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THE SCOTTISH SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE
SECOND WORLD WAR : A STUDY IN CENTRAL
POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION.

by

JOHN MICHAEL LLOYD, B.A., M.ED.

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Preface

Whilst reading for a master's degree in educational studies at the University of Liverpool, I became interested in the effects of the First World War on English education and this formed the subject of my dissertation. The research undertaken widened my concern to the coincidence of war and educational reform in Great Britain during the present century and, consequently, the genesis of the 1944 Education Act. My appointment to a lectureship at the University of Stirling eventually led, with the encouragement of Professor R.H. Campbell, to a consideration of the fortunes of Scottish education in the years of the Second World War.

The new focus of my work proved to be particularly apt. At the end of the Second World War, Dr Sophia Weitzman of London University was appointed to write the education volume in the United Kingdom Civil Series of the history of the war, edited by Sir Keith Hancock. Dr Weitzman envisaged a grandiose British educational history, but by the time of her death in 1965, although drafts existed on phases and aspects of wartime education, the volume was far from completion. Indeed, it appeared with the failure of the Department of Education and Science to appoint a successor that the protracted project would lapse. Fortunately, however, the Social Science Research Council invited Dr. P.H.J.H. Gosden of the University of Leeds to undertake the task with their financial assistance, and in 1976 Education and the Second World War was published. His scholarly and comprehensive work, however, excludes consideration of the Scottish educational system. Thus, Dr. Gosden writes, "there is need for a study of education in Scotland during the war". This thesis marks, /

marks, perhaps, the beginning of an attempt to meet this need.

The subject of the study is the Scottish public school system and, as it draws heavily upon the surviving records of the Scottish Education Department, the frame of reference is very much that of the central government department for education in Scotland.

The concentration on the schools means that there are important omissions to be repaired before a more complete picture of the impact and influence of the war on Scottish education emerges; the study, for example, does not examine the wartime history of youth welfare in Scotland, or the fortunes of the central institutions. There is also a need for local studies for, as Dr. Gosden points out, the impact of the war varied considerably from area to area. The range and complexity of the subject, moreover, has also required the observation of fairly strict chronological events and a selection of issues which, in some instances are given unduly restricted treatment, in an effort to keep the study within bounds. An attempt has been made to preserve a rough balance between examination of the impact of the war on the Scottish school system and its influence perceived in terms of the planning of the system's improvement through legislative and administrative action.

In preparing this thesis I have become indebted to many people for their advice, help and encouragement. My principal debt is to my supervisor, Professor R.H. Campbell and I would like to thank him for his patience, careful reading of my work and clear, constructive criticism. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor N.R. Tempest, formerly of the University of Liverpool, who originally encouraged me to embark on/

on doctoral studies in this general historical area.

I owe a particular debt to Mr. R.H.K. Thomasson, a depute secretary, at the offices of the Educational Institute of Scotland in Edinburgh. At a critical juncture in the preparation of the dissertation, an opportune telephone call to him saved a considerable number of relevant, wartime files from destruction. This material which is to be given to the Scottish Record Office, has helped to fill unfortunate gaps in the Scottish Education Department records.

The staff of libraries of record offices that I have used have all provided unstinted help and attention. I would like to recognise the assistance given by Mr. T. Donovan of the Public Record Office when based at Ashbridge, Miss C.E. Joss, Records Officer at the Scottish Office and the staffs of the Scottish Record Office at West Register House, and the National Library of Scotland, in Edinburgh.

Finally, my thanks are also due to Miss Helen Crawford who has capably typed this thesis and Mrs Lyn North for the presentation of the map and diagrams included.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the text and in footnotes:-

| | |
|-----------|--|
| A.D.E.S. | Association of Directors of Education in Scotland. |
| A.E.C. | Association of Education Committees. |
| A.C.C. | Association of Councils of Counties of Cities. |
| A.H.H.S. | Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses in Scotland. |
| A.R.P. | Air-raid Precautions. |
| B.P.P. | British Parliamentary Papers. |
| C.O.R.B. | Children's Overseas Reception Board. |
| D.A.S. | Department of Agriculture for Scotland. |
| D.H.S. | Department of Health for Scotland. |
| D.O.R.A. | Defence of the Realm Act. |
| E.A. | Education Authority. |
| E.I.S. | The Educational Institute of Scotland. |
| J.L.C. | Junior Leaving Certificate |
| L.E.A. | Local Education Authority. |
| N.J.C. | National Joint Council. |
| N.U.T. | National Union of Teachers. |
| O.T.C. | Officer Training Corps. |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office. |
| S.C.E.A. | Scottish Council for Educational Advance. |
| S.E.D. | Scottish Education Department. |
| S.E.J. | The Scottish Educational Journal. |
| S.H.D. | Scottish Home Department. |
| S.L.C. | Senior Leaving Certificate. |
| S.R.O. | Scottish Record Office. |
| S.R. & O. | Statutory Rules and Orders. |
| S. of S. | Secretary of State for Scotland. |
| S.S.H.A. | Scottish Special Housing Association. |
| S.U.E.B. | Scottish Universities' Examination Board. |
| T.E.S. | The Times Educational Supplement. |
| W.E.A. | Workers' Educational Association. |
| W.V.S. | Women's Voluntary Service. |

CHAPTER ONE

WAR, SOCIAL CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the 1950s R.M. Titmuss noted the criticism of a fellow historian, R.H. Gibbs, who accused his predecessors of "bringing their histories to a stop when the guns started firing, and in opening a new chapter only with the return of peace - of normal diplomatic and institutional relations between sovereign states".¹ Although liberal historians have displayed a marked distaste for this most uncivilised aspect of human behaviour, a connection between war and social change has long been postulated, either as a general, unexplained phenomenon, or as an uncritical exploration of a wide range of political, social and economic developments in Britain in the twentieth century. In the years since the close of the second World War, amongst the torrent of literature upon the two major conflicts, increasing attention has been given to this perceived relationship, perhaps partly stimulated by Geoffrey Barraclough's recommendation, that historians should abandon seeking the causes of war and study its consequences.²

Not surprisingly, there has been a wide variety of approach and emphasis among historians who uphold a connection between war and social change in the attempt to determine how war has occasioned change, and the precise nature, extent and importance of the changes brought about.

Titmuss /

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1. R.M. Titmuss, Essays on 'The Welfare State' (2nd.ed., 1963), p.75. Hereafter cited as 'Essays'.
 2. Presidential Address to the Historical Association, 1966.

Titmuss has concentrated upon "social policy... those acts of Government deliberately designed and taken to improve the welfare of the civilian population in time of war"; and his main interest has been with the "organised attempts" of government to control the consequences of war".¹ As conflict has become more intensive and ferocious, affecting a larger proportion of the total population over the last one hundred years, Titmuss has delineated well-defined stages in the growth of State concern in the quantity and quality of its people, and the consequent social implications. The aims and content both in peace and war, he has argued - forcefully extending the 'Military Participation Theory', of sociologist Stanislaw Andrejewski (Andreski)² - are determined "at least to a substantial extent", by how far the co-operation of the masses is essential to the successful prosecution of a current, or anticipated, war.³

In contrast to Titmuss' concern with 'guided' social change, Arthur Marwick has devoted more attention to the unplanned, unforeseen - the 'unguided' - social consequences of total war. Nevertheless, this has not prevented him advancing in recent years a controversial four-tier 'model' which purports to embrace all the consequences of war.⁴ Rather than remaining content with merely describing the effects of war, he has drawn heavily, if at times naively, upon the social sciences as well as traditional, historical sources, "to break up the complicated phenomena /

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1. R.M.Titmuss, op.cit., p.77.
 2. S. Andrewski, Military Organisation and Society, (2nd.ed., 1968)
 3. R.M. Titmuss, op.cit., p.86
 4. A.Marwick, Britain in the Century of Total War (1970), pp.11-17: War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century (1974), pp.11-14. His 'model' was used as a structural feature in the Open University's third level course "War and Society" (A301). The Open University, War and Society, Block 1, Units 1-4, The Study of War and Society: Thucydides to the Eighteenth Century (1973)

phenomena of war into the most meaningful and manageable number of components.¹ In explaining his categorisation of these components, tiers, modes or dimensions into war's 'destructive', 'test', 'participation', and 'psychological' aspects, it is of particular relevance to this discussion that he frequently employs examples from modern educational history to support his generalisations, as he believes "the challenge of war is particularly marked in education".²

Indeed in the progress of the general debate among social historians about the consequences of modern war, educational reform has been used as a prime example of 'guided' social change prompted by war. There has been an obvious temporal correlation between the incidence of educational reform in Britain and war. "It is remarkable", wrote R.A. Butler, "how in England educational planning and advance coincided with wars".³ It was in 1815 - after Waterloo - that Lord Brougham's committee met to consider 'the Education of the Lower Orders'. Over a generation later, although the British were mainly concerned spectators, the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War was seen as playing some small part in the successful passage of the Education Acts of 1870 and 1872. Observers, fearing the domination of Europe by Prussia, were quick to point out that her improving political fortunes, in part, stemmed from the adoption of universal education after her reverses at the hands of Napoleon. The Boer War revealed what became known as the 'physical deterioration' /

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1. A.Marwick, War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century (1974), p.11.
 2. He sees, for example, the "paradoxical consequences" of war's destructiveness "neatly summed up" by the course of "British educational history" over the course of the second World War:
 "In the realm of educational ideas... the reconstructive effect of the disaster was to advance popular demand for a democratic system by fifteen years... but at the same time... the direct destructive effect of war on school buildings set back the advance of education by twenty years". The Open University, op.cit.p.86.
 3. R.A.Butler, The Art of the Possible (1971), p.91.

deterioration' of the masses through the poor physical condition of would-be recruits. As a consequence permissive legislation was enacted for the provision of school meals and medical examination of pupils by local authorities out of the rates.

It is, however, the realisation of important legislation in the context of the two major twentieth century wars that has particularly engaged the attention of historians. Simon has characterised the Fisher Act as the "one piece of forward looking legislation", apart from votes for women, passed at the end of the First World War,¹ while Calder regards the 1944 Act as "the most signal measure of social reform" which became law during the Second, and "potentially the most important gesture towards democracy in the twentieth century, a fitting product of the People's War".² That educational reform should assume such prominence in the wars is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that there had been a consistent lack of popular and governmental interest in this social area prior to both conflicts.

Various reasons help to explain this British predilection with educational reform in the two world wars. In both wars it became increasingly necessary to stress the nature of the reconstructed society that would inevitably arise from the carnage, as something of a recompense for the sacrifices made, and the horrors endured which, unlike any previous hostilities, affected all members of the community to a greater or lesser, extent. In both wars there came to exist at the times of the nation's /

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1. B.Simon, The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1940 (1974), p.298.
 2. A.Calder, The People's War, Britain 1939-45, (1969), p.545.

nation's greatest peril a tacit agreement between rulers and ruled - what Hancock and Gowing have characterised in terms of the Second World War as "an implied contract between Government and people; the people refused none of the sacrifices that the Government demanded from them for the winning of the war; in return, they expected that the Government should show imagination and seriousness in preparing for the restoration and improvement of the nation's well-being when the war had been won".¹ The N.U.T. declared in 1943:

"We have citizen armies in the field and citizen armies in the factories. Men, women and children alike must suffer with fortitude the privations and agonies of modern total war; therefore the kind of planning upon which we have a right to dwell with eager and determined anticipation, is that which will bring a happier and fuller life to the whole community".²

During the First World War, the depth and extent of the desire for post-war reconstruction prompted Asquith to establish a Reconstruction Committee and Lloyd George an ill-fated Ministry of Reconstruction. In the vital years of the Second, despite Churchillian misgivings, the Government were partly engaged in re-thinking and re-planning the social services for the post-war. Titmuss regards this as an "important experience" as it meant that throughout the war "the pressures for a higher standard of welfare and a deeper comprehension of social justice gained steadily in strength. And during this period, despite all the handicaps of limited resources in men and materials a big expansion took place in the responsibilities accepted by the State for those in need".³

Undoubtedly, the wars created an emotional, or psychological, climate which /

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1. W.K.Hancock & M.M.Gowing, British War Economy, (1949), p.541.
 2. N.U.T., A Plan for Education (Toddington, Cheltenham,1943),p.3.
 3. R.M.Titmuss, Problems of Social Policy (1950), p.508. Hereafter cited as 'Social Policy'.

which fostered a willingness on the part of larger sections of the public to accept the need for change as articulated by political and intellectual leaders in the years before the war. The upheaval of war seemingly created an orientation towards change, promoting a wider circle of receptive opinion which previously would have been hostile or, at least, apathetic towards it - perhaps a consequence of the exigencies of conflict. H. A.L. Fisher, on his appointment to the presidency of the Board of Education in 1916, was quick to sense this climate:

"The war was my opportunity. I was sensible from the first that while the war lasted reforms could be obtained and advances could be made which would be impossible to realise, in the critical atmosphere of peace... If I did not strike my blow now the opportunity might be lost never to return".¹

R.A. Butler expressed similar sentiments:

"The time was ripe. The crisis of modern war is a crucial test of national values and way of life. Amid the suffering and the sacrifice the weaknesses of society are revealed and there begins a period of self-examination, self-criticism and movement for reform".²

In the course of both conflicts British society experienced a moral transformation. Old dogmatisms were shaken; a greater sense of moral purpose and a new 'national mind' was created. The pragmatism engendered by war was apparent in the most unlikely quarters: "It may be necessary..." wrote Sir Maurice Holmes, the Permanent Secretary at the Board of Education in 1941, 'to modify, or even to abandon some conceptions which have long been held and to think in new terms for new times'.³ R.S. Wood, the Deputy Secretary, was "clear that War was moving them more and more in the direction of Labour's ideas and ideals and planning for a national New Order would be more towards Left than might generally be imagined".⁴

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1. H. A.L. Fisher, Educational Reform Speeches, (1918), p.103.
 2. R.A. Butler, op.cit. p.91.
 3. P.R.O.ED. 136/214, Education After the War (1941), p.5. The 'Green Book' was never published.
 4. P. R.O., ED. 138/4, Note on Policy and Planning for Post-war Education by R.S. Wood, 17 January, 1941.

The wars, in the field of education at least, brought the espousal of long advocated reforms. The various Acts of 1918, 1944 and 1945 were retrospective: Butler "laid stress" on the fact that "the germ of so much of the reforms was to be found in what had gone before... What the(1944) Act had done was to provide machinery and the means for giving effect to the Hadow ideal..."¹ Similarly, the bill which Fisher presented to the House of Commons in 1917 was based to a large extent upon the reform proposals considered by the Asquith Government in 1913. Neither war originated any reforms in the educational sphere; the respective schemes had a pedigree reaching back before the outbreak of the conflicts. Marwick's comment on the First World War that it created no new body of knowledge or theory, but that it "brought a violent awareness of the need to apply it" can be safely extended to cover the Second World War as well.²

Exposure was war's first service to reform, at once creating and sharpening the mood of awareness and self-examination as a necessary preliminary to an acceptance of the need for change. In the First World War, on topic after topic, from industrial research to physical fitness, publicists stung national pride with revelations of German superiority. War accomplished more in two years than reformers in life-long agitation. Henry Kellaway of the Ministry of Munitions, echoing Lloyd George, likened the effects of war to a star-shell illuminating the dark places in the nation's life.³ "War reveals the flaws in our social system" commented The Times Educational Supplement, "and an examination of these evils with a view to redressing them must trace them back to the school-room."⁴

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1. P.R.O. ED.138/20, Notes made by Miss Goodfellow of a meeting between Minister (Mr Butler) and myself (Dr Sophia Weitzman), 25 May, 1945.
 2. A.Marwick, The Deluge (1965), p.242.
 3. P.B.Johnson, Land Fit for Heroes (1968), p.224.
 4. T.E.S., 7 March, 1916.

The wartime publication of the Lewis Report revealed that there were two million children between the ages of 12 and 17 years in 1914 "without the physical, mental, or moral opportunities... essential to the rearing of a great people".¹

Similarly, in 1939-40, evacuation "suddenly illuminated the life of a hitherto submerged portion of the nation".² As stories of the debased standards and habits of evacuees began to circulate, as the poverty and disease in which large numbers of the urban population lived pricked social consciences, a marked determination to bring about changes in British society after victory emerged. Butler grasped the importance of evacuation in nurturing the idealism that eventually helped to create the climate of public opinion favourable to his educational reform proposals: "the revelations... showed that one half of the nation didn't know how the other half lived, and the discovery roused the social conscience of a wider section of the public than had previously interested themselves in the condition of the people".³ Evacuation, exulted H.C. Dent somewhat exaggeratedly, "killed the old order in education".⁴ Marwick sees it as "a unique experience and one of the most significant social phenomena of war"; it contributed to the ready acceptance of free milk and subsidised meals' programmes in schools and, in the longer term, the social insurance and National Health Service schemes.⁵ Thus education was not the only institution whose interests were promoted by war - its development was part of a more general and comprehensive yearning for social improvement.

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1. Ibid, 4 January, 1917.
2. P.R.O., ED.138/4, S. Weitzman, Historical Survey, p.66.
3. P.R.O., ED.138/20, op.cit.
4. H.C.Dent, Education in Transition, (1944), p.6.
5. A. Marwick, War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century (1974), p.157.

The wars, therefore created a social and psychological climate arising out of the unity and sacrifice required for survival and victory, brought a fresh realisation of the importance of the British educational systems and illuminated perennial problems as a prelude to administrative or legislative action. The wars, furthermore, accentuated the desperate need for trained manpower and encouraged a realisation of the need of education for economic efficiency. Lloyd George, in his great 'War Speech' at Manchester in September 1918, asked:

"What is the next lesson of the War? We must pay more attention to the schools. The most formidable institution we had to fight in Germany was not the arsenals of Krupp or the yards in which they turned out submarines but the schools of Germany. They were our most formidable competitors in business and our most terrible opponents in war".¹

During both conflicts, the value of education - particularly scientific and technical education - in what Lord Haldane called "winning the peace", was a recurrent theme.² Even Churchill, so often a sceptic about the value of formal education declared that,

"The future of the world is to the highly educated races who alone can handle the scientific apparatus necessary for pre-eminence in peace or survival in war... you cannot conduct a modern community except with an adequate supply of persons upon whose education much time and money have been spent".³

Lloyd George was persuaded that:

"An educated man is a better worker, a more formidable warrior, and a better citizen. That was only half comprehended here before the war".⁴

Nevertheless in a search for generalisations which help to explain the coincidence/

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1. Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury, 13 September, 1918.
 2. Hansard (Lords), 5th series, XXII, 655-683, 12 July, 1916.
 3. M.Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State (1961), p.286.
 4. Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury, op.cit.

coincidence of war and educational legislation in Britain in this century, the uniqueness of historical events must not be forgotten. There was, at least, a difference in emphasis in the range of arguments raised to support educational reform in both conflicts. Fisher, although not entirely ignoring the needs of industry and perceiving the role of education in building "harmonious relations between capital and labour", preferred to rest his advocacy of educational reform on the humanitarian proposition of our having "overdrawn our account with posterity", and thus as some compensation, "giving to all our children the best possible opportunity that we can afford to give them..."¹ The impulse provided by the Second World War helped to transform the concept of improving and widening opportunity into an economic, social and political equalitarianism and enhancement of democracy. "If we speak of democracy", commented an important leader in The Times shortly after Dunkirk, "we do not mean a democracy which maintains the right to vote but forgets the right to work and the right to live.

"If we speak of freedom we do not mean to suggest individualism which excludes social organisation and economic planning. If we speak of equality, we do not mean a political equality nullified by social and economic privilege. If we speak of economic reconstruction, we think less of maximum production (though this too will be required) than of equitable distribution".²

As well as differing emphases there were, inevitably, unique political contexts which figured prominently in the adoption of the various education bills of 1917 and 1944. Lloyd George, on succeeding Asquith as Prime Minister, was quick to appreciate the people's desire for reconstruction in many fields, including education. He realised that a vigorous prosecution of the war had to be coupled with a programme of social reform when circumstances allowed. The appointment of H.A.L. Fisher, the espousal of an education bill independently of first the Reconstruction/

1. H.A.L.Fisher, op.cit., pp.63-64.

2. The Times, 1 July, 1940.

Reconstruction Committee and, later, the Ministry of Reconstruction, was a calculated act to allay popular discontent by demonstrating that the Government was in earnest and helped to establish a wider base of support for the Coalition.

Butler pursued the goal of educational reform as single-mindedly and determinedly as Fisher but, initially, against the wishes of the Prime Minister. Churchill, who saw the President of the Board's wartime role as getting the schools working again after evacuation and increasing the amount of technical and industrial education necessary for the war effort, was only eventually persuaded to give Butler his head by Sir Kingsley Wood and Sir John Anderson. They came to believe that educational reform was "the lesser evil than Beveridge's scheme"; an education bill could serve to still the clamour surrounding the popular report and head off, with a Tory measure, Attlee's and Bevin's determined efforts to ensure that reconstruction was taken seriously by the Cabinet.¹

Additionally, too, it is necessary to stress the influence of the events and consequences of the First World War upon those of the Second. Talk of reconstruction in the field of education began shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939, perhaps partly inspired by educationists - frustrated by the failure to implement the major Fisher reforms and the inactivity of the inter-war period - who remembered the impulse given to educational reform in the Great War. "One outcome of the last war was an educational advance", observed The Scottish Educational Journal in November, 1940². "May we hope that history will repeat itself." ² In the/

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1. P.R.O. ED.138/20, Notes made by Miss Goodfellow of a meeting between Minister (R.A.Butler) and myself (Dr Sophia Weitzman), 26 May, 1945.
 2. S.E.J., 10 November, 1939.

the winter of 1940-1941, as we shall observe in this study, the principal officers of the Board and the S.E.D., sensing a change in the public attitude to education, and determined not to be caught unawares as in the First World War, reviewed the whole range of educational policy.¹ Thereafter, the publication of the 'Green Book', the appointment of Butler and his embrace of educational reform fired the debate as education became one of the focal points in the popular yearning for greater social justice - one of the hallmarks of 'reconstructionist' opinion in the Second World War.

Significantly, also, politicians active in this conflict had vivid memories of the disappointment and bitterness as the idealistic rhetoric of the Great War vanished in the face of post-war economic realities. Chuter Ede, Butler's Parliamentary Secretary, for example, believed that the Government should introduce "some substantial measure of social reform" to prevent a deepening sense of betrayal among the people:

"The political life of the country suffered too much between 1918 and 1939 from the failure of successive Governments to implement promises of social reform made during the last war and at other times. If references now being made to social reform in speeches are not to be honoured by legislative action, parliamentary and political life will be further discredited, with results that may be most harmful to public order and stability in any difficult times that may follow this war".²

It is, indeed, possible to support an argument that the correlation of war with educational advance in Britain in the twentieth century was, at least, partly a consequence of popular English - if not British - apathy towards this social field outwith the years of conflict. Lord Haldane/

1. See Chapter Eight.

2. P.R.O. ED.136/379, J. Chuter Ede to R.A. Butler, 22 October, 1942.

Haldane, an untiring advocate of educational reform, remarked in 1916 that,

"The nation at large, before the outbreak of the war, was apathetic in regard to education, which was a tiresome word to most people in this country".¹

He added that he had "never known a Government that was not really indifferent to education. Cabinets are all more or less indifferent, and education is squeezed into the last moments of the Cabinet. The Cabinet reflects Parliament, and Parliament reflects the opinion of the nation".² B. B. Gilbert, in his preface to British Social Policy, 1914-1939, caustically observes that education was excluded from his study because "there is little to write about" - to which he adds that,

"When the political leaders of both major parties are unable to redeem a 20-year-old promise to increase the school leaving age beyond 14, a nation can hardly be said to have a deep concern with public education".³

Butler's brush with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in April, 1943 would appear to support Gilbert's assertion. On showing him the draft of the White Paper on educational reform, the President was asked if he could re-write the opening paragraphs "so as to give a less pessimistic account of the nation's attention to Education in the past...

He does not wish it to be said that we cannot make progress with educational reform without war, since he thinks this gives too pessimistic a picture of the British achievement, and he thinks this Paper will be read overseas and in America".⁴

That the quickening of interest in educational reform in the Second World War was, partially, an outcome of neglect in the inter-war years is a thesis that can be supported by extrapolation from Brian Simon's analysis/

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1. Hansard (Lords), op.cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. B. B. Gilbert, British Social Policy, 1914-39 (1970), preface, p.VIII.
 4. P.R.O. ED.136/578, Note of President's interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 8 June, 1943.

analysis of the politics of educational reform in that period and in view of the preoccupation of this study a possible 'neglect' factor necessitates extended scrutiny.¹ There are important qualifications to be made about this analysis: it is doggedly Marxist and consequentially contentious; and it is concerned only with England and Wales, though governmental perception of the English system obviously set political, ideological and economic bounds upon the improvement of the other component systems - principally the Scottish - in the United Kingdom.

His fundamental argument is that financial doctrines in the inter-war years reinforced an educational ideology which was taken for granted among the powerful élite in English society and went largely unchallenged by the working-class and its representative political party. Financial doctrines virtually dictated the pattern of social policy, together with views about the level of central government expenditure, derived from an accepted fiscal pattern which remained relatively constant.

Expenditure on educational services (as financed through the Board of Education) remained throughout the period at around £42 millions, though rising in the immediate post-war years as renewed economic activity brought increased revenue. The value of the education vote increased with the rise in the real value of money but, "the intention duly carried out, was to stabilise government expenditure on education in terms of budgetary allocation".² In relation to the total budget the proportion spent on education also remained constant, at roughly six per cent., somewhat below the proportion reached in 1913-14. "In other words", concludes Simon, /

1. B.Simon, op.cit.

2. Ibid, p.297.

Simon, "the priority accorded to education, in relation to other forms of national expenditure, remained constant".¹ The same conclusion emerges if the relationship to national income is investigated: the proportion of public expenditure - both nationally and locally - stood at 2.1 per cent. in 1925 and at 2.2 per cent in 1939.²

Exchequer expenditure on education was significantly higher in the post-war period compared with the pre-war period because of the 'displacement effect' of the war. It did not, however, rise markedly at any point in the inter-war years. Total public expenditure on elementary and 'higher' education increased by some £20 millions between 1921 and 1938, as a consequence of local authority expenditure out of the rates which rose by £14 millions, or 44 per cent., by contrast with a 13 per cent. increase in Exchequer grants. (See Table 1.1)³ To Simon "it seems evident that what succeeding economy campaigns achieved was the undermining of precisely that central government support for educational development which Fisher had clearly identified as essential".⁴ Only the efforts of local authorities, "almost in contradiction" to government policy; the rise in the value of money; and the fall in the birth-rate prevented the wrecking of the English (and, implicitly, the Scottish) educational system.⁵

In this policy, the concept of education as an investment bringing economic returns was "virtually absent". The bulk of Exchequer grants and local authority expenditure went to support a system of mass elementary schooling /

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1. Ibid, p.298
 2. Ibid, p.297
 3. Ibid, p.298
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid,pp .298-299

schooling which aroused no such economic aspirations. On the contrary, "it was generally held that, from an economic point of view, this was money down the drain"; and there remained only one justification for its expenditure - the elementary school system "performed a necessary function, not least in terms of forming the social outlook and attitudes of the working class".¹ The stability of the "capitalist social order", in conditions of political democracy necessitated the provision of universal education as the condition of its survival. Simon, however, is forced to admit that Robert Lowe's famous maxim was "less clearly grasped in these terms" in the inter-war years though, nevertheless, cynically offering this to explain "the inner-Cabinet prevarications on the issue of how far education could be mulcted or at what level it was indispensable that it be maintained, depending largely on the strength of immediate political pressure, or the ability to discount it, and the distance of the next election".²

The 'propensity to consume' social services - inherent in the concession of universal education under conditions of political democracy - was effectively curbed, in Simon's opinion, by "pushing the main burden of paying for the nation's schools as a whole back on to those who used them".³ This meant the modification of the Kempe-Fisher formula - the percentage grant whereby the Exchequer guaranteed to pay a minimum of 50 per cent. of all expenditure incurred by local authorities - which, after assaults by the Geddes and May Committees, was eventually achieved by/

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1. Ibid, p.299
 2. Ibid, p.300
 3. Ibid, p.301

by the National Government. The guarantee was removed and the cost of education began to bear more heavily on the rates than the taxes, with the proportion borne by the ratepayer exceeding that borne by the Exchequer throughout the 1930s. The Exchequer contribution which rose from 47 per cent in 1914 to 56 per cent in 1920, dropped from 1931 onwards so that by 1938-1939 central taxation contributed only 49.1 per cent. of the cost (see Table 1.1) This step, Simon argues, "reinforced a restrictive fiscal policy and the ideology going with it".¹ The percentage grant was almost "turned into its opposite; for the less spent locally, the less would be called for from the Exchequer... What it implied... was a shuffling off of a nation's responsibility for the national system of education..."²

Simon contends that the educational policy of succeeding governments in the inter-war years depended directly on the prevailing economic policy. If economic or financial problems arose, education - an area as unpopular as it was expensive - was an early candidate for curtailment of its virtually stationary budget. He perceives the Board as ill-placed to mitigate the effects of, or find an alternative to, such a policy which was not confined to one party or class. Rather, it was a policy "consonant with the working of the official mind, within a department of state geared from the start to programme secondary education only for an élite with, for the majority, merely ancillary provision to promote togetherness in the tasks of making capitalist and social relations work".³

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1. Ibid, p.304
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p.318

At the Board, as elsewhere, there was a "blank front" as to how education might contribute to economic growth; indeed, in the prevailing economic circumstances, it was all too easy to advance the view that there was simply no economic outlet for any more educated personnel; and to underline how well the established school system fitted the occupational structure. Such a view was facilitated by the lack of necessity to consider the leading positions in industry, commerce, banking and politics which were filled by the products of the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge - "a whole system outside the jurisdiction of the Board, though duly taken into account and on which a fatherly eye was kept".¹ What did fall under the Board's jurisdiction, "as its own to be carefully preserved and consolidated", was the "Morant inspired pattern of secondary education".² Here the superstition of the liberal professions reigned", and the prevailing educational pattern "perfectly fitted the designed social role which, in turn, conformed directly to the status quo - and what could be more satisfactory?"³

Discounting Simon's Marxist strictures, it is nevertheless difficult to refute the evidence of official lack of interest in the needs of state education and the financial repercussions which inevitably followed governmental attempts to cope with the successive economic crises in the inter-war years. An examination of the figures of educational expenditure in Scotland in the inter-war years, contained in Table 1.1., lends qualified support to Simon's particular observations in this area. Combined education authority and S.E.D. net expenditure increased by a staggering 137 per cent - from nearly £4½ millions to over £11 millions - between /

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1. Ibid, p.320.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid, pp.320-321.

between 1917-1918 and 1920-1921. After an almost eight per cent reduction in the wake of Geddes, it was stabilised at approximately £12 millions until 1937-1938 when there was an increase as a result of preparation for the raising of the school leaving age occasioned by the 1936 Education Acts; and the restoration of the cut in teachers' salaries following the report of the May Committee. These figures largely conform to the English pattern which is hardly surprising insofar as the amount of the general grant-in-aid of Scottish education was in the main determined by the Goschen formula;¹ the cut in the Board's vote in 1931, for example, meant an automatic reduction in that of the Department.

Interesting differences, however, can be discerned in the comparison of the relative contributions from the rates and central taxation between England and Wales and Scotland. As the figures in Table 1.1 reveal, in Scotland the relative proportion of expenditure on education borne by the Exchequer was greater than in England and Wales almost throughout the inter-war years and the relative proportion derived from rate income consequently less. The Scottish figures do not reveal the fluctuations apparent in the English and Welsh; rather there is a fairly steady decrease in the relative proportion of central government expenditure on education after 1921-1922 until 1930-1931 and /

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1. From 1918 the procedure for estimating parliamentary grants-in-aid of Scottish education was laid down by the Goschen formula: (i) a sum equal to the amount expended from the parliamentary vote for education in the year ending 31 March, 1914; and (ii) eleven-eightieths of the excess amount estimated to be expended each year from the vote for education in England and Wales over the amount expended in 1913-1914. A third element was added after the local government reforms of 1929: a sum equal to the amount paid out of the local taxation (Scotland) Account in the year ending 31 March, 1929.

and a corresponding increase in the relative proportion of rate-derived income. The proportions remain settled after the economic retrenchment of the early thirties until the outbreak of war. There is, moreover, no reversal in the roles of central and local government as the major contributor to educational finance as in England and Wales after 1931-1932. The trend in Scotland towards larger rate contributions in support of education resumed in the war so that the pressure of the rates in cities such as Glasgow was so great by 1945, that, as we shall note, local government representatives viewed the prospect of expensive educational reforms with some misgivings. In England and Wales, however, the Exchequer re-assumed principal responsibility for the finance of elementary and higher education in 1941-42 - a burden which the rate-payers had borne for nearly a decade.

The question is whether the financial restrictions placed on educational expenditure by central government and the increasing burden placed upon the rates constitute 'neglect'? If this verdict is too harsh, the least that can be said is that by the outbreak of the Second World War, a necessary programme of rehabilitation of the educational services, and an optional backlog of reforms, summarised in the various reports of the inter-war period, awaited attention. As indicated above, it took the disaster of a total war and the disruption of schooling to focus the public gaze on the weaknesses of the educational systems.

