on the 1980s, Irene Henderson, who was the head teacher of Crianlarich School until 1995, despairs at 'the amount of paperwork you had to read ... oh and meetings'.<sup>1379</sup> She particularly remembers there being 'huge things on school boards', and although her board proved to be 'good and very supportive' this added more work to her schedule.<sup>1380</sup> Even in the larger rural schools, the proliferation of administrative requirements left many teachers struggling to get everything done. For Linda Frost, who taught in Killin Primary, the biggest change came with the introduction of the 5-14 curriculum 'guidelines' in 1987 which demanded a new level of planning and documentation. To her mind, 'it got to be ridiculous where certain columns had to be filled in and your headteacher would look at it and say, "yes that's fine, but you need to change the order of words [to] match column one"'.<sup>1381</sup> This greater emphasis on form-filling was seen as an unnecessary distraction, and though not confined to the small schools it was particularly burdensome in these settings.

The peculiarities of teaching in a small school also gave rural teachers a sense of distinctiveness and a shared identity. This is captured in Irene Henderson's comment that 'we weren't the power dresses we rural teachers ... that's for sure', and 'were a breed apart'.<sup>1382</sup> When attending meetings, she imagined her urban colleagues thinking, 'oh here they come, the rural brigade', and found it frustrating that the unique characteristics of the small schools were often ignored. As well as not always feeling supported in her work, Irene remembers thinking,

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<sup>1376</sup> Ibid, pp.92-3; Phil Simpson remembers people saying to him 'what a shame Roger's not a little bit older, because if he'd gone to the school it might have stayed open' and recalls thinking 'thank goodness, the school's closing in time so he gets some socialisation elsewhere'. Helen Young, *Lochside Life*, Philip Simpson (2011), SOHCA.

<sup>1377</sup> Helen Young, *Rural Schools*, Nancy Mackenzie (2014), SOHCA/053/12.

<sup>1378</sup> Some additional support was provided and this increased over time. Nancy recalls, 'I had another member of staff who came in point two of the week, which equated really to two mornings and it was myself the rest of the time, and they gave me a secretary every afternoon'. A part-time janitor who lived locally was also employed and 'they gradually increased the hours of that and I got them in so that the playtime was covered in the morning ... and they increased the hours of the secretary and then in 1999 I got a classroom assistant. Ibid.

<sup>1379</sup> Helen Young, *Rural schools*, Irene Henderson (2013), SOHCA/053/04.

<sup>1380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1381</sup> Helen Young, *Rural schools*, Linda Mary Frost (2013), SOHCA/053/02.

<sup>1382</sup> Helen Young, *Rural schools*, Irene Henderson (2013), SOHCA/053/04.

'do they really understand the workings of a rural school?', especially when initiatives were introduced that she knew would 'no work in our school'.<sup>1383</sup> The emphasis given to this issue in a report on rural primary schools in England, which drew on the Scottish study and was published in 1987, shows that she was not alone in feeling this.<sup>1384</sup> Experience in East Anglia since the 1960s had shown that, 'whether vividly exciting, or just plain dull, the small rural schools were markedly different from the larger schools to be found in towns and cities in the ways they worked, the social relationships within and around them, and in their community contexts'.<sup>1385</sup> Furthermore, it was observed that there was 'a growing disillusionment with the belief that centralized solutions can answer local problems' and a sense that 'so long as successive governments continue to reach for standardized drivers to the question of how to improve education quality and how to ensure greater quality of opportunity, the future for the small rural schools will look bleak'.<sup>1386</sup> This neatly sums up the educational predicament of the twentieth century, and expresses much of what has been observed in this study.

The pressure on Scotland's small rural schools to match the performance of their larger urban counterparts, continued to intensify into the 1990s with various educational initiatives being introduced and developed. As well as embedding the 5-14 curriculum, schools were required to demonstrate effective development planning, make provision for staff development and appraisal, and operationalise a new system of Devolved School Management (DSM).<sup>1387</sup> The DSM scheme, introduced in 1993, was intended 'to give schools and communities more flexibility in expenditure, based on local needs and priorities' by devolving eighty percent of the budget to school level.<sup>1388</sup> However, not all small school head teachers welcomed this enhanced autonomy as it added yet another item to an already long list of tasks and accountabilities, and did not necessarily empower them to make decisions.<sup>1389</sup> Recognising the particular burden this placed on such teachers, the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) commissioned a study of the 'management strategies and activities adopted by head teachers in small schools', and noted the characteristics of their teachers.<sup>1390</sup> Collating the views of 708 head teachers working in small primary schools across Scotland, this research provides a valuable snapshot of

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<sup>1383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1384</sup> A. Bell and A. Sigsworth, *The Small Rural Primary School: A Matter of Quality* (Lewes, 1987).

<sup>1385</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1386</sup> Ibid, p.276.

<sup>1387</sup> Wilson and McPake, *Managing Change in Small Scottish Primary Schools*, p.2.

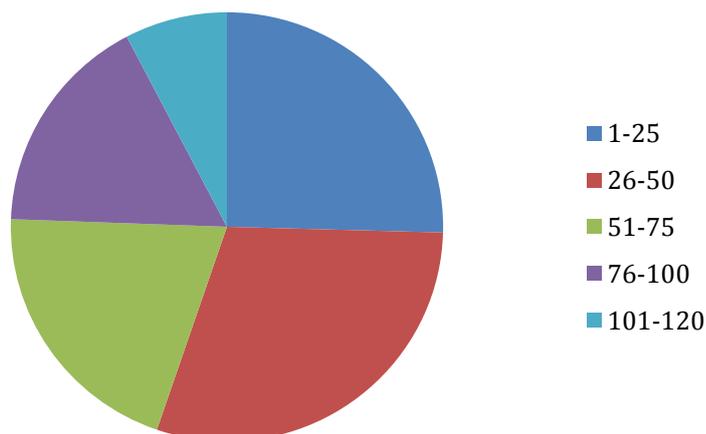
<sup>1388</sup> D. Cameron, *Devolved School Management Review*, Review commissioned by the Scottish Government (Edinburgh, 2011), p.2.

<sup>1389</sup> The report noted that 'headteachers hold very diverse views about DSM: in general many who have implemented the initiative welcome the opportunity to manage their own budgets; while those who have yet to implement it remain unsure of its value'. Some were also worried about the added stress and need for clerical support. Wilson and McPake, *Managing Change*, p.32. Furthermore, as observed in a recent review of DSM, 'there are situations where larger schools are working to the same arrangements as smaller schools in the same council areas, but have far greater capacity to make decisions because of the scale of their budgets', Cameron, *Devolved School Management Review*, p.2.