In assessing, however, the importance of the 'neglect' factor in explaining the coincidence of war and educational reform in the modern British context, it is necessary to be wary, as Titmuss warns, of distinguishing too sharply between modern war and peace. He notes that "modern war casts its shadow long before it happens and that its social effects are felt for longer and longer periods after armed conflict has ceased".¹ Thus as war and peace become more inter-related, it is in consequence /

1. R.M.Titmuss, *Essays*, op.cit., p.78.

consequence, "difficult to detach the 'abnormal' from the 'normal', and to attribute precisely the acts of Government to one or other of these situations". Marwick also accepts this timely warning, stressing the necessity "to look at the larger circumstances which, wars or no wars, were throughout the century affecting social change in Britain, as elsewhere".¹ Among these circumstances, he includes the pressure of 'unguided' activities of individuals and pressure groups, assisted by the resources of science and technology, the greater share for many of economic and material well-being, social status and political responsibility, as well as the British preference for 'gradualness' of change.² There is a great temptation in a thesis concerned with the impact and influence of war to over-emphasise its effects. The larger context of change must always be borne in mind and it is precisely for this reason that the 'neglect' factor of the inter-war years poses such problems of assessment in considering the significance of war in promoting educational reform.

In an attempt to explain the coincidence of war and educational reform in Britain in the twentieth century, it is argued that, before the two major conflicts, there was a deep-seated lack of popular interest in this area of social policy which was reflected in governmental attitudes and actions. This apathy, bordering at times upon hostility, perhaps accentuated the 're-discovery' of education as a field requiring administrative and legislative attention as war stimulated a receptivity to ideas in which the backlog of pre-war reforms became the shared concern of professional pressure groups and significant numbers of the public./

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1. A. Marwick, Britain in the Century of Total War (1970), pp.15-16.
 2. Ibid, pp.16-17.

public. The wars, too, marked a burgeoning of interest on the part of the State in the educational services to promote the well-being of the population in the interests of military and economic survival both during and after the conflicts. It was indeed during, and immediately after, the Second World War that the concept of investment in education for economic growth gained significant ground in official thought and policy. This war also, in the words of Marwick, 'tested' educational institutions: the Board of Education was obliged to initiate rather than merely to respond to events, as in the inter-war period, and forge a better-balanced relationship between central and local government. The change in role was accompanied by an improvement in status consequent upon the renewed interest in education and recognised by the transformation of the Board into a Ministry.

Yet the generalisations derived from this analysis do not take into account the fragmented nature of the educational structures within the United Kingdom; that there were two administratively distinct educational systems - the Northern Irish and the Scottish - as well as the English and Welsh, operating in the period under discussion. While it has been emphasised that, as modern war affected more of the population creating a relatively uniform, shared experience which helped to promote a common vision of a post-war, reconstructed society, it remains to assert the importance of the diverse traditions, the strengths and defects that accompanied these systems into war. Popular perceptions of how well individual educational systems coped with the impact of total war, and to what extent educational reform was a sine qua non of the post-war world, depended to some extent upon birthplace and educational background. As we shall observe, however, the question of Scottish educational reform in the Second World War was decisively influenced by events in England and Wales.

Given /

Given that there was a coincidence of educational reform with modern war in Britain and the existence of distinctive educational systems, it seems obvious to hypothesise that the experience of the individual systems within the general, shared experience of war and the political and economic limits set by their being part of the constitutional framework of one country, was, to some extent, unique. Thus the quantity and quality of legislation was partly an outcome of their history and traditions and this unique experience of their success in coping with wartime exigencies such as evacuation, bombing, and the increasing concern of the State with the physical well-being of the population as well as pressures for reform.

This uniqueness is frequently ignored, or overlooked, by historians: even Marwick, despite his insistence on giving due consideration to Scottish affairs, refers to homogenous 'British' educational history in the Second World War.¹ Sometimes it is acknowledged as a necessary omission in the writer's concern for England and Wales: Gosden in his book comments that,

"No attempt is made here to deal with the position in Scotland because that country has a different education system which is constitutionally and administratively the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Neither the Butler Act nor the various reconstruction inquiries and reports have applied there".²

There has not been, to date, any extensive study of the Scottish educational system in the war years and, consequently, significant questions remain to be explored, and comparisons made, with the English experience which has been fully chronicled in Gosden's book. Thus it is the purpose of this/

1. Supra. p. 3. , footnote 2.

2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, Education in the Second World War (1976), p.3.

this study to attempt to repair this omission, in part, by tracing the history of the Scottish school system in the years 1939 to 1945 from a central administrative and policy-making standpoint.

The questions can be conveniently, if crudely, divided into two groups and the study has been structured to reflect this division. The first group relates to the impact of the disruptive and destructive aspects of war - the first tier of Marwick's model of war and social change - on the Scottish school system; and the second to governmental response to the influence of the war in stimulating demands for the reform and improvement of the Scottish educational system.

In the first part of the study, Chapters Two and Three survey the impact of evacuation, bombing and the occupation of school buildings by civil and military agencies on the educational services and attempts to assess the extent and length of disruption of children's education. Chapter Four considers the effects of the most total of wars, as yet fought, on aspects of the educational life of schools, including the temporary camp and exiles' schools. Did, for example, some pupils gain educationally and others lose in wartime conditions; if so, who and in what ways? An important factor in maintaining an educational service was teacher-supply and this problem forms the subject of Chapter Five.

Chapter Six, which opens the second half of the study, traces the expansion of the school milk and meals' systems and, briefly, the fortunes of the school medical service in wartime. Chapter Seven is concerned with the S.E.D.'s early review of the educational system and the drafting of a reform programme in the light of the Board's determination not only to secure, but also control the direction of, educational reform. In particular/

particular, given the powerful meritocratic and democratic traditions in Scottish education, what was the S.E.D.'s reaction and response to the egalitarian demands stimulated by the war? The appointment of Thomas Johnston as Secretary of State in 1941 was to influence decisively the extent and nature of Scottish educational reform. Chapters Eight and Nine endeavour to show how he was forced to overcome his lack of interest in the subject and take action as a consequence of expectations aroused by the very success of R.A. Butler in piloting his bill through parliament. They endeavour to explain why the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, is regarded as a less significant measure than the corresponding English Act which, if retrospective in nature, is nevertheless, seen by historians as a legislative milestone. Chapter Nine also considers Johnston's decision to incorporate in an education measure what he regarded as a first step in a possible overhaul of Scottish local government that harked back to the perceived glories of ad hoc authorities. The difficulties and delays occasioned by this decision, coinciding with the fall of the Coalition Government in the spring of 1945 and the incredible passage of the Education (Scotland) Act, for which Johnston received so much credit, is the subject of Chapter Ten.

The consideration of such a range of events, issues, and questions in the somewhat neglected Scottish educational context might hopefully contribute to greater understanding in a number of directions. It might, firstly, allow a more informed scrutiny of Marwick's provisional conclusion, that, in the Second World War, after juxtaposing the destructive and reconstructive aspects, "the overall balance as far as the progress of education was concerned was a negative one".¹ Secondly, it /

1. The Open University, op.cit., p.86.

it might also permit a more subtle interpretation of the derivation, nature and progress of educational reform as stimulated by war. And finally, additional evidence might be forthcoming which might support, or help to qualify, existing generalisations about the relationship and 'guided' social change.

TABLE 1.1

A COMPARISON OF THE RELATIVE EXPENDITURE BORNE BY TAXES (EXCHEQUER GRANTS) AND RATES ON PUBLIC EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND AND ON ELEMENTARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1913-1914 AND 1919-1920 TO 1944-1945 (IN THOUSAND POUNDS)

| | SCOTLAND | | | | | ENGLAND AND WALES | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Exchequer Grants | Rates | Total exp. from both sources | Percentage borne by Exchequer Grant | Percentage borne by rates | Exchequer Grants | Rates | Total exp. from both sources | Percentage borne by Exchequer Grants | Percentage borne by rates |
| 1913-1914 | 2,019 | 2,473 | 4,492 | 55.0 | 45.0 | 13,772 | 15,555 | 29,327 | 47.0 | 53.0 |
| 1919-1920 | 4,544 | 3,974 | 8,518 | 53.4 | 46.7 | 30,191 | 23,688 | 53,879 | 56.0 | 44.0 |
| 1920-1921 | 6,276 | 4,664 | 10,940 | 57.4 | 42.6 | 38,317 | 32,224 | 70,541 | 54.3 | 45.7 |
| 1921-1922 | 6,782 | 4,366 | 11,148 | 60.8 | 39.2 | 40,002 | 34,059 | 74,061 | 54.0 | 46.0 |
| 1922-1923 | 5,934 | 4,312 | 10,246 | 58.2 | 41.8 | 38,681 | 32,209 | 70,890 | 54.6 | 45.4 |
| 1923-1924 | 5,585 | 4,533 | 10,118 | 55.2 | 44.8 | 38,094 | 30,317 | 68,411 | 55.7 | 44.3 |
| 1924-1925 | 6,000 | 4,532 | 10,532 | 57.0 | 43.0 | 38,489 | 31,345 | 60,834 | 55.1 | 44.9 |
| 1925-1926 | 6,068 | 4,953 | 11,021 | 55.1 | 44.9 | 39,097 | 32,214 | 69,311 | 53.5 | 46.5 |
| 1926-1927 | 6,345 | 5,198 | 11,543 | 55.0 | 45.0 | 39,088 | 32,846 | 71,934 | 54.3 | 45.7 |
| 1927-1928 | 6,337 | 5,269 | 11,606 | 54.6 | 45.4 | 39,582 | 33,197 | 72,779 | 54.4 | 45.6 |
| 1928-1929 | 6,347 | 5,323 | 11,670 | 54.4 | 45.6 | 41,790 | 35,235 | 77,025 | 54.3 | 45.7 |
| 1929-1930 | 6,404 | 5,693 | 12,097 | 52.9 | 47.1 | 42,418 | 37,052 | 79,470 | 53.4 | 46.6 |
| 1930-1931 | 6,812 | 5,843 | 12,655 | 53.8 | 46.2 | 43,778 | 38,485 | 82,263 | 53.2 | 46.8 |
| 1931-1932 | 6,882 | 5,241 | 12,123 | 56.8 | 43.2 | 41,412 | 39,340 | 80,752 | 51.3 | 48.7 |
| 1932-1933 | 6,400 | 5,342 | 11,742 | 54.5 | 45.5 | 38,336 | 39,839 | 78,175 | 49.0 | 51.0 |
| 1933-1934 | 6,167 | 5,528 | 11,695 | 52.7 | 47.3 | 38,518 | 40,522 | 79,040 | 48.7 | 51.3 |
| 1934-1935 | 6,424 | 5,812 | 12,236 | 52.5 | 47.5 | 40,288 | 42,414 | 82,702 | 48.7 | 51.3 |
| 1935-1936 | 6,750 | 6,004 | 12,754 | 52.9 | 47.1 | 42,749 | 43,576 | 86,325 | 49.5 | 50.5 |
| 1936-1937 | 6,938 | 6,182 | 13,120 | 52.9 | 47.1 | 43,922 | 44,968 | 88,890 | 49.4 | 50.6 |
| 1937-1938 | 7,083 | 6,361 | 13,444 | 52.7 | 47.3 | 44,989 | 46,684 | 91,673 | 49.1 | 50.9 |
| 1938-1939 | 7,208 | 6,470 | 13,678 | 52.7 | 47.3 | 45,522 | 48,263 | 93,785 | 48.5 | 51.5 |
| 1939-1940 | 7,321 | 6,329 | 13,650 | 53.6 | 46.4 | 45,678 | 47,304 | 92,982 | 49.1 | 50.9 |
| 1940-1941 | 7,364 | 6,346 | 13,710 | 52.6 | 47.4 | 46,193 | 46,959 | 93,152 | 49.6 | 50.4 |
| 1941-1942 | 7,806 | 6,755 | 14,561 | 52.6 | 47.4 | 48,964 | 47,631 | 96,595 | 50.6 | 49.4 |
| 1942-1943 | 7,862 | 7,189 | 15,051 | 51.1 | 48.9 | 52,235 | 50,311 | 102,546 | 50.9 | 49.1 |
| 1943-1944 | 8,309 | 7,697 | 16,006 | 50.9 | 49.1 | 55,181 | 52,413 | 107,594 | 51.3 | 48.7 |
| 1944-1945 | 8,803 | 8,287 | 17,090 | 50.5 | 49.5 | 59,132 | 54,612 | 113,744 | 52.0 | 48.0 |

Sources: (1) Scotland: P.R.O., ED.138/65, Statement of educational expenditure met from rates and Exchequer in /

TABLE 1.1 (Continued)

Sources: (1)

in various years, 3 January, 1957; Reports of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1919-1920 to 1938; and Ministry of Education, Scottish Education Department, Ministry of Education, Northern Ireland, Statistics Relating to Education for the years 1935-1946 (1948) for 1939-1945.

- (2) England & Wales: Public Education in England and Wales, Board of Education Pamphlet No.100 (1934), Table 49 for 1913-1914 to 1931-1932; Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, 80th number (1937), Table 50, for 1932-1933 to 1934-1935; Board of Education Annual Reports for 1934-1935 to 1937-1938 (see also B.Simon, op.cit., Statistical Tables, Table 15); and Ministry of Education..., op.cit., for 1939-1945.

Notes:

- (1) Income from "other" sources, accruing in respect of education, for example, school fees, endowments and sale of books to children in Scotland, are excluded from this table since these items do not affect the relative proportions of educational expenditure of rates and taxes, with which this table is specifically concerned.
- (2) Data for England and Wales refers to years ended 31 March; and that for Scotland to years ended 15, 28 or 31 May.
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PART ONE : THE IMPACT OF WAR

CHAPTER TWO

EVACUATION AND THE DISLOCATION OF EDUCATION, 1939-1940

1. Planning for War

"I don't know whether Hitler knew", wrote Lord De La Warr^f, President of the Board of Education", when he chose that day to march into Poland, that September 1st. was the appointed day for the raising of our school leaving age to 15. Anyway from our point of view at the Board he's decidedly made a mess of things".¹ The S.E.D. had, perhaps, more reason to feel despondent at the turn of events. Despite a lack of political and popular interest in educational reform and the generally depressed condition of the British educational services in the inter-war years, the Department had quietly planned over a decade, a series of administrative reforms which were to be implemented with the raising of the school leaving age, under the much criticised Education (Scotland) Act, 1936.² A revised Day Schools' Code would bring all primary and secondary education under one set of regulations³; and a new Junior, and revised Senior Leaving Certificate were to be introduced to attract secondary school pupils.⁴ The war effectively forced the suspension of much of this modest programme as the Department faced an over-riding priority: the maintenance of educational provision under the impact of evacuation and the prospect of aerial attack.

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/160. Lord De La Warr to Sir Archibald Sinclair, 18 September, 1939.
 2. 26 Geo 5.& 1. Edw.8. c.42.
 3. S.R.& O., 1939. No. 422 S35. Day Schools (Scotland) Code Minute, 2 February, 1939.
 4. See Chapter Four.

The S.E.D. first became seriously involved in the preparations for war in 1936. As the international situation worsened, the Government were forced to envisage the grim prospect of a European war and the attendant horrors of air warfare. The Committee of Imperial Defence shared the generally held belief that the prelude to such a conflict would be the sustained bombing of London and other cities and towns on such a scale as to require wholesale, planned evacuation, if heavy casualties, panic and demoralisation were to be avoided.¹

The responsibility for planning and executing civil defence measures lay with the Air Raid Precautions Department of the Home Office until, after the Munich crisis, the Ministry of Home Security took charge of air-raid precautions' schemes with arrangements for evacuation being devolved, in the main, upon the Ministry of Health and the D.H.S. In 1936 the Home Office tried to encourage local authorities to prepare schemes for air-raid precautions and, in their ignorance, they naturally looked to the education departments for guidance on policy towards schools. "It is clear", observed J.W.Parker, the Department's senior representative at Dover House, "that we shall soon have to consider our policy with regard to opening or closure of schools in the event of war".²

Initially, the Home Office favoured keeping the schools open on the grounds that the children would be "as safe in the schools as in their own houses", and that closure would have an unfortunate psychological impact on the population.³ Prevailing military opinion held that, although buildings could not be protected from a direct hit by high explosive bombs, they could be /

1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.7.

2. S.R.O., ED24/1. J.W.Parker to Sir James Peck, 30 October, 1936.

3. Ibid.

be made safe against bomb splinters and incendiary or gas attack.¹ Incidents in the Spanish Civil War forced the Home Office to change their mind and regard schools as very dangerous buildings in an air-raid.² The shortness of the warning of an attack - possibly only seven or ten minutes - which would not be sufficient for children to return home, the problem of feeding sheltering children, and the psychological effects of the bombing of an occupied school, seemed to suggest that, in all vulnerable areas, schools should be closed "for the duration of the war".³

This shift in policy raised administrative difficulties:

"Apart from the complete interruption of education, there is the danger that children will get out of control, and the difficulty of the homes where parents will be at work and there will be nobody to look after the children".⁴

The Board of Education were pressed by local authorities to offer advice and the Department also felt so constrained, although in late 1936 there were no areas in Scotland regarded by the Air Raid Precautions Department as "likely to be subject to almost continuous attack".⁵ Some issues were discussed by representatives of the Scottish local authorities and Approved Schools Association with officials of the Scottish Office and S.E.D. in March, 1937.⁶ Arrangements were also made for Scottish local authority representation at a similar meeting in London in April. The publication of the advice, however, was postponed by the Cabinet until the A.R.P. Act had completed all its parliamentary stages and general discussions/

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1. Ibid.
 2. Bombs fell on a school at Getafe in Spain during the Civil War, killing 70 children. Daily Telegraph, 31 October, 1936.
 3. S.R.O., ED 24/1. op.cit.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid. Air Raid Precautions in Schools. Minutes of a meeting held on 3 March, 1937.

discussions with local authorities had made further progress.

The S.E.D. memorandum, eventually published in January, 1938, was, obviously identical with its English counterpart in its general statement of policy.¹ The responsibility for determining local arrangements for air-raid precautions was thrown upon the education authorities and school managers in consultation with air-raid precautions' officials. The primary responsibility was the children's safety and each authority was to decide whether, under prevailing conditions, it would be reasonable to expect parents to allow their children to attend school. In areas vulnerable to air-attack the schools were to be closed during the period of expected raids, and in particularly dangerous localities the preferred solution was evacuation of children to country districts. In less vulnerable areas the authorities were tentatively encouraged to keep their schools open, apart from those used for civil defence purposes. Here, precautions against air-attack were not to include respirator or air-raid drill, without careful consideration, because of possible "adverse psychological or other effects" on the children, or the general public - a policy that was to be reversed in April, 1938.² Structural precautions were to be contemplated only in exceptional circumstances as children would not be attending school in high-risk areas, although the provision of shelter trenches, or protection against gas and bomb splinters, was considered permissible in schools on the probable route of enemy aircraft, or near remote munitions' works.

Some Scottish authorities, notably Glasgow and Edinburgh, began to prepare /

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1. S.E.D. Memorandum 123 (3 January, 1938); Board of Education, Circular 1461 (3 January, 1938).
 2. S.E.D. Memorandum 136 (27 April, 1939).

prepare A.R.P. schemes but their will and ability to accomplish the complex work speedily and efficiently troubled the S.E.D. By May, 1938 Parker was wondering "whether it would be wise, say in the autumn, to make discre^{et} enquiries as to what was being done in each area".¹ He did not wish the Department to take any action that might inadvertently suggest relieving local authorities of their responsibilities, or smack of interference in the co-operative work of local authorities and A.R.P. officials. Nevertheless, the Department should, he believed, "satisfy themselves that the Authorities were at least applying their minds to the question". The airy generalities about the relative vulnerability of parts of the country contained in Memorandum No.123 had, perhaps, convinced some authorities of their geographic safety, although the document had asserted that no area was now beyond the range of air-attack.

As the sense of crisis deepened, parliamentary and newspaper pressure persuaded the Government to produce more studied proposals for the protection of the population in threatened areas of the country. In May 1938 Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, announced the appointment of a committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Anderson, to consider the various aspects of the problem of transferring people from areas likely to be exposed to continuous air-attack.² The report, whose publication was delayed until late October because of the Munich crisis, examined the transport, reception, accommodation, feeding and welfare aspects of evacuation and its recommendations formed the basis of the plans implemented in September, 1939.³ The committee suggested that there/

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1. S.R.O., ED 24/1. Note of an informal meeting... 12 May, 1938.
 2. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 336, 1380-81, 26 May, 1938.
 3. B.P.P. Home Department, Report of Committee on Evacuation, Cmd.5837(1938).

there should be a non-compulsory evacuation from some industrial localities with evacuees billeted in private houses. Provision of organised welfare and recreational facilities would prevent hardship to them or their hosts. Special arrangements were to be made for schoolchildren whose parents could not make private evacuation plans. They were to be moved out in groups from their schools in the charge of teachers.

The Government accepted the main recommendations of the Anderson Report and the tempo of preparation markedly increased. In Scotland the D.H.S. were given responsibility for the co-ordination of all evacuation arrangements and a special unit was established for this purpose which included personnel seconded from the S.E.D. An advisory committee on evacuation was also formed with representatives of the cities, the counties, the directors of education, the E.I.S. and other bodies.¹

British towns and cities were classified with the help of the Air Ministry according to their degree of vulnerability and by the end of 1938 the country had been divided into three types of area - evacuation, neutral and reception.² In Scotland, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow with a total population of 1,760,000 and an average density of 14,000 to the square mile, were deemed to be especially vulnerable and designated sending areas. Rosyth and Clydebank were accorded this status in May, 1939.³ and, following the air-attack on the Firth of Forth in October, Inverkeithing and North and South Queensferry.⁴ The Clydeside raids in 1941 resulted in Greenock, Port Glasgow and Dumbarton completing the list of /

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1. S.R.O., ED24/7, Scottish Advisory Committee on Evacuation. The chairman was W.R. Fraser, Permanent Secretary, D.H.S. Eighteen meetings were held before its dissolution in 1941.
 2. The Scotsman, 10 January, 1939.
 3. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 547, 1639-1640, 18 May, 1939.
 4. Ibid, 363, 597, 23 July, 1940.

of sending areas.¹ A small number of districts in the Clyde and Forth valleys were regarded as neutral areas unsuitable for various reasons as sending or receiving areas. Districts with a combined population of 1,800,000 and an average density of 100 per square mile were allocated for reception purposes to each sending area. Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness and north-west Inverness-shire were classified as 'reserve' areas which might be utilised in the event of mass-evacuation. The Western Isles, the Orkneys and Shetlands were excluded from the arrangements because of their inaccessibility.²

The D.H.S. explained in January, 1939 the general scope and purpose of the evacuation plans to local authorities containing districts classified as reception areas.³ Three separate forms of enquiry were to be undertaken locally: a survey of housing accommodation to discover the number of available billets and householders willing to receive children; an investigation to estimate surplus school accommodation⁴; and a census of the groups designated for evacuation. The Government had decided to restrict evacuation to certain priority classes: schoolchildren who, in Scotland, were to be evacuated with their mothers⁵; younger children accompanied by their mothers; expectant mothers; and adult blind, or crippled, persons capable of being moved.⁶ Parties of children were to be accompanied by volunteer teachers and helpers. The local primary schools/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/11. Government Evacuation Scheme, 3 August, 1941.
 2. A map and list of the respective sending, receiving and neutral areas can be found in Appendices I and II.
 3. D.H.S., D.P. Circular 6 (15 January, 1939).
 4. S.E.D. Circular 117 (1 February, 1939).
 5. In England and Wales, school children were to be evacuated in school parties supervised by teachers.
 6. D.H.S., D.P. Circular 30; and Memorandum E.V.S. 3 (15 June, 1939).

schools were to be the assembly points and thus, to the extent of the proportion of the neighbourhood population that opted to leave, would be evacuated as 'units'. The large co-educational secondary schools were to be dispersed as, in addition to transport problems, there was a lack of suitably-sized, educational accommodation in the reception areas. Secondary pupils were to assemble and travel with specified primary schools and board in the same localities. They were expected to attend the local secondary schools and, if transport facilities proved inadequate they were to be re-billeted, or attend local primary schools where special educational provision would be made for them.

The number of people included in the Scottish evacuation scheme, made public in June, was estimated at over 500,000, but as evacuation was voluntary there was uncertainty as to how many would register. Throughout the spring intensive campaigns mounted in the sending areas included parents' meetings in schools to explain the arrangements and encourage the enrolment of children. In Glasgow the Easter census revealed that about 106,000 children were enrolled for government-sponsored evacuation and a further 26,000 would leave under private arrangements, with 46,000 remaining in the city.¹ An enquiry to determine the numbers of teachers willing to serve with the evacuated children drew a 50 per cent response.² There was, however, the suggestion that evacuation duty might be compulsory; an education committee statement implied that it would not be possible to retain in Glasgow all the teachers who wished to remain if, in the event of evacuation, all the children registered left the city. Those teachers anxious to remain for domestic reasons could make an appeal which would be considered by a special committee of assessors, including local representatives of the E.I.S.

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1. W.Boyd (ed), Evacuation in Scotland (Bickley, 1944), p.7.

2. Ibid.

In early March S.E.D. and D.H.S. held a meeting with education authority representatives in Edinburgh to consider educational problems that were envisaged arising through evacuation.¹ Mackay Thomson hoped that no receiving area would be asked to receive more evacuees than existing school accommodation; at worst, he believed, the problem could be met by the universal adoption of the 'double-shift' system.² Rough estimates of secondary school accommodation indicated that all secondary pupils in Edinburgh and Dundee registered for evacuation could be absorbed in a second shift. Glasgow presented "a more serious problem; but probably not one incapable of solution", though one was not forthcoming at the meeting. Because of the complexities of railway time-tabling, it would not be possible to guarantee any school a precise destination during evacuation or even that large primary schools would not be dispersed in the course of travel. Adjustments and reunions could be effected when conditions became more settled. The Permanent Secretary was able to reassure the representatives from the reception areas that they would not be called upon to bear any part of the cost of evacuation. Any expenditure incurred could be recovered from the sending authorities.

Quite obviously, no prior planning could therefore be undertaken to ease the transition from one school to another. The Department were plainly not optimistic about the quality of wartime education; Mackay Thomson remarked that,

'It would be courting disappointment to expect any very high standard of educational efficiency under war conditions'.

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1. P.R.O., Ed.24/5. Minutes of a Meeting between Directors of Education and other representatives of Education Authorities and representatives of Education Authorities and representatives of the Department of Health for Scotland and the Scottish Education Department... 8 March, 1939.
 2. The 'double-shift' system had been used extensively in British schools during the First World War to overcome accommodation difficulties occasioned by requisitioning of buildings. It involved the use of a school by separate populations of schoolchildren in the morning and afternoon sessions.

The Leaving Certificate would be suspended and the universities would have to conclude their own arrangements for the examination of applicants, or be content with none. R. M. Allardyce, Glasgow's Director of Education, suggested a further meeting "to go into the question of the content of the educational courses" that might be provided for evacuees, but little progress was made in this direction despite the opportunities offered by a number of local meetings held in central Scotland on evacuation issues.

The civil defence measures elaborated by government agencies in the months since January, 1938 prompted the Board and the S.E.D. to issue parallel circulars in April, 1939.¹ The Scottish Memorandum confirmed that all schools would be closed for at least one week when an emergency arose. Re-opening in safer areas would be at local discretion after taking account of air-raids and the amount of A.R.P. protection in schools. In the interests of children's morale and educational welfare, the Department considered it desirable that the schools should resume "as soon as practicable", particularly in receiving areas. There remained the controversial question as to the education of children remaining in sending areas, and again, the matter was left to the educational authorities to decide in the light of prevailing conditions. The responsibility for A.R.P. in schools, as emphasised in M 123, remained the responsibility of the education authorities in consultation with A.R.P. officials. The construction of trenches or shelter accommodation, as approved by the Department, would still only attract a 50 per cent grant despite the persistent dissatisfaction voiced by education authorities in view of more generous Treasury grant-aid for community A.R.P. services under/

1. S.E.D., Memorandum 136 (27 April, 1939); Board of Education, Circular 1467 (27 April, 1939).

under the 1937 Act.

In June, the S.E.D. offered "observations" on educational provision for evacuated children in reception areas.¹ The double-shift system was recommended as sufficient to cater for their needs, though judicious use of local accommodation might permit full-time education for both "native" and "incoming" children. Teachers accompanying evacuees were to serve under the direction of the receiving authorities acting on behalf of their employers in teaching, where necessary, "more homogeneous classes" comprised of local and evacuated pupils.

The circular recognised that the evacuation scheme raised "difficult educational problems" for receiving areas; it could only offer platitudes in an effort to encourage an enthusiastic response. Satisfactory solutions would depend "largely on experiment" and would require "initiative, resource and adaptability" from teachers. Not only would they be responsible for the "routine education" of evacuees in new and unfamiliar surroundings, but also for training them "to employ usefully the additional leisure hours" provided by the double-shift system. The Department would be ready to relax the Day Schools' Code as and when necessary to further educational enterprise. Outside school hours activities were to be promoted which would give the children "a feeling of responsibility and usefulness in the community in which they have been placed". For the remainder of their spare time, formal physical exercises could be supplemented, or replaced, by "organised games and free play in the open" and the arousal of interest in the life of the countryside.

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1. S.E.D. Circular 121 (19 June, 1939).

The academic time-table would necessarily have to suffer reduction under the double-shift system without, however, the elimination of "those things which are fundamental in the sense of being the basis of all learning" and in which it would be "most difficult to recover lost ground in later years. For the primary school these are 'the three Rs'." As for the rest of the curriculum, the hope was that "the hours spent out of school may not be without their value". Something might be gained from approaching subjects from a new angle: "a living interest may be created in nature study, and the historical and geographical possibilities of the neighbourhood may be explored by means of rambles and short excursions". Halls and cinemas should be used for "lantern lectures, film displays, broadcast lessons... singing and other indoor activities". There was also likely to be "much opportunity and demand" for sewing, knitting and mending.

In the secondary schools, absorption of evacuees was now seen as presenting few problems as, in the first three years, classes were, in the main, under the permissible maximum and, in the fourth and fifth years, sometimes very small. Full-time education was to be arranged where possible but if double-shifts were unavoidable, older pupils should be the last to suffer curtailment of their education. Should such action be necessary the expedient "least open to objection on educational grounds" was a reduction in the number of subjects studied so that standards could be maintained in those selected. In practical subjects, it might be necessary "to leave, or... replace, the practical method of approach by theoretical instruction, though every effort was to be made to maintain practical work in the sciences for older pupils. Education authorities were exhorted to support "an extensive development" of rural courses in all country schools to help national food production. They were also encouraged /

encouraged to provide communal meals for children to relieve the burden of householders who would be required to pay for such meals out of their billeting allowances of 10s.6d (52½p) weekly for one evacuee accommodated, or 8s6d (42½p) where a householder had accepted more than one.

The vague and largely unhelpful observations on emergency educational provision contained in Circular 121, reflected the low priority accorded to it in the planning of evacuation. This neglect was predictable when after the abrupt transition from leisureliness to urgency following the Munich crisis the D.H.S. took responsibility for implementing the evacuation scheme in Scotland. The overriding concern to remove mothers and children from centres of population in the event of war resulted in the problems of reception, billeting, welfare and educational provision being obscured. The plans formulated were restricted by the anxiety of the Treasury that evacuation costs should not get out-of-hand. Added to this, and compounding certain problems, was the desire of an overworked and understaffed S.E.D. not to add to their burdens responsibilities which were ill-defined, for example, A.R.P. in schools. Yet plans for evacuation, however hastily and imperfectly formulated, existed; the question remained as to how they would stand the test of war.

2. Evacuation

As war seemingly drew nearer during August, it became increasingly apparent that the plans for general evacuation might soon have to be implemented. Large-scale rehearsals were undertaken in Clydebank, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Rosyth on 28 August and the central and local authorities were satisfied with the working of the scheme, although the /

the numbers of children taking part were below expectation. In many Edinburgh schools, for example, less than 25 per cent of the number anticipated in an emergency attended.¹ To reduce the threat to the scheme's success, the Glasgow schools' summer vacation was curtailed by three days.

On 31 August the Prime Minister authorised evacuation to begin and the S.E.D. warned education authorities accordingly.² All schools in evacuation areas were to remain closed for lessons until further notice; schools in neutral areas might be allowed to re-open at local discretion on, or after, 11 September; and those in reception areas were to open as soon as possible after the mandatory week's closure. All training colleges and central institutions were also closed.

"The exodus was performed quickly and smoothly," observed Thomas Johnston from his post as Regional Commissioner for the Scottish Civil Defence.³ In the first three days 101,774 school children, accompanied by teachers and helpers, were removed from the evacuation areas.⁴ By the end of September 175,812 people had been safely evacuated⁵ and, in addition, considerable numbers of mothers and children moved privately. The success in transporting so many people without a single accident or casualty was, not unnaturally, hailed as a triumph. But large as the numbers were, they fell short of those registered and well below those catered /

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1. S.E.J., 1 September, 1939; The Scotsman, 29 August, 1939.
 2. S.E.D. Circular, 126 (7 September, 1939).
 3. Thomas Johnston Papers, ^{N-5} Acc.5862(9), 'Scotland at War', p.25.
 4. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the years 1939 and 1940, Cmd 6317 (1940-41) p.5, Hereafter referred as 'Summary Report, 1939 and 1940'.
 5. This figure included 62,059 unaccompanied children; 97,170 mothers and mothers and accompanied children; and 13,645 teachers and helpers. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.103.

catered for. Only 42 per cent of schoolchildren left Glasgow, 37 per cent Dundee and 28 per cent Edinburgh.¹ About 38 per cent of children participated overall in the scheme, while almost 44 per cent of people registered were evacuated.² A supplementary scheme, put into operation on 11 September and spread over several weeks, was a failure; the few children registered failed, in the main, to attend the medical inspections which now assumed such importance following the loud complaints that greeted the arrival of the first wave of evacuees.

Scotland recoiled under the social impact of evacuation as did the rest of the country. Parliament and press echoed with indignation at the manners, morals and physical condition of the visitors. When four out of ten Clydebank families were billeted with 'middle-class' families, and almost a third in homes described as 'wealthy', culture-shock was inevitable.³ "One half of the world has got to know how the other half lives..." remarked Archibald King, H.M.I.; it did not like what it saw.⁴ "We have got a prize collection of sheer ruff-raff here", wrote Harry Blackwood to Thomas Henderson, the General Secretary of the E.I.S.,

"Our charlady remarked today that folks in Bathgate had had no idea that human beings could sink so low!... The general lousiness is appalling... Today has brought story after story of damaged furniture, of determination to get everything for nothing, and of contemptuous refusal to observe the elementary decencies".⁵

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1. Ibid, p.551.
 2. Ibid, p.103.
 3. W.Boyd, op.cit., pp.92-93.
 4. S.R.O., ED 24/41, First Report on the Educational Position in the Receiving Areas, December 1939. Hereafter cited as "First Report", December, 1939.
 5. E.I.S. Papers. H.Blackwood to T.Henderson, 4 September, 1939.

The picture of evacuation which Boyd drew from information supplied by his sample of householders was very different from that painted by contemporary newspaper accounts.¹ There was, probably, much exaggeration and distortion ; as few districts kept adequate records, or statistics, the stories of filthy, badly-clad evacuees who wilfully damaged property, were hard to confirm. Sending authorities seemingly failed to undertake sufficient, if any, screening of evacuees, while the preliminary medical inspection in the reception areas was often rather perfunctory. Johnston had pleaded with 'London' to be allowed to postpone evacuation until after the school holidays, so as to allow time for inspection and treatment. "After the 'clartier the cosier' interregnum of the school holidays", he believed, "it was essential that the children be given a physical all-clear. But London decided upon a uniform evacuation date..."² The Scottish Educational Journal grasped the reality of the situation:

"Necessarily the evacuation had to be rushed through... A little more time for medical supervision, for a more careful study of the problems of allocation, for greater attention to details of organisation, would have been invaluable... It was essential to get the children out of the danger-zones as rapidly as possible."³

Evacuation has generated an extensive literature⁴ and a consideration of its manifold social and cultural repercussions lies outwith the scope of this study, except insofar as the heightened awareness of conditions in the rookeries and warrens of British cities - long known to local teachers - gave momentum to the wartime campaign for educational reform and /

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1. W.Boyd, op.cit., p.64.
 2. T.Johnston, Memories (1952), p.136.
 3. S.E.J., 8 September, 1939.
 4. See, for example, R.Padley & M.Cole, Evacuation Survey (1940); S.Isaacs (ed), The Cambridge Evacuation Survey (1941); and B.S.Johnson (ed), The Evacuees (1968).

and improved welfare services. In the storm of recrimination and argument that followed, in the course of which the role and effectiveness of the educational services were questioned, the Ministry of Health and the D.H.S. became the targets of much criticism. Gosden has pointed out¹ that the arrangements whereby the health departments were made responsible for what a contemporary described as a "mad, hare-brained scheme, attractive in theory but unworkable in practice",² suffered from two inherent defects.

Firstly, the Ministry was the successor to the Local Government Board and the administration of the scheme was, therefore, permeated, in the eyes of some, by a cheeseparing attitude which was reminiscent of the old poor law department. It countenanced too readily the Treasury's refusal to permit expenditure in advance to meet the urgent needs that were bound to arise in the operation of so complex a scheme. The imposition of a means' test on parents of evacuated children in October to determine how much of the government evacuation allowance should be refunded;³ the concern at the cost of hiring additional premises in reception areas to reduce double-shift arrangements; and the considerable reluctance to improve the provision of library facilities in such areas,⁴ all suggested an apparent, if not real, spirit of niggardliness. In time, however, the purse-strings were to be loosened as the welfare aspects of evacuation assumed an ever-greater significance.

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1. P.H.J.H Gosden, op.cit., p.14
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Blackwood to Henderson, 10 September, 1939.
 3. Infra p. 54.
 4. S.E.D. Circular 148, (22 December, 1939).

Secondly, the structure of Scottish and English local government in 1939, with its multiplicity of units and their variation in size, was not, as Titmuss notes, "the ideal administrative machine to be at the receiving end of a scheme which sent out 1,500,000 mothers and children in one mass movement, and paid little regard to the boundaries of counties, boroughs and districts".¹ The whole administrative problem was exacerbated by the existence of separate Scottish departments required to operate within a rigid, uniform framework of policy and obliged to co-operate not only with each other, but very closely with their English counterparts, thus reaping a large measure of criticism within Scotland for meekly waiting upon England's lead. "The initial error", remarked Thomas Henderson in May, 1940, "... was in the late Government handing the matter over to the Department of Health. We should have fared much better if it had been left to the Scottish Education Department".² The latter, seen by one Scottish observer, as "the seat of the deadly inertia",³ had displayed, however, a marked reluctance to assume burdens at the outset of planning for evacuation and was now struggling to maintain an educational service within the severe constraints of A.R.P. and evacuation policies operated by other departments.

The educational ramifications of the lack of adequate planning were quickly apparent in the reception areas. The inability of the railway companies to indicate the destinations of particular train-loads of evacuees combined with the Scottish preference for the family to the school as the unit of evacuation, resulted in school populations being dispersed over wide areas. Senior secondary pupils experienced particular/

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1. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.151.
 2. E.I.S. Papers, Henderson to A. Peterkin, 27 May, 1940.
 3. Glasgow Herald, 17 November, 1939.

particular hardships as many were unable to pursue their courses of study in the local schools and required re-location. "At a very early stage in the evolution of the Government Evacuation Scheme," wrote Mackay Thomson, "this difficulty was pointed out... But the main purpose of the scheme was to safeguard the lives of the children in the first instance, and the scheme was... so very complicated and difficult to operate that it was felt by all of us that to attempt to achieve the posting of secondary pupils to pre-determined billets near secondary schools would jeopardise the scheme altogether".¹

Far more serious were the difficulties caused by the unanticipated arrival of largely Roman Catholic evacuee groups in non-Catholic areas, such as Argyll. The Roman Catholic hierarchy feared that Catholic children might be weaned away from the family faith, as the situation on the Fife coast threatened:

"This district is Protestant... and... (the) home of strange cults like Plymouth Brethren, Church of Christ, Salvation Army, Faith Mission, etc. The locals object to getting up early on Sundays to let Catholics be in time for early Mass. And in some cases the sturdy Fisherfolks have haled off young R.C.'s to their meetings, no refusal being listened to."²

Within a fortnight of the commencement of evacuation, A.J.MacDonald, Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh, submitted a memorandum to the D.H.S. expressing the anxiety of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities on the position of Catholic evacuees from Edinburgh in areas such as Fife.³ He was anxious to ensure adequate facilities were provided for evacuees to practise their faith and receive religious instruction in schools, but there were, however, only a relatively small number/

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1. E.I.S. Papers, J.Mackay Thomson to G.A.Morrison, M.P., 20 October, 1939.
 2. Ibid. W.W.Thomson to Henderson, 30 October, 1939.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/38. Memorandum by A.J.MacDonald, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh sent to W.R.Fraser, D.H.S., 13 September, 1939.

number of districts where such facilities existed. "Scotland", he argued, "is a very different position from England in this regard".¹ He advocated in meetings with D.H.S. officials, therefore, that Catholic children should be sent to areas selected by the Church and should be educated in separate shifts in Protestant schools, where necessary, with peripatetic teachers giving religious instruction.

Confidential reports received by the S.E.D. from the inspectorate on the position of Roman Catholics in the reception areas were described by Mackay Thomson as "rather reassuring".² No complaints had been received from priests or lay Catholics in these areas. Yet the physical condition of Catholic children and the attitudes displayed by some of their teachers prompted bitter comments in some localities. D.G. Biggar, H.M.I. noted that "considerable objection has arisen out of the markedly lower standard of cleanliness (including verminous conditions), habits, decency, etc. of these (Catholic children) compared with other classes evacuated to Argyll".³ In Eyemouth too, there was much ill-feeling displayed towards evacuees because of their "verminous and dirty condition on arrival. The fact that the children are Roman Catholics has not helped matters".⁴

The criticisms of the evacuation scheme by the Roman Catholic hierarchy - not delivered without some acrimony - placed the D.H.S. and the S.E.D. in some administrative difficulty. If a full double-shift operated in all Catholic schools in reception areas, there would be "barely sufficient accommodation" for 60 per cent of Catholic schoolchildren in the sending areas.⁵

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Fraser, 12 October, 1939.
 3. Ibid. D.G. Biggar, H.M.I. to Mackay Thomson, 22 September, 1939.
 4. Ibid. E.I.G.? to Mackay Thomson, 21 September, 1939.
 5. Ibid. Notes for Captain McEwen on the position of Roman Catholics in connection with the Government Evacuation Scheme, n.d. (November, 1939).

Such accommodation was located primarily in burghs or county towns and, if Catholics were granted exclusive use, they would be receiving more than their proportionate share of billets in the 'more desirable' receiving areas. As post-primary centres were often situated in these communities, billets were required there for secondary school evacuees regardless of religious persuasion. Although there was at the time surplus accommodation in Catholic schools in some reception areas, this did not indicate an availability of billets in local Catholic homes. Indeed, the Roman Catholic population was, in the S.E.D.'s view composed "largely of the poorer classes in whose homes there is little or no surplus accommodation available for billeting purposes".¹ The Department believed it impossible to guarantee the evacuation of Catholic children to receiving areas with Catholic schools, with or without, surplus accommodation. They were prepared to request evacuation officers in all sending areas to meet Roman Catholic requests as long as this did not mean unfair treatment for Protestant children.²

Archbishop MacDonald was content with this assurance and expressed his general satisfaction with the prevailing position in the reception areas.³ Nevertheless, there was a pervading fear within the central Scottish departments that local troubles, if publicised, would inflame religious feelings at a most inappropriate time. The refusal of parents to send children to Strathdon school in Aberdeenshire where sixteen Glasgow Catholic evacuees were merged with a class of native children in late October, /

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. Note on a Meeting by J. MacDonald, 17 October, 1939.

October, and a similar incident at Aboyne, caused some concern.¹ The return of the evacuees to the sending areas, however took the sting out of the religious issue which had also brought problems in England and Wales,² but it was to re-appear in the spring of 1940.³

By the beginning of October all schools in reception areas were functioning and, in the late autumn, the S.E.D. reviewed conditions and morale with the help of reports from the inspectorate who, in addition to their regular duties, were acting as liaison officers for the D.H.S.⁴ The return of large numbers of evacuees had helped to improve conditions in the schools in reception areas. Mackay Thomson estimated that eight out of nine schools were working normally with the ninth operating on a half-time basis in at least one class, while comparatively few schools had resorted to a double-shift at all stages. Accommodation problems had also been eased by the declining population in rural counties, which meant that only one school in seven had resorted to securing village halls and other suitable premises for classes.

Almost all secondary pupils were receiving a full-time education and so there were "surprisingly few classes" in which a curtailed curriculum was still necessary. Senior pupils, with few exceptions, were now following the appropriate courses, but to achieve this some re-billeting had occurred. The process had been painful; pupils were prepared "to suffer some educational loss rather than depart from households in which they had settled down comfortably and happily". In practice, the effects of re-billeting/

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/3, Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 16 November, 1939.
 2. See P.H.J.H.Gosden, op.cit., pp.17-18.
 3. See Chapter Three.
 4. S.R.O., ED 24/41. First Report, December 1939. op.cit.

re-billeting often sent the children home. Pupils following academic courses had, not surprisingly, suffered less educational handicap than those undertaking junior technical, commercial, domestic, or science-based courses which required specialised classrooms. Physical education had suffered badly as many teachers had joined the armed forces at, or shortly after, the outbreak of war.¹

Yet accommodation, rather than staffing, constituted the major problem at this stage of the war. Some sending authorities had been generous in their supply of teachers to the reception areas - Glasgow alone sent 3,500 teachers with their evacuated children. A consequence of the return of the evacuees to their homes was that some county schools became considerably overstaffed: in Aberdeenshire 243 Glasgow teachers remained with, on average, seventeen pupils each. The inspectorate found much of their time over the next two years being spent trying to adjust teacher-pupil ratios in reception areas to prevent accusations from the counties that their schools were shouldering the burden of evacuation.

The S.E.D. made strenuous efforts to emphasise how well the school system was adapting to war conditions and illustrate the high morale prevailing amongst teachers and pupils. At least one experienced H.M.I., however, viewed the situation more pessimistically. Gilbert Watson - later Senior Chief Inspector of Schools - wrote that "our education has got a setback from which it will take a decade to recover, and that full recovery is improbable; that there will be an insidious lowering /

1. See Chapter Four.

lowering of the standards, all the more regrettable as we are still suffering from a similar lowering as a result of the Great War".¹

Of crucial importance in the undermining of the British educational systems was the failure of the evacuation scheme to retain mothers and children in the reception areas; that failure in Scotland was complete.

3. The Drift Back: Education in the Cities

The drift back to the sending areas was "very rapid, even more rapid in Scotland... than south of the Border, though there also it began immediately and went on to the same unhappy conclusion".² By January, 1940 it was plainly obvious that the evacuation scheme had failed to achieve its object of removing, for the duration of the war, most mothers and children from the vulnerable areas. Only 61 per cent of unaccompanied children, 9 per cent of mothers and accompanied children and 23 per cent of teachers and helpers remained at the turn of the year.³ Evacuation in Scotland was no longer a large administrative and social problem; instead it had become an educational one, besetting the cities of Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow in varying degrees. Dundee had less than 10 per cent of its children away from the city, and Edinburgh and Glasgow between 10 and 15 per cent.⁴

The absence of the massive aerial attacks on the industrial centres expected by the Air Ministry at the outbreak of war encouraged evacuees to go home. "Since no bombing of towns has occurred", concluded David Anderson, H.M.I., "fear of it has become non-existent".⁵ Some Glasgow teachers abandoned living in nearby reception areas and travelled daily to and /

1. S.R.O., ED 24/41 Extracts from H.M.I.'s Reports, December 1939.

2. W. Boyd, op.cit., p.31.

3. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.172.

4. Ibid. p.173.

5. S.R.O., ED 24/41 General Observations on the Evacuation Scheme by H.M.I. Mr D.D.Anderson, December, 1939.

and from the city, while large numbers of evacuees and teachers spent the weekends at home. Misunderstandings of the evacuation scheme were widespread; many of the participants were seen as wanting "something for nothing" and any obligation to pay for benefits received quickly resulted in the children being summoned home. Thus, in October when the amount of parental contribution was announced, the rate of return significantly increased.¹ The experience of one Glasgow school evacuated to Mearns illustrates the "ebb-tide" of evacuation: on 15 September, 1939 there were 305 evacuees on roll; on 13 October, 199 remained; and on 24 November, a mere 77.²

If the "expected shattering air-raids" had come, "everybody would have applauded the Government for its foresight".³ Instead the absence of enemy bombers during the 'phoney war' and the consequent inability to retain evacuees in the reception areas brought condemnation of the education departments for failing to provide an educational service suitable to the conditions prevailing in the war's first months. There was, however, as we shall note, some support for the policy of keeping the schools closed in the sending areas, although the rapid rate of return of evacuees, particularly to Glasgow, emphasised the need for educational provision in the cities.

Edinburgh's response to the "state of confusion and perplexity" left in the wake of the evacuation scheme was two-fold. With over half of the pre-war school roll of 57,485 resident in the city within a fortnight of the closure of the schools, the Emergency Committee, established by the /

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- 1 The Government announced on 4 October, 1939 the intention to recover 6s. (30p) of the weekly billeting allowance which averaged 9s. (45p) per child. Families with small incomes were to pay a reduced proportion of this amount. Government Evacuation Scheme, D.H.S., October 1939.
 2. S.R.O., ED 24/41. First Report., December, 1939, op.cit.
 3. Stirling Journal and Advertiser, 8 February, 1940.

the Education Committee, requested permission from the S.E.D. to re-open the day schools, as and when A.R.P. could be afforded and provided.¹ Realising that such a programme was likely to take a long time, if and when permission was granted, the Committee set about improving a scheme for restoring contact between schools and their pupils which operated from September until compulsory school attendance was enforced at the beginning of March.

The children remaining on school rolls were divided into small groups which were assembled for lessons in local houses, halls and other premises.² Older pupils who were unable to gather in this way were expected to study at home and teachers were eventually allowed to use their schools as centres for the issue of instructions, books and assignments, although a postal tuition system was tried by some secondary schools. A combination of group work and individual assignments was used by most city schools, involving 24,000 children at the outset of the scheme - a number which steadily increased as additional accommodation was obtained.³ Not surprisingly, older, brighter secondary pupils seemed to reap the greatest benefit from the emergency arrangements, acquiring "more poise and independence" as a consequence. With primary and younger secondary pupils, it was "impossible ... to escape the conclusion that next to the innate ability of the pupil the factor of greater importance in determining the progress made was the environment of the home".⁴

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1. S.R.O., ED 25/3. B. Frizzell to Permanent Secretary, S.E.D., 25 September, 1939.
 2. W. Boyd, op.cit., pp 211-213.
 3. Edinburgh Corporation Minutes of Education Committee, 1939-40, Tenth Annual Progress Report of the Education Committee, Session 1938-39, p.14.
 4. W. Boyd, op.cit., p.218.

The 'Sheffield system', as it came to be called in some quarters, was employed with varying degrees of success in many British cities. Group-teaching sprang up in parts of Glasgow on the initiative of clergymen and teachers aware of rising parental anxiety at the lack of education in the city, and eventually provided for about 9,000 children at its height. It was quite unofficial and received only the moral support of the Education Authority as a "well-intentioned effort to retrieve something from the wreckage of the war".¹ In Dundee, a city singularly ill-prepared for the failure of evacuation, there were 833 group classes catering for almost 10,000 pupils on a semi-official basis by March, 1940.²

Edinburgh's Education Committee made no grandiose claims for the city's improvised provision; they regarded it as no more than a substitute, although they did believe that "important changes in educational methods... may result particularly in regard to flexibility of curricula and timetables..."³ Sir William McKechnie a former permanent secretary at the Department, hailed the scheme as "one of the most remarkable things in the history of education since it was made compulsory".⁴ Garnet Wilson, convener of Dundee's Education Committee, enthused over "a new co-operation between the teacher and the taught, a new affinity between blackboard and desk".⁵ The Times Educational Supplement, campaigning for the re-opening of all schools, sourly commented: "To call such activity education is to mock the word".⁶

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1. Glasgow Herald, 27 October, 1939.
 2. S.E.J., 22 March, 1940.
 3. Edinburgh Corporation, op.cit. p.15.
 4. T.E.S., 28 October, 1939.
 5. S.E.J., 22 March, 1940.
 6. T.E.S., 21 October, 1939.

The major sending authorities were pressing for the re-opening of their schools within a fortnight of the war's outbreak. R.M. Allardyce, though a firm supporter of the Government's evacuation policy, was obliged to convey such a request on behalf of Glasgow Education Authority to the S.E.D. on 13 September; the central institutions and private schools were also "clamouring to open. If they did not get a favourable decision by Friday there would be 'a hell of a row' ".¹ A sub-committee of Glasgow's Education Committee authorised convener Rosslyn Mitchell and George Symington on 18 September to interview the Home Secretary, the Minister of Home Security and the Secretary of State for Scotland "with a view to having the schools re-opened at the earliest possible moment".² Strong anti-Whitehall sentiments were voiced in the education committees of both Edinburgh and Glasgow; Councillor A.J. Allan commented, after a meeting of Edinburgh's Emergency Committee, which decided on 19 September "to press to the utmost for the re-opening of the schools", that the city was being "dominated far too much by London ideas - which were quite different from Edinburgh ideas - as to the way in which education should be handled".³ The E.I.S. added their weight to the campaign: Henderson told Mackay Thomson that it was "absurd to open picture houses in evacuation areas while keeping the schools closed. The children are rapidly losing any sense of direction in life through their enforced absence from school..."⁴

It was now realised at the S.E.D. that, despite all exhortations, large numbers/

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1. S.R.O.,ED.24/16. Note of telephone message, 13 September, 1939.
 2. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, Education Committee, 18 September, 1939.
 3. The Scotsman, 20 September, 1939.
 4. E.I.S.Papers, Henderson to Mackay Thomson, 21 September, 1939.

numbers of children would remain in the evacuation areas and that some minimal educational provision should be made for them. Accordingly, the Department, in addition to announcing the re-opeing of the central institutions and training colleges,¹ indicated in letters to Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow education authorities on 23 September, that the Secretary of State had decided to allow the re-opening of senior secondary schools on certain conditions.² The neighbourhood of the school was not to be "specially vulnerable"; adequate protection against air-raids was to be provided; and parents had to be informed that attendance was at their discretion. School buildings generally could be used for preparing school rolls, medical inspection and treatment and as centres for home and group study schemes provided that, where no A.R.P. was available, all risks were avoided. The letter advised that these arrangements were to be carried out "as unobtrusively as possible".

Edinburgh's Emergency Committee seized upon this relaxation, promptly requested the re-opening of all day schools "on like conditions", apart from those earmarked for defence purposes, and questioned the Department's decision to differentiate between senior and junior secondary schools.³ With an estimated two-thirds of the population now resident in the city, they detected "a general desire" for the children to return to school. Edinburgh's teachers were "unanimously of the opinion that the sooner all children are brought under the discipline/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 128 (23 September, 1939).
 2. S.R.O., ED 25/3 op.cit.; Edinburgh Corporation, Minutes of Education Committee, Special Sub-Committee, 25 September, 1939; Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, Education Committee, 29 September, 1939.
 3. S.R.O., ED 25/3 op.cit.

discipline of the school the better for everyone". The Committee's request was premised on the belief that dispersal of the school population over as large a number of buildings as possible was safer than concentration upon a few heavily-protected schools. The re-commencement of school meals for necessitous children was also requested, as their provision was complementary to the programme of medical treatment and would not entail an "undue concentration of children at any one point".

Mackay Thomson put these requests before John Colville on 7 October and gave them his full support.¹ He could see no justification for differentiating between junior and senior secondary schools and recommended also that permission be granted to feed necessitous children in school premises "forthwith". Nine days later the sending authorities were informed that junior secondaries could re-open on the same conditions as senior secondary schools. Edinburgh Education Authority quickly established a phased programme of re-opening of protected secondary schools. The educational life of the capital immediately brightened; evening classes resumed and by the end of October 10,000 people had enrolled.² By 10 November eleven secondary schools had re-opened, including those of the Merchant Company,³ and soon education was being provided for 9,000 pupils with the remainder of the school population involved in either group, or home study, schemes.⁴

Parental /

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1. Ibid, Mackay Thomson to Captain McEwen and the Secretary of State, 7 October, 1939.
 2. Edinburgh Corporation, Tenth Annual Report, op.cit., p.16.
 3. S.E.J., 10 November, 1939.
 4. Edinburgh Corporation, Tenth Annual Report, op.cit.

Parental concern over children following Leaving Certificate courses had undoubtedly played some part in this decision to re-open first senior and then junior secondary schools. There was evidence that parents were becoming "distinctly restive" by the end of September,¹ and in Dundee some willingly paid their children's bus and rail fares to neighbouring parts of Angus where they could attend school.²

In Glasgow there was a spontaneous demand in October for a general re-opening of the schools. "The community has not been so slow to realise", observed Archibald King, H.M.I., "what the sudden cessation of education with its salutary discipline means to the city and the press has been full of urgent demands that something should be done to prevent deterioration".³ One irate correspondent in the Glasgow Herald asked, "Is the chance of an air-raid on Glasgow at all probable, and even if one should occur, what is the risk of a school being hit?... I should say that the chances... are as remote as to be negligible... let the schools get back to business, and at once".⁴ But Government policy also found support as demand for re-opening increased. "We will have to pay", complained 'Traveller'," for an expenditure of something like £250,000 (on A.R.P.) because of a number of utterly self-centred parents and spoiled children".⁵

Roslyn Mitchell emerged as one of the staunchest and most outspoken supporters of evacuation and the closure of the schools. In early October Glasgow's Education Committee sent a telegram to Colville "purporting /

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1. T.E.S., 30 September, 1939
 2. S.R.O., ED 24/41. Extracts from H.M.I.'s Reports, December, 1939.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Glasgow Herald, 7 October, 1939.
 5. Ibid. 4 October, 1939.

"purporting to be signed by the Convener", which pressed for re-opening the city's schools, but Mitchell furiously claimed that it was forwarded without his authority and strongly repudiated it in a personal memorandum to the Secretary of State.¹ He urged that the schools should remain closed "until the Government is satisfied that Glasgow is safe from attack", as he foresaw, in the event of bombing, "a rush of mothers to the schools... with increasing panic at each moment of the siren (sic) sounding". Re-opening would imply that Glasgow was safe and would lead to the return of large numbers of children already settled in the country. It would also be tantamount to an admission that evacuation had failed which, he believed, was not the case. Mitchell preferred compulsory evacuation as a solution, though recognising that there were difficulties inherent in such a policy.

Mackay Thomson, after discussing the memorandum with Colville and Under-Secretary of State J.H.F. McEwen, recognised the force of Mitchell's arguments:

"If air-raiding starts, the dangers are obvious. If there are no air-raids, the re-opening of the schools and the exaction of the charge for billeting will together react on the success of the Evacuation Scheme, and the children will return".²

Here was the crux of the Government's dilemma.

Criticism of the closure policy was rife in press and parliament. The Times Educational Supplement complained of the "national system of education reduced to chaos" within a month of the war's outbreak, and of /

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1. S.R.O., ED 24/30, Memorandum by Convener of the Committee on Education of the City of Glasgow, 2 October, 1939.
 2. S.R.O., ED 25/3, Mackay Thomson to Captain McEwen and the Secretary of State, 7 October, 1939.

of "thousands of children... running wild... without school or supervision".¹ De La Warr outlined three possible courses of action at an informal meeting of ministers on 18 October: to reverse a previous decision and make evacuation compulsory; to prohibit the return of children already evacuated; or to allow the general re-opening of schools on certain conditions.² He favoured the latter course, as long as parents were warned of the dangers, attendance was not compulsory, and propaganda was used to encourage the retention of children in reception areas. But there was much disagreement; Colville thought the matter required further consideration, expressing his personal dislike of the President's last two alternatives and his preference for a "limited re-opening of schools", based on the double-shift which would reduce the number of children at risk at any one time. This course of action would also reduce the amount of expenditure necessary for shelter accommodation. The Home Secretary, ~~Walter Elliot~~, wanted to maintain the present policy with encouragement for the extension of out-of-school activities such as the home-service scheme.

A memorandum prepared by the Board in co-operation with the S.E.D. and the Ministry of Health revealed the rapidly deteriorating situation in the reception areas.³ Returns from authorities in England covering about half the evacuated children showed that 6.2 per cent of evacuated children had returned home. In Scotland returns covering about one-third of the evacuated children indicated that 38 per cent had left the receiving areas. Consequently, more than half the school populations were now living in the sending areas and were "likely to remain in the absence/

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1. T. E.S., 14 October, 1939.
 2. S.R.O., ED 24/51. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 20 October, 1939.
 3. P.R.O., ED 136/163. The Schools in Evacuation Areas. Memorandum by the Minister of Health and the President of the Board of Education, with a Note by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 23 October, 1939.

absence of severe raids". Colville and the Board had come to the reluctant conclusion that "they cannot any longer hold the position whereby all elementary, junior technical and secondary schools in evacuation areas... must remain closed for instruction:

"It is not thought that a limited re-opening of schools in the evacuation areas need prove a major factor in accelerating the drift back, as compared with the domestic motives in favour of this course".

On 1 November, the decision to allow a re-opening of the schools in the evacuation areas of England and Wales, and Scotland was announced in parliament.¹ Scottish primary schools and departments could re-open on a non-compulsory basis if sufficiently well-protected against air-raids. The precautions envisaged were the strengthening of suitable corridors, or basements, but only in exceptional circumstances could new construction, such as trenches or surface shelters, be authorised. Even so, some schools would remain closed because of their construction or location. No more children could attend school than could be accommodated in shelters and this implied a resort to double-shifting in many instances. To help education authorities survey and prepare plans for protection in schools, arrangements were made through the Ministry of Home Security for the Regional Advisory Committee of Architects, Surveyors and Consulting Engineers to supply staff to undertake this work, if required, with their fees to be reimbursed by the S.E.D.² Colville was at pains in his parliamentary statement to emphasise that the restoration of educational facilities in the evacuation areas should not induce parents to remove their children from the reception areas. If serious air-raids were to occur, the schools would/

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1. Hansard (Lords), 5th series, CXIV, 1634-41, 1 November, 1939; Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 352, 1969-70, 1 November, 1939.
 2. S. R. O., ED 25/3. Re-opening of Glasgow schools, Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 27 December, 1939.

the schools would be closed again.

Scottish cities, with the exception of Edinburgh, faced severe difficulties in meeting this new challenge. Colville had applied the same criteria laid down for the re-opening of the secondary schools to the primary schools and was criticised indirectly for applying 'London' standards to Glasgow. The condition relating to the vulnerability of a school's locality raised doubts about many of the schools nominated by the Education Authority for re-opening.¹ Dunbarton's request to re-open Radnor Park Junior Secondary School in Clydebank was regarded as a test-case. Although it was the school farthest removed in this evacuation area from "the centre of high vulnerability", the A.R.P. Department believed that it should remain closed. Furthermore,

"... it would be unwise to open any school in the burgh... the presence of the largest shipbuilding yard in the country, the comparative narrowness of the river at this point and the congested nature of the Burgh itself all render Clydebank a highly attractive target, not only from the point of view of material destruction but from the point of view of blocking the River Clyde".²

Whatever decisions were reached about Clydebank "must govern the view to be taken regarding the Glasgow schools". To refuse permission would run counter to the Government's desire "to permit a reasonable measure of educational provision in the evacuation areas", and the education authorities would "take strong exception to such a decision".³

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1. Three of the 27 secondary schools were deemed by the A.R.P. authorities to be in specially vulnerable areas; 15 of the 17 junior secondary schools were in "more or less" similar areas; and 114 primary schools were referred to the A.R.P. Regional Technical Adviser for a decision. S.R.O., ED.25/3. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 20 October, 1939; and 17 November, 1939.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 17 November, 1939.
 3. A Board of Education circular had stated that, "It may be undesirable to open schools very close to particularly vulnerable areas, eg. close to the waterside of important dock areas". Board of Education, Circular 1483 (11 November, 1939).

Captain McEwen and Sir Cecil Weir, the District Commissioner, met representatives of Glasgow and Dunbarton Education Authorities on 28 November and a compromise on the question of vulnerability was reached as a consequence of which it was anticipated that only "a very small number of schools" would remain closed because of their proximity to military targets.¹ All available schools in the sending areas were to be re-opened subject to revised conditions - a policy departure premised on the dawning realisation that the schools would be closed if heavy raiding occurred. This encouraged the S.E.D. to announce that they would be prepared to consider "a somewhat lower standard of protection than that hitherto provided", especially for schools in the less-vulnerable outskirts.² Re-opening, moreover, need not be delayed until the completion of protection, as long as the number in attendance at any one time did not exceed the number for whom shelter accommodation was available, "(1) inside the school, (2) in the playground, or (3) in the vicinity of the school".

Glasgow, however, was particularly handicapped in the provision of such shelter accommodation as many of her schools had large populations and were situated in buildings three or more storeys high with small, adjacent concrete playgrounds.³ "It will in many cases" minuted Mackay Thomson, "be physically impossible to provide shelter accommodation inside a school or in shelters erected in the playground for half of the schools' population and thus permit of a double-shift system", without "a certain amount of orderly dispersal to shelter accommodation in adjacent/

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/3, Mackay Thomson to Captain McEwen and the Secretary of State, 18 December, 1939.
 2. S.R.O., ED.25/3, Re-opening of Glasgow Schools... op.cit.
 3. 53 schools provided accommodation for more than 1,000 children; 41 for between 1,000 and 1,500; 11 for between 1,500 and 2,000; and 1 for over 2,000.

adjacent protected tenement closes in the homes of the pupils".¹

Nevertheless, De La Warr argued, at a meeting of ministers on 18 December, that "the Government should make it their aim to restore a single shift-system as soon as possible".² Mackay Thomson believed that in the Scottish sending areas this would be "an entirely Utopian policy...

"Glasgow schools were so congested before the war that the absence of the children remaining in the Receiving Areas does not in itself afford sufficient relief to enable the double-shift system to be dispensed with so long as any schools are requisitioned in whole or in part; and A.R.P. conditions are turning the double- into a triple-shift".³

He was resigned to the return of evacuees "in increasing numbers" with the provision of education in the cities; and that, unless bombing had occurred by midsummer, "nothing short of compulsion" would save the evacuation scheme from liquidation. "If the Government are not prepared to make evacuation compulsory", he concluded, "they must be prepared either to acquiesce in the double-shift in the Sending Areas for the duration of the war; or to insist on the restoration of the requisitioned premises and waive those A.R.P. conditions which are not at present considered essential".

Mackay Thomson's gloomy analysis seemed in accord with Rosslyn Mitchell's view of the future of Glasgow's wartime educational service which so startled the city at the beginning of December. The Education Committee had/

1. S.R.O., ED 25/3, op.cit.

2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 27 December, 1939.

3. Ibid.

had resolved on 20 November to intensify efforts to re-open the schools and a special sub-committee was formed to exert pressure on government departments.¹ Several of the city's secondary schools had resumed; a further 25 had permission to re-start when adequate protection was available; and there was the possibility of some junior secondary schools opening before Christmas. No prospect existed, however, of any primary schools functioning until after the New Year. "There is no chance", warned Mitchell, "of the children... receiving more than one and a half to two hours' school education per day for the duration of the war".² Those remaining in the city were unlikely, he believed, to have more than a third of the educational advantages enjoyed by evacuated pupils.