<sup>1390</sup> Recognising 'a tendency in the literature which fails to differentiate between rural schools and small schools', this study focused on small schools in both rural and urban settings. Seventy-two of the schools surveyed were in urban or mixed areas. Wilson and McPake, *Managing Change in Small Scottish Primary Schools*, p.4.

educational provision at the end of the twentieth century.<sup>1391</sup> A quarter of the schools surveyed had twenty-five pupils or less and nearly a third had between twenty-six and fifty (**Figure 5.8**). Disaggregating by the number of teachers, around ten percent were single-teacher schools and the largest proportion (29%) had two teachers (**Table 5.15**). In terms of the teachers, the overwhelming majority of respondents were female (81%), confirming that women continued to dominate the headship of small schools.<sup>1392</sup>

**Figure 5.8: Small schools surveyed by size of roll, 1996** <sup>1393</sup>



**Table 5.15: Small schools surveyed by number of teachers, 1996** <sup>1394</sup>

Number of teachers	Number of schools	
1	70	10%
2	201	29%
3	159	23%
4	116	17%
5	78	11%
6	43	6%
7	15	2%
8	6	1%
9	1	(<1%)
10	3	(<1%)
	<b>692</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>1391</sup> A postal survey was sent to all head teachers of small schools with a roll of 120 or less, totalling 863. 569 of the schools had a roll of 1-59 and 325 had 60-120. The response rate was eighty-two percent, with 708 valid returns. In addition, preliminary visits were paid to six schools, interviews were held with 18 case study head teachers and validation questionnaires were sent to a further sample of 60 head teachers. *Ibid.*, pp.vii,1, 3.

<sup>1392</sup> It was noted that 'the smaller the school, the more likely it is that a woman will be headteacher'. However, in the schools with fewer than 60 pupils there was still seen to be 'an over-representation of male heads (18%), given the overwhelmingly female primary teacher population', which at this time was ninety-two percent of the total. *Ibid.* p.13.

<sup>1393</sup> Data extracted from Table 3.1: Number of schools by size of school roll, *Ibid.* p.8.

<sup>1394</sup> Copied from Table 3.2: Number of schools with 1-10 teachers. *Ibid.* p.9.

Focusing in on some of the issues raised, the majority of respondents (71%) reported living outwith their school's catchment area, though this was far less common on the islands and much more likely in urban and mixed areas.<sup>1395</sup> This resonates with the testimonies recorded for this study, which note a growing tendency for teachers to live elsewhere and commute in. For instance, Nancy Mackenzie continued living in Girvan when she started teaching at Barr Primary in 1978, and spent the first few years travelling in with the head teacher who lived just across the road from her.<sup>1396</sup> In her experience this was never a problem, with no-one in the village ever commenting on it.<sup>1397</sup> While teachers in the case study area lived locally for much longer, by the close of the century this was beginning to change so that now 'none of the teachers live locally to either Killin, Crianlarich or Strathyre'.<sup>1398</sup> Though highlighted as an issue, with people complaining that they 'don't know any of the teachers at the school anymore', there was a growing acceptance that teachers should be able to separate home from work.<sup>1399</sup> Despite living in close proximity to her school and being an established part of the Crianlarich community, Irene strongly believes that whilst 'parents feel the teachers should live locally ... I say not now, no, I think teachers have to get away or they don't get a life'.<sup>1400</sup> Equally, Sheena recognises that, unlike herself 'some teachers do not want that, some teachers it's the last thing on earth that they would want to do was live in the community in which they taught'.<sup>1401</sup> The social implications of this are difficult to unpack, with much depending on the personality of the teacher and, as observed in the Forsythe study, their fit with the community. However, there was clearly potential for a school to seem less embedded in local life if its teachers were only connected to it in an official capacity. Another interesting finding from the survey of head teachers was that a substantial number were originally from rural areas, and almost a third of them had been educated in a small school. In many cases this had influenced the decision to take up a post, with 'fond memories' and a sense of 'loyalty' being factored in.<sup>1402</sup>

Taking stock of the situation in the case study area and sample districts, analysis using the Scottish Government 'Historical school roll figures, 1996-2014' shows that only four of the case study schools and sixty-one of those in the sample districts were still in operation at the close of the twentieth century.<sup>1403</sup> Given that there had been sixteen schools in the case study area and 144 schools in the sample districts in 1929, this represents a marked reduction and demonstrates the extent of rationalisation across Scotland following the Second World War.

<sup>1395</sup> Sixty-six percent of island teachers lived in the catchment area, whereas eighty-five percent of those in urban and mixed areas did not. 'Mixed' refers to those catchments areas encompassing rural and urban settlements. *Ibid*, p.14.

<sup>1396</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Nancy Mackenzie (2014), SOHCA/053/12.

<sup>1397</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>1398</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Linda Mary Frost (2013), SOHCA/053/02.

<sup>1399</sup> The lack of suitable housing, particularly after many of the school houses were sold off or converted for other purposes, was also cited as an issue. Wilson and McPake, *Managing Change in Small Scottish Primary Schools*, p.14.

<sup>1400</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Irene Henderson (2013), SOHCA/053/04.

<sup>1401</sup> Helen Young, Rural schools, Sheena Agnes Chisolm (2013), SOHCA/053/03.

<sup>1402</sup> Wilson and McPake, *Managing Change in Small Scottish Primary Schools*, p.14.

<sup>1403</sup> Scottish Government, 'Historical School Roll Figures, 1996-2014' <<http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/HistoricDatasets/Rolls-2006>>, accessed 1 May 2016. Fortingall Primary closed in 1977, and the children were transferred to Breadalbane Primary School in Aberfeldy.