Mitchell's blatant attempt to frighten parents into keeping their children in the reception areas and stem the tide of returning evacuees, which added daily to the city's problems, was heavily criticised. The Glasgow Herald found his statement "strange and disturbing reading" and bluntly observed that it was "the business of those who control the rate-supported system of public education to adapt themselves and their work to war conditions".³ The Lord Provost believed Mitchell to have been "too timid all through" and that he and Allardyce were too "pro-Government... instead of getting on with the job of opening the schools irrespective of the consequences".⁴ Determined efforts to speed up A.R.P. work enabled the announcement to be made that all secondary pupils could be accommodated for a session after 8 January and that there would be some provision for junior secondary and primary pupils, although the latter would have to attend in triple-shifts.⁵

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1. Glasgow Herald, 21 November, 1939
 2. Ibid. 2 December, 1939.
 3. Ibid.
 4. E.I. S. Papers, P.J. Dollan to Henderson, 7 December, 1939.
 5. S. E. J., 22 December, 1939.

By the middle of the month 19,000 post-primary pupils (63 per cent) were in half-time education with a further 1,000 (3 per cent) participating in group instruction classes, while 10,000 (33 per cent) were without any provision. 45,000 primary school pupils (39 per cent) attended school for less than one-third of the normal school-day; 8,000 received group instruction (7 per cent); and about 62,000 (54 per cent) were "getting nothing".¹

Dundee's problems exceeded even Glasgow's and her schools were destined to remain closed for a longer period than in any other Scottish evacuation area. In the immediate pre-war period the Corporation had concentrated available resources on the provision of public shelters; the failure of evacuation caught the city unawares and, seemingly unable to make an emergency response. Proposals for the protection of eight secondary and 32 primary schools were approved by the S.E.D. on 30 November, but work on them had not commenced by the end of January, 1940, although the progressive re-opening of the city's schools from mid-January had been promised.² Much of the blame for this unhappy situation was attached to the Public Works' Department which suffered from a shortage of materials and bad labour-relations. With the primary and secondary schools firmly closed and group instruction classes catering for only about one third of Dundee's 22,000 school population, Colville was eventually obliged to express his concern to the Director of Education and the Master of Works at the slow rate of progress³. The protracted delay/

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1. S.R.O., ED 24/41, Education in the principal receiving areas, n.d. (January, 1940).
 2. S.R.O., ED 25/3, Mackay Thomson to Captain McEwen and the Secretary of State, 18 January, 1940; Dr J. Jardine to Captain McEwen and the Secretary of State, 19 February, 1940.
 3. S.R.O., ED 24/41, op.cit.

delay was all the more unfortunate as Dundee was "a standing reproach to the rest of the country in the number of children who had returned to their homes from the comparative security of the reception areas".¹ Convener Garnet Wilson estimated the figure to be over 90 per cent.

Edinburgh's speedy restoration of her educational service, however, set the pace not only for Scotland but for the rest of Britain. The re-opening of the primary schools was integrated into the city's programme for returning and equipping the secondary schools for wartime operation, beginning with accommodation for the senior secondary pupils. A.R.P. work proceeded quickly and smoothly and by mid-January no children were "without the opportunity of receiving instruction of some kind or other" - a situation unique among the major British cities.² All post-primary children were receiving at least half-time education and many senior pupils full-time; 22,000 primary pupils (65 per cent) also attended half-time and the remaining 12,000 were involved in the group instruction scheme.³

Edinburgh had exceeded the immediate goal of half-time education for all pupils stressed at an informal meeting of ministers on 18 January.⁴ A return to the law of compulsory attendance in evacuation areas was the longer term aim, but this was a distant prospect in view of the dismal position in most of the British sending areas. The ministers were enjoined/

1. The Scotsman, 5 January, 1940.

2. S.R.O., ED 24/41, op.cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Note of the informal meeting of ministers, 18 January, 1940.

enjoined to do "everything within their power to make possible the attaining of the immediate goal". Where the provision of half-time education was dependent upon the release of schools requisitioned for civil defence, each case was to be reviewed by the regional commissioners in consultation with the local authorities concerned to secure their release. Also, schools which had remained closed because of the nature of their construction, or their situation in vulnerable areas, were to be re-considered for possible use.

The intention to enforce compulsory school attendance in evacuation areas was announced in parliament on 7 February.¹ The Department asserted, in a circular issued on the same day, the Government's determination to end, as soon as possible, the position in the sending and neutral areas in which large numbers of children were still deprived of educational opportunities, or free to reject those provided.² Full-time attendance for all children, including infants, was now to be the aim, though part-time education would have to be accepted as a first step towards that end. The exercise of compulsory powers to secure attendance was to be resumed in all areas as soon as there were sufficient school places. Education authorities could re-open their schools when protective measures were well advanced and likely to be completed soon after the return of the pupils. They would also be free to arrange, in consultation with Ministry of Home Security officials, for protective measures, in the event of air-raids, outwith the schools; children within a short distance of home, or neighbouring houses, might be sent there, subject to pre-arranged and well-understood plans. Insofar as the occupation of school premises/

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1. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 357, 219-221, 7 February, 1940.
 2. S.E.D. Circular 155 (7 February, 1940).

premises for emergency civil defence services was an obstacle to the general aim, their early release would be facilitated by the departments concerned.

The circular was generally welcomed, particularly by the Edinburgh Education Authority which had campaigned for some weeks for a restoration of compulsory attendance as a consequence of their success in returning children to school. Attendance was made compulsory in the city in early March.¹ In Glasgow, where the Local Association of the E.I.S. had, in late January, condemned the prevailing state of the city's educational service and demanded "the immediate and complete resumption" of compulsory education and the social services,² a special sub-committee was established to consider the implications of the circular. It was eventually agreed to exercise the powers of compulsory attendance within the limits of available accommodation on 24 April after the Easter holiday.³

The release of school buildings held by the military or emergency services was crucial in this restoration of educational and welfare services. After the issue of the circular, several education authorities approached the S.E.D., as advised, about the release of schools occupied by the military. As in England and Wales, relatively few schools had been so occupied in the early months of the war: in March, 1940 fourteen schools were held, in whole or in part, in the Scottish sending areas and only one in a neutral area.⁴ The Department contacted the various armed services in late March but they resisted the release of the schools; Mackay Thomson minuted that the Scottish Command had indicated that in ten cases/

1. Edinburgh Corporation. Minutes of Education Committee, Eleventh Annual Progress Report of the Education Committee, Session 1939-40, p.7.

2. S.E.J., 2 February, 1940; Glasgow Herald, 29 January, 1940.

3. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, Education Committee, Special Committee on Re-opening of schools, 13 March, 1940.

4. S.R.O., ED 25/3. Requisitioning of schools by H.M. Forces, 22 March, 1940.

cases they were unable to release the buildings, "nor can they give any date on which their release is probable".¹ Despite the stiffening of resolve in the New Year to recover schools, the weakness of the Department's position in the face of military needs was illustrated by the surrender of Campbeltown Grammar School to the Admiralty as an anti-submarine training-school.² With the heightening of the military crises in 1940, the situation deteriorated as accommodation was urgently required to house army units of various nationalities after Dunkirk.³

The occupation of schools by the emergency services was a more pervasive problem. At the outbreak of war many schools were assigned to these services, particularly those concerned with civilian casualties in air-raids. In the expectation of heavy bombing, the schools appeared to be ideally suited to civil defence requirements as casualty clearing stations and first-aid posts. The schools, moreover, in the sending areas were expected to be free of children for the war's duration and thus superfluous to the needs of the educational services. The Department naturally anticipated the loss: Memorandum 136 envisaged the possibility of structural alterations to schools 'earmarked' for use by the A.R.P.⁴ services in time of war. A procedure for the requisitioning of schools had been elaborated in 1936 and attempts made to establish and maintain a central register of designated buildings, but these largely failed as earmarkings were made wholesale in the Munich crises.⁵ When war/

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 22 March, 1940.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 25 January, 1940.
 3. In April-May, 1940 H.M. Forces were reported as occupying 35 schools in whole, and eighteen in part, in Scotland. P.R.O.ED.138/65. Monthly Report to the Secretary of State, Period 29 April - 25 May, 1940.
 4. S.E.D.Memorandum 136, op.cit.
 5. S.R.O., ED 24/15. Draft Circular to H.M.Chief Inspectors and H.M.Inspectors in charge of Districts, 23 December, 1936; Scottish Office, Circular 3192 (31 December, 1936).

war came there was a general rush for the accommodation offered by the closed doors of schools in evacuation areas. In Glasgow, for example, 46 schools were partly, or wholly, requisitioned by the military authorities. Civil defence organisations soon fully occupied a further 27 as first-aid posts and depots and portions of 29 to accommodate fire-service personnel. Another 152 schools were earmarked and equipped as rest centres.¹

On the announcement of the general re-opening of schools in evacuation areas, the Home Office gave lukewarm support to the return of buildings by civil defence authorities.² The expression of public opinion in favour of a restoration of educational services gave added weight to the demands for the relinquishing of buildings. The more determined policy outlined in February brought the full collaboration of the Home Office with the central education departments in emphasising the importance of preventing the occupation of schools in both evacuation and neutral areas as such action would hinder the drive towards full-time education. In the major Scottish sending areas the education committees negotiated with their local counterparts in control of civil defence. Alternative premises were sought in Edinburgh for auxiliary fire-service stations and first-aid depots, but where large sums of money had been spent on fitting-out buildings, it was agreed that, in the meantime, they should be used jointly. The Education Committee was thus able to regain use of at least part of practically every school building occupied in their pursuit of compulsory, full-time education for all pupils. In Glasgow, a slow return of schools was halted, as in other sending areas, by /

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1. The Corporation of Glasgow. Education Committee, Report of the Work of the Education Committee in the War and Post-War Years, 1939-1948, p.61. Hereafter cited as 'Report, 1939-1948'.
 2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.26.

by the onset of the Battle of Britain; at the end of March 1940 48 city schools were wholly, and 190 partly occupied compared with 94 and 199 in the following September.¹

The other major obstacle to the attempt to restore the educational services was, as already noted, the lack of A.R.P. in the schools in the evacuation areas. Table 2.1 shows the differential rate of response of the sending authorities when it became plain that the restoration of educational provision would depend on equipping schools with adequate protection. By the spring of 1940 Edinburgh had made significant inroads into her A.R.P. programme with shelter accommodation completed for almost 60 per cent of the pupils remaining in the area. Glasgow and Dundee with their slower starts had finished accommodation for 17 and 30 per cent respectively with shelters for a further 23 and 54 per cent either in construction, or approved. The sense of urgency generated in the sending areas - with the obvious exception of Dundee - after the November announcement of the re-opening of the schools accounts for the rapid growth in spending on A.R.P. measures which is shown in Table 2.2.

In the neutral areas, where schools were allowed to re-open after the mandatory week's closure at the war's outbreak if sufficiently well-protected, there was a dragging of feet. The Department were forced, in early September to remind six important neutral areas - Fife, Lanark, West Lothian, Midlothian, Dunbarton and Stirling - that they had failed to submit any proposals.² In the reception areas where the provision of A.R.P. protection was left to local discretion the lack of concern was reflected in the small amount of pre-war expenditure (see Table 2.2).

By /

1. B.P.P., S E D., Summary Report, 1939, op.cit., p.7.
2. S.R.O., ED 25/3 Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 15 September, 1939.

By the first spring of the war, "certain counties", reported the Department, "feel themselves so safe that little has been done".¹

This attitude was partly inspired by the 'phoney war' and the lack of firm, pre-war encouragement by the Government. It also owed something to the sense of grievance felt by education authorities at not receiving more than the standard rate of grant for such work. Attempts had been made before the war by the Board to persuade the Home Office and the Treasury to offer a higher rate of subvention without success.²

Scottish education authorities were as indignant as their English and Welsh counterparts at this seemingly inequitable situation which merely emphasised the low priority accorded the educational services. Their frequent protests were to little avail, however, and the only significant change before October, 1940 was that where additional A.R.P. protection in reception areas could be shown to be solely due to the presence of evacuated children, then the special evacuation scheme grant would be applicable.

4. Taking Stock: Spring, 1940

The attempts to overcome the twin obstacles of occupation of schools and provision of A.R.P. measures to the standard required by the Home Office in the effort to restore an educational service offering full-time schooling to all children, had achieved a qualified measure of success by the Spring of 1940. Schooling was "very seriously dislocated" in the neutral and sending areas after three months of war³ as Table 2.3, which gives a contemporary estimate of the position, reveals. In the sending/

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1. S.R.O., ED 24/42. The Educational Position in Scotland - March, 1940. Hereafter cited as 'March, 1940'.
 2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., pp. 27-28.
 3. S.R.O., ED 24/42, March, 1940, op.cit.

sending areas very few primary schools were open and secondary provision was only 35 per cent of normal, while in the neutral areas half the primary, and extensive numbers of secondary pupils were half-timing. The return of the evacuees helped to restore "normal conditions" in the receiving areas by the spring when, as Table 2.4 shows, only 5 per cent of primary, and 1 per cent of secondary, pupils were out of full-time education. But the drift back from the reception areas created a desperate situation in the cities, even though it eventually forced the governmental action necessary to return children to school. Only 6 per cent of primary and 28 per cent of secondary, pupils were in full-time education, while 33 and 18 per cent respectively were without provision of any kind.

The respective attendance figures for the three major Scottish sending areas make an interesting comparison.¹ In Dundee, 23 per cent of the school population were attending school at least on a half-time basis, but of those excluded - principally primary and junior secondary pupils - two-thirds were receiving group instruction. 32 per cent of Glasgow's pupils were enjoying at least half-time education and a further 55 per cent attending school for "shorter periods". In Edinburgh, 96 per cent of pupils were receiving at least half-time education and 15 per cent were attending school normally. The city still led the way amongst the major British sending areas in the drive towards a full restoration of educational facilities. By November, 1940, 99 per cent of the city's school population was, at least, in half-time education with 65 per cent in full-time schooling,² and within three months this latter figure was approaching/

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1. Ibid. Comparative figures of pupils in at least half-time education for selected English cities in March, 1940: London, 29 per cent; Birmingham, 88 per cent; Leeds, 73 per cent; Liverpool, 29 per cent; Manchester, 41 per cent; and Sheffield, 56 per cent. See P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.29.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Edinburgh Corporation. Education Committee. Educational Provision in City Schools, November, 1940.

approaching 85 per cent.¹

But only the problems of London and Liverpool seemingly exceeded those of Dundee and Glasgow. Divided opinions over the merits of the evacuation scheme and the re-opening of the schools within Glasgow's Education Committee contributed to the slow start made in the city's "gigantic task" of providing A.R.P. in schools, but by March, 1940 work was "proceeding rapidly".² Six months later, 87 per cent of the City's school population were receiving, at least, half-time education, although only 29 per cent were in full-time schooling.³

The educational situation in Dundee plainly embarrassed the S.E.D.; their March review merely remarked that it was "less advanced than in the other cities but the outlook is hopeful".⁴ In late February the re-opening of the city's schools on a limited basis for group teaching was permitted, but the number of pupils allowed in a building at any one time was not to exceed 50 with a gradual increase as shelter provision was completed.⁵ It was not until March, however, that a report was submitted to the Education Committee for shelter accommodation in a large group of city schools and tenders requested.⁶ The prospects for Dundee's eventual recovery of more normal educational conditions were not improved by the continued military and civil defence occupation of centrally-situated schools, such as Ancrum Road and Downfield.⁷

In/

1. S.E.J., 31 January, 1941.
2. S.R.O., ED 24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.
3. E.I.S.Papers. Edinburgh Corporation, op.cit.
4. S.R.O., ED 24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.
5. City and Royal Burgh of Dundee. Minutes of the Dundee Corporation and its Committees, 1939-40. Education Committee, 23 February, 1940.
6. Ibid. 12 March, 1940.
7. Ibid. Report of the Director of Education for the Period from 1st August, 1939 to 21st July, 1945, p.9.

In the twelve neutral areas the significant amount of half-timing was largely due to occupation of schools; the loss of sixteen schools, in part or in whole, to military and civil defence units in Aberdeen affected 16,000 children.¹ In Lanarkshire, however, the Education Authority had aimed at providing "nothing more than half-time education" for their pupils and accordingly built only a limited amount of shelter accommodation before the publication of Circular 155 brought a revision of policy. In some areas, such as Renfrewshire, protection for pupils was provided so slowly as to provoke an outcry among local parents. An additional problem in neutral areas on the edges of cities, notably Glasgow, was the crossing of evacuation boundaries by children to gain admittance to schools which consequently suffered swollen populations. Many pupils from closed, fee-paying establishments also joined the influx.

Evacuation, and its subsequent effects, decimated the British educational services. "Public education", commented the Manchester Guardian "was among the first casualties of the war. Its present condition is extremely grave."² The S.E.D. endeavoured to draw up in early 1940 a "balance sheet" of the educational gains and losses resulting from the war.³ On the debit side, many schoolchildren had suffered serious interruption of their studies and some secondary pupils had left school prematurely as a consequence of school closure and the abandonment of the Leaving Certificate examination. Classes were generally bigger in receiving and neutral areas through the influx of official and unofficial evacuees; and wherever the school day had been curtailed, those subjects not regarded as basic had been, to some extent, neglected. Reduction of hours and larger/

1. S. R. O., ED 24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.

2. Manchester Guardian, 23 October, 1940.

3. S. R. O., ED 24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.

larger classes brought "serious loss" to the weaker pupils who required considerable teacher supervision; and closure and supervision of compulsory attendance had produced "serious moral effects in that section of the population which most requires discipline". There had been a loss of educational amenity in partially occupied schools, while city establishments were cluttered with sandbags and their classrooms appeared drab and dingy because of black-out measures. School-building had almost ceased and the need for economy was likely "to restrict educational endeavour and so impede progress".

The Department made great efforts to find entries for the credit side of the evacuation ledger and some of the benefits listed were imaginative if unverifiable. Certainly the removal of city children to the countryside improved their health: "pale, pecky faces are rarely seen, and... the pupils show a considerable increase in both height and weight".¹ The mixing of town and country children was perceived as benefiting both: "the glibness of the city dweller has broken down some of the reserve of rural pupils, and the independence of the country pupils has communicated itself to the evacuees".² City pupils had "not only learned nature study at first hand, they had tasted the quiet but deep pleasures of country life"; and interest in the war had "given reality" to history and geography, as well as bringing an improvement in speech through listening to radio programmes.³ The larger, less homogeneous classes had allowed the more able evacuees to derive "considerable benefit, moral as well as intellectual", from greater independence in the classroom./

1. S.R.O., ED 24/41, First Report, December 1939, op.cit.

2. Ibid.

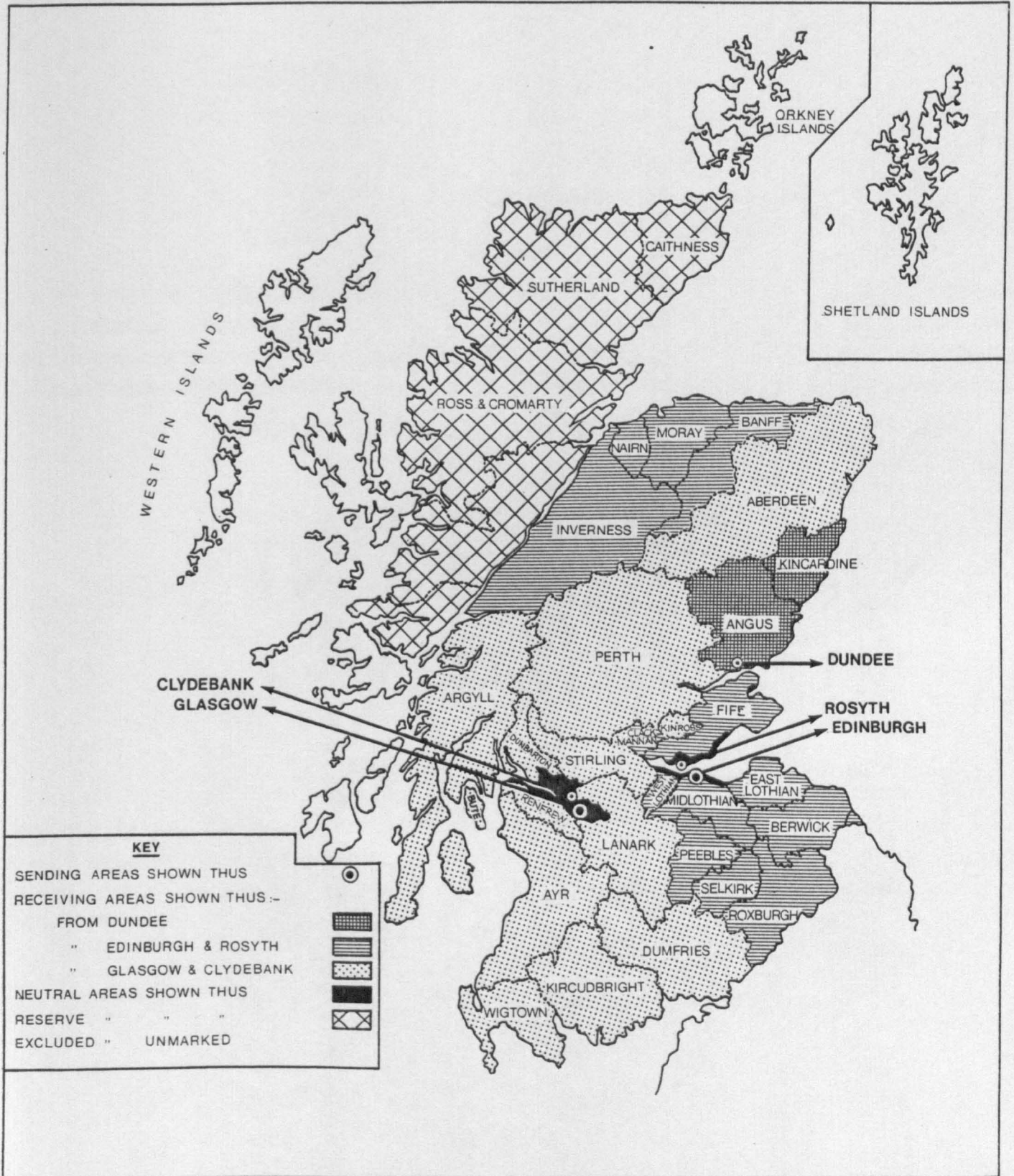
3. S.R.O., ED.24/42., March, 1940, op.cit.

classroom. Character building was also expected from non-academic pursuits: "corporate charitable effort, such as knitting for soldiers, cannot fail to have beneficial moral effects". Outside the classroom the black-out had encouraged reading.

There was, however, in the opinion of the Department and the President of the Board of Education, a more significant, long-term gain. The very extent and nature of the educational losses in the cities, had, paradoxically, given the public a "fuller appreciation" of the worth of education. "If the war has done nothing else", observed Lord De La Warr, "it has shown us how quickly children deteriorate when they are neglected, and how necessary therefore is education, and especially that social and medical care that are part of it".

1. E.I.S. Papers. Board of Education, Announcement 10, Compulsory Education in Evacuation Areas, 7 February, 1940.

APPENDIX 1: SCOTLAND GOVERNMENT EVACUATION SCHEME



| KEY | |
|------------------------------|--|
| SENDING AREAS SHOWN THUS | |
| RECEIVING AREAS SHOWN THUS:- | |
| FROM DUNDEE | |
| " EDINBURGH & ROSYTH | |
| " GLASGOW & CLYDEBANK | |
| NEUTRAL AREAS SHOWN THUS | |
| RESERVE " " " | |
| EXCLUDED " UNMARKED | |

Source: S.R.O., ED 24/201.

GOVERNMENT EVACUATION SCHEME

CLASSIFICATION OF SCOTTISH AREAS

3 August, 1941

1. SENDING AREAS

| | |
|-----------|-------------------|
| Clydebank | Inverkeithing |
| Dumbarton | North Queensferry |
| Dundee | Port Glasgow |
| Edinburgh | Rosyth |
| Glasgow | South Queensferry |
| Greenock | |

2. NEUTRAL AREAS

| <u>County</u> | <u>Neutral Areas</u> |
|---------------|--|
| Aberdeen | Aberdeen City |
| Argyll | Islay*, Jura and Colonsay*, Mull* and Tiree and Coll County Districts* Tobermory Burgh* |
| Ayr | Parishes of Irvine and Stevenston and part of parish of Kilwinning to S. and W. of main Irvine-Ardrossan road. Ardrossan Burgh. Irvine Burgh. Kilwinning Burgh. Saltcoats Burgh. |
| Dunbarton | Old Kilpatrick County District (comprises the parishes of Dunbarton and Old Kilpartick) / Vale of Leven and Renton Special Drainage District (comprises part of the parishes of Bonhill and Cardross) Parish of New Kilpatrick. Milngavie Burgh. |
| Fife | Parishes of Aberdour, Burntisland, Carnock, Dalgety, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing (excluding North Queensferry), Kinghorn, Leuchars, Torryburn and Wemyss. Buckhaven Burgh. Burntisland Burgh. Cowdenbeath Burgh. Culross Burgh. Dunfermline Burgh (excluding Rosyth). Kinghorn Burgh. Kirkcaldy Burgh. Leven Burgh. |

* Excluded on account of remoteness.

/ This area includes Alexandria, Balloch, Bonhill, Jamestown and Renton.

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Inverness | Barra*, Harris*, North Uist*, South Uist* and Skye County Districts* and the Small Isles Parish in Lochaber County District.* |
|-----------|---|

Lanark/

NEUTRAL AREAS (continued)

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Lanark | Parishes of Blantyre, Bothwell, Cambuslang, Glasgow, Old Monkland, and Rutherglen, and the Bishopbriggs part of the Parish of Cadder. Airdrie Burgh. Coatbridge Burgh. Hamilton Burgh. Motherwell and Wishaw Burgh. Rutherglen Burgh. |
| Midlothian | Musselburgh Burgh. |
| Orkney | Orkney County (Landward)* Kirkwall Burgh* Stromness Burgh.* |
| Renfrew | Parishes of Cathcart, Erskine, Greenock, Inchinnan, Paisley, Port Glasgow, Renfrew and the northern part of the Parish of Eastwood. Barrhead Burgh. Gourock Burgh. Johnstone Burgh. Paisley Burgh. Renfrew Burgh. |
| Ross & Cromarty | Lewis County District* and a small part of the Parish of Rosskeen adjoining Invergordon Burgh. Cromarty Burgh. Invergordon Burgh. Stornoway Burgh.* |
| Stirling | / Eastern Districts No.1 and No.2 and the villages of Throsk and Fallin in the Parish of St Ninians. Falkirk Burgh. Grangemouth Burgh. |
| West Lothian | Parishes of Abercorn, Bo'ness and Carriden, and Dalmeny. Bo'ness Burgh. Linlithgow Burgh. |
| Zetland | Zetland County (Landward).* Lerwick Burgh.* |

* Excluded on account of remoteness.

/ No.1 District - Parishes of Airth, Larbert and the Bothkennar area which was formerly in the parish of Grangemouth.
No.2 District - Grangemouth (excluding Bothkennar) and Falkirk (part of landward area).

3. RECEIVING AREAS

A. Receiving Areas allocated to Sending Areas.

Landward Area and burghs in each of the following counties:-

| | |
|------------|----------------|
| Aberdeen / | Kinross |
| Angus ø | Kirkcudbright |
| Argyll / ≠ | Lanark ø / |
| Ayr | Midlothian ø / |
| Banff / | |

RECEIVING AREAS (continued)

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Banff | Moray |
| Berwick | Nairn |
| Bute | Peebles |
| Clackmannan | Perth |
| Dumfries | Renfrew \emptyset \neq |
| Dunbarton \emptyset \neq | Roxburgh |
| East Lothian | Selkirk |
| Fife \emptyset \neq | Stirling |
| Inverness \neq \neq | West Lothian \emptyset \neq |
| Kincardine | Wigtown |

B. Receiving Areas at present held in Reserve.

Landward area and burghs in each of the following counties or parts of counties:-

Argyll \neq , north of Loch Linnhe \neq
Caithness
Inverness, north of Caledonian Canal. \neq
Ross and Cromarty \neq
Sutherland.

- \emptyset Excluding any sending areas shown in section 1.
- \neq Excluding any neutral areas shown in section 2.
- \neq Excluding any reserve areas shown in section 3B.

A. A.R.P. PROVISION

TABLE 2.1

Shelter Accommodation in the Sending Areas, March, 1940

| Sending Area | No. of pupils remaining in Area 31 March, 1940 | Shelter Accommodation | | |
|---|--|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|
| | | Completed | In construction | Approved |
| Edinburgh | 48,000 | 28,615 | - | - |
| Dundee | 21,300 | 3,652 | 8,097 | 3,208 |
| Glasgow | 145,000 | 43,074 | 24,890 | 8,370 |
| Dunbarton (Clydebank) | 7,200 | 1,500 | - | 5,165 |
| Fife (Inverkeithing, Rosyth N. Queensferry) | 1,380 | 1,140 | - | - |
| West Lothian (S. Queensferry) | 335 | 100 | - | - |

Source: Figures contained in the P.R.O. ED.138/65, Monthly Reports to the Secretary of State (Period 29th April- 25th May, 1940)

TABLE 2.2

A.R.P. Expenditure by Scottish Education Authorities to the end of March, 1940.

| Period to:- | Totals submitted for approval by Education Authorities |
|---------------|--|
| June, 1939 | Nil |
| 15 Sept. 1939 | £4,111 |
| 18 Dec. 1939 | £302,620 |
| 18 Jan. 1940 | £314,361 |
| 19 Feb. 1940 | £454,414 |
| 31 Mar. 1940 | £640,293 |
| 30 April 1940 | £670,520 |

Source: S.R.O., ED. 25/3/4, Monthly Reports from the Permanent Secretary to the Secretary of State.

B. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 2.3

Educational Provision, December, 1939

| | Receiving Areas | Neutral Areas | Sending Areas |
|---------------------|----------------------|--|--|
| Primary | 90% full-time | Fully 50% half-time | Very small number of schools open at all |
| Education | 10% half-time | 20 schools not open | " " " |
| Secondary Education | Almost all full-time | extensive half-timing in lower classes | Provision 35% of normal |

Source: S.R.O., ED. 24/42. The Educational Position in Scotland - March, 1940.

B. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 2.4

Educational Provision, March, 1940

| | | Numbers of Pupils attending school | | | | Numbers of pupils receiving group instruction |
|---------------|-----------|------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---|
| | | Full-time | Half-time | Less than Half-time | Not at all | |
| Rec. Areas | Primary | 220,000 (95.7%) | 10,000 (4.3%) | - | - | - |
| | Secondary | 60,000 (98.6%) | 850 (1.4%) | - | - | - |
| Neutral Areas | Primary | 72,000 (48.3%) | 77,000 (51.6%) | - | 106(0.1%) | - |
| | Secondary | 30,000 (65.9%) | 15,500 (34.1%) | - | - | - |
| Sending Areas | Primary | 9,500 (5.3%) | 55,000 (30.6%) | 56,000 (31.2%) | 59,000 (32.9%) | 18,000(10.0%) |
| | Secondary | 15,000 (28.6%) | 23,000 (43.8%) | 4,500 (8.6%) | 10,000 (19%) | 2,000(3.8%) |

Notes: (a) Pupils from special schools regarded as primary pupils.
 (b) The number of pupils not attending school includes those who were receiving group instruction.

Source: S.R.O., ED.24/42. op.cit.

CHAPTER THREE

RECOVERY, RELAPSE AND RECUPERATION, 1940-1945

1. Re-planning Evacuation

In the aftermath of evacuation, education in the Scottish sending areas "completely collapsed"; only the improvised home instruction schemes maintained the semblance of an educational service there.¹ The planning of evacuation and subsequent events had effectively emphasised that education was the least important of the social services which as a whole, were perceived, at least in the initial stages, as a secondary consideration in wartime. "The status of the Board of Education was low", observed H.C. Dent, "and its bargaining power almost negligible".² The Secretaryship of State for Scotland suffered from a similar lack of prestige in government circles and with the incumbent inevitably facing a range and intensity of problems, education usually came low on the list of priority. The S.E.D. was insignificant and geographically remote, as the occasional failure of Board officials to consult with their Scottish counterparts on matters of communal interest seemed to testify. Nevertheless, popular discontent over the shortcomings of the wartime educational services after the fiasco of evacuation thrust both central education departments into public view and forced more Government attention to the problems of education than they were wont to receive in peacetime.

The breakdown of the British educational system personally and intimately affected /

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/42. The Educational Position in Scotland - December, 1940. Hereafter cited as 'December, 1940'.
 2. H.C. Dent, Education in Transition (1944), p.30.

affected hundreds of thousands of parents, who felt the effects in their own homes, and were alarmed and exasperated by them... Consequently, for the first time in their lives, people found themselves talking and thinking seriously about education".¹ This growing awareness that education, in some undefined way, exercised a positive influence on society was eventually to give powerful support to Butler's drive to secure educational legislation during the course of the war. In the meantime, public opinion became markedly aggressive over the failure to provide educational facilities and played a significant part in bringing the February announcement of the intention to restore compulsory education. The change in policy marked a turning-point in the wartime fortunes of the educational services, though there were "stern battles to be fought" over the requisitioning of schools, the provision of A.R.P. with materials in short supply, and the loss of teachers to the armed services.² Yet in early 1940 the publication of new evacuation plans indicated that any onset of bombing threatened to destroy the measure of recovery achieved by the educational services.

At the end of 1939 the Government reconsidered the evacuation scheme in the light of its failure to retain evacuees in the reception areas in the first months of the war. Despite increasing demands in the sections of the press that life should be returned to normal, the Cabinet's view of the perils of air-attack and the need for an evacuation policy remained unaltered. Voluntary pledges, signed by parents, to keep their children in reception areas were ruled out because it was believed that they would result in the young evacuees being brought home immediately. A fully effective evacuation policy depended upon compulsion, but this was /

1. Ibid.

2. H.C. Dent, op.cit., p.32.

was rejected as being politically unacceptable. The course adopted was the stabilisation of the existing position and the preparation of plans for further evacuation to be implemented when bombing occurred, an event which, the Government believed, would dispel the public's apathy to evacuation. Moreover, any future evacuation would probably be more specific than the previous plan, in that it would be based upon selected, vulnerable areas.