Although the school rolls continued to vary widely, ranging from six in Borrodale Primary, Duirinish to 206 at the school in Dunbarney the majority of schools had between twenty-six and fifty pupils (**Figure 5.9, Tables 5.16 and 5.17**). Using the rural schools list, compiled by the Scottish Government since 2010, it is also interesting to note that most of the sample schools which remain open today are either in accessible rural areas or remote rural areas, with only a few classified as being remote.<sup>1404</sup> This reflects the pattern of closure with those in remote areas more likely to be shut due to a falling roll than those in very remote ones locations, and the accessible rural schools retaining enough pupils to justify their retention. In the case study, all but Crianlarich, which falls into the remote category, have been designated very remote rural. Across Scotland more broadly, there were 865 rural primary and secondary schools in 2015, around half of which were considered accessible, a fifth were in remote areas and a just under a third were located in very remote areas.<sup>1405</sup>

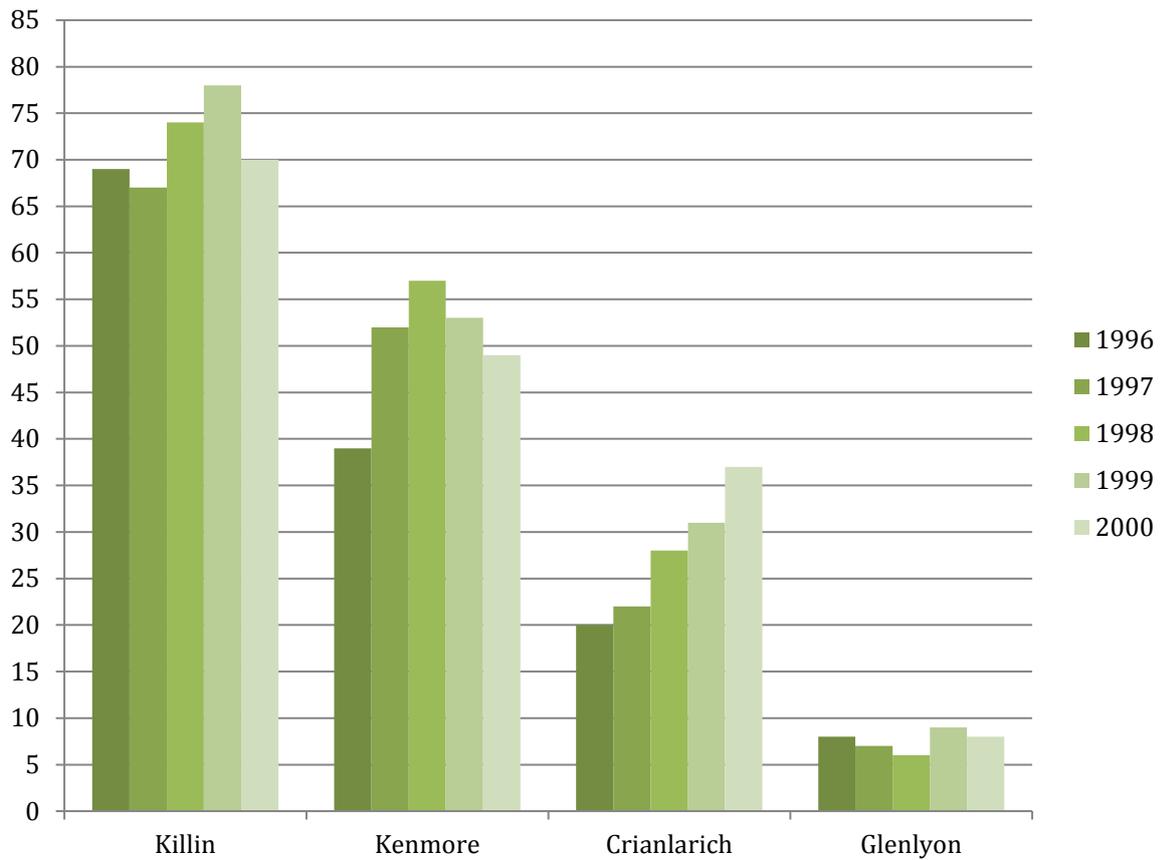
**Table 5.16: Quasi-random sample schools by roll, 1996 and 2000** <sup>1406</sup>

Roll	QRS rural schools still in operation			
	1996		2000	
1-25	17	27%	15	25%
26-50	36	56%	35	57%
51-100	0	0%	0	0%
101+	11	17%	11	18%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>1404</sup> In March 2015, only fifty-three of the sample schools remained open, one of which had been mothballed. Fifty-one of these were classified as rural (Inchinnan, Renfrew and Philiphaugh, Selkirk now being considered urban). Of these twenty-four were accessible rural, seven were remote rural and twenty were very remote rural. All four of the case study schools are still in operation. The Rural Schools List is maintained and published by the Scottish Government under section 14 of the Schools (Consultation) (Scotland) Act 2010. As detailed in the Rural Schools List: Explanatory Note, the Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification defines accessible rural as 'settlements of fewer than 3,000 people and within 30 minutes' drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more'; remote rural as 'settlements of fewer than 3,000 people and with a drive time of between 30 and 60 minutes to a settlement of 10,000 or more'; and very remote rural as 'settlements of fewer than 3,000 people and with a drive time of over 60 minutes to a settlement of 10,000 or more'. The complete list of rural schools was transferred into SPSS and fields were added to identify those in the sample and case study districts. Scottish Government, Rural Schools List, <<http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Education/Schools/Buildings/changestoschoolestate/Ruralschoollist>>; Scottish Government, Rural Schools List: Explanatory Note, <<http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Education/Schools/Buildings/changestoschoolestate/RuralGuidance>>, accessed 1 May 2016.

<sup>1405</sup> Of the 865 schools on the rural schools list in March 2015, 448 (52%) were in accessible rural areas, 173 (20%) in remote rural areas, and 244 (28%) in very remote rural areas. Ibid.

<sup>1406</sup> Figures were transferred from the Scottish Government, Historical School Roll Figures, 1996-2014, into SPSS to facilitate analysis.

**Figure 5.9: Case study school rolls, 1996-2000** <sup>1407</sup>

<sup>1407</sup> In 2000, the school rolls were as follows: Kenmore, forty-nine; Glenlyon, eight; Killin, seventy; and Crianlarich, thirty-seven. Scottish Government, 'Historical School Roll Figures, 1996 to 2014'.

**Table 5.17: Quasi-random sample smallest and largest schools, 2000**

Very small schools (1-25)				
School	County	Old School Board	Roll	
			1929	2000
Borrodale	Highland (Inverness)	Duirinish	66	6
Cabrach (Lower Cabrach)	Moray (Banff)	Cabrach	44	8
Cranshaws	Scottish Borders (Berwick)	Cranshaws	24	8
Wiston	South Lanarkshire (Lanark)	Wiston and Robertson	27	13
Ardchattan	Argyll and Bute (Argyll)	Ardchattan & Muckairn	88	13
Elgol	Highland (Inverness)	Strath	32	15
Lethnot	Angus (Forfar)	Lethnott & Navar	26	16
Knockiandue	Na h-Eileanan Siar (Ross and Cromarty)	Lochs	57	19
Fidigary	Na h-Eileanan Siar (Ross and Cromarty)	Lochs	105	19
Edderton	Highland (Ross and Cromarty)	Edderton	58	21
Glen Douglas	Scottish Borders (Roxburgh)	Southdean	22	22
Cortachy	Angus (Forfar)	Cortachy & Clova	30	23
Balallan	Na h-Eileanan Siar (Ross and Cromarty)	Lochs	73	23
Gergask	Highland (Inverness)	Laggan	26	24
Kingsbarns	Fife	Kingsbarns	96	25

Large schools (100+)				
School	County	Old School Board	Roll	
			1929	2000
Lilliesleaf	Scottish Borders (Roxburgh)	Lilliesleaf	91	100
Lochnell	Argyll and Bute (Argyll)	Ardchattan & Muckairn	29	101
Broughton, Central	Scottish Borders (Peebles)	Broughton, Glenholm & Kilbucho	50	105
Knockbreck	Highland (Inverness)	Duirinish	54	113
Aberlour	Moray (Banff)	Aberlour	265	128
Saline	Fife	Saline	209	136
Golspie	Highland (Sutherland)	Golspie	229	156
Philiphaugh (Selkirk)	Scottish Borders (Selkirk)	Selkirk (landward)	181	162
Yester	East Lothian (Haddington)	Yester	82	172
Eastriggs Community (Dornock)	Dumfries and Galloway (Dumfries)	Dornock	49	186
Inchinnan	Renfrewshire (Renfrew)	Inchinnan	94	191
Dunbarney	Perth and Kinross (Perth)	Dunbarney	105	206

## Conclusion

The immediate post-war period brought new challenges to bear on Scotland's small rural schools. Within the context of sustained rural-urban migration, falling rolls and staff recruitment difficulties remained common and the cost of upgrading and maintaining a vast stock of largely Victorian buildings became increasingly hard for the county education committees to justify. Viewed by many educationalists as a throwback to the old parish system which though much treasured in the national consciousness was no longer fit for purpose, Scotland's small rural schools came under close scrutiny and evoked intense debate throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Though the community value of the schools and their teachers continued to be recognised, economic and pedagogical concerns were now considered paramount and led to a significant rationalisation of provision. Most pronounced from the 1960s onwards, rural school closures transformed the school estate and left many communities bereft not only of an educational place, but also now lacking a social space and a focus for localised activity. Though the impact of these closures was and still is incredibly hard to quantify, with the debate around rural provision and the value of small rural schools continuing unabated into the twenty-first century, this closely-observed history reveals the complexity of the relationship between these schools and their communities, highlighting the subtle yet arguably significant socio-cultural implications of educational change.

## Conclusion

The core concern of this thesis has been to understand the social dimensions of educational policy and practice in rural Scotland from the implementation of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 through to the close of the twentieth century. Focused on the small rural school, a long term view has been pursued, utilising a wide range of sources to provide a nuanced picture of change and continuity in experience over time. Guided by a series of research questions, the adoption of a three-layer methodology, combining a regional case study with analysis of a quasi-random sample of rural districts from across Scotland and a national overview, has enabled a closely-observed and contextualised view to emerge. Reference to social theory, which defines core concepts and guides discussion, rather than framing analysis, has also enhanced interpretation, as has the pairing of qualitative and quantitative inquiry. Though not without its challenges, this approach has pushed the boundaries of historical research and showcases the benefits of interdisciplinary study. Offering numerous insights into the nature of Scotland's small rural schools and their place in community life, three overarching conclusions can be drawn from this thesis. Firstly, the depth and breadth of study and its longitudinal approach to analysis confirms a diversity of experience across rural Scotland and challenges oft-made generalisations about rural society and its schools. Secondly, it demonstrates the progressive and sustained diminution in status of the small rural schools over time and evidences the slow but steady erosion of their once distinctive characteristics. Thirdly, it reveals the complexity of the relationship between these schools and their communities and calls for a greater appreciation of the socio-cultural dimensions of educational policy and practice. Taking each point in turn, this concluding chapter highlights the main observations from the study and articulates its historiographical relevance.

Beginning with the diversity of experience, while overarching trends can be observed and commonalities in experience within and between parishes identified, the characteristics of rural school provision from the early days of the parochial system through to the close of the twentieth century were shaped by socio-cultural, economic and political factors at local level as much as by regional and national imperatives. Prior to the introduction of a state system of schooling in 1872, these local characteristics were particularly pronounced with the nature and extent of educational provision depending on the beliefs and actions of local authority figures and the precise topographic conditions within which they operated. As apparent in the case study area of Highland Perthshire, even neighbouring districts could be remarkably different and their unique geographical features had a distinct bearing on the development of education. Over many centuries, church ministers and landowners were the most visible actors and though their dominance declined over time, most notably from the interwar years onwards, local dignitaries remained central to the management of local affairs. Acts of benevolence towards the

schools and their pupils also continued and, though with the transfer to state control the focus shifted away from providing core financial support to enhancing school life, there remained a sense of community ownership and responsibility. The inherited features of this, drawing on established patterns of behaviour and embedded social norms, were not popular with progressive educationalists, however, who wished to free the schools from the parochial shackles of the past.

The desire to democratise Scottish schooling, shifting control from parochial boards dominated by ex-officio members to rate-payer elected school boards, and then onto popularly-elected education authorities, thus went hand-in-hand with the vilification of the traditional rural elite. Reflecting a gradual secularisation of society and an increasing desire to wrest education from the control of the church, religious ministers bore the brunt of this campaign for greater representation, with much being made of any failure to secure a place on a school board or education committee. Nevertheless, in many rural areas, including the case study parish of Kenmore, the local minister remained an influential figure in educational affairs. That this was not the same everywhere does not detract from its importance, but merely emphasises the significance of personality and context in determining local experience. The differing fortunes of the Gaelic language offers a clear reflection of this, for although its use was fervently discouraged in some schools, with anglicisation being a primary aim, in others a far more pragmatic approach was taken and in some areas an emphasis was placed on preserving rather than supplanting the language.