During the late winter and early spring months campaigns were launched to secure more billets in reception areas and to enrol schoolchildren in evacuation areas for a future dispersal. Neither campaign met with much response in Scotland, nor in England and Wales.¹ Parents refused to register their children; in many evacuating areas "no reply at all was received from the great majority of parents during the time when the registers were open."² In Glasgow, the parents of only 14,629 (9.9 per cent) indicated that, in a future emergency and when the Government thought fit, they would allow their children to register under the official scheme.³ "The parents of over 106,000 Glasgow children", commented the Glasgow Herald, "are, apparently, less afraid of air-raids than of sending their children to the country".⁴ Although the registration lists were to be closed on 31 March instructions were issued that schoolchildren should be enrolled up to quota allocated to each school and that, thereafter, a supplementary list should be compiled. Glasgow eventually produced two evacuation plans - the first (Plan A) to cope with children already registered, and the second (Plan B) for those/

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1. See P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.36.
 2. Ministry of Health, Circular 2017 (13 May, 1940).
 3. Glasgow Herald, 22 March, 1940.
 4. Ibid.

those whose parents responded only at the outbreak of an emergency.¹

The attempt to improve the response from householders in reception areas by increasing the billeting allowances for older children proved unsuccessful.² The reaction was, not surprisingly in the light of the harrowing experiences and tales of evacuees, even more adverse than that of the parents in the evacuation areas. 22,000 forms were sent out to the landward area of Fife; 300 were returned, 67 of them point-blank refusals. In Angus 10,950 forms were distributed, 315 were returned and 215 agreed to accept evacuees. Perth County sent out 18,700, 658 were returned with 413 acceptances.³ The pattern was similar over all the Scottish reception areas.

With available billeting "shrinking daily", the Board advocated in March the use of large houses or camps as hostels, "unless the Government are prepared to insist on compulsory billeting on a large scale".⁴ Public opinion as reflected in the press had long favoured hostels as a solution to the evacuation problem; in Scotland, particularly, householders called upon to open their homes to evacuees wanted to see all empty houses and hotels pressed into service. "What is the remedy", asked a correspondent to the Glasgow Herald, since city children must be /

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1. The Scotsman, 29 November, 1940.
 2. The new rates were 10s.6d per week for children aged ten to fourteen years, 12s.6d. for those from fourteen to sixteen, and 15s. for those over sixteen. Ministry of Health, op.cit.
 3. W. Boyd, op.cit., p.34.
 4. S.R.O., ED.24/5. Note on Use of Empty Houses and Camps to Replace or Supplement Billets. Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education, 1 March, 1940.

be evacuated?...Let the Government take over all the large empty houses - of which there are many up and down the country - and turn them into boarding schools".¹ Kirkcudbright's Director of Education, J. Crawford, was "more than ever convinced that the large house is the only sensible solution to evacuation... as educational centres where educational first principles must be kept in the foreground...", following the success of the Cally House experiment.² The Board's suggestion, however, drew a dusty reply from the D.H.S. and the S.E.D.³ In previous discussions about joint circulars to announce the new evacuation plans, it had been agreed that although such developments were to be encouraged, it was not possible to accommodate any substantial number of children in communal billets". Colville had used this argument publicly in response to criticism that such facilities had not been sufficiently developed or utilised in the previous scheme.⁴ "If air-raids become serious and the new plans have to be put into operation", the Scottish departments argued, "there is every reason to think that the attitude of the receiving areas will change enormously and it should not be impossible to find billets in private houses for the unaccompanied children who will be evacuated".⁵

In May, 1940 with the war entering a new and threatening phase, the Government began seriously to contemplate the use of hostels as an alternative to household billeting for groups of children. By early April Colville had already modified his opposition, realising the difficulties/

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1. Glasgow Herald, 6 February, 1940.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. J.Crawford to Henderson, 8 January, 1940.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/5 Government Evacuation Scheme. Note by the Department of Health and the Scottish Education Department on Lord De La Warr's Memorandum on the use of camps and large houses. n.d. (March, 1940).
 4. The Scotsman, 28 March, 1940.
 5. S.R.O., ED.24/5. op.cit.

difficulties arising from the small number of householders willing to receive evacuees; he was now satisfied that "we ought to approve the use of large houses as hostels not only for difficult or sick children but for ordinary children".¹ The circulars and memoranda issued on hostels were the "most forcible and definite" of the evacuation documents issued by the Government,² yet it was felt that more should be done:

"... if power could be taken to commandeer boarding-houses, mansions and other buildings in the country, and to establish hostels on a scale far beyond what has recently been contemplated, some of the main difficulties which have hamstrung Scottish evacuation plans might yet be overcome".³

By June 1942, 106 hostels with accommodation for over 3,500 children were in use in Scotland.⁴

The evacuation scheme, announced in February⁵ was ready by the early summer. It was premised on the Government's determination "to maintain the principle of the evacuation of school children as an essential part of civil defence... and to retain in the reception areas those children who have been evacuated".⁶ Evacuation was to remain voluntary, but parents participating were required to sign an undertaking that they would send their children away when ordered and would leave them in the reception areas until return was permitted. The scheme/

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/112. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland on the Government Evacuation Scheme, 11 April, 1940.
 2. W. Boyd, op.cit., pp.34-35; D.H.S. Memorandum E.V.S. 7 and Memorandum E.V.S. 8, (May 1940) and Circulars 84 and 98 (1940).
 3. Glasgow Herald, 4 June, 1940.
 4. W. Boyd, op.cit., p.35.
 5. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 357, 932-933, 15 February, 1940.
 6. E.I.S. Papers. Evacuation of School Children, n.d. (January, 1940).

scheme abandoned the concept of a unified, national dispersal programme in favour of evacuation of towns, or specific areas, singly or in groups at ministerial discretion on thirty-six hours' notice being given after the outbreak of serious, or continuous, bombing. No mothers or pre-school children were eligible for registration and schools, rather than families, were to be evacuated as units.

The original departure from the pattern which operated in England and Wales had met with criticism: The Scottish Educational Journal accused the Secretary of State of making "a grievous mistake in allowing sentiment to dictate the family grouping of evacuees".¹ Suggestions were made in the press and in the Scottish Advisory Council that English school-children had settled down better "among their schoolmates and with their own teachers", although R.M. Allardyce believed that "the position in Scotland, with large, secondary, co-educational schools, was entirely different from that in England and demanded different methods".² Nevertheless, the change did allow his Glasgow subordinates to negotiate with reception areas for the accommodation of large groups of pupils from various city secondary schools and preserve some continuity in their education. Not surprisingly, the new scheme emphasised the importance of the evacuating authorities ensuring that registered children were medically examined before evacuation.

Colville had expressed "grave doubts" to his government colleagues about the suitability of the "existing conception" of evacuation to Scottish conditions with highly populated industrial and receiving areas, apparently, "more exposed to attack than the sending areas".³

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1. S.E.J., 1 December, 1939.
2. S.R.O. ED.24/7. Advisory Committee on Evacuation. Minutes of Fifteenth Meeting held on 2 February, 1940...
3. P.R.O., ED.136/112, op.cit.

In the spring he advocated the abandonment of the existing scheme and a concentration on "improving the plans for panic evacuation by the use of temporary accommodation on the outskirts of danger areas". This was the alternative suggested by representatives at the Convention of Royal Burghs in April which carried a majority resolution condemning the Government scheme as "quite impracticable", although consulted in its formulation.¹ Colville accepted that if his colleagues believed that "the general lines of the scheme... must be adhered to in England then, however great our difficulties may be in Scotland, it would be impossible to abandon the scheme there".² Should it be retained, he reserved the right to reconsider the classification of some of the Scottish receiving areas. "There seems to be good reason to believe", he wrote, "that Scottish East Coast Ports and Aerodromes will be attacked in the next phase of the war and it is impossible to convince the public at present that a Glasgow child is safer in Peterhead than in Glasgow". His prediction proved to be accurate but his misgivings gained no ministerial support.

In June, Ernest Brown, his successor, requested the Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee authorities to restrict the number of districts in the cities from which the children would be evacuated.³ "In the light of experience", he had decided that children should not be removed from "certain openly built areas within the boundaries of these cities". The Government scheme presupposed that all schools in evacuation zones would remain closed on its implementation but that a certain number, situated on the fringes, or in sparsely populated parts of evacuable areas, might, if fully/

1. S.E.J., 12 April, 1940.

2. P.R.O., ED.136/112, op.cit.

3. S.R.O., ED.24/3. Press Office, St Andrew's House. Changes in Evacuation Scheme, 1 June, 1940.

fully provided with A.R.P., be allowed to remain open.¹ The Secretary of State delegated his powers of decision to the Regional Commissioner.

Even the fall of France had little effect in Scotland in popularising the Government's evacuation scheme. Numbers registered were "regrettably small", although the registration period was frequently extended and brought to an end only in June.² The scheme received, at best, qualified approval: the E.I.S nevertheless perceived "considerable significance" in the changes:

"Medical examination has been much more thorough, and there has been time for remedial measures... the family basis has been departed from, and there will be a greater probability of teachers knowing their charges, while parents will have the assurance that their children will not be entirely among strangers in a strange land. The ban of secrecy has been removed and the destination of evacuees revealed beforehand... in certain areas, mansion houses have been secured where boarding-school conditions will be possible. Undoubtedly the outlook for prospective evacuees is brighter. For those who stay behind... the prospect is correspondingly bleaker".³

The rector of Harris Academy, Dundee took a different view, believing the scheme to be "another thorough-going flop because hundreds of parents hereabouts think the schools will still remain open and group classes will also be continued in the evacuating areas. These groups suited many parents admirably last time, and so they're just going to wait for them again".⁴

The likelihood of the success of any future evacuation, as far as Roman Catholic children were concerned, was doubtful. The poor relationships between the evacuees and their hosts in some reception areas were, as we have/

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1. Ibid. S.E.D. to Education Authorities, 14 June, 1940.
 2. S.E.J., 7 June, 1940.
 3. Ibid.
 4. E.I.S. Papers. A. Peterkin to Henderson, 27 May, 1940.

have noted, exacerbated by religious difficulties, occasioned by the involvement of poor Roman Catholic families. The D.H.S. and S.E.D. worked hard at creating communities of Catholics sufficiently large as to enable corporate religious instruction and worship. But there were insufficient Catholic districts in reception areas to fulfil this policy and loss of goodwill in non-Catholic districts made it difficult to find fresh, satisfactory billets when children were moved at the request of Catholic authorities, although occasionally the evacuees refused to leave. With spiritual health more important in the eyes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy than physical safety, the threat to a successful evacuation scheme was obvious. Colville reported to the Cabinet in December, 1939 that Archbishop A.J. Macdonald had issued an encyclical urging that evacuated children should be fetched home if no facilities for religious instruction existed in reception areas.¹

As the plans for the second evacuation advanced and the problems of accommodation intensified, the Department took stock of the situation. A March survey reiterated that it was "impossible for the receiving areas to absorb the large Roman Catholic population of the cities in an entirely satisfactory manner. Some groups of Roman Catholic children are not in contact with the church..." They commended relationships in some reception areas where:

"Fortunately a praiseworthy degree of realism and of toleration has been shown on both sides; for example, in Aberdeenshire, a stronghold of Scottish Presbyterianism, the householders, including the ministers, have given their Roman Catholic charges every encouragement to attend chapel, and in Argyll the Roman Catholics concerned have raised no objection whatever to being taught by Protestant teachers".²

In many areas, however, goodwill was "less conspicuous": at Stonehouse in Lanark, /

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1. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.179, footnote. A search of Cabinet papers has not revealed this report, or a record of any discussion.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.

Lanark, Roman Catholic authorities "objected to the arrangements even although the children were taught by Roman Catholic teachers".

Difficulties also arose at West Kilbride, East Kilbride, Prestwick and East Linton.¹

The misunderstanding and suspicion which surrounded the evacuation of Roman Catholic children from Glasgow was illustrated in the 'Dunoon incident'. Donald Mackintosh, Archbishop of Glasgow, complained to W.S. Murrie at the D.H.S. in February, 1940 on behalf of the Glasgow Diocesan Education Board, about the "inconsiderate and worse than futile action" of Dr C.M. MacDonald, Argyll's Director of Education.² The latter, in mid-January, proposed to send 34 evacuated Catholic secondary pupils to Dunoon Grammar School, ending the arrangement whereby they had been lodged and educated with 23 primary pupils at Loudon House, Kirn, staffed by Glasgow Catholic teachers. The Glasgow Catholic authorities protested to the City's Director of Education that this action was "entirely against the Catholic interests" of the children and would lead to their withdrawal home.³ Allardyce believed the amalgamation "unjustifiable" but failed to move Dr. MacDonald who proceeded to implement the plans on 19 February⁴. Although religious instruction was to be provided for them by teachers from a local Dunoon Catholic primary school, the Glasgow Diocesan Board believed that the children would lose "the valuable guidance and assistance which they have hitherto had from the six Catholic teachers from their own school in Glasgow".⁵

Dr. MacDonald/

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/39. Donald Mackintosh, Archbishop of Glasgow, to W.S. Murrie, 29 February, 1940.
 3. Ibid. Amalgamation of Catholic Secondary children in Dunoon Grammar School. Note by Reverend Archibald McSparran, Secretary to the Glasgow Diocesan Education Board, 20 February, 1940.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.

Dr. MacDonald claimed that the fall in numbers of secondary pupils at Loudon House did not justify the original housing and staffing arrangements,¹ but later seemed to shift his ground, holding that the transfer created room at the House for more primary children, thus allowing the double-shift at one of Dunoon's primary schools to be ended.²

Dr MacDonald's actions found some sympathy in the Department and amongst the inspectorate.³ Nevertheless, the delicacy of the issue, the possibility of it being made a matter of public controversy and the threat it posed to the evacuation scheme, brought it to the attention of the Under-Secretary of State, on the advice of Murrie. McEwen felt that Dr. MacDonald had behaved in a "very high-handed way": the education of evacuated children, he claimed, might be "a matter which chiefly concerns the Director of Education in the Receiving Area, but not, surely, entirely."⁴ His reply to the Archbishop, however, although regretting Dr MacDonald's action in advance of approval from Glasgow Education Authority, indicated that the Department would not be justified in intervening in order to secure suitable provision for the education and religious education of the pupils.⁵

McEwen, seeing the wider implications of the incident, was worried about the prevailing relationships with the Roman Catholic hierarchy.⁶ "Unless we obtain the goodwill of the Catholic authorities", he minuted.

"... even /

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1. Ibid. G.M. MacDonald to Dr J. Jardine, 8 March, 1940.
 2. Ibid. Allardyce to Jardine, 8 March, 1940.
 3. D.D. Anderson, H.M.I., believed the Archbishop's complaint to be "grossly unfair", and Dr J. Jardine held the transfer to be "perfectly justified". S.R.O., ED.24/39. Anderson to S.E.D., 9 March, 1940; and Jardine to D.H.S., 12 March, 1940.
 4. Ibid. Captain J.H.F. McEwen to Jardine, 27 March, 1940.
 5. Ibid. McEwen to Archbishop of Glasgow, 15 April, 1940.
 6. Ibid. McEwen to Jardine, 27 March, 1940.

"... even what remains of the evacuation is going to break down altogether, and that goodwill can be obtained with a modicum of tact and forbearance. But this sort of action... is calculated to wreck any hope of such goodwill being gained. I suspect that by now the children in question are already back in Glasgow... Glasgow pays the piper and has a right to call the tune". 1.

Dr. MacDonald failed to improve relationships when he complained to the D.H.S., after a conference between the Glasgow Education Authority and Argyll receiving districts at the end of March, about the excessive number of Catholics to be evacuated to an "overwhelmingly... Protestant County" under the new scheme.²

The Dunoon affair convinced A.J. Macdonald, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, that the "only really satisfactory solution" to Roman Catholic evacuation problems lay in a camp allotted to "solely Catholic children", although he realised that numbers made this impossible.³

"Under the circumstances", he believed that, "the interests of the Catholic children would be better provided for in suitable centres under Catholic teachers and supervision... rather than by placing them in Evacuation groups. I understand that a scheme of this sort is under process of formation".

McEwen's reply deliberately hedged the issue.⁴ Now that the Government had "come around to the idea" that evacuation would only take place in the /

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1. After the Easter holidays, 15 of the 27 Roman Catholic secondary pupils returned to Dunoon Grammar School. S.R.O., ED.24/39. Dr. MacDonald to Jardine, 9 April, 1940.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/38. MacDonald to D.H.S., 8 April, 1940.
 3. Ibid. A.J. MacDonald, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, to McEwen, April, 1940.
 4. Ibid. McEwen to McDonald, 10 April, 1940.

the event of bombing, and "certain pre-arrangements" were being made, they could not be "of a very exact nature". The Catholics were looking for precision in a scheme which, although an improvement upon its predecessor, remained, perhaps deliberately, imprecise. The Government clung to the realistic hope that, as the bombs began to fall, difficulties such as those raised by the Roman Catholics would quickly be forgotten as parents thought only of removing their children to safety. In the event the hope was justified and religious issues related to evacuation never seriously troubled the D.H.S. and the S.E.D. during the remainder of the war.

If the worsening military situation in the early summer of 1940 failed to popularise the official evacuation scheme, it did prompt the production of another evacuation plan which caught the popular attention. With the fall of Paris and the imminent removal of France from the war, the Cabinet decided to accept offers of accommodation made by Canada, South Africa, Australia and the United States.¹ The Children's Overseas Reception Board (C.O.R.B.) was established and the Board of Education and the Department circulated details of the scheme to local authorities.²

The working of the scheme in Scotland was entrusted to an advisory committee, under the chairmanship of the Lord Provost of Glasgow, P.J. Dollan, - composed of representatives of various organisation in the migration, education and care of children.³ Thomas Henderson was appointed by the Government as general adviser on Scottish conditions and liaison officer between the main board in London and the Scottish board in Edinburgh. The scheme was restricted at the outset to school-children/

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1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.37.
 2. S.E.D. Circular 170 (17 June, 1940).
 3. The Times, 3 July, 1940.

schoolchildren aged from five to sixteen years, who would not be accompanied by their mothers. Travel in both directions was to be free of charge. Education would be provided in local schools in the receiving countries and charges for maintenance would be on the same scale as for home evacuees. Plans were quickly prepared for sending the first batch of 20,000 children from Great Britain to the Dominions. Of these 2,000 were to be drawn from Scottish schools with 49 out of every 50 selected from applicants educated in institutions maintained by the education authorities.

Public enthusiasm for the Children's Overseas Reception Scheme surprised those public officials who witnessed at first hand the apathetic response to the new evacuation plans. In Glasgow, on the day after the announcement of the scheme, "from the time the offices of the Education Department opened until they closed in the evening queues of parents formed to enquire".¹ By 5 July when C.O.R.B.'s lists were closed, applications in respect of Scottish children numbered approximately 27,000.²

But the growing threat to British shipping in the Atlantic destroyed the hopes surrounding the inception of the scheme. On 3 July the fast, unescorted liner, the Arandora Star was sunk and on 10 July the War Cabinet decided that they "could not take warships off anti-invasion duties to provide escorts", nor could "shiploads of children... be sent across the Atlantic unescorted".³ On 18 July the Prime Minister announced that the scheme was being postponed, but not abandoned.⁴

Events/

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1. Glasgow Herald, 21 June, 1940.
 2. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 363, 610, 23 July, 1940.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/31. War Cabinet WM(40) 199, 10 July, 1940.
 4. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 363, 394, 18 July, 1940.

Events in September finally killed the scheme. An evacuee ship en route to Canada with 320 children on board was torpedoed on 1 September. Sixteen days later the City of Benares was sunk and 73 children lost. 2,666 children were evacuated under the scheme, including 462 Scottish children, out of 5,662 approved applications.¹

2. Recovery, 1940-1941

With the announcement in February of the Government's firm intention to restore the educational services, the Scottish educational system enjoyed during 1940 "almost uninterrupted progress" - at least in the opinion of the Department - despite the ending of the 'phoney war', increased demands upon the schools by civil defence and military authorities for accommodation, difficulties over A.R.P. provision and the first aerial attacks.²

The educational position in the receiving areas improved considerably as the number of evacuees declined to such an extent that, except in a small minority of schools, their presence no longer compromised educational activities there. At the turn of the year only 12,500 Scottish evacuees remained away from home, a total inflated by the inclusion of many children who were originally regarded as private evacuees. A further estimated 7,000 children outside the official scheme were accommodated in schools in receiving and reserved areas.³

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1. Ibid. 365, 476-477, 10 October, 1940.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/42. H.M. Inspectors' Reports - July, 1941. Hereafter cited as 'July, 1941'.
 3. Ibid.

As the demands of war made increasing inroads into teaching strength, staffing the schools became a source of growing concern. Thus the transfer of evacuated teachers back to the sending areas caused some irritation in the host areas where delaying tactics were employed to retain their services for as long as possible. The return of the evacuees purged the reluctant from ranks of exiled teachers leaving largely volunteers, although Glasgow continued to find difficulty in providing teachers willing to serve in the reception areas. Moreover, the imposed tours of duty away from the city were not always to the liking of these areas: Ayrshire complained that Glasgow, by facilitating frequent transfers, showed "more consideration for the personal convenience of its staff than for the efficiency of education in the county".¹

Concern over staffing in certain Scottish reception areas was heightened by a new dimension of evacuation which assumed importance during the last months of 1940. Significant numbers of children arrived from England after the onset of the blitz, settling mostly in Ayrshire, but also in Perth and Kinross, Dundee, Buteshire and Inverness-shire.² Returns made at the end of April, 1941 indicated that there were between 6,000 and 7,000 'official' evacuees from England attending Scottish schools together with a similar number of private visitors.³ "English children (without their teachers)", commented the Department, "are now arriving in certain Scottish receiving areas more rapidly than Scottish evacuees (with teachers) are returning home; as a result the school population of these areas is again increasing whilst the number of teachers is diminishing".⁴ There was a fear that staffing difficulties might/

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. S.R.O., ED.24/203. R.T. Hawkins to E.Hale, 6 October, 1941.

4. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940. op.cit.

might arise if this population movement continued. The English influx was supplemented by 460 children from the Channel Isles who were accommodated and educated in the Glasgow area, and a small number of European refugees, some of whom established their own educational institutions, while others were dispersed among Scottish schools.¹

Scottish education authorities in the reception areas refrained from making financial claims against their English counterparts for the cost of educating their evacuated children and, in return, expected no claims in respect of the few Scottish evacuees in England.² As numbers of English evacuees increased, however, they began to press for a financial adjustment, complaining that the absence of 14,000 children from English and Welsh schools meant a saving for their authorities but a consequent "depressing result" on Exchequer grants available in Scotland under the Goschen formula while, at the same time, Scotland had to bear the expense of providing for them.³ Eventually, in 1941, the Treasury reluctantly agreed, following pleas from the Department and the intercession of D. du B. Davidson, the Board's Accountant-General, to contribute to the Education (Scotland) Fund a sum that would cover payments due to Scottish receiving authorities for the education of English and Welsh children.⁴ The Scottish/

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1. See Chapter Four.
 2. The financial claims of receiving authorities upon sending authorities in respect of evacuated children within Scotland were resolved in early 1942 on the basis of £1 per annum for each primary pupil, £1.10s for each pupil in the first, second, or third year of a post-qualifying course, and £5.00 for each pupil in the fourth, or subsequent years of a post-qualifying course. S.E.D. Circular 222. (12 February, 1942).
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/203. op.cit.
 4. S.R.O., ED.24/203. Hale to Hawkins, 25 November, 1941.

Scottish authorities responded by accepting liability for children evacuated to England and Wales.

The extent of the general recovery of the Scottish educational system in 1940 is revealed in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. The figures indicate that the return of the schools to a degree of normality, as defined in terms of offering full-time education, through the drift-back of evacuees, was checked between June and October, 1940 as a consequence of the requisitioning of a large number of school buildings. The percentage of children receiving full-time education in reception areas fell from 98.1 to 91 per cent between April and December, while those in half-time, or with no education, increased from 1.9 to 8.9 per cent in the same period. In neutral areas too, the provision of adequate shelter accommodation substantially restored the efficiency of the service in the first half of the year but thereafter, was offset by the loss of schools, although the re-zoning of the outskirts of the cities as neutral areas contributed to a rise in the numbers of children receiving part-time education.

In the sending areas, the numbers in full-time education grew from 17.6 to 45.5 per cent between April and December; those in less than half-time education declined from 24.1 to 5.1 per cent and pupils without any education from 12.1 to 1.4 per cent. Despite this improvement the publication of statistics in December about educational provision in the Scottish cities (see Table 3.5) excited unfavourable comment, probably because of the dearth of information in preceding months. In Glasgow one in five primary children were receiving full-time education; in /

in Dundee only one in seven. Of the children enrolled in secondary schools in Glasgow, three out of every ten were in half-time, or less than half-time education; of those enrolled in Aberdeen's secondary schools one out of every five.¹

The Scottish Educational Journal found the figures "singularly disturbing", viewing them with "apprehension" even in time of war:

"Children will come to secondary schools without the elementary basis of knowledge which enables them to profit by the education there provided; they will leave secondary schools - if they are fortunate enough to reach them - without the knowledge necessary to carry on efficiently the business of the world, and - a much more serious thing - without the moral discipline for sound character. War inevitably creates a feeling of insecurity and a spirit of restlessness in the young, and the restraint of school is necessary to curb that restlessness".²

The editor called for the enforcement of compulsory education as London County Council - an area he deemed "more liable to Nazi barbarism than any in Scotland" - proposed to do early in 1941.

With distinguished educationists such as Sir William McKechnie commenting that the figures revealed "how grievously education has suffered since the outbreak of hostilities",³ The Evening Citizen - a newspaper not given to devoting space to educational matters - focussed attention upon Glasgow's educational situation in a series of articles by a head with emotive banners - 'Let the Children Go to School', 'The Half-time Lessons Must Go' and 'Check the Mental Malnutrition'.⁴ The situation, he believed, was "bewildering and disquieting".

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1. S.E.J., 13 December, 1940.
 2. Ibid.
 3. T.E.S., 21 December, 1940.
 4. Evening Citizen, 8, 9 and 10 January, 1941.

"In one street the children are having only two hours daily in school, but round the corner they are on full-time. One school is completely taken up by A.R.P. services and the children scattered; a second is partly occupied by the military; a third is proceeding as usual".¹

These apparent inconsistencies had been "largely brought about by departmental muddling and Government stubbornness against any change of policy to suit rapidly-changing conditions". Parents were concerned at the denial of full-time education to their children which was being provided in unprotected schools in Paisley, Rutherglen, Motherwell and Wishaw and other surrounding areas. This denial was "not only depriving them of what Scotland has come to regard as a birthright, but is endangering their chances of success in later life... threatening to undermine the discipline and character-training for which Scots' schools have gained an enviable reputation". The writer demanded the immediate restoration of full-time education in the city, a more rapid shelter-construction programme, the removal of all "outside bodies" from the schools and the readiness of plans for "orderly and progressive evacuation".² But not all observers were so depressed; The Scottish correspondent of The Times Educational Supplement, despite some of the figures, took a less gloomy view, arguing that "in the midst of war, it is surely no small matter that so large a proportion of the children of the big Scottish cities are still receiving the essentials of an elementary education. The percentage of secondary school pupils... is reasonably good."³

The immensity of Glasgow's problem in providing a measure of safety for most of the city's pupils and the progress made in such a short time/

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1. Ibid. 8 January, 1941.
 2. Ibid. 10 January, 1941.
 3. T.E.S., op.cit.

time (see Table 3.6) tended to be overlooked. Mackay Thompson refuted Guy Lloyd's allegation that "there does not appear to be much hope of an immediate improvement in the educational position" there.¹ He pointed out that by mid-December 22,763 post-primary, and 25,230 primary pupils were receiving full-time education compared with 11,523 and 4,016 respectively in mid-March. The number of primary pupils without access to education had fallen from 29,900 to 617 and post-primary from 6,610 to 122 during the same period.² Progress generally, in the major sending areas, had been steady, in the opinion of the Department, but the rate was now declining as expected for further improvement was dependent upon factors which the education authorities were "powerless to control".³

One such factor was the provision of A.R.P. protection. Here there were general difficulties over rate of grant, supply of materials and availability of labour. Even so the speed of progress, as shown in Table 3.7, was variable in the major cities where the major aim was to provide shelters for all the children likely to be present at any one time, some 90 per cent of the school population.⁴ It was recognised as unlikely - manfully as the city authorities struggled - that Glasgow would ever be able to arrange shelter accommodation for more than 100,000 of its 155,000 school children, principally because of restricted playground space. Beset by problems of high buildings in congested places, shelters for nearly 84,000 - some 60 per cent of the school rolls - had, nevertheless, been completed by Christmas, 1940.

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/4. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 30 December, 1940.
 2. There are slight discrepancies between Mackay Thomson's figures contained in Table 3.6 and those given for Glasgow in Table 3.5.
 3. S. R. O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.
 4. Ibid.

The Education Authority, however, had scorned the expedients of re-opening schools before full protection measures had been completed and dispersal to neighbouring tenements and houses as suggested in Circular 155.¹ In contrast, Edinburgh, aided by large open spaces surrounding many of its schools, had provided accommodation for almost 88 per cent. of the city's school population. "In providing protection against air attack (as in other directions)", enthused the Department, "Edinburgh has made outstandingly good progress", attributing it largely "to the energy of the Director of Education, Mr Frizzell..."² Dundee, on the other hand, had proved to be "a difficult Authority"; after a long-delayed start it had increased provision from 35 per cent in April to 58 per cent of the school rolls by mid-December.

Outside the sending areas, the inspectors and A.R.P. authorities found great differences in response in providing adequate protection in schools. They concluded in late 1940 that Angus, Berwick, Dunbarton, Fife, Orkney, Peebles, West Lothian and Aberdeen had acted "generously and well", whereas Argyll, Dundee, East Lothian, Lanark, Midlothian, Perth, Renfrew and Ross and Cromarty had been "slow to meet the full requirements of their schools".³ In the rural and more remote parts of the country A.R.P. measures were provided "on a very modest scale", usually in the form of window-protection, black-out and additional fire-fighting equipment, and it was with understandable reluctance that authorities undertook to build shelters. The adequacy of protection was called into question in various towns such as Kinlochleven, Wick, Dumfries, Cookney, Invergordon and Hawick and there was much public concern/

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/4. op.cit.
 2. S.R.O., ED.25/42, December, 1940, op.cit.
 3. Ibid.

concern about schools in East Lothian and Perthshire. Parents in Peterhead and Fraserburgh refused to send their children to school until shelters were built, whereupon they insisted that pupils be allowed to go home when an 'alert' sounded.¹

In December, 1940 the National A.R.P. Co-ordinating Committee complained to the President of the Board of Education about the low standard of school protection which ranged from shelters and trenches to children crouching under their desks, or dispersing to their homes after an air-raid warning.² Complaints were made about school shelters; many suffered from defects in lighting, damp-proofing, drainage, ventilation, heating and sanitation, threatening the health and education of children. The Committee desired a 100 per cent government grant for school shelters which should be provided for schools in all types of area. The Treasury finally agreed to treat grant-aid for school shelters as favourably as that for public shelters. Grant at the full rate of 100 per cent was now to be paid on expenditure by education authorities on the construction and equipment of shelters for which contracts had been placed since 19 October, on condition that the shelters should, when required, be made available for the use of the general public out of school hours.³

This improvement in grant regulations facilitated the new drive begun at the start of 1941 to provide 'major protection' in all schools as demanded by the National A.R.P. Co-ordinating Committee, particularly in reception/

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1. E.I.S. Papers. J.S. Barron to J. Wishart, 26 March, 1941.
 2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.47.
 3. S.E.D. Memorandum M 190, (19 February, 1941).

reception areas in Scotland.¹ Education authorities were requested to give "clearer indication" in their monthly reports of the protective measures adopted or contemplated for schools in their areas, so as to distinguish between major protection in the form of surface shelters and reinforcement of buildings and minor protection such as window baffling and the slight adaptations of rooms.

As the momentum of the A.R.P. programme in the sending areas slowed, so an ever - increasing proportion of expenditure was incurred in the reception areas (see Table 3.8). Of the £336,103 spent on A.R.P. in Scotland between December, 1940 and February, 1942, the largest share - £132,402 (39.4 per cent) - was devoted to reception areas. By the beginning of September, 1941 the whole of the A.R.P. programme was virtually complete.² As indicated in Table 3.9 the sending areas had surpassed the target of providing shelter accommodation for the number of children likely to be present in the schools at any one time, while in the neutral and receiving areas approximately two-thirds of children in attendance were catered for. In February, 1942 expenditure had ceased in sending and neutral areas and slowed to a trickle in reception areas, although their still remained a residue of some 400 schools - approximately 13 per cent. of total school stock - in rural areas where no protective measures had been taken.³

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1. P.R.O., ED.138/65. S.E.D. Monthly Report for the Secretary of State (Period 23 February to 29 March, 1941).
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/42. July, 1941. op.cit.
 3. In November, 1941 there were 432 schools where no protective measures had been taken. P.R.O. ED.138/65. op.cit. Monthly Report... (Period, 26 October to 29 November, 1941).

The other factor which impeded the return of the schools to a greater degree of normality was the loss of accommodation through requisitioning. By the end of May the Department had made some progress in persuading the service departments to release eleven schools taken over in the first months of the war, but the change in the military situation "postponed further action".¹ After Dunkirk the demands of the armed forces for accommodation were insistent and difficult to resist at such a time of crisis. By August negotiations were in progress for the occupation of a considerable number of schools and Table 3.10 indicates the heavy loss of schools incurred in the summer months of 1940 to the military, compared with the relatively constant number occupied by the civil defence authorities. At the end of March 35 were wholly, and eighteen partly, occupied by H.M. Forces but by the end of the year the figures stood at 83 and 32 respectively. The Department, in the face of these increasing demands, issued a memorandum to inspectors, after consultation with the Scottish Command, suggesting that negotiations for use of schools should, if possible, be completed locally and that they should only be approached if agreement could not be reached, or if provisional arrangements would involve "a serious interference with the education of the child".² The Air Ministry and the Admiralty were requested to adopt the same procedure. The patriotic response reduced the amount of work falling upon the Department's officials and marked tacit acceptance of "further accommodation of the half-time system of attendance of the children in particular school districts during the winter".³ The difficulties were exemplified/

1 Ibid. Monthly Report... (Period, 29 April to 25 May, 1941).

2. Ibid. Monthly Report... (Period, 28 July - 31 August, 1940).

3. Ibid.

exemplified by Angus Education Authority who reported to the Department that, with the concurrence of the local inspector, they had released Forfar East School to Polish troops "as the cattle pens in which they were previously accommodated were quite unsuitable as winter quarters..."¹ The start of the autumn term produced "some concern" with the educational situation in three areas - Wigtown, Caithness and Dundee - as a consequence of military occupation, which accounted for some 3.4 per cent of Scottish schools by the end of August as compared with almost 2 per cent in March.² The Department believed that the arrangements elaborated to govern negotiations between the military and the educational authorities were operating in a "reasonably smooth manner" and that the services were "to be congratulated on having made a very real effort... to impose as small a burden as possible on education".³

But the burden could be onerous for a small, strategically vital town such as Rosyth. When permission was given to re-open the schools in the sending areas all three Rosyth primary schools were occupied by H.M. forces., although one was subsequently released by the Admiralty and re-opened in January, 1940. Despite the attempts by the Department to secure the release of another school, the military authorities insisted that the premises were required. Further efforts by Parker, working in conjunction with the Board, were also unavailing. As a consequence no Rosyth primary school child was receiving full-time education in April, 1940 and only 10.6 per cent were receiving half-time education.⁴ The majority of Rosyth children were involved in a system/

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/4. Mackay Thomson to J. Westwood, 11 December, 1940.
 2. P.R.O., ED.138/65. Monthly Report... op.cit.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940. op.cit.
 4. S.R.O., ED.25/4. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 11 April, 1940.

system of group instruction which provided 35 minutes for each child each school-day. Even so, 13.6 per cent were without any formal education, although this was because, according to an inspector, the children failed to take advantage of the facilities provided. Colville assured Willie Gallacher, M.P., that he would make further representations to secure the release of the schools, but the Air Ministry refused to release their building, commenting that it was "most unlikely that it will be possible to vacate it till the close of hostilities".¹ Similarly, the Admiralty felt it necessary to retain all their accommodation in the area. "The requisitioning of the schools for naval and air force purposes", concluded Mackay Thomson, "has certainly caused some serious difficulties, but it was unavoidable in the circumstances of the time".² Accommodation problems were to be aggravated in central and north-east Scotland by the onset of the long expected aerial attacks.

3. Relapse:the Clydeside Raids

After the bombing raid on naval units in the Firth of Forth on 17 October, 1939 Scotland, like the rest of Britain, was untouched by heavy aerial attacks which were expected to follow hard upon the outbreak of war. The occupation of Norway in April, 1940, however, brought Scotland well within the range of enemy air-attack. By the end of May north and eastern England was being raided and on 3 July bombs were dropped at Friockheim in Angus. Aberdeen and Greenock suffered raids on 12 July and Victoria Road Primary School in Aberdeen was the first Scottish school to receive bomb damage. Thereafter raids were frequent in the coastal districts of east and west Scotland.

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 22 May, 1940.
 2. S.R.O., ED.25/5. Draft letter to Mr Watson, M.P. n.d. (1941).

A long series of 'tip-and-run' attacks on Aberdeen and the fishing towns of the north-east culminated - after a seven month's interval of tranquility - in the heavy night bombing of Aberdeen on 23 April, 1943. Aberdeen, Peterhead and Fraserburgh were the most frequently raided of Scottish towns, but there were intermittent attacks upon Edinburgh, the Lothians, the Merse and Fife. The biggest and most tempting targets were, obviously, in the Clyde basin and between July, 1940 and March, 1941 there were about twenty minor raids, including some on Campbeltown. By the end of February, 1941, 32 schools had been damaged in Scotland - nearly 1 per cent of the stock - with only seven suffering more than superficial damage.¹

Glasgow, the associated Clydeside shipyards and industrial towns, received blitz attacks as the north-western extension of the Luftwaffe's main effort with five heavy raids between mid-March and mid-May, 1941. Clydebank was devastated in raids on successive nights (13/14 and 14/15 March). William Barry, headmaster of St. Ninians High School, Kirkintilloch recounted his experiences of the raids:

"14th March: Out of 1000 pupils on roll... not more than 500 attended. All night the sirens had been sounding and shrapnel from our anti-aircraft batteries about this north side of Glasgow had been falling. German planes had been coming in from the East and being a moon-light night they could follow the line of the Forth and Clyde Canal to Bowling. Neither the children nor their parents got much sleep. Decided to close school at 1 p.m. as teachers were on nerves, some from Clydebank area had wired to say their houses had been destroyed, others had been on fire-watching duty and had had harrowing experiences. At noon a telegram arrived instructing us to be prepared to receive and house 800 evacuees by 5 p.m.

Teachers/

1. A brief, general survey of German air-raids on Scotland is contained in the Thomas Johnston Papers, Acc.5862(9), 'Scotland at War'. See also S.R.O., HH.36/5. Raids on Clydeside on 5/6th and 6/7th. May, 1941.

Teachers worked all afternoon and evening, with just a short respite... removing desks and etc. out of classrooms and fitting them up as dormitories ... Meeting of staff of 32: arranged them into a rota of 8 hours each to cover 24 hours. All agreed, even those in the 50's among the women refused to be exempted... At 6 p.m. evacuees arrived, and... were fed in relays of 100 at a time and then shown their classrooms and camp beds...

During the night about 11 p.m. the German planes came over for their second attack on Clydebank and the contiguous Glasgow area. The teachers reported to me that all the evacuees as if by agreement and arrangement were lifting their beds and trekking for the large assembly hall, feeling safety in all being together... Until the 18th we had all those people... The boys and girls who normally attended school played a great part as co-operators with the teachers. All other organisations had broken down at this time in spite of all the rehearsals and preparation...

The children amongst the evacuees were the least disturbed by their experiences and seemed to have lost all sense of fear. Their reactions surprised us all: they were the least upset of any..." 1

All but seven of the burgh's 11,945 houses were damaged, or destroyed and 35,000 out of the 47,000 population were without homes. Casualties were higher than they might have been; the town had been largely evacuated of women and children in September, 1939 but all, except 300, had returned by the time of the raids.² Eleven schools were damaged, eight so badly as to render them unusable. The town's nocturnal population dropped from 47,000 to 2,000; and as Titmuss drily remarks, "Where they all went to no one knew".³

A big attack on Belfast (15 April) was preceded by "fairly severe skirmishing/

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1. E.I.S. Papers, William Barry to A.J. Belford.
 2. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy. op. cit., p.313. 528 people were killed, 617 injured and treated in hospital, and 426 attended first-aid posts. R.M. Titmuss, op.cit. p.313.
 3. Ibid.

skirmishing raids" (7/9 April) in the Clyde and Lanarkshire areas and as far south as Dumfries-shire in which about 120 people were killed. The final heavy raids in the series were inflicted upon Greenock(5/6 May) in which 321 people died.¹ Of the 24 public schools in the burgh only two - both special schools -remained intact and one, Cartsburn Public School, was completely burned out. Six were extensively damaged but in most of the remainder there was "little interference with ordinary school activities".² With the exception of the rolls of three schools, all Greenock pupils quickly resumed attendance on at least a half-time basis. Bombing, between March and May damaged 117 Scottish schools, mostly in western areas, and approximately 20 per cent of this number seriously.³

The raids on Glasgow and the Clydeside districts led to Scotland's second, and last, evacuation and, as little remained of the 1939 exodus, much of the work had to be done a second time. The limited scheme elaborated in the early months of 1940 was put into operation in Glasgow and Clydebank, and the burghs of Greenock, Port Glasgow and Dumbarton were added to the list of evacuable areas.⁴ A small scale evacuation was also mounted in Edinburgh. The scheme worked smoothly and, as some had confidently predicted, the bombings changed the attitude of many householders in reception areas towards accommodating evacuees, though, strangely, there was no immediate addition to the 15,000 registered for evacuation by 29 March, 1941.⁵ By June, the authorities/

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1. Thomas Johnston Papers, op.cit., p.30.
 2. P.R.O., ED.138/65 op.cit., Monthly Reports... (Period 27 April - 31 May, 1941).
 3. Ibid.
 4. See Chapter Two.
 5. Glasgow Herald, 29 March, 1941.

authorities concluded that "evacuation could be carried out effectively and expeditiously whenever and wherever the need arose".¹ A count in July revealed that some 142,000 people, including 58,000 school-children, were billeted in Scottish reception areas with Glasgow contributing 120,000.² As the aerial threat seemingly receded so the numbers fell: in December, 1942 there were 39,701³ and in June 1944 - a few months before the termination of the evacuation scheme - 22,238 of which 12,659 were children, though not all of school-age.⁴

The Clydeside raids marked the end of a year's recovery in the Scottish educational system. "Their effects," claimed the Department "were deep and far-reaching".⁵ In the raided areas damage to homes forced many families to move away. In Glasgow it was difficult for the authorities to keep track of children who moved from one quarter of the city to another and whole families disappeared after making private arrangements with friends and relatives. These migrations were quite large: over 2,000 children left the raided areas of Renfrewshire, only 800 moving under the official scheme; and the roll of Glasgow schools fell from 152,000 in February to 113,000 in May, 1941, despite the fact that many of the migrants were still within the city.⁶

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1. W. Boyd, op.cit., p.35.
 2. Manchester Guardian, 21 August, 1941.
 3. E.I.S.Papers. D.H.S., Government Evacuation Scheme and Emergency Relief Organisation. Return of Number of Evacuated and Homeless Persons Billeted or otherwise Accommodated at Government Expense... 30 June, 1942.
 4. Ibid... 7 April, 1945.
 5. S.R.O., ED.24/42. July, 1941. op.cit.
 6. Ibid.

The influx of refugees and evacuees into surrounding areas caused severe problems in the schools for a short time. Vale of Leven schools bore the brunt of the arrival of 14,000 Clydeside evacuees; eight schools were pressed into service as rest centres in March and all available halls were used as recreational centres.¹ Townhead School, in Kirkintilloch, had nearly 1,000 pupils on roll in early May as against 750-800 normally, with newcomers hailing not only from Clydeside but also from London and the Channel Islands. Even with half-timing some of the school's primary classes had as many as 70 or 80 pupils to a classroom.² The number of children at school in Bute rose from 3,200 in March to 5,200 in June; the pre-war school population was 1,900. In Ayrshire the rolls of two schools trebled and those of at least twelve doubled. Evacuees from Clydeside reached all parts of Scotland and occasioned half-timing in areas as far away as Dumfriesshire and Perthshire.³ Crieff Public School - already overcrowded with 700 on the roll - was compromised by the seemingly unexpected arrival of 191 secondary pupils from St. Mungo's, Glasgow, together with 92 primary pupils. "At Glasgow they had had nineteen months in which to organise their evacuation", observed the clerk of the local school management committee, "and the result was nothing but absolute chaos".⁴

The numbers of evacuated children from Glasgow diminished rapidly with the coming of the summer holidays and the absence of further bombing - only 32,000 remained away from home at the beginning of September, compared/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/201. District Medical Officer to Secretary, S.E.D., 29 April, 1941.
 2. Kirkintilloch Herald, 7 May, 1941.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/42. July, 1941. op.cit.
 4. Strathearn Herald, 12 April, 1941.

compared with 46,000 at the end of June.¹ A survey of educational provision in one Glasgow ward undertaken by the E.I.S. in the early autumn, and characterised as typical of the city, revealed that less than 6 per cent of the school population was classified as officially, or privately evacuated, although a quarter had left in the spring.²

Notwithstanding the heavy air-raids, the Scottish educational system displayed considerable powers of resilience. By June, 1941, when the Department were able to collect and collate school statistics again after a three months' interval because of administrative dislocation in some raided areas, the relapse had been halted (see Table 3.3) though generalisations must be tempered by the fact that 'full-time' attendance was now defined as four instead of six, hours at school.³ Over the country as a whole, although the school population had dropped slightly, the number of children in full-time education had risen by 8 per cent, that of children in half-time education had fallen by over 7 per cent, while the already small numbers receiving less than half-time education, or no education at all, had decreased still further. The receiving areas had absorbed the shockwave of the second evacuation: their school population had risen by over 12 per cent, but the number in full-time education had dropped by less than two per cent with a corresponding rise in half-timing. In the sending areas, despite the bombing, but helped perhaps by the fall in the school population, the number of pupils in full-time education rose dramatically from one in two to three in four children with a consequent fall in half-timing. The neutral areas too, successfully managed to regain their February position and/

1. The Scotsman, 11 September, 1941.

2. E.I.S. Papers. Educational Provision in one Ward in Glasgow, October, 1941.

3. S.E.J., 7 March, 1941.

and even slightly increase the number of children in full-time education.

The quantitative effects of the long-expected air-attacks do not seem to justify the contemporary import accorded to them by the Department. They brought only a temporary disruption in the educational system which was steadily recovering in 1940-41 from the upheavals and governmental indecisiveness in the first months of the war. Serious though the Clydeside and subsequent raids were in terms of loss of life and damage to property, they materially affected only some 145 schools - 4.5 per cent of the stock - and only 25 were seriously damaged.¹ In comparison, nearly 20 per cent of English and Welsh primary and secondary schools had been damaged or destroyed by July, 1941.²

More troublesome in the long-term to the restoration of full-time education for the 14 per cent of Scottish schoolchildren so deprived were the activities of the emergency relief and civil defence organisations in preparation for further raids. By the end of 1941 there were 2,700 rest centres in Scotland staffed by 60,000 voluntary workers and providing accommodation for 300,000 homeless people. These were backed by 220 information centres sited, for the most part, in libraries, schools and halls with an enrolment of 5,000 volunteers. This structure relied heavily upon the educational service; teachers contributed their services to these organisations and the number of schools occupied wholly, or in part, remained at high level - some 6.3 per cent - until early 1943. Apart from the one heavy raid upon Aberdeen /

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1. Figures extracted from P.R.O., ED.138/65. Monthly Reports... op.cit.
 2. By the end of 1941, 4,468 English and Welsh schools had suffered bomb damage, approximately 1,000 seriously. By the war's end 4,207 had incurred minor, and 1,271 serious damage (some 23 per cent of stock) P.R.O., ED. 138/64. School Buildings, 1941-1945.

Aberdeen in April, 1943 which damaged 24 schools, the operational efficiency of the emergency and civil defence organisations was never seriously tested after the spring of 1941.¹ This gave a valuable respite to the Scottish educational service not enjoyed in parts of England where, even when the end of the war was in sight, life was disrupted by further evacuation in the face of V1 and V2 attacks.²

Reviewing the educational situation at the end of the second wartime school session, The Scottish Educational Journal considered it to be "at least better than we dared to hope in the autumn of 1939", although the ebb and flow of evacuation had brought a "constant fluctuation of the school population in any one area from one week to another... which ... taxed to the uttermost the resources of school organisation and the ingenuity of those in charge". In "too many schools, especially those of the cities", education had been "seriously curtailed.

"Requisitioning of buildings, lack of shelter accommodation, wanton slackness on parents' part regarding their children's attendance, and the slowness and reluctance of the existing legal machinery to compel attendance, have had their cumulative evil effects. All this is bound to tell later, in bad habits implanted and in lack of grounding in the basic subjects".³

A leading article in the Glasgow Herald in August concluded that "the educational position in Scotland today might have been a great deal worse... (and) gives small cause for despondency".⁴

Particular areas of the educational system were, however, suffering disproportionately/

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1. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.319.
 2. See P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., Chapter 3.
 3. S.E.J., 18 July, 1941
 4. Glasgow Herald, 16 August, 1941.

disproportionately from the effects of war. The E.I.S. survey of 23 special schools in Glasgow in September, 1941 showed that their pre-war population of 4,614 children had been about halved and that the absence of a quarter of the pupils could not be accounted for, although 43 pupils were described as "roaming the streets". Their staffs had been reduced by 55 per cent and the lowly status of these institutions underlined by the transfer of 49 teachers to teach in 'ordinary' schools.¹

4. Recuperation: 1941-1945.

The Clydeside raids caused " a widespread disturbance of educational arrangements, the readjustment of which constituted... the main problem of the year 1941".² The following year was characterised by the Department as one of "leeway made up, of positive advance, and of direct assistance with the nation's war-effort".³ Thereafter, for the remainder of the war the Scottish educational system - unhindered by further heavy aerial attack and subsequent evacuation - made steady progress towards a complete restoration of full-time education for all schoolchildren, though seriously hindered by a shortage of manpower, buildings and equipment.

The shortage of teachers, particularly in specialist subjects, remained an intractable problem for central and local education authorities beyond the end of the war and is considered in greater detail in Chapter Five.

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1. E.I.S. Papers. Return from the Special Schools in Glasgow, September, 1941.
 2. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Year 1941, Cmd. 6370 (1941-42), p.5. Hereafter cited as 'Summary Report, 1941'.
 3. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Year 1942, Cmd. 6452 (1942-43), p.3. Hereafter cited as 'Summary Report, 1942'.

The position with regard to the occupation of school buildings for non-educational purposes materially improved after 1943, as Table 3.11 indicates. By the end of 1941 the various government departments concerned had realised that "education was not to be pushed aside when competing with more spectacular demands".¹ The consent of local educational interests, the inspectorate, or of the Department was first to be obtained and, if agreement could not be reached, then arbitration was to decide the issue.

While this regularisation of procedure stabilised a difficult situation, it did nothing to improve the severe accommodation shortage in certain Scottish areas, particularly the cities, though several counties escaped requisitioning.² Indeed, pressure upon accommodation was greatest in 1942 when much inconvenience and curtailment of educational activities resulted from an increase in partial, or complete, occupation.³ A variety of emergency accommodation, such as church halls, was pressed into service with the consequent dispersal of schools affected over considerable areas. In Aberdeen, 27 out of 40 schools were totally, or partially, occupied, displacing 25 per cent of the primary and 14 per cent of the post-primary, school population.⁴ In Glasgow, an E.I.S. survey/

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1. P.R.O., ED.138/64. School Buildings, 1941-1945.
 2. No schools were requisitioned in Berwickshire, Clackmannan, Dumfriesshire, Kincardineshire, Midlothian, Peebles, Selkirk, Sutherland and Wigtown although some were prepared for use in an emergency. E.I.S. Papers. Schools not wholly used for Educational Purposes, June, 1942.
 3. Apart from providing various forms of accommodation for the armed services, schools were used as National Fire Service bases, air-raid posts, information centres, rest-centres, first aid posts, Home Guard quarters, crash hospitals, decontamination posts, Fire Guard, Wardens' Service, and storage places for food, emergency rations and furniture. One school became a workers' hostel under the auspices of the S.S.H.A. and another operated, in part, as a civic restaurant.
 4. Ibid.

survey in 1942 revealed that 6 per cent of the buildings of 184 schools were completely, and 17 per cent partially, occupied.¹

Though such disturbance caused much irritation, some teachers patriotically endured it: in Caithness, where six of the largest schools had been requisitioned by the military and the D.H.S., the secretary of the local E.I.S. association wrote that "we are all joyously putting up with discomforts in our efforts to beat the despicable Hun".²

As the aerial threat to Scottish cities receded - particularly after the invasion of Europe - the retention of buildings by civil defence authorities became accordingly reduced and schools were returned in increasing numbers so that by the end of the war only 1 per cent remained occupied. General consideration of the ultimate release of all schools arose in 1943 when a government inter-departmental conference was sympathetic to the argument that schools were urgently required by the educational services as evacuees returned, and training colleges required more teaching practice places to train the increased supply of teachers required to carry out the proposed educational reforms. The question of de-requisitioning became even more urgent in 1944 when, with the end of the European War in sight, an inter-departmental committee set up by the Ministry of Works agreed to a recommendation of the Reconstruction Committee that priority should be given to the release of small houses and schools without qualification.³

The return of schools to educational use played a vital part in the virtual restoration of full-time education in Scotland by the end of 1944/

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1. Ibid. Accommodation. Summary of Replies, 1942.
 2. Ibid. D. Campbell to Mr. Wishart, 15 April, 1941.
 3. P.R.O., ED.138/64. op.cit.

1944 as evidenced in Table 3.10. The completion of the A.R.P. programme in schools in the sending areas brought a 77 per cent reduction in half-timing in 1941-1942, so that by the end of 1942, 97 per cent of the school population were in full-time education as then defined. As the war entered its last year this figure rose to over 99 per cent. The remaining pockets of half-timing were the product of localised teacher shortage. Glasgow - for so long an educational wilderness in the early part of the war - shared in the general improvement: in 1945 the City's school roll reached 94 per cent of that in 1939 and attendance at 89.4 per cent its highest level since the last year of peace.¹

Helped by their relative geographical isolation, Scottish schools withstood the physical challenge of total war and the educational system proved strong enough to recover from the setbacks experienced between 1939 and 1941. Quantitatively, the level of Scottish educational provision in 1945 undoubtedly would have surprised the pre-war strategists who put so much emphasis on the bomber's destructive power and its ability to penetrate aerial defences. It was a paradoxical quirk yet a consequence of total war that, after 1941, the greatest threat to Scottish schooling proved not to be German bombers but British military and civil defence authorities. The military and economic demands of a total war, however, created pressures upon, and consequent tensions within, the educational system which qualitatively undermined the work of the schools and alarmed the teaching profession.

L. The Corporation of Glasgow Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., p.100.

A. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 3.1: Educational Provision, April - June, 1940.

| PROVISION AT 20 APRIL, 1940 | | | | | | PROVISION AT 15 JUNE, 1940 | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| AREA | No. of children on roll | No. of children receiving:- | | | | No. of children on roll | No. of children receiving:- | | | |
| | | Approx. Full-time | Approx. Half-time | Less than half-time | No Education | | Approx. Full-time | Approx. Half-time | Less than half-time | No Education |
| Sending | 226,800 | 40,700 | 104,000 | 54,600 | 27,500 | 232,100 | 50,000 | 143,000 | 25,900 | 12,800 |
| Neutral | 202,100 | 129,300 | 72,700 | 100 | - | 200,500 | 184,500 | 15,900 | 100 | - |
| Receiving | 313,800 | 307,700 | 6,100 | - | - | 309,000 | 303,200 | 5,800 | - | - |
| Total | 742,700 | 477,700 | 182,800 | 54,700 | 27,500 | 741,600 | 537,700 | 165,100 | 26,000 | 12,800 |

Source: P.R.O. ED.138/65. Monthly Reports to the Secretary of State (Periods 29th April - 25th May; 26th May - 29th June)

A. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 3.2: Educational Provision, October - December, 1940

| PROVISION AT 19 OCTOBER, 1940 | | | | | | PROVISION AT 14 DECEMBER, 1940 | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| AREA | No. of children on roll | No. of children receiving:- | | | | No. of children on roll | No. of children receiving:- | | | |
| | | Approx. Full-time | Approx. Half-time | Less than half-time | No Education | | Approx. Full-time | Approx. Half-time | Less than half-time | No Education |
| Sending | 219,300 | 87,200 | 114,600 | 12,800 | 4,700 | 219,700 | 100,000 | 105,500 | 11,200 | 3,000 |
| Neutral | 215,700 | 186,400 | 28,200 | 900 | 200 | 218,100 | 188,200 | 29,300 | 500 | 100 |
| Receiving | 306,400 | 278,000 | 24,700 | 3,000 | 700 | 306,000 | 278,400 | 25,400 | 1,800 | 500 |
| Total | 741,400 | 551,600 | 167,500 | 16,700 | 5,600 | 743,800 | 566,500 | 160,200 | 13,500 | 3,600 |

Source: P.R.O. ED.138/65. op.cit. (Periods 27th October - 30th November; 1st - 28th December, 1940)

A. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 3.3 Educational Provision, February - June, 1941

| PROVISION AT 15 FEBRUARY, 1941 | | | | | | PROVISION AT 15 JUNE, 1941 | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| AREA | No. of children on roll | No. of children receiving:- | | | | No. of children on roll | No. of children receiving:- | | | |
| | | Approx. Full-time | Approx. Half-time | Less than half-time | No Education | | Approx. Full-time | Approx. Half-time | Less than half-time | No Education |
| Sending | 221,700 | 110,200 | 101,100 | 8,200 | 2,200 | 194,644 | 145,196 | 44,636 | 1,976 | 2,836 |
| Neutral | 218,300 | 189,600 | 28,000 | 600 | 100 | 202,897 | 179,187 | 23,693 | 1 | 16 |
| Receiving | 302,200 | 280,400 | 21,100 | 600 | 100 | 339,580 | 309,847 | 29,513 | 147 | 73 |
| Total | 742,000 | 580,200 | 150,200 | 9,400 | 2,400 | 737,121 | 634,230 | 97,842 | 2,124 | 2,925 |

Source:

P.R.O. ED.138/65. op.cit. (Periods, 26th January - 22nd February, 28th September - 25th October)

A. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 3.4 : Educational Provision, 1941 - 1945

| December | No. of children on roll | Number of children receiving:- | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| | | Full-time Educ. | Half-time Educ. | Less than half-time Education | No Education |
| 1941 | 738,221 | 667,218 | 69,295 | 643 | 665 |
| 1942 | 735,784 | 719,492 | 15,986 | 293 | 13 |
| 1943 (Sept) | 737,288 | 726,497 | 10,787 | - | 4 |
| 1944 | 738,914 | 735,988 | 2,926 | - | - |
| 1945 (June) | 735,892 | 732,525 | 3,367 | - | - |

Source: P.R.O.,ED.138/65, op.cit. (Periods, 30th November - 27th December, 1941; 27th December, 1941 - 30th January, 1942; 30th August - 25th September, 1943; 27th November - 30th December, 1944; and 28th May - 30th June, 1945).

A. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 3.5 : Educational Provision in the Scottish Cities, December, 1940

| AREA | Roll | Primary pupils | | | Secondary pupils | | | |
|----------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| | | Full-time educ. | Half-time educ. | Less than half-time education | Roll | Full-time educ. | Half-time educ. | Less than half-time education |
| Aberdeen Burgh | 18,500 | 11,000 | 7,500 | - | 6,425 | 5,225 | 1,200 | - |
| Edinburgh | 36,903 | 26,341 | 10,436 | 126 | 11,908 | 10,983 | 925 | - |
| Glasgow | 119,431 | 25,837 | 85,645 | 11,949 | 31,402 | 21,576 | 9,242 | 584 |
| Dundee | 18,463 | 2,577 | 13,804 | 2,082 | 4,866 | 4,532 | 220 | 114 |

Source: Hansard (Commons) 5th. series, 367, 416-418, 3 December, 1940.

A. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

TABLE 3.6: Educational Provision in Glasgow, March-December, 1940

| 1940 | Primary Pupils Receiving:- | | | | | Secondary Pupils Receiving:- | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------|
| | Full-time education | Half-time education | Less than half-time | No education | Total | Full-time education | Half-time education | Less than half-time | No education | Total |
| 15 March | 4,016 | 23,772 | 53,511 | 29,900 | 111,119 | 11,523 | 10,669 | 3,753 | 6,610 | 32,555 |
| 14 June | 15,109 | 80,081 | 18,723 | 4,951 | 118,864 | 16,633 | 11,186 | 791 | 781 | 29,391 |
| 14 September | 21,373 | 78,410 | 12,201 | 3,559 | 115,543 | 21,150 | 11,617 | 624 | 631 | 34,022 |
| 16 November | 23,837 | 83,645 | 11,116 | 833 | 119,431 | 21,576 | 9,242 | 450 | 134 | 31,402 |
| 14 December | 25,230 | 83,271 | 10,128 | 617 | 119,246 | 22,763 | 8,673 | 368 | 122 | 31,926 |

Source: S.R.O., ED.25/4 Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State
30 December, 1940.

B. A.R.P. PROVISION

TABLE 3.7 : A.R.P. Provision in Sending Areas April - December, 1940

| Education Authority | Estim. No. of public remaining in area. | Shelter provision at 30 April, 1940 | | | | Estim. No. of public remaining in area | Shelter provision at 14 December 1940 | | | |
|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------|
| | | com-pleted | In course of cons-truction | to be provided but not begun | Total | | com-pleted | In course of cons-truction | to be provided but not begun | Total |
| Dundee | 21,300 | 7,774 | 4,350 | 2,874 | 14,998 | 22,400 | 13,011 | 1,020 | - | 14,031 |
| Edinburgh | 49,000 | 29,290 | - | - | 29,290 | 48,200 | 42,226 | - | - | 42,226 |
| Glasgow | 147,000 | 63,053 | 13,420 | 5,419 | 81,892 | 140,100 | 83,832 | 2,901 | 730 | 87,463 |
| Dunbarton | 7,200 | 1,500 | 5,275 | - | 6,775 | 6,600 | 6,527 | - | - | 6,527 |
| Fife | 1,880 | 1,140 | 100 | - | 1,240 | 2,000 | 1,152 | - | - | 1,152 |
| West Lothian | 335 | 100 | - | - | 100 | 400 | 100 | - | - | 100 |

Source : P.R.O., ED.138/65, op.cit. (Periods, 26th May - 29th June; and 1st - 28th December, 1940)

B. A.R.P. PROVISION

TABLE 3.8: A.R.P. Expenditure, December, 1940 - February, 1942

| Area | Estimated costs at 14 Dec.1940 | % | Estimated costs at 28 Feb.1940 | % |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|
| Sending | £474,358 | 50.5 | £586,191 | 46.0 |
| Neutral | £275,938 | 29.4 | £367,806 | 28.8 |
| Reception | £188,880 | 20.1 | £321,282 | 25.2 |
| Total: | £939,176 | | £1,275,279 | |

Source: P.R.O., ED.138/65. op.cit., (Periods, 1st - 28th December; and 1st - 28th February, 1942).

B. A.R.P. PROVISION

TABLE 3.9: Major A.R.P. Protection, 31 August, 1941

| Area | Approx. No. on roll. | Max. No. in attendance at any one time. | Completed protection | Protection under construction or contemplated |
|-----------|----------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Sending | 201,714 | 173,650 | 175,799 | 7,648 |
| Neutral | 188,748 | 174,013 | 121,691 | 9,171 |
| Receiving | 189,855 | 179,162 | 117,426 | 20,142 |

Source: P.R.O., ED.138/65 op.cit., (Period 31st August - 27th September, 1941).

C. OCCUPATION OF SCHOOLS

TABLE 3.10: Occupation of Schools by H.M. Forces and Civil Defence Authorities, 31 March, 1940 - 27 December, 1941

| | | 1940 | | | 1941 | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | 31 Mar. | 31 Aug. | 28 Dec. | 29 Mar. | 30 Aug. | 27 Dec. |
| H.M. Forces | Wholly occupied | 35 | 78 | 82 | 79 | 81 | 81 |
| | Partly occupied | 18 | 26 | 32 | 32 | 30 | 31 |
| Civil Defence Auth. | Wholly occupied | 13 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 19 | 19 |
| | partly occupied | 172 | 172 | 172 | 172 | 172 | 172 |

Source: ED.138/65.op.cit (Periods, 29th April - 25th May; 28th July - 31st August; and 1st - 28th December, 1940. 23rd February - 29th March; 29th July - 30th August; and 30th November - 27th December, 1941)

C. OCCUPATION OF SCHOOLS

TABLE 3.11: Schools used for non-educational purposes, 1941 - 1945.

| December | wholly occupied | Partly occupied | Total | Percentage of school stock |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|----------------------------|
| 1941 | 97 | 226 | 323 | 10 |
| 1942 | 74 | 271 | 345 | 11 |
| 1943 | 71 | 251 | 322 | 10 |
| 1944 | 48 | 144 | 192 | 6 |
| 1945 | 9 | 46 | 55 | 1 |

Source: S.E.D. Summary Reports, 1941 - 1945.

SCOTTISH SCHOOLS IN WARTIME

How did the Second World War affect the daily life, activities and efficiency of Scottish Schools? The conflict was characterised as a 'total war'; it impinged upon the lives of all the British population and the working of its institutions including, as we have seen, the educational systems. Scotland's geographical position and the distribution of her population ensured that the material damage done to her schools was, in general, much less in scale and extent than that incurred in England and Wales. Nevertheless, the evacuation severely dislocated educational services, particularly in Glasgow which, in many respects, was the most unfortunate city in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the city's educational provision was affected for the duration of the war and many disadvantaged children failed to receive a sufficiency of education and the benefits of its ancillary services. Yet great stretches of Scotland, such as the reserved areas north of the Caledonian Canal, were unaffected by evacuation and its attendant problems.¹ In these relatively remote areas educational life undoubtedly continued much as before the war, although shortages of various kinds - particularly teachers - were increasingly to impair the educational efficiency of both rural and urban schools. The war, despite difficulties and hardships, brought new educational opportunities in the schools for some teachers; the teacher's role inevitably widened as a product of his unique position which the Government gratefully utilised in numerous efforts to mobilise the population. This widening role was not uniformly welcomed: a strong proportion of Scottish teachers resented the intrusion of what they regarded as peripheral activities in the essential task of education which /

1. S.R.O. ED.24/42. March, 1940 op.cit.

which reduced their effectiveness.