Looking more specifically at the nature of educational provision in rural areas and the changes that occurred over time, from the mid-seventeenth century through to the early eighteenth centuries Scotland's pattern of schooling developed in a very organic manner. Though the early legislative measures provided the impetus for national coverage through the parish schools, the characteristics of provision varied tremendously across the country. Reflecting the plethora of rural contexts, distinguished by topography and socio-cultural factors, as well as the significance of local personalities in defining parish life, by the early nineteenth century while some parishes had multiple schools others maintained but one. The large Highland parishes typically had the most, with parents as well as parish officials and national organisations such as the SSPCK driving the education agenda forward. The role played by parents is particularly interesting given later pronouncements about the supposed indifference and antipathy of rural parents towards compulsory schooling following the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. Though not without basis, this view has tended to shift focus away from earlier examples of parental support for education under the parochial system and the long-term development of schooling within rural communities. In consequence, there is a tendency to interpret the irregularity of school attendance across rural districts during the school board period as a lack of support for education in general rather than an unwillingness or inability to accept the

redefinition of educational standards under the state system. This distinction is crucial for understanding the community context of the small rural schools and discerning the impact of educational policy and practice at local level. In particular, it refocuses attention onto the community-embeddedness of the rural schools and underlines the strong sense of local ownership and responsibility felt even after the transfer to state control. The strength of feeling evident during the early days of the school boards, most clearly demonstrated through proprietorial disputes over the handover of a school from one district to another following boundary reform, is a further reflection of this.

As the drive to standardise schooling took hold during the nineteenth century, with teacher training and certification moving centre stage and government inspections being introduced, local peculiarities were increasingly viewed as stumbling blocks to educational advancement. This provided the impetus for the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 and set the course for greater uniformity of practice across Scotland. Nevertheless, despite increasing pressure to conform to national standards there was considerable continuity of practice at the local level. Though supplanting the parochial framework, the school board system kept decision-making local and ensured a degree of responsiveness to the socio-cultural context. In the case study area, this included sensitivity to the Gaelic language and an acceptance of associated cultural practices such as the celebration of the Old Reckoning of Christmas and New Year. Local managers were also mindful of the vagaries of the local agricultural calendar and accepted the need for older children to be exempted from school at certain times of the year. By the early twentieth century, however, the inherent tension between meeting local needs and fulfilling the national imperative to expand and equalise educational opportunity had become most apparent and this led to calls for radical reform. That the rural school boards were at the heart of this debate, being heavily critiqued for their inward focus and antiquated ways, is indicative of an increasingly urban perspective on educational provision and a shift in focus from community-led activity to centralised control.

Central to this critique was the perceived inadequacy of the small rural schools which, though much treasured in the national consciousness as a representation of the parochial tradition, were no longer considered fit for purpose. This brings us onto the second conclusion, that there was a clear diminution in status of the rural schools over time and an erosion of their distinctive characteristics. While the diverse range of parish schools may have served Scotland well over many centuries, those that continued under the state system were judged to be ill-equipped and inconveniently placed to meet the demands of an increasingly urban and industrial society. As well as being comparatively expensive to run, lacking the economies of scale enjoyed by the larger urban schools, the small schools, and particularly the remote one-teacher schools, struggled to keep pace with curricular and pedagogical developments. The emergence of a distinct secondary sector brought this to a head, with pressure mounting to send older children

elsewhere for advanced instruction. As articulated in Ramsay and Harrower's fervent but short-lived campaign to retain all-through schooling in the parishes, initiated in 1912, this separation was seen by many as a final blow to Scotland's rural schools, diminishing their status and pushing them to the margins of educational practice. Although the process was to be long and drawn-out, with many small schools retaining post-primary pupils well into the 1930s, by mid-century all but a few were confined to primary work. Even those, such as the village school in Killin, which were conferred junior secondary status to allow children from across the district to continue their education locally, were viewed as the poor relation of the senior secondary schools whose five-year courses were considered the marker of academic success.

The eventual discontinuation of this two-tier system, with the introduction of comprehensive secondary education in 1965, testifies to the perceived inadequacy of the rural junior secondaries and the rise to dominance of a one-size-fits-all agenda. Driven by a desire to give all children the same educational opportunities regardless of where they lived or what their social background was, few have questioned this approach. Nevertheless, in telling the story of Scotland's rural schools it is important to acknowledge the socio-cultural and economic implications of this philosophy and to attempt to step outside of current thinking to discern how it has shaped rural society. As noted in the literature review, the historiography of Scottish education reflects an unquestioning acceptance of the progressive development of schooling during the twentieth century, with very little consideration given to the specifics of rural experience following the abolition of the school boards in 1918 when a generalised view takes hold. In focusing attention back on the rural schools after this supposed watershed, this thesis challenges the dominant narrative and offers a more nuanced view of educational change.

In doing so, it also engages with important debates around the nature of Scottish society and the notions which have shaped its history. Exploring the gender dimensions of educational policy and practice, for instance, has been crucial to understanding the diminution in status of the rural schools. The fact that the small rural schools were the first to become dominated by female teachers is highly significant, with their loss of appeal to male candidates being seen as confirmation that the glory days of the parochial schools were well and truly over. Confining them to primary work further entrenched this, and although male teachers continued to be employed in the larger rural schools which offered the esteem of a managerial position, throughout the twentieth century the overwhelming majority of rural teachers were women. Initially distinguished by lower pay and qualifications, and for a time expected to be single, women teachers tended to be the pragmatic rather than preferred choice and this contributed to the feeling that the rural schools had to make do with what they could get, rather than being ambitious to employ the best teachers. In reality of course, many of the schoolmistresses employed in the small schools were highly effective educators and contributed much beyond their educational duties. Equally, there were those who were not and proved to be ill-suited to

their position. However, this did not stop there being a general perception that the rural schools had little to offer a competent teacher, whether male or female, and were too small and isolated to be effective educational units. This undoubtedly added weight to the argument that schooling should be centralised into larger institutions which could offer better facilities, a breadth of teaching expertise and potential for professional development, as well as a broader social mix of pupils. The economic and educational rationale for rural school closures was, therefore, very strong and this led to a significant rationalisation of provision during the second half of the twentieth century.