The war, however, brought for some a new awareness of the importance of the educational process. At one level educationists, politicians and members of the public were forced to consider anew the requirements of the systems if they were to play a fundamental part in the reconstruction of the social and economic life of the country. At another, and, perhaps, as a consequence of rising prosperity for sections of the community during the war, there was an increasing awareness of the value of education among the more economically and socially aware which was reflected in the growing proportion of secondary school pupils seeking to stay longer at school and take public examinations in the later stages of the war in England and Wales and Scotland. But for other sections of the population, for the socially inadequate, the turmoil reduced the hold of the schools - tenuous though it might have been - on their children. The schools lost, as Titmuss puts it, some of their power as a 'civilising agent' - a societal role of particular importance for the children of inadequate families.¹ Congregated in the cities and thus victims of the closure of schools, their standards of literacy suffered though the objective evidence to support this contention with regard to Scotland is difficult to find. The State, driven by the perceived necessity of evacuation, gained temporarily a strengthened grip on a small number of these children through the experiment of camp schools, but, riven by administrative difficulties, they largely failed to make any educational impact, exhibiting, like the general evacuation, the clash of cultures and values. Additionally, the war, in encouraging employment possibilities for the young, brought a great increase in the number of temporary /

1. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.410.

temporary and permanent exemptions which, perhaps, worked to the educational detriment of the less-adequate pupils. Gosden has commented that the war "apparently had the effect of increasing both the proportion of children who got very little and the proportion who won a great deal from the schools. In other words, the war seems to have had a polarising effect in increasing the size of these minority groups at the two extremes."¹ Did Scotland experience such a polarisation and, if so, was it as marked as in England and Wales?

1. Camps, Hostels and Allied Schools

The use of camps and hostels to house evacuees had received considerable support in the press in early 1939 as the possibility of war and the problems of evacuation came increasingly to claim public attention. The Camps Act of May, 1939 authorised the construction of camps and entrusted the task to two companies - the National Camps Corporation (for England and Wales) and the Scottish Special Housing Association (for Scotland).² The aim was to build camps for use by school parties, or holiday-makers, in peace-time; in the event of war, it was believed that they could be used to house temporarily inhabitants driven from the cities by heavy bombing. The five camps planned for Scotland - Broomlee and Middleton were to serve Edinburgh; Aberfoyle (Dounans) and Glengonnar, Glasgow; and Belmont, Dundee - were not complete at the outbreak of war but were commissioned in 1940. The absence of heavy aerial attack in the early months of the war raised the question of who should use them. The debacle of the first evacuation had revealed a high proportion of children with physical or psychological problems and hostels had been successfully employed "to take the grit out of the evacuation machinery".³ Even so, the/

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1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.72.
 2. 2 & 3 Geo. 6, c 22.
 3. W. Boyd, op.cit., p.192.

the annoyance of some householders at the state of cleanliness and habits of evacuees and the subsequent newspaper campaigns in favour of pressing large houses and camps into service in the event of further evacuation, persuaded the authorities to use the Scottish camps for indefinite periods of occupation by groups of schoolchildren.

This obvious solution to some of the mounting problems of billeting and accommodation proved to be rather less than universally popular with both pupils and teachers. Camp rolls fell quickly and dramatically. Belmont, opened in June, 1940, with a full complement of 360 children, but by the end of November this number had sunk to 124.¹ Shrinking rolls and high pupil-turnover alarmed the D.H.S., the S.E.D and the local authorities; and Dundee Education Committee requested a special report by the Deputy Medical Officer of Health in 1941 on Belmont.²

The weaknesses of the camps quickly became apparent. With the exception of Belmont, they were remote and isolated; the children became home-sick, though "more often the parents became child-sick and removed their family even against the will of the (children)".³ Belmont, however, was so close to Dundee that parents entered the camp at will and removed their children. The "better class" of parents, who believed in evacuation, quickly became dissatisfied with the physical condition of the camps and the quality of care and attention given to their children. Controversies over discipline, the dismissal of a few children for "bad misconduct", the existence of problems such as bed-wetting and high staff turn-over, earned the camps unsavoury reputations that were never /

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1. S.R.O. ED.18/3142. Dundee. Belmont Camp School.
 2. Ibid. J.R. Cameron, Director of Education for Dundee to Mackay Thomson, 13 October, 1941.
 3. Ibid. J.S.W. Boyle, H.M.I., to Jardine, 19 September, 1940.

never lived down. Deputy Medical Officer of Health, James A. Cuthbert, commented:

"The tendency has... been towards an accumulation of the 'tougher' lads... many of them take very unkindly to the routine of camp life. They object to routine bathing and washing, regular meal hours, early retiring to bed, lights out and so on. Many criticise the admirable dietary provided - they have been accustomed to more potato chips and odd 'pieces' with tea".¹

The camps increasingly became repositories for children too difficult to billet for social, physical, psychological or religious reasons.

"The type of parent," noted H.M. inspectors on Belmont in November, 1940, "who is now applying for admission of children is very poor and there is a marked increase in the proportion of Roman Catholic families".²

The children, moreover, aged usually between five and thirteen years, came to the camps from many schools within the cities and lacked any sense of identity. The decision to give the camps an ad hoc complement of infant, primary and eventually, some secondary pupils contributed also to their educational failure. It differed from that taken in England and Wales, where the camps were used as senior central, or secondary, schools for older pupils though here too the populations were usually drawn from a number of schools. The English camps experienced similar problems to their Scottish counterparts, but notable success was achieved where the pupils were drawn from one school.³ This differential approach was, perhaps partly because although the camps in both countries/

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1. Ibid. Report by J.A. Cuthbert to Dundee Education Committee, September, 1941. He recommended the use of the schools for short visits by groups of primary pupils of wide social composition but was not supported by the Director of Education.
 2. Ibid. Report by J.S.W. Boyle, H.M.I. and W.A. Robertson, H.M.C.I., n.d. (December, 1940).
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.78.

countries were under the supervision of the health departments, in England the Board of Education had "a greater say" in their use than the S.E.D. in Scotland.¹

A severe disadvantage shared by the Scottish camps was that they were not designed for permanent habitation, lacked adequate winter accommodation and, at times basic necessities such as hot water and electric light, as well as facilities for indoor recreation. Teaching space was generally inadequate and teachers lacked suitable private quarters. The domestic arrangements for each camp were the responsibility of a camp manager and a resident staff who were employed by the S.S.H.A. rather than the local authorities. Hence there were endless occasions for friction and conflicts of jurisdiction between camp and school authorities.

The local authorities regarded the interposing of an ad hoc body between them and the State as an "unfortunate step", and the dual control system caused difficulties in most of the British camps.² In an effort to improve a deteriorating situation in the camps, the three Scottish Education Committees argued the case for unified control with the S.S.H.A. and suggested that if management could not be completely handed over to them, there should be one person - the headteacher - in charge of each camp. The S.S.H.A. countered that although there had been administrative teething problems, these were being rapidly overcome. The difficulties persisted and the education authorities made repeated appeals to the Secretary of State to bring about a change in the administrative structure. The matter was in Under-Secretary Joseph Westwood's sphere of /

1. ED.5/10. Mr Wallace to Murrie, n.d. (1940).
2. W. Boyd, op.cit., pp.161-162; P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., pp.77-78.

of concern and he confessed to having an open mind about dual control. He told representatives of the three authorities that he was "not convinced that any real effort has been made to work dual control", but agreed to meet them and the S.S.H.A. after a further six months if there were more complaints.¹ In August, 1942 he decided against the local authorities.²

Glasgow's Glengonnar Camp School, near Abington, exemplified the difficulties of dual control and was used as a pawn in the political struggle which ultimately led to its closure in November, 1943.³

Converted to accommodate 360 children, by the summer of 1941 relations between the domestic and teaching staff had become so bad that Baillie John Biggar asked his friend Westwood for "a special report on the Camp and on the educational position of the children in it... I'm afraid", he added, "that Glasgow is determined to obtain sole control of these Camps".⁴

A sympathetic inspection conducted in June, 1941 gave a "wholly favourable impression" of the camp educationally despite the bitter administrative wrangles, although the classes were deemed to be retarded by a year.⁵ The friction between the domestic and teaching staff continued: at the start of the 1942-43 academic session a welfare officer reported "the fault... to be with the teachers who seem to have a very narrow conception of education as a whole and show no enthusiasm for taking part in/

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1. S.R.O., ED.18/3561. Glasgow. Glengonnar Camp School. Westwood to Baillie J.M. Biggar, 19 June, 1941.
 2. ED.5/10. H.H. Donnelly to A.M. Armstrong, 7 August, 1942.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid. Biggar to Westwood, 17 June, 1941.
 5. Ibid. A.King, H.M.I. to Mackay Thomson, 23 June, 1941.

in a pioneer educational experiment, and visualising the possibilities".¹ By the end of the school year Glasgow Education Authority officials had requested a sub-committee to withdraw all children from the camp. D.D. Anderson, H.M.I. observed that, "the dual control in such camps makes the position always difficult... I think their decision is justified".² Difficult children of both sexes, a wide age-range, and ill-suited premises made the educational task "supremely difficult" with the teachers not having "a fair chance of success".³

Strenuous efforts were made by the D.H.S., the S.E.D. and Westwood himself to persuade the Glasgow Education Authority to reverse the decision to withdraw and to participate in an enquiry.⁴ But Glasgow's education officials remained obdurate; R.M. Allardyce had already made it plain to the S.S.H.A. that even the removal of the camp warden would not satisfy him as he maintained that "the entire domestic staff were 'spies'... to carry tales about the teachers".⁵ There was a strong element of pique in Glasgow's proposed action at their failure to achieve the end of dual control, although there was some educational basis for the decision in that 40 of the 136 children left in the camp had reached secondary school age and would have to return home. Nevertheless, despite the anxiety of the Scottish Office to retain the Glasgow children in the camp, W.S. Murrie on behalf of the D.H.S. advised Westwood to continue to resist any proposal that would give the city "full control" of/

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1. Ibid. Extracts from Report of Welfare Officer dated 29 October, 1942.
 2. Ibid. D.D. Anderson, H.M.I. to Jardine, 17 July, 1943.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid. Westwood met with representatives of Glasgow Education Committee, the D.H.S., the S.E.D. and the S.S.H.A. in Glasgow City Chambers on 17 Sept., 1943.
 5. Ibid. Informal meeting of representatives of Glasgow Education Committee, the D.H.S., the S.E.D. and the S.S.H.A. 6 September, 1943.

of the camp.¹ Compromise was thus impossible and in October, 1943 Allardyce informed Mackay Thomson officially of the Education Committee's decision to withdraw their children from Glengonnar and resettle them at the Aberfoyle camp and in hostels.²

Each of the Scottish camps, had an unhappy history, with the possible exception of Aberfoyle which appears never to have been officially inspected by the Department. The criticisms made of them were summed up by N.J. Campbell, General Manager and Secretary of the S.S.H.A., when dealing specifically with allegations about the conduct of Broomlee:

"Those who have had much to do with the Camps can appreciate the difficulties of the headmaster in welding together a heterogeneous mob of some 200 children, many of whom were difficult in a variety of ways, many of whom come from unsatisfactory homes, and none of whom had any previous experience of camp life. Difficulties were increased by the dual control system and by the inadequacy of the premises for their purpose... living conditions for the teachers were and still are unsatisfactory. No older teachers are willing to submit to the inconveniences of life in the camps. Inevitably, therefore, the staff from the beginning has been young and inexperienced, and the staffing difficulties were further accentuated by the early calling up for military service of all male teachers except the headmaster".³

Educationally, the S.E.D. had grave reservations about the Scottish camp schools but were naturally anxious to restrict the currency of such views and stress instead any commendable aspects. When in 1941 W.G. Watson, one of the Department's most experienced inspectors, submitted a critical report on Middleton, Mackay Thomson and Jardine were so alarmed/

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1. Ibid. W.S. Murrie to Westwood, 16 September, 1943.
 2. Ibid. Allardyce to Mackay Thomson, 13 October, 1943. Withdrawal was to be completed by 5 November.
 3. S.R.O., ED.18/3278. Edinburgh, Broomlee Camp School.

alarmed as to request him to produce a more agreeable version.¹ This, while retaining the original observations on academic standards, was suitably larded with lyrical descriptions of the camp's surroundings and the benefits that would accrue to the children from communal living and contact with nature.²

Residential schools in Scotland did, however, achieve some success in wartime.³ Cally House, near Gatehouse of Fleet, was recognised on a temporary basis by the S.E.D. in December, 1939 as providing a five-year secondary course after Kirkcudbright and Glasgow Education Committees had decided on "the courageous and unusual step of using this building as a co-educational, residential secondary school for evacuated pupils".⁴ Directly controlled by Kirkcudbright, though financed under the Government's evacuation scheme, 194 pupils in nine mixed classes followed eleven academic courses and of the 42 candidates for the Senior Leaving Certificate in 1940, 39 were successful.⁵ Cally House successfully married the prowess of Glasgow's secondary schools - Hillhead provided a strong pupil and teacher contingent - to the virtues of the English public school tradition. The secondary population, the academic orientation and the continuity of staff were in strong contrast to the experience of the camp schools and other hostels. The experienced Archibald Lang, the Senior Chief Inspector, commented, after visiting the /

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1. S.R.O., ED.18/3279. Edinburgh. Middleton Camp School.
 2. Ibid. W.G.Watson, H.M.I. to Jardine, 23 June, 1941.
 3. The first boarding school for evacuated pupils was established at Lamlash on Arran but the absence of S.E.D. records would seem to suggest that it did not survive very long. S.R.O., ED.24/41. First Report, December, 1939, op.cit.
 4. S.R.O., ED.18/1664. Kirkcudbright Cally House School. Report by A.Lang, H.M.S.C.I., n.d. (June, 1940).
 5. Ibid.

the school in 1940, that:

"It would be premature at this stage to express an opinion of this bold innovation in Scottish education... the visits of inspection... left the impression of a healthy tone in a contented community and of very cordial relations between teachers and taught".¹

When its closure was announced in November, 1944 with the winding-up of the Government's evacuation scheme, a letter of protest from two members of the Former Pupils' Club to the Glasgow Herald brought tributes to the success of the school.² "Nothing," wrote one correspondent, "should be allowed to spoil such a brilliant example of character training and co-education".³ But as Scottish educational law stood at the time, this type of residential school could not be maintained by an education authority and the school closed as planned in December, 1944.

The immediate success of Cally House encouraged Kirkcudbright to propose to the D.H.S., when evacuation was being re-planned in early 1940, to requisition empty houses for use as hostels. Six more houses were taken over, refurbished and made ready to receive evacuees after the Clydeside raids in 1941.⁴ Only Milton Park which housed a unit from Hutcheson's Girls' School in Glasgow, and, perhaps, Netherlaw, achieved a degree of success commensurate with that of Cally House. It would seem that in the remainder the necessary ingredients of homogeneity of population, the sense of identity and purpose, and continuity of staff were overlooked and/

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1. Ibid.
 2. Glasgow Herald, 4 November, 1944.
 3. Ibid. 8 November, 1944.
 4. Milton Park, Netherlaw House, Slogarie House, Broomlands House, Cargen House and Ernespie House. The management of the latter was given to the Glasgow Jewish Mission Board. A further three houses - Airds, Bargaly and Gelston Castle - were requisitioned on behalf of Glasgow Corporation to accommodate physically handicapped and mentally defective children. See W. Boyd, op.cit., pp.136-138.

and the results were disappointing. At one stage, pupils at the Cargen and Slogarie hostels returned to the Glasgow area at a greater rate than those in private billets.¹

Other residential schools were established in Scotland in the war though not under the jurisdiction of the S.E.D. With the defeat of European powers by the German armies in 1939-1940 and the creation of governments-in-exile in Britain, the settlement of various racial groups brought schools in their wake. The first seemingly came to the official attention of the S.E.D. in the summer of 1941 when Dr. T. Sulimirski of the Polish Government-in-exile informed Mackay Thomson, that classes for Polish children in their native language, history, and religion were being held in seven centres in central Scotland, presumably where large numbers of Polish troops were stationed.² In late 1942 the Polish 'Board of Education' notified the British Council of a wide variety of courses and institutions catering for Polish youth in Scotland, ranging from the Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh to the small, private elementary school at Castlemains, Douglas in Lanarkshire.³ The next strongest contingent of exiles in Scotland was that of the Belgians who maintained by the end of 1942 an elementary school at Newton Stewart and an athenaeum at Braemar.⁴ There was also a small number of Norwegians in Scotland and in November, 1942 King Haakon formally opened a boarding school for Norwegian children at Drumtochty Castle at Fordoun in Kincardineshire.⁵

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1. W.Boyd, op.cit., p.150.
 2. S.R.O., ED.26/370. Dr. T. Sulimirski to Mackay Thomson, 7 July, 1941.
 3. Ibid. Dr T. Sulimirski to Miss N. Parkinson, 1 December, 1942.
 4. Ibid. List of Addresses of Belgium Schools in Great Britain, 1 October, 1942.
 5. Ibid. British Council Assistance to Allied Educational Establishments in the U.K. n.d.

Although outwith the official ken of the British education departments, R.A. Butler announced at a meeting of allied ministers of education in January, 1943 that, in the interests of courtesy and co-operation, he had appointed an inspector to visit the allied schools situated in England and Wales.¹ The Polish, Belgium and Norwegian authorities invited the S.E.D. to make similar representative visits in the spring of 1943. "The purpose of these inspections", minuted Mackay Thomson, "is not the conduct of anything in the nature of an inquisition, but rather to give the schools any help that they need, if it is possible to do so, and also to enable the Board and the Department to study the educational methods adopted by the Allied Governments. No formal reports on the visits are expected..."²

The inspectors understandably went out of their way to comment favourably upon the schools and helped in some cases, to promote assistance from local educational agencies. Local relationships were generally strong but difficulties did arise. A French school established at the Smyllum Orphanage, Lanark, came to the notice of the Department in June 1943. "I had the impression", minuted Dr Munro after a visit in October, "that co-operation with the local nuns is not very close, and it would seem, from the French nun's talk, that her pupils, because of her country's defection, have at times been unsympathetically treated by the British orphans at Smyllum".³

2. Educational Gains and Losses

But /

1. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 22 January, 1943.
2. Ibid. Schools conducted by the Allied Governments. Minute by Mackay Thomson, 30 January, 1943.
3. Ibid. Munro to Mackay Thomson, 29 October, 1943.

But what of the mainstream of Scottish education in the war? What were the educational losses and gains brought about by the all-embracing character of the conflict? Such an assessment is rendered difficult, not least by the nature and amount of the evidence. Although the inspectorate compiled four short, general reports on the effects of the war on the schools during the first eighteen months of the conflict,¹ the regular inspection of schools was considerably relaxed by the S.E.D. during the war because of the extra commitments of inspectors. The practice of making formal reports on all schools was discontinued.² Inspections of primary schools were only undertaken in exceptional circumstances as inspectors concentrated upon maintaining the fabric and general standard of primary education in the country. The attempts made to continue regular reports on secondary schools were beset with many wartime difficulties. Such reports as were filed were tempered and qualified, consciously or unconsciously, by the demands made, and the limitations imposed, by war upon the schools. Nevertheless, the comments and observations of, inter alia, teachers and inspectors do permit insights into the wartime life and work of sections of the school population such as the work and attitudes of evacuees and pupils remaining at school to take qualifications; the evidence relating to others, such as early leavers and persistent truants, however, is tantalisingly vague. As to the important question of standards of attainment, while there are numerous subjective observations, there is a lack of more objective large-scale measures. Thus any general conclusions must be seen as tentative and qualified by the severe limitations of the evidence.

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/41. First Report, December, 1939, op.cit; ED.24/42. Reports, March and December, 1940 and July, 1941.
 2. T.R. Bone, School Inspection in Scotland (1968), p.210.

The initial impact of the war in transporting large numbers of city children into the Scottish countryside did permit some immediate comparisons to be made between them and their rural peers. The discrepancies in manners and morals shocked their hosts, but in native ability and achievement, there were contradictory observations. Roderick Barron, H.M.I., commented that evacuated Edinburgh children were "much behind native children of the same (primary) age in reading, writing, spelling, composition and written arithmetic; in mental arithmetic, hand-work and drawing they hold their own".¹ A teacher, asking himself whether the evacuees in his school were "as well-grounded as our stolid ones?", came to a similar conclusion:

"Their written arithmetic is often basically weaker, though in mental money-sums they are quicker and brighter. Their writing is less formed and less careful. Do they know more than ours? Of modern events and personalities, yes - much more; though perhaps they are not so sure about the Petition of Right or John Knox (Does that matter so much, now?) Do they behave well? Admirably. Not that they are silent from strangeness or awe; mostly they are irrepressible in their eagerness to impart information. But they are amenable and obedient and have worked well - perhaps all the better because they are free from 'parental control'?"²

Robert Kerr, H.M.I., after his observations in the Stirling and Clackmannan area, concluded:

"Generally speaking, we seem to be curiously equal throughout Scotland... gross differences between area and area do not appear to exist. We provide a good, hard, slogging type of schooling which produces a presentable product - children who are able to do a sum, to bark at print, to recite a poem without worrying very much about its meaning, to serve up fragments of history and geography; but with little ability as a rule, to listen carefully, to read carefully for information, or to express themselves carefully in speech or writing.... The faults of the evacuees are just those of our own children in this District".³

1. S.R.O., ED.24/41. First Report, December, 1939.

2. S.E.J., 29 March, 1940.

3. S.R.O., ED.24/41. First Report, December, 1940. A few inspectors made comparisons between the small groups of English evacuees and native children, noting "with interest and satisfaction" that, educationally, "Scottish pupils are certainly not less advanced than the English. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940. op.cit.

He was moved to comment upon the methods employed by teachers to achieve this perceived "equality":

"To get the duller children to learn as much as they had learned by the erroneous method which had obviously been employed and which may have been necessary in large classes, methods which had made them what they are now, must have been a herculean task - 'a forced march by a herd of bullocks before a shouting driver whose blows and oaths and indignation fall on the croupe of the ill-fated laggard that cripples in the reek' ". 1

If the teacher was so important, for good or ill, in the educational lives of such children, the return of the evacuees to the cities, particularly Glasgow with its abnormal conditions, must have rendered the educational loss that much the greater.

Such 'objective' enquiries that were undertaken in the war seemed to support the contemporary hypothesis that "the children of the lower intelligence levels are apparently suffering to the greatest extent under war conditions. Bright children are still reaching pre-war standards and in many cases achieving higher standards".² An enquiry reported in The Scottish Educational Journal in March, 1944 compared the spelling ability of two large groups of pupils of qualifying examination age with matched IQ. levels from data gathered in 1937 with that in 1943.³ The achievement of the latter group was significantly poorer "due to the inferior performance of the average and sub-average pupils". This result corresponded with other data collected from achievement tests in English and arithmetic. The researcher concluded that/

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.E.J., 17 March, 1944.
 3. Ibid.

that "there is a lowering in the standard of spelling after four years of war and that this deterioration is most marked among children of average and sub-average intelligence". A.B. Dunlop visited seventeen Glasgow schools of various sizes and types to compare reading attainment in wartime conditions with that in peacetime. His study, undertaken at the height of Glasgow's educational crisis in 1941 - 1942, found that a group of 356 infants who started school in 1940 were more than a year retarded in reading ability - "hardly surprising, in view of the conditions under which the schools had to work for a long period".¹

Such fragmentary evidence supported the earlier observations by inspectors in areas where schools were on short-time. "The loss is greatest", they concluded, "in the more mechanical aspects of the work, in, for example, multiplication tables and spelling, where constant practice is necessary for success".² In general, "clever and eager pupils have suffered little; indeed, on balance, they may have gained by having learned to do for themselves what would normally have been done for them by teachers; those in most need of guidance, the duller and younger pupils, have been seriously hit".³ D.M. McIntosh, Assistant Director of Education in Fife, in his county-wide enquiry based on objective-tests, found that there had been no deterioration of standards in the qualifying classes in primary schools and that standards in arithmetic and aspects of English were being maintained. He concluded that "clever children are... doing even better than before and the weaker pupils are not so well advanced as they were in normal times".⁴

Fife, /

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1. Ibid. 1 May, 1942.
 2. S.R.O., ED. 24/41 First Report, December, 1939, op.cit.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

Fife, however, had not suffered "such general and severe dislocation" as other areas.¹ The inspectorate were in a better position to take a more synoptic view of conditions which, in many areas, were working to the disadvantage of the less able and, frequently, socially deprived children:

"Evacuation, requisitioning of premises and lack of shelter accommodation may have seriously affected the amount of instruction which many children have received...; the prolongation of summer-time throughout the year in combination with the blackout has curtailed the school day everywhere during the winter months; air-raid drill has caused some loss of time; bad attendance and temporary exemptions have impeded steady progress; the teachers who have joined the Forces have been replaced by others who are, on the whole, less well qualified and less familiar with the work; and, finally, the anxieties and sometimes the tragedies of war have reacted on the general atmosphere of the schools".²

Many headteachers believed, early in the war, that the ground lost in the fundamentals could be recovered in a "comparatively short time, perhaps a year".³ Such hopes puzzled the inspectorate who believed it "not flattering to our normal school system to think that the loss... caused by the total, or even partial, suspension of school activities for six months or a year, can be repaired within the compass of a single session".⁴ But where available school-time was curtailed, great emphasis was laid on the 3R's and on physical education in primary schools. The inspectorate testified that "history, geography, art, music, nature study, handwork, poetry - and sometimes even writing - are all suffering".⁵

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- 1 Ibid.
2. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. S.R.O., ED. 24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.

Yet perhaps the effects of the war on attainment can be over-estimated. The Scottish Mental Survey in 1947 which examined, inter alia, the intelligence test scores of over 70,000 pupils born in 1936 concluded that evacuated children who formed 15 per cent of the sample group "seem to have suffered no disadvantage as regards their class in school in 1947".¹ Interestingly, the survey found that "the most advanced children" were those who were evacuated for a period of one and six months though the statistical differences were so small that no significance could be attached to them.² The acceptance of contemporary wartime hypotheses that the effects of the war more severely affected the average and less than average pupils is made more difficult by the proposition in the 1947 survey that, "The extent of retardation is considerably greater than that of advancement; it thus appears that educational policy is to retard the dull child to a greater extent than to advance the bright one".³ If this view is given any credence, it is impossible to filter out the effects of war from those of Scottish educational policy in peacetime.

In the field of secondary education, the five-year secondary schools and divisions were less affected by the war than any other type or section of school. In the cities they were the first to return to full-time education, receiving priority in respect of air-raid provision. Throughout the country their staffs, as they were progressively hit by the demands of the armed forces and industry, were maintained, as far as possible, at the expense of primary and junior secondary schools. Their rolls - particularly in industrial areas - grew in the war years;

Dundee's/

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1. Scottish Council for Research in Education. Educational and Other Aspects of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey (1958), p.37.
 2. Ibid.
 3. J. Maxwell, The Level and Trend of National Intelligence (1961), pp.61-62.

Dundee's four academies, for example, experienced a 14.7 per cent increase in population whereas its former central, or junior secondary, schools lost 6.5 per cent.¹ It was feared that the full effect of the war would become evident in city secondary schools as the conflict continued; the inspectorate believed that deteriorating standards in the primary schools would mean pupils inadequately prepared for secondary education.²

Nevertheless, despite the priority accorded, city secondary schools suffered severe problems in finding accommodation, sufficient staff and, in the early part of the war, retaining pupils. The experience of one secondary school is illustrative: the entire secondary school building at Hillhead High School, Glasgow, was taken over by the military at the beginning of the war:

"The school was evacuated to the Stewartry where 500 pupils remained for a considerable time and where a unit of secondary division pupils was established with a Hillhead staff in Cally House. In town, classes were conducted for two months in various houses, and from November, 1939, up to February, 1940, skeleton classes were held in the secondary school... In March, 1941, the school, which was used as a Rest Centre, was temporarily closed, and in April, 1941 a second evacuation took place. By September, 1941, fairly normal conditions had once more been established. Considerable changes in the staff have taken place, many members having been promoted to positions of responsibility elsewhere".³

Not surprisingly, the numbers in the upper section of the secondary division were decimated with many of the most promising students enlisting in the forces, or in the various short courses established by the Government.⁴

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1. City and Royal Burgh of Dundee. Report of the Director of Education for the Period from 1st. August, 1939 to 31st July, 1945, p.22.
2. S.R.O., ED.24/42 December, 1940, op.cit.
3. S.R.O., ED.18/3534. Glasgow Hillhead High School, 1885-1939.
4. Ibid.

The junior secondary schools and divisions were badly affected by the impact of the war, especially in the sending areas. Their poor academic status was reflected in the low priority accorded to them in the attempts to restore some normality of life in the schools. If the school leaving age had been raised in September, 1939 as intended, they would have had a guaranteed third year for all pupils and thus sustained more worthwhile courses which had been planned in some areas to coincide with the reform. With the advent of war and the increase in employment opportunities, the third year classes "largely melted away"¹; one large school which in peace-time had seven such classes was reduced to one in December, 1940 and this, too, was "dwindling rapidly"². The junior secondary schools remained, in fact, advanced divisions and many decided to retain the old two-year courses rather than truncate the more ambitious, three-year schemes of work.

The rapid growth of war industries and the expansion of the armed forces brought a rising demand for labour and this hit all secondary schools and, particularly the junior secondary schools³. Even in the rural areas of Scotland job opportunities grew; in Inverness-shire, for example, fourteen year old boys could earn 25 shillings (£1.25p) per week in forestry or timber yards⁴. As economic prospects brightened and the financial pressures upon households intensified with/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/42-December, 1940, op.cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. In the session 1938-39, the average number on the roll of Dundee's four central, or junior secondary, schools was 3,777. This fell by 6.5 per cent in the first wartime session, though the Scottish secondary school population fell by only 3.8 per cent in that time. City and Royal Burgh of Dundee, op.cit., p.22.
 4. S.R.O., ED.24/42 December, 1940, op.cit.

with husbands and sons drafted into the services, so the number of exemptions and the evidence of early leaving increased. In crofting and other industries organised on a family basis, the loss of men to the services created vacancies which younger members had to fill. Some girls left school to help at home because their mothers took paid or voluntary work. Many others who would normally have completed a Senior Leaving Certificate course left school early in the war and took clerical and commercial posts. Losses on a "considerable scale" also occurred at the post-Senior Leaving Certificate stage; pupils who normally would have gone to university, or into some other form of higher education, left secondary school before completing a sixth year with the result that in the early stages of the war these classes ceased altogether in some schools.¹ 'Premature withdrawal' was seen as a wartime necessity; the vain hope was that - in the educational interests of the early leavers - intensive efforts would be made "to encourage these pupils to make good their loss in continuation classes or elsewhere."² Teacher shortages and greater demands upon their time, however, made continuation classes difficult to maintain, especially in the later stages of the war.

The growth of permanent exemptions which reached a peak in 1942 (illustrated in Table 4.1) gave education authorities much anxiety. Some, such as Aberdeen city and county, Caithness and Dumfries tried to show a "firm attitude" in the face of increasing parental requests³. Others relaxed their normal regulations "to a greater or lesser extent/

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

extent"; sympathy was extended to pupils who were already aged fourteen but desired to leave school before the prescribed date¹. Some authorities went much further and losses began to occur at 13½ years. In Angus exemption was granted "almost automatically" at 13¾.² Perhaps education's slackening grip was reflected in Edinburgh's decision to discontinue the obligation on exempted pupils to attend continuation classes. The session 1942-43, however, marked a turning-point in the Scottish wartime educational experience; not only did the number of permanent exemptions begin to decline but also, as emphasised later in the chapter, the schools began to retain an ever-increasing number of pupils seeking academic qualifications.

Early leaving, permanent and temporary exemptions undoubtedly contributed to the "restlessness", "inattention" and "lack of concentration" which inspectors commented upon in their reports³. These traits were most noticeable in schools on short-time where many pupils had "lost the habit of steady work":

"But much of the restlessness and inattention shown by pupils of all ages and of all areas is hardly a matter of discipline ... it is a manifestation of the anxiety and excitement of the times. The child who knows his father to be in constant danger or the child who is bravely concealing his apprehension of air-raids may not unnaturally fail, at times, to keep his mind on grammar or on sums. Fatigue brought on by bad ventilation of blacked-out sleeping rooms, is another possible cause of lack of concentration"⁴.