Although tentative steps were taken during the 1930s to consolidate Scotland's rural school estate, many small schools continued to operate following the Second World War, with the development of forestry and hydro-electric schemes bolstering school rolls and necessitating the opening of new schools in some rural areas. However, by the 1960s the case for centralisation became incontrovertible and from that point on rural school closures became commonplace across rural Scotland. The educational landscape was thus transformed during the second half of the twentieth century, and as the small one-teacher schools began to disappear the characteristics of rural provision, which had already been eroded through the standardisation of educational practice, became far less distinctive. This did not go unnoticed, with various studies being undertaken to determine the impact of rural school closures and sustained interest being shown by both policy-makers and the public ever since. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the report of the recent Commission on the Delivery of Rural Education published in 2013, there has been a tendency to take a short-term view of the issue and engage in simplistic discussion of the role that rural schools have played and continue to play in community life. What is very clear from this study, however, is that there needs to be a greater appreciation of the complexity of the relationship between the rural schools and their communities. Only by doing so can the subtleties of local experience which have been shaped over many centuries and by numerous generations be understood. This is the third and, perhaps most fundamental, conclusion of the thesis. Though many of the observations seem obvious once they are made, all too often they are glossed over or simply missed from the historiographical record. The lack of attention paid to the workings of local education committees after 1918 provides a clear example of this, as is the absence of detailed analysis of how various aspects of government policy influenced local practice. In considering the wider community use of school buildings and assessing their significance as social spaces, for instance, it is crucial to take into account the fact that local authorities actively discouraged the letting of schools in favour of village halls during the interwar years. This directly influenced how people viewed and used the schools, and shaped future community practice.

Recognising the heterogeneity of the rural schools and their communities and observing subtle distinctions in experience is also crucial to understanding the complexity of the

relationship between them. As this micro-to-macro study has shown, the small schools in remote and sparsely-populated areas were more likely to provide a focus for community activity than their village counterparts and this must be taken into account. Clumping all rural schools together and generalising about them is thus misleading. Certainly, in seeking to understand the strength of feeling towards school closures and the notion of them being the heart of a community, such disparities and the specifics of social context require greater consideration. The same can be said about the social role played by their teachers, some of whom were respected local figures while others either kept themselves to themselves or openly caused trouble. Reflecting on changes to the governance structure of education, the incremental steps from local school boards up to large regional authorities and subsequent attempts to devolve management back to communities clearly influenced how people engaged with their local schools. Yet, there was considerable variation across Scotland, with different approaches being taken by the local authorities and actual practice determined by the nature and composition of the local groups. Close reading of the Aberfeldy and Fortingall local education committee minute books reveals how important this was, and makes a case for researchers to pay greater attention to such records in order to provide a more accurate picture of the people involved and nuances of practice at local level. Indeed, this refocusing of attention away from the national narrative back onto the complexity of local experience is perhaps the most important contribution that this thesis makes, whetting the appetite for further research and confirming the value of interdisciplinary and archive-based historical research.

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### **Photographs and images (in order of appearance)**

Golspie Public School building, 2015 © Helen Young

Merit Certificate of Annie Cameron, Golspie Public School, 1900, digital copy downloaded from <[http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item\\_page.jsp?item\\_id=62516](http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item_page.jsp?item_id=62516)>, accessed 24 July 2015

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Glenlochay Side School, 1929, reproduced from B. Byrom, *Old Killin, Kenmore and Loch Tay* (Catrine, 2004)

New school at Invervar, photograph taken from 'Rena Stewart Archive', Glenlyon History Society, downloaded from flickr account <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/60679494@N00/420383348>>

Holder Hall, Kenmore, reproduced from B. Byrom, *Old Killin, Kenmore and Loch Tay* (Catrine, 2004)

Invermearn by Loch Lyon, 1940s, photograph taken by Alasdair Alpin MacGregor © National Museums Scotland. Licensor <[www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)>

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# Appendices



### Appendix A: Oral history interviews conducted for this study

Name	Gender	Date of birth	Age at interview	Date of interview	Place of interview	Length of interview (hours: mins: seconds)	SOHCA reference
Duncan Roy MacGregor	M	7/12/1936	76	13/03/2013	Killin, Perthshire	1:11:17	SOHCA/053/01
Linda Mary Frost	F	23/6/1947	66	1/07/2013	Ardeonaig, Perthshire	1:33:38	SOHCA/053/02
Sheena Agnes Chisholm	F	15/2/1939	74	6/08/2013	Killin, Perthshire	1:02:28	SOHCA/053/03
Irene Henderson	F	23/11/1939	73	31/08/2013	Crianlarich, Perthshire	1:15:03	SOHCA/053/04
Kenneth MacVicar	M	25/8/1921	92	16/04/2014	Kenmore, Perthshire	46:25	SOHCA/053/05
Lois Reid McCosh Duncan Millar	F	15/3/1922	92	16/04/2014	Acharn, Perthshire	51:59	SOHCA/053/06
James Duncan Millar	M	5/4/1948	66	5/06/2014	Acharn, Perthshire	58:53	SOHCA/053/07
Janet 'Bunty' MacGregor	F	29/8/1929	84	27/08/2014	Killin, Perthshire	47:43	SOHCA/053/08
Sheena Elizabeth Leszke	F	27/2/1952	62	13/10/2014	Aberfeldy, Perthshire	1:02:53	SOHCA/053/09
Alastair Donald Kininmonth	M	20/1/1954	60	12/11/2014	Fortingall, Perthshire	50:46	SOHCA/053/10
Isobel McIntosh Geddes	F	1/6/1937	76	1/09/2014	Newtonmore, Inverness-shire	1:47:39	SOHCA/053/11
Stewart Murray Geddes	M	22/4/1937	76				
Nancy Mackenzie	F	26/8/1952	62	9/09/2014	Girvan, South Ayrshire	44:26	SOHCA/053/12

**Age range:** 60 – 92

**Males:** 5 **Females:** 8



## Appendix B: Oral history recording agreement and informed consent forms



**Scottish Oral History Centre**

Director: Professor Arthur McIvor  
 Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, University of Strathclyde, 16  
 Richmond St,  
 GLASGOW G1 1XQ  
 Tel: 0141 548 2212 Fax: 0141 552 8809 Email: [a.mcivor@strath.ac.uk](mailto:a.mcivor@strath.ac.uk)

**RECORDING AGREEMENT FORM**

The purpose of this recording agreement is to ensure that your contribution is added to the collections of the Scottish Oral History Centre Archive in strict accordance with your wishes. All material will be preserved as a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lectures, broadcasting and web archiving.

1. May the stated recording(s) and any summaries of transcriptions of them be used in the Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences/Scottish Oral History Centre for authorised research or consultation? Yes/No
2. May a copy of the stated recording(s)/transcription be made for the use of authorised researchers and other interested parties? Yes/No
3. May the stated recording(s)/transcription be used for educational purposes: educational publications, talks or broadcasts? Yes/No
4. May the stated recording(s)/transcription be used for broadcast and/or publication? Yes/No
5. May the name of the contributor be used (you can choose to be anonymous)? Yes/No
6. Do you wish to add any other instructions or restrictions in relation to your contribution? Yes/No

If Yes, please give details:.....

I hereby assign the copyright in my contribution to the Scottish Oral History Centre Archive. I understand that it will be stored and used as detailed here.

Signed:..... Date.....

Name (print):.....

Address:.....

Postcode..... Tel no. ....

Signed (for SOHCA):..... Date.....

Archive ref. nos: 1. TRANSCRIPT..... 2. SOUND FILE.....

### Informed Consent

The small rural school and community relations in Scotland 1872 -2000

My name is Helen Young and I am currently studying for a PhD in History at the University of Stirling. My research is focused on the history of Scotland's small rural schools with a particular focus on the original school board districts of Fortingall, Kenmore and Killin. Over the coming months I intend to conduct an oral history project, recording the thoughts and memories of local residents (past and present) to add crucial personal experiences and reflections to the written records available. The interview transcripts and recordings will then, with the participants' permission, be deposited with the Scottish Oral History Centre Archive at the University of Strathclyde.

**What does taking part in the study involve?**  
 If you agree to take part in the study, an oral history interview with me would involve spending as little or as much time as you are comfortable with talking about your memories. The interview will be conducted face-to-face with me at a mutually convenient location. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to, and you may stop the interview at any time. You can also change your mind and decide not to take part at any time, if you wish, without giving a reason.

**What will happen to your interview?**  
 Your interview will be recorded then written down (transcribed) exactly as spoken on to paper. You have the right to put your own name to your interview recording and transcript or, if you prefer, to be anonymous (in which case your name will never be used in any publication). For me to use your material in any publications, we must ask you to assign copyright – not to myself, but to a responsible institutional archive (in this case the Scottish Oral History Centre at the University of Strathclyde). If you wish, your memories can also be then used by subsequent historians and researchers who might wish to consult the archived interviews.

I ask that you consider these issues and if you agree to be interviewed and for your memories to be so used, I ask you to complete a Recording Agreement Form prior to the interview taking place. This protects your legal rights, ensures that your interview recording and transcript are properly and professionally archived and looked after and enables me as a researcher (and subsequent researchers if you wish) to utilise your memories in any future research. The full transcript of your interview will also be copied and sent to you for checking, giving you the opportunity to indicate if you wish anything to be taken out or changed. This procedure is in line with your legal rights and I operate strictly to the moral, ethical and legal requirements laid down by the UK Oral History Society.

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**The small rural school and community relations in Scotland 1872-2000**

Helen Young

I hereby consent to be interviewed for the purpose of the above research project and for my interview to be recorded.

Signature .....Name (please print).....

Address .....

.....Tel Number .....



### Appendix C: Quasi-random sample of sixty-six school board districts, 1874

School board	County
Cabrach	Aberdeen
Drumblade	
Glengairn	
Kininmonth	
Monymusk	
Strathdon	
Ardchattan and Muckairn	Argyll
Inverchaolain	
Kilmartin	
South Knapdale	
Barr	Ayr
Kilmarnock (landward)	
Aberlour	Banff
Kirkmichael	
Cranshaws	Berwick
Ladykirk	
Whitsome	
Dumbarton (landward)	Dunbarton
Dornock	Dumfries
Holywood	
Mouswald	
Borthwick	Edinburgh
South Leith (landward)	
Dyke	Elgin or Moray
Abdie	Fife
Cameron	
Dunbog	
Kingsbarns	
Saline	
Cortachy and Clova	Forfar
Glammis	
Lethnott and Navar	
Montrose (landward)	

School board	County
Aberlady	Haddington
Morham	
Yester	
Duirinish	Inverness
Laggan	
Strath	
Marykirk	Kincardine
Borgue	Kirkcudbright
Kirkbean	
Tongland	
Dolphinton	Lanark
Weston and Roberton	
Nairn (landward)	Nairn
Orphir	Orkney
Broughton, Glenholm and Kibucho	Peebles
Tweedsmuir	
Blackford	Perth
Dunbarney	
Glendevon	
Kinnaird	
Monzievaird and Strowan	
St. Martin's	
Inchinnan	Renfrew
Edderton	Ross and Cromarty
Lochs	
Cavers	Roxburgh
Lilliesleaf	
Southdean	
Selkirk (landward)	Selkirk
Tingwall	Shetland
Fintry	Stirling
Golspie	Sutherland
New Luce	Wigtown



## Appendix D: Return relative to school board elections, 1873 <sup>1409</sup>

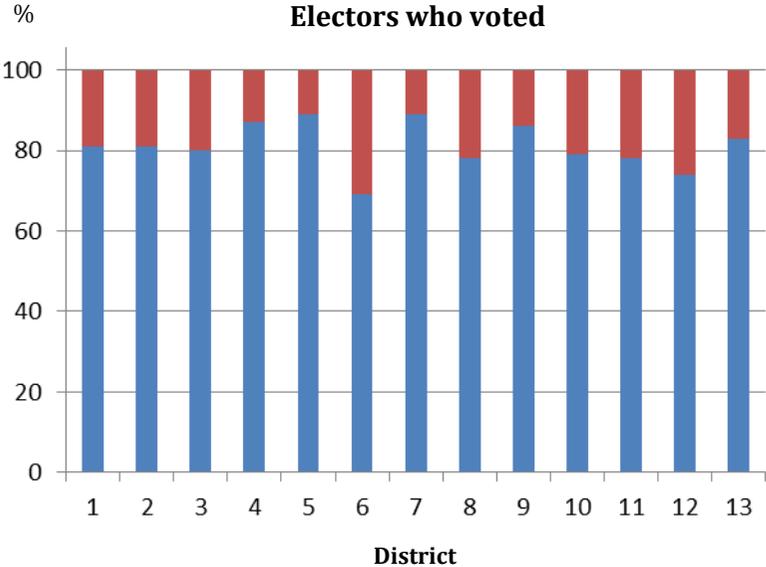
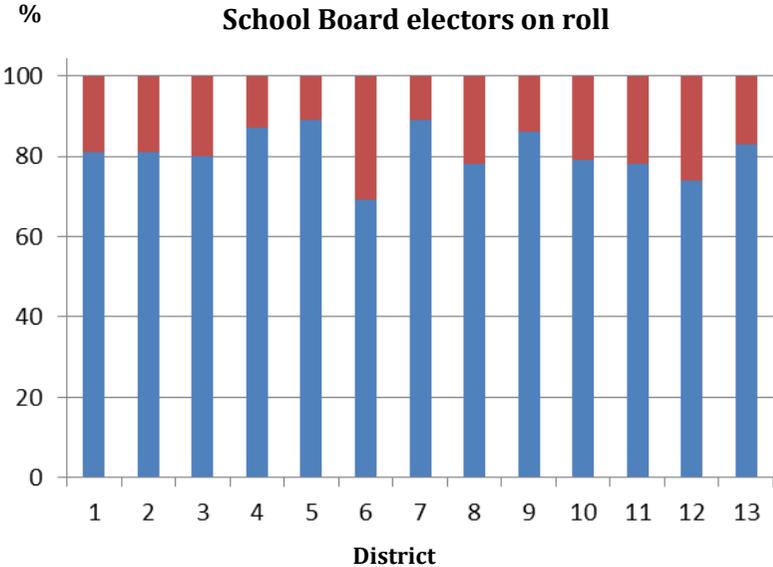
Parish/Burgh	Pop 1871	Parl. Electors	School Board Electors on Roll					Electors who voted					% who voted		Electors as % of Population*
			Male	% Male	Female	% Female	TOTAL	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	
Kilwinning (Ayr)	7375	259	460	81	108	19	568	362	82	77	18	439	79	71	8
Dalry (Ayr)	10,885	365	794	81	190	19	984	687	83	143	17	830	87	75	11
Eastwood (Renfrew)	12,966	405	1,439	80	359	20	1,798	1,138	83	235	17	1,373	79	65	14
Cambusnethan (N. Lanark)	18,709	424	1,315	87	202	13	1,517	1,090	90	126	10	1,216	83	62	8
Old Monkland (Lanark)	34,073	726	3,667	89	472	11	4,139	2,125	90	230	10	2,355	58	49	13
Portobello (Edinburgh)	5,181	753	842	69	379	31	1,221	524	71	219	29	743	62	58	22
Govan (Lanark)	56,754	3,161	12,811	89	1,663	11	14,474	7,409	90	812	10	8,221	58	49	26
Paisley (Renfrew)	48,257	4,648	5,325	78	1,469	22	6,794	4,118	82	926	18	5,044	77	63	14
Leith (Edinburgh)	44,721	6,480	8,045	86	1,350	14	9,395	3,394	95	171	5	3,565	42	13	21
Aberdeen	76,329	12,514	9,478	79	2,502	21	11,980	4,179	84	771	16	4,950	44	31	16
Dundee (Forfar)	119,141	16,652	16,667	78	4,617	22	21,284	6,190	89	765	11	6,955	37	17	18
Edinburgh	196,991	24,071	28,590	74	9,820	26	38,410	13,924	86	2,179	14	16,103	49	22	32
Glasgow (Lanark)	487,021	53,111	84,461	83	17,410	17	101,871	46,373	88	6,431	12	52,804	55	37	21
<b>TOTALS</b>			<b>173,894</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>40,541</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>214,435</b>	<b>91,513</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>13085</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>104,598</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>32</b>	

Burgh \* Percentages are those given in report. These vary slightly from calculations done using the 1871 population figures quoted in the Second Annual Report (column two).

<sup>1409</sup> Information extracted and percentages calculated (excluding the final column) from School boards (Scotland). Return relating to school board elections in Scotland, *PP*, 1873 (412), p.3. 1871 population figures taken from Second Annual Report, *PP*, 1875 [c.1276].



**Appendix E: School board electorate by gender, 1873 <sup>1410</sup>**

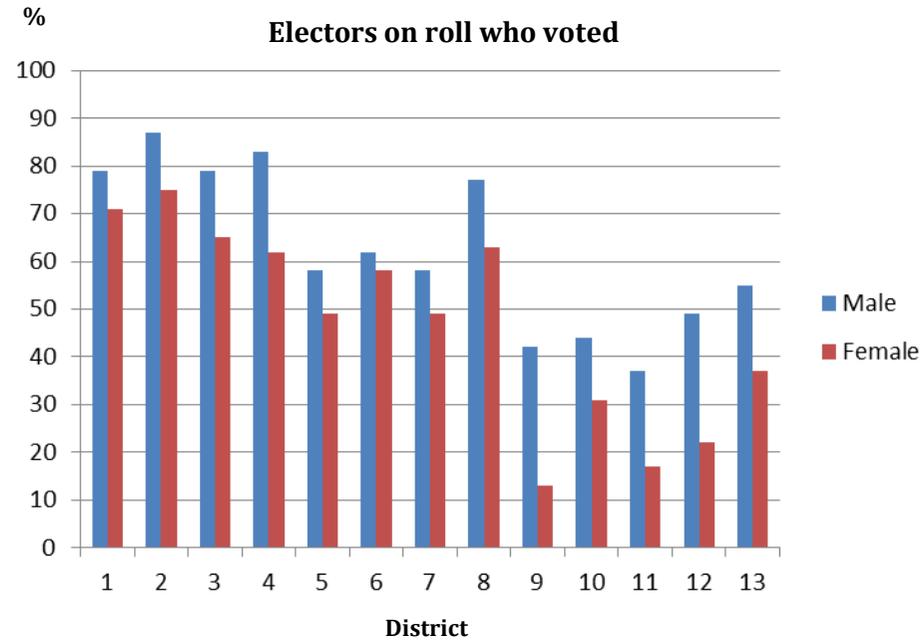


Key to districts	
1. Kilwinning, Ayr	8. Paisley, Renfrew
2. Dalry, Ayr	9. Leith, Edinburgh
3. Eastwood, Renfrew	10. Aberdeen
4. Cambusnethan, Lanark	11. Dundee, Forfar
5. Old Monkland, Lanark	12. Edinburgh
6. Portobello, Edinburgh	13. Glasgow, Lanark
7. Govan, Lanark	

<sup>1410</sup> Percentages calculated from information extracted from School boards (Scotland). Return relating to school board elections in Scotland, *PP*, 1873 (412), p.3.



**Appendix F: Proportion of school board electors who voted by gender, 1873** <sup>1411</sup>



Key to districts	
1. Kilwinning, Ayr	8. Paisley, Renfrew
2. Dalry, Ayr	9. Leith, Edinburgh
3. Eastwood, Renfrew	10. Aberdeen
4. Cambusnethan, Lanark	11. Dundee, Forfar
5. Old Monkland, Lanark	12. Edinburgh
6. Portobello, Edinburgh	13. Glasgow, Lanark
7. Govan, Lanark	

<sup>1411</sup> Percentages calculated from information extracted from School boards (Scotland). Return relating to school board elections in Scotland, *PP*, 1873 (412), p.3.