Amongst the older pupils there was a "strong current of restlessness" which the inspectorate found "not surprising, for many of them, both boys/

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

boys and girls, have wartime duties, e.g. civil defence which takes up a good deal of their attention. The older boys cannot fail to be conscious of the fact that they may soon be called upon to assume the responsibilities of men in war."¹

There was a substantial rise in absence from school in many areas in Scotland during the war years. While there was an expanding core of persistent absenteeism, this rise appeared to stem from a greater incidence of casual absence affecting a substantial proportion of the school population at some time or other during each term. In rural areas, as we shall note, there was a reduction in the amount of schooling received at times in areas such as Perthshire because of the employment of so many children on potato-planting and lifting and other agricultural tasks. Concern over attendance was such in Ayrshire that the Education Committee called for a report from the Director of Education in December, 1941 as in the previous academic year "there were unmistakable signs that in certain districts, the regularity, which in most schools had become a tradition in the years of peace, was no longer being secured in time of war"². During the six years prior to the war average attendance in the county was 91.6 per cent; in the 1939-40 academic year this dropped to 90.1 per cent and in 1940-41 to 89.3 per cent. The latter figure implied that on each school-day from September, 1940 to the end of June, 1941 more than a thousand children were absent "for reasons which would not have operated in peace-time."³

Glasgow's/

1. Ibid.
2. S.E.J. 12 December, 1941.
3. Ibid.

Glasgow's attendance figures which, as can be seen in Table 4.2, provided some grounds for anxiety in the last year of peace, sank to new - but not unexpected - low-points in the period 1940-43. In April, 1941 - the very nadir of the city's educational fortunes - only 53 of Glasgow's 212 operative schools recorded average attendances of above 79 per cent; 64 fell below 70 per cent with seven falling below 50 per cent¹. A teacher, writing a letter in May complained:

"As for those (children) who remain in Glasgow, their attendance is ghastly, days off, half-days off, long week-ends follow one another in a nightmarish cavalcade slowly and relentlessly circulating through the roll until there is not a child whose attendance is not a shrieking mockery of education. Prosecutions of course have vanished from the scene. The parents do not even need to thumb their noses at authority for authority does not even care."²

Moreover, as A. King, H.M.I. minuted on being shown this letter after its interception by the Ministry of Information, the malaise was spreading via the evacuees to the reception areas:

"Attendance has suffered since the March blitzes. Large numbers of children have not been traced. They go privately to the country and fail to report to the local school. Even when they do report, their attendance is irregular and unfortunately, as I heard in Rothesay ... the evil is spreading to the local children ... The position is far from satisfactory but it is difficult to suggest a remedy. Education is suffering very severely in consequence."³

The Glasgow authorities were placed in a difficult position and vainly tried the legal machinery to coerce recalcitrant parents; between late March and early June, 1941 322 parents appeared before the Day Schools' Management/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/44. The Corporation of Glasgow (Education Department). Meeting of Sub-Committee on School Attendance ... 9 June, 1941. Statement of Roll and Attendance, etc., at School for Period 5 May to 30 May (both dates inclusive).
 2. Ibid. 'John' to H.J. MacMillan, 18 May, 1941.
 3. Ibid. King to the Secretary, S.E.D., 7 June, 1941.

Management Sub-Committees - 63 were prosecuted and 238 attendance orders pronounced.¹ As the war dragged on so attendance in Glasgow's schools improved and in the last two years returned to above the 80 per cent mark. As part of its campaign to improve attendance, in March, 1943 the Education Committee appointed two special officers "to interrogate children of compulsory age found in or near the centre of the city during normal school hours."² The results of their investigations were sent to district default officers so that the parents might be brought before the Day Schools' Management Sub-Committees. The special officers paid frequent visits to the cinemas where children queued for afternoon performances.

Contemporary observers tended to place responsibility for poor attendance firmly on parental shoulders. "A great many of the parents", observed a Glaswegian in a private letter, "seem to be so disinterested in the welfare of their families."³ The inspectorate attributed "outcrops of bad attendance" to feckless parents:

"It is insufficient explanation to say that they are due to a decline of parental authority consequent upon the absence of the fathers on service, for attendance is worst in the very areas where, through the importance of wartime industry, a specially large number of men are in reserved occupations. The truth seems to be that a number of people, greater in the industrial areas than elsewhere, have a very inadequate sense of their family and social responsibilities; bad school attendance is but one symptom of their general slackness. Such persons have not learned to discipline themselves; and so their social behaviour deteriorates as soon as external discipline is relaxed."⁴

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1. Ibid.
2. The Corporation of Glasgow. Report 1939-1948, op.cit., p.60.
3. S.R.O., ED.24/44. A. Russell to Mrs. J Simpson (Austin, Illinois, U.S.A.), 27 January, 1941.
4. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

Yet it was easy to blame parents - as Titmuss remarks - "for not putting education first. But the nation did not do so.

The loss of a day's lesson here, the closing of a school or the call-up of a teacher there, the merging of classes generally, were injuries to education which seemed trivial when so many grimmer problems of war and work remained unsolved."¹

Children shopped, carried out household duties such as minding brothers and sisters and waiting in for casual callers, and took part-time jobs which increased in number in the war in urban and rural areas. The incidence of common infectious diseases - whooping cough, measles and chicken pox - and contagious diseases like scabies and impetigo were frequently mentioned in inspector's comments on attendance, as were coupon difficulties over footwear and clothes². Parental 'indifference' and 'lack of supervision' were phrases which marked the impact of a war that extracted a price from all the country's inhabitants and, consequently, relegated the claims of education in the order of priorities.

Scottish society looked to the schools as well as parents to play their part in stemming this decline in standards of behaviour. The dislocation of education, poor attendance and truancy, and the lack of parental supervision were interrelated with the problem of juvenile crime which, to the concern of contemporaries, had increased immediately before, and during, the war. The inspectorate distinguished sharply between discipline within the schools which they termed "satisfactory" with "unruly behaviour" being "very rare", and that without which was "less satisfactory":

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1. R. M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.417.
 2. See Chapter Six.

"... many offences are committed with impunity under the cloak of the black-out. Malicious mischief including the senseless destruction of other people's property, is the commonest juvenile offence; such thoughtlessness and selfish behaviour supports the view ... that numbers of the population, juvenile as well as adult, require to develop a sense of social duty and responsibility."¹

Johnston believed in the importance of the school in inculcating these virtues, explaining the differential rates in delinquency between schools in Glasgow through the growth of "pride in school honour and tradition which has a decided influence on the conduct of the scholars outside of school hours."² He supported strongly the idea that the curriculum should make more overt provision for the cultivation of citizenship.³

If war brought an unwanted expansion in approved school education,⁴ another branch of the educational system received a necessary - if transitory - stimulus. As the Government sought to recruit more women for industry so it was necessary to cater for their children below regular school-age. The expansion of nursery education had been announced by the Government as one of their "special aims" in 1936 but progress in Scotland, as elsewhere, was slow; by July, 1939 there were 37 nursery schools and eighteen nursery classes attached to schools accommodating 1,797 children.⁵ The war considerably disrupted their activities - nine nursery schools were evacuated as units/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.
 2. T. Johnston, op.cit., p.156.
 3. See Chapter Eight.
 4. By December, 1941 all Scottish approved schools were full and plans were well advanced for the building of two new ones. S.E.D. Summary Report, 1941, op.cit., p.18.
 5. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1939 and 1940, op.cit.

units though five had returned home by the summer of 1940 on completion of air-raid shelters.¹ The small amount of nursery provision was relatively quickly restored and by July, 1942 there was sufficient for more children than at the outbreak of war. Meanwhile, in 1941, in an effort to free more women for industry, wartime nurseries controlled principally by the D.H.S. had been established.² By the end of the year, three had been opened, proposals for 42 more had been approved and plans for a further 30 to 40 were under consideration.³ Regular provision at the end of the war comprised 32 nursery schools and 43 classes catering for about 3,100 children, while wartime nurseries numbered 146 with 6,596 children.⁴ The coming of war and its demands upon the population brought the partial implementation of the long-cherished educational ideal of widespread nursery education. Though the wartime nurseries began to be closed at the end of the conflict, there was a greater awareness of the possibilities of nursery education as a consequence of the social and economic impact of the war.

Provision for physically defective and mentally handicapped children probably suffered, in proportion to numbers, more disruption and inconvenience during the war than any other branch of the school system. Special schools - situated mainly in urban areas - were "heavily hit" in the dislocation of education in the early months of the war.⁵ Most education authorities accepted the policy that shelter accommodation/

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1. Ibid.
 2. D.H.S., Circular No. 146/1941; S.E.D., Circular No. 200/1941 (9 June, 1941).
 3. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1941, op.cit., p.18.⁹
 4. Ibid. Summary Report, 1945, op.cit., p.7.
 5. S.R.O., E.D.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

accommodation would not be provided for such schools "until arrangements for normal pupils were complete."¹ Thus for a long period all the bigger non-residential schools in Scotland, except Paisley and Dawson Park, Falkirk, were closed. Some smaller schools and classes struggled on gamely and a few were evacuated to country houses. The better-equipped buildings, including eventually Dawson Park, were handed over to the armed services.² Classes at Seaforth, Galashiels and Fauldhouse ceased and reduced in number at Perth, Cockenzie, Paisley and Stirling.³ By December, 1940 special education had resumed in Aberdeen and Dundee and, on a modified scale, in Edinburgh, Dunbarton and Lanark. Such was the extent of the breakdown in this aspect of the educational service that the inspectorate felt impelled to plead in late 1940:

"It is important to remember that defective children may never be an asset to the community, but it is the aim of the special schools to prevent them all from being liabilities. It is to be hoped that the dislocations of war will not prevent the realisation of this aim; the schools, however, report that the effects on the children of their prolonged 'holiday' have been very serious indeed.⁴

The 1941 evacuations provided further setbacks and school rolls revealed that, by the end of the war, the numbers of physically handicapped children were still substantially below the pre-war figure, although those of mentally handicapped had almost reached the 1939 level.⁵

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1. Ibid.
 2. By March, 1940, Dawson Park School had resumed "albeit in inferior premises". S.R.O., ED.24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.
 4. S.R.O., ED.24/42. March, 1940, op.cit.
 5. Numbers of physically and mentally handicapped pupils on rolls of special schools and classes were: 5,659 physically and 3,714 mentally handicapped in 1939; and 3,714 and 4,836 respectively in 1945. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1939 and 1940. op.cit. p.14; Summary Report, 1945, op.cit. p.7.

Evacuation, the threat and reality of aerial attack, shortages of materials and manpower, and the desire to contribute to the war effort - no school could escape the effects of total war. Schools' work was handicapped, at various times in the war, by a dearth of paper, desks and chairs, handicraft materials and sports' equipment, but the most pressing shortage was, quite obviously, the lack of staff which is discussed more fully in the next chapter. All branches of the educational system suffered in varying degrees but, perhaps, the greatest difficulties were occasioned by the loss of specialist teachers in the secondary schools which became more severe as the demands of the armed services increased. Physical education, technical subjects, science and mathematics - all presented curriculum difficulties in the secondary schools. Pupils' education suffered differentially throughout Scotland by the accident of the relative ages of education authorities' staffs; Dunbarton, for example, lost only three of thirteen physical education specialists while Ayr lost twelve of its sixteen by December, 1940.¹ Not all shortage areas in the curriculum were universally mourned. George T. Pringle, H.M.I. - a former principal classics master at Hutcheson's Boys' School, Glasgow - reasserted the claims of the academic subjects when he pointed out that although physical training and technical education were "useful at all times" and, particularly, in time of war, "they were also the very meat on which Goering's young barbarians have been fed."² He hoped that, on the restoration of peace, "education of the intellect and of the spirit will regain the importance and respect which is its due."³

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

The lack of well-qualified science and mathematics teachers was keenly felt in the schools. The interests of the war effort, having deprived the schools of many such specialists, sought to encourage those very areas of the secondary curriculum in order to produce more. In June, 1941 the Department announced a scheme for the provision of state bursaries in science tenable at Scottish universities, the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, or Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh, to procure "an immediate and substantial increase in the flow of students to science courses ..."¹ The Ministry of Labour accordingly arranged that teachers in the thirty to thirty-five year age-group in secondary schools with degrees in physics, chemistry, mathematics or engineering should not be called up or transferred to industry. A supplementary scheme of full-time courses at technical colleges for engineering cadets open to boys aged between sixteen and nineteen years was introduced in 1942.²

Other school subjects were invigorated by the war because of their obvious utility. Competent linguists were required in government and military service. As the war expanded in 1941 the lack of men able to speak oriental languages such as Turkish, Persian, Chinese and Japanese, induced the Department to offer a small number of scholarships "to enable selected boys who show evidence of marked linguistic ability to study these languages ..."³ Domestic science, too, enjoyed an increase in status as a consequence of the concern over adequate nutrition and the need to make the most of rationed foods, /

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1. S.E.D. Memorandum M.254 (16 February, 1942).
 2. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1942, op.cit., p.12.
 3. S.E.D. Memorandum M.255 (14 February, 1942).

foods, although there were difficulties in schools over the availability of the raw materials for demonstration purposes. Johnston was particularly anxious that no girl should leave school without being able to cook. He launched a competition in the cooking of oat products and potatoes in October, 1942 and some 20,000 girls from 420 junior and senior secondary schools took part.¹ As in the First World War, the importance of physical education in the schools was emphasised and measures taken in 1940 to ensure that sufficient specialists either remained in, or were returned to, the schools to ensure its survival in the curriculum. Accommodation presented problems and use was made of church halls and other buildings offering sufficient space. Schools in the urban areas not infrequently found their playing fields commandeered by the military, or dug up in the interests of the nation's food supply. Subjects such as geography which became a focus of interest as the conflict spread across the European continent and changed boundaries, and nature study - transformed in rural areas into the finding and collection of medicinal plants and herbs, and foods - received unintentional encouragement. History, however, remained in the doldrums until the entry of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. into the war popularised the study of their cultures and historical development. Such study was officially encouraged and short vacation courses for teachers were offered at training colleges.

It was believed in some quarters that loss of manpower in some subject areas might be partially offset by the use of ancillary aids such as the wireless. Yet in the early part of the war, at least, the use of broadcasts/

1. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1942, op.cit., p.8; T.Johnston, op.cit., pp.158-159.

broadcasts in Scottish classrooms suffered a sharp decline. Schools on half or short-time concentrated their efforts on basic skills and subjects and when full-time working returned they were "trying desperately hard to make up for the loss".¹ In the disrupted and curtailed school-day, the teachers attended to what they perceived as the necessities of educational life. Broadcasts were generally seen in these circumstances as dispensable luxuries. Moreover, poor reception in north-eastern Scotland and some other areas, and the shortage of batteries and component parts reinforced the neglect. At the outbreak of war almost 46 per cent of Scottish schools had wireless sets; only 48 per cent of these took broadcasts in the first year of the war, compared with 63 per cent in the last year of peace.² The numbers making use of broadcasts remained fairly constant throughout the war; the S.E.D.'s annual survey in 1944 reported that of the 1,511 schools suitably equipped - some 45 per cent of the total - 908 listened "regularly", 432 "occasionally" and the remainder made "little use" of their facilities mainly through operational difficulties.³ The broadcasts served two essential, if contrasting, purposes - news bulletins kept pupils and teachers in touch with events at momentous points in the war; and, also, school programmes turned attention away from the war and, perhaps, stimulated a nostalgic recall of more peaceful times in the classroom. "In these days," commented The Scottish Educational Journal in 1940, "the wireless is an almost indispensable adjunct of our national life ...
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1. S.R.O., ED.24/42, December, 1940. op.cit.

2. Ibid.

3. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Year 1944, Cmd 6667 (1945-46), p.6. Hereafter cited as 'Summary Report, 1944'.

Moreover, the broadcast may provide a welcome diversion when the familiar routine has been upset, or it may serve to relieve tension in times of special strain."¹ Interestingly, one of the favourite regular broadcasts to Scottish schools in the war was a course of speech training.²

Films were put to use, especially during the first wave of evacuation, but mainly in a "recreational or mildly educational way".³ In the evenings, or holidays, or during the 'off-shift' where schools were on half-time, they helped to fill the leisure hours of evacuated children. The Scottish Evacuation Film Scheme - a collaborative venture of the Scottish Central Film Library, the Scottish Film Council, the Central Film Library and the Ministry of Information - took film-shows to groups of evacuees throughout Scotland.⁴ "Almost in spite of themselves", the 26 peripatetic teachers who ran the service, "... used the films ... as teaching material; and as each programme was presented a certain amount of instruction went with it."⁵ The scheme attracted considerable attention throughout Britain; so successful was the experimental month originally envisaged that a further two months' extension was subsidised by the Ministry of Information before it was abandoned in January, 1940 with the drift back of the evacuees to the cities. The educational impact of the scheme was, however, slight.

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1. S.E.J., 30 August, 1940.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/41. First Report, December, 1939, op.cit.
 4. W. Boyd, op.cit., pp.220-223. At the start of the war 378 schools (11 per cent) possessed film projectors. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1939 and 1940, op.cit., p.15.
 5. Ibid. p.222.

3. Contributions to the War Effort

The scale and nature of the war demanded a commitment from all citizens and institutions to its successful prosecution. The contributions of pupils and teachers were perceived as singularly important in a wide variety of areas. Inevitably they clashed with the traditional objectives of education in schools, for although there was some educational value in these activities, they restricted the time available for imparting fundamental skills and knowledge which assumed added urgency following the disruption of Scottish education, particularly in urban areas such as Glasgow. The tensions and difficulties produced by the competing claims of education and the war effort are best exemplified by the demands made by Scottish agriculture on the schools for labour. The heightened importance of the industry through the need for maximum food production, though at a time of a mounting shortage of labour, intensified an old problem - the seasonal employment of children on agricultural tasks.

Whereas in England and Wales the Board of Education vainly tried to hold the line against gross transgressions of school attendance law and child employment regulations by county authorities in favour of local agricultural interests,¹ the administrative response in Scotland was more amenable to such interests from the outset of the conflict. Although there was a decline in the pre-war years, extensive use was still made of schoolchildren in, for example, potato-lifting.² The concept/

1. See P.H.J.H. Gosden, *op.cit.*, pp.81-85.

2. "... even in peace-time there was ... much too an extensive an employment of children of school age, e.g. in potato lifting." S.R.O., ED.25/6. Mary E. Sutherland, Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations, to Johnston, 19 February, 1942.

concept of exemptions was, moreover, embedded in Scottish educational legislation: under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1901¹ the Department possessed wide powers for granting exemptions for agricultural and other purposes. Furthermore, the organisation of the Scottish departments with ultimate decision-making power and responsibility vested in the Secretary of State - backed in the war by D.O.R.A., if required - ensured that the S.E.D.'s policy, whatever reservations were held in private, was one of complete co-operation with the D.A.S. The Scottish Office's general policy was "the maximum amount of labour with the minimum amount of disturbance to the school work", but this became increasingly more difficult to maintain during the latter years of the war.²

Detailed plans for the seasonal employment of schoolchildren were left primarily to the D.A.S. with the S.E.D. and pressure groups, such as the E.I.S., playing consultative rôles. The S.E.D. were content in the main to observe quietly that "a proper balance (was) held between the increasing urgent demands of agriculture on the one hand, and the care of the children's health and the safeguarding of their education on the other."³ The mechanisms employed to meet these demands were the adjustment of school holidays to the requirements of local agricultural executive committees within the regulations of the Day Schools (Scotland) Code; and the granting of temporary exemptions which/

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1. 1 Edw.7, c 9.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Conference on Assistance of Schoolchildren in the Harvest, 17 February, 1943.
 3. S.R.O., ED.25/6. Draft reply to Mary E. Sutherland by Mackay Thomson, 13 March, 1942.

which, as Table 4.2 indicates, rose dramatically in the first four years of the war. The Department, however, urged the education authorities "to adjust school holidays in such a way that children will have a reasonable period of complete holiday at height of summer and later, if they are of proper age, devote a second break to assisting with grain or potato harvest."¹ It was hoped that such adjustments would "obviate considerably the practice of exemptions during school terms for harvest work."

Herein lay the heart of the Department's dilemma: with the help of schoolchildren becoming more essential during the harvest as the war continued, how best could this be arranged without too much disruption of educational provision? If the summer holiday was shortened to provide what some contemporaries termed a "less health-giving" autumn holiday, all the children in a particular district would suffer to ensure the labour of the minority for the farmers. If the summer vacation was not curtailed, exemptions would incur educational loss by schoolchildren who could ill-afford it. This dilemma was never resolved to the complete satisfaction of those interests primarily concerned with the health and education of children.

In matters of health, the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1937,² gave education authorities the primary responsibility for, and a wide discretion in, the restriction of their employment through bylaw. The Secretary of State was empowered to with-hold confirmation/

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1. P.R.O., ED.138/62. H. S. Hardy to Mr. Burrows, 17 March, 1943.
 2. 1 Edw.8 & 1 Geo.6, c 37.

confirmation, but not to dictate to the local authorities as to what their bylaws should be, or how they might be altered. He was, however, able to remind them that "the prime aim... is the protection of children".¹ Yet this had to be reconciled with the growing wartime demands for child labour and all too frequently it was at the expense of children's physical well-being through the violation of statute and bylaw which Scottish central and local authority largely overlooked.² By 1942 organisations such as the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Organisations were questioning the efficacy of local bylaw safeguarding the employment of unfit children, hours of work, and the availability of food and suitable clothing during work.³

Significantly, when in April, 1942 Johnston could have extended to Scotland an order made under the defence regulations which would have enabled him to supersede many of the virtually unenforceable bylaws he refused, in the belief that it would add nothing to the powers already possessed by the Scottish Office and the local authorities.⁴ The conditions of employment included in the order for England and Wales limited the employment of children over twelve years in seasonal work to 36 hours per week and a maximum of seven hours per day. The D.A.S. pressed the Secretary of State to refuse as the limitation would "reduce the production of children by 18 per cent... The paramount importance/

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/26. op.cit.
 2. "A number of inspectors report various irregularities surrounding the subject of potato-lifting by schoolchildren: unauthorised absences were common, and a few very young children were employed including one child of six. In some places such irregularities were occurring on a scale sufficient to 'bring school law into contempt'." S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940. op.cit.
 3. S.R.O., ED.25/6. Sutherland to Johnston, op.cit.
 4. S.R. & O. 1942, No.802. Emergency Powers (Defence), Agriculture and Fisheries. Employment of Children in Agricultural Work, 30 April, 1942.

importance of the potato industry in Scottish agriculture is a special consideration which does not apply to the same extent in the South."¹ Johnston concurred, but decided upon administrative action to prevent exploitation of children, safeguard wages, and to secure some uniformity in working hours in order to bring the Scottish position generally in line with the English.²

During the early part of the war there was no serious shortage of casual labour for agriculture, though there remained the traditionally strong temptation to employ schoolchildren for seasonal tasks since they were "not only cheap and docile, but were actually on the spot ..."³ As the war dragged on, the intensifying labour shortage and increasing agricultural acreages rendered the help of schoolchildren even more vital in a range of work from forestry to harvesting and the machinery for their recruitment became more elaborate. In 1943, for example, the D.A.S. required some 40 per cent of the post-primary school population for farm-work: 3,000 to 4,000 schoolgirls for fruit-picking; 4,000 boys for the grain harvest; and approximately 56,000 boys and girls for potato-lifting.⁴ The Scottish Harvesting Scheme was launched to recruit auxiliary labour, including university students, older schoolboys, and 'black-coated' workers. Under-Secretaries Westwood and Chapman stumped central Scotland gaining support/

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1. S.R.O., D.A.S. AF 59/23/7. H. Crow to W. Bakel, March, 1942.
 2. Ibid. Bakel to Crow, 25 March, 1942.
 3. P.R.O., ED.138/62. Employment of School Children in Agriculture, 1939-1945.
 4. E.I.S. Papers. S.E.D. Harvest, 1943. Assistance by Schoolchildren. Summary of addresses delivered by Mr. Westwood and Mr. Chapman ... at meetings with representatives of Education Authorities at Glasgow on 5 January, on 5 February, and at Perth on 15 February, 1943.

support from the education authorities and the teaching profession. Harvest posters and a personal message from Johnston to be read to assembled pupils, were sent to schools. Harvest camps became a feature of wartime summers in some schools with numbers rising from ten in 1940 to 82 two years later, while volunteers increased from 2,563 in 1942 to 61,000 in 1944.¹

In the fight for national survival, food production obviously came before education: "I am afraid", noted R. S. Hudson, Minister of Agriculture in 1941, "the question really boils down to 'The Three R's or Potatoes'."² Nevertheless, with the educational fortunes of rural children residing, to some extent, in the hands of agricultural interests, well-represented on education and school management committees, there was a marked increase in the irritation and dissatisfaction voiced by teachers and parents in the latter half of the war at possible educational loss. The rise in temporary exemptions which reached a wartime peak of 8,640 in 1943 (see Table 4.2), usually involved those pupils who would have benefited - at least, in the opinion of most teachers - from the schooling. It was, in fact, the junior secondary schools and divisions which, as previously noted, had borne so much of the ill-effects of the war, that supplied the bulk of the labour for tasks such as potato-planting and lifting. In a two month period in the potato-lifting season in 1942 a school in south-west Scotland gave exemptions to 211 pupils which produced a/

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1. S.R.O. . AF.78/28 D.A.S., The Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Ten Years, 1939-1948. Cmd 7717 (1948-1949), p.16
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/26. Home Policy Committee. Note by the Minister of Agriculture, 1 February, 1941.

a loss of 2,317 days.¹ "All will agree", observed a teacher, "that it is of paramount importance that this source of food should be safeguarded, but we feel impelled to ask whether the implications of using the services of schoolchildren to this extent are being fully appreciated."² Sporadically, such feelings manifested themselves in outright rejection of agricultural demands, particularly when the need for pupil labour was such that it encroached on the work of urban schools. In the spring of 1942, Glasgow Education Committee, "largely through the machinations of the I.L.P." refused Stirlingshire Agricultural Executive Committee's request for help from six schools on the periphery of the city which would have involved the granting of ten to twenty exemption periods to pupils.³

While the help provided by schoolchildren in agriculture and forestry cannot be precisely quantified, their contribution proved to be crucial in the successful ingathering of harvests such as that of 1943.⁴

After the war the D.A.S. acknowledged that they had also played a "decisive part" in such jobs as potato-lifting.⁵ Moreover, casual help provided at evenings and weekends helped to tide over small farms and crofts, badly affected by the loss of manpower to the war-effort.⁶

1. S.E.J., 17 December, 1943.

2. Ibid.

3. S.R.O., ED.25/6. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 30 May, 1942.

4. Glasgow schools alone provided 119 camps in that year, and similar schemes were organised in 1944 and 1945. The Corporation, however, in 1946 indicated to the Secretary of State that it favoured total prohibition of the employment of schoolchildren in agriculture. The Corporation of Glasgow Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., p.28.

5. S.R.O., AF.78/28, op.cit.

6. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

The schools not only gave valuable help to Scottish agriculture but also became sources of food production through the cultivation of gardens and allotments. In June, 1939 the Department indicated that "in the event of war, the schools should make every effort to augment the nation's supply of food."¹ Three months later they suggested that rural and urban schools, where suitable land was available, should concentrate on "the production of the more common vegetables ..."² Education authorities were encouraged to consider forming small local committees "to deal with such matters as the acquisition of land and the disposal of produce, and to foster the scheme generally."³ It was hoped that outlays on equipment, manures and seeds, and the renting of land might be met by "voluntary effort" or the sale of produce. Such was the country's need for food that in October, 1940 the S.E.D. asked schools to consider "the possibility of turning to account any piece of unused or waste ground in the vicinity, or even of cultivating private gardens which the householders are unable to cultivate for themselves."⁴

Though initially some secondary school headmasters were unwilling to encourage gardening "lest it should interfere with the pupils' academic activities",⁵ it was not long before "practically every school", both urban and rural, was growing vegetables.⁶ Marginal and derelict land, parts/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 121 (19 June, 1939).
 2. S.E.D., Circular 132 (9 October, 1939).
 3. Ibid.
 4. S.E.D. Circular 183 (28 October, 1940).
 5. S.R.O., ED.24/28. Food Production. The Work of the Schools. Action by the Scottish Education Department, n.d. (October, 1940).
 6. S.R.O., ED.24/42. March, 1940.

parts of public parks and unused building sites were pressed into service; Edinburgh found enough spare ground for use by 38 schools and Dundee provided each post-primary school with an allotment.¹

Glasgow, which possessed only one school garden before the war, placed almost 15,000 square yards at the disposal of its schools.² The peak of horticultural activities in Scottish schools was reached in 1941-1942 when 1,697,000 square yards were under cultivation.³

The schools also contributed to the war effort in numerous other ways apart from helping to produce food in the farm or garden. Large sums of money were raised by agricultural work, concerts, plays and jumble-sales, but mainly through savings' groups run by teachers on a voluntary basis. By February, 1941 almost 84 per cent of Scottish schools had established such groups⁴ and in the first two-and-a-half years of war they had raised £3 millions towards the national savings' campaign.⁵

The range of activities surprised even inspectors:

"... the domestic science departments, sometimes aided by the art departments, have contributed notably to the food-education campaign, and most schools have organised the salvage of such things as scrap ... , scrap paper, bones and even rags and kitchen waste ... a large number of schools are knitting for the Forces; preparing bandages and sphagnum moss for the hospitals and making bedside tables, trays and other small articles of hospital furniture."⁶

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/48, op.cit.
 3. S.E.D. Summary Report, 1942, op.cit., p.7.
 4. S.E.J., 21 February, 1941.
 5. Ibid. 11 September, 1941. This sum compared very favourably with the £15 millions raised in England and Wales in the same period.
 6. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

School parties roamed the countryside, not only for sphagnum moss, but also wild-fruit, rose-hips, nettles, foxglove and coltsfoot leaves, dandelion and burdock roots, elder flowers, parsley, male fern, valerian and couch grass rhizomes and wood sage, as well as wool from fences.¹

In the schools, pupils were employed on a wide variety of tasks which included the writing-up of ration books and the distribution of milk. The encroachment upon curriculum time alarmed some parents: when a pupil failed to pass the special place examination in 1943, a parent complained that the failure "was due to the time and attention the child had to give to the distribution of milk".² "Almost unanimously", the inspectorate felt compelled to report that "wartime activities have had a stimulating effect... their pursuit is causing surprisingly little interference with the general efficiency of the schools".³ Certainly the war effort did not deflect the rising academic ambitions of a small, but significant section of the Scottish school population.

4. The Senior Leaving Certificate: Rising Aspirations?

Gosden has asserted that in England and Wales "the growing interest in education - which expressed itself in the desire for a better system - combined with a general wartime increase in prosperity to produce an enlargement of the number of pupils staying at secondary schools to take... examinations once the initial impact of the war had been overcome".⁴ How far did the Scots - traditionally attuned to the ideals /

1. S.E.D. Memoranda M204 (4 June, 1941); M225 (29 August, 1941).

2. S.E.J., 15 October, 1943

3. S.R.O., ED. 24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

4. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.87.

ideals and benefits of education - share this enthusiasm as manifested in the numbers of pupils staying on at school and taking formal qualifications?

In the early years of the war there was a very marked decline in the number of pupils remaining in secondary schools and departments to complete the full, three year course which led, in pre-war years, to entry for the Day School Certificate (Higher). If mid-summer, 1942 is compared with 1939, a fall of four per cent in the fourteen plus age-group was accompanied by a 15.5 per cent decline in the third year secondary school population. This decline was halted in 1941-1942, but even by the end of the war, as Table 4.4 reveals, school numbers still did not match those of pre-war: there was an overall wartime drop of 1.2 per cent in the age-group and a more than proportionate 3.1 per cent fall in the number of third year pupils.

The factors influencing the decision to leave before completion were undoubtedly complex: at this point in the pupils' school career the social and economic pressures at a time of mounting job opportunity were probably at their greatest in many families which suffered the loss of fathers to the armed forces. One can legitimately surmise, too, that the S.E.D.'s decision to postpone the introduction of the newly-fashioned Junior Leaving Certificate to replace the Day School Certificate (Higher) until the end of the war played some part.

Although most education authorities quickly introduced temporary certificates - generally known as the 'Junior Secondary Certificate' - on similar lines, the lack of a national qualification in the war may have contributed to reduced motivation in many adolescents to remain at/
at/

at school and finish the course, despite contemporary hopes about the efficacy of the stop-gap.¹

Yet paradoxically, not only did the number of pupils proceeding into the fourth and fifth secondary years recover after the initial impact of the war but, in its latter stages, significantly increased. If we compare the mid-summer of 1942 with that of 1939, the 7.9 per cent decline in these combined, school-year groups was accompanied by a 3.8 per cent fall in the appropriate age-groups in the population-at-large. By 1945 the school numbers had increased by 13.5 per cent while the age-groups had fallen by 7.5 per cent in the same period (see Table 4.4). Sixth year classes were, as the inspectorate lamented, crippled in the first three years of the war and although there were signs of a recovery in 1944-45, by the end of hostilities they were almost 26 per cent down in numbers compared with 1938-39.

Entries for the Senior Leaving Certificate, however, increased significantly in the war years. Again, if we compare 1942 with the last year of peace, a 1.5 per cent reduction in this school age-group was accompanied by a more than proportionate seven per cent fall in the number of candidates. By 1943 the latter had almost reached the 1939 level despite an overall 5.5 per cent fall in the age-group since the outbreak of war (see Tables 4.4 and 4.5). In the following year the fall amounted to 7.6 per cent, while there was a 4.9 per cent increase/

1. By the end of 1940 "at least" 28 local authorities had established their own temporary certificates. D. D. Anderson, H.M.I. believed that they "provided an objective for the pupils and teachers", and were "a means of encouraging children to continue at school." S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

increase in the number of entries. In the last year of the war despite an overall fall of seven per cent in the age-group during the war, entries had risen by 12.1 per cent in the corresponding period.

The trends discernible in Scottish secondary education during the war are, not surprisingly, similar in the main to those noted by Gosden in England and Wales. Here the decentralised examination structure was not as badly affected as its highly centralised Scottish counterpart and despite an overall decline in the war years of 12.1 per cent in the sixteen plus age-group, there was a 13.7 per cent rise in School Certificate entries.¹ Significantly, there was - in contrast to Scotland, though comparisons in this regard can be misleading - a "marked increase" in the amount of sixth form work attempted in the latter stages of the war. Candidates for the Higher School Certificate were half as numerous again in 1945 as they had been six years earlier.²

Interestingly, the percentage of successful candidates for the Senior Leaving Certificate rose sharply in the first year of the war and remained generally at this higher level for its duration (see Table 4.5). The possibility of accounting for this in terms of the quality of instruction or of the candidates can be discounted. The reason would appear to be in the emergency arrangements made for the conduct of the examination in the war years. In 1939, the Leaving Certificate was to be transformed, as part of a complete overhaul of the Scottish examination system, into the 'Senior Leaving Certificate.'³ But at the/

1. P. H. J. H. Gosden, *op.cit.*, pp.87-88.
2. *Ibid*, p.88.
3. S.E.D. Circular 62 (9 June, 1939).

the outbreak of war the S.E.D. announced the postponement of the introduction of both the Junior and Senior Leaving Certificates.¹ As part of their preparations in the event of war, the S.E.D. had informed the Scottish Universities' Examination Board in April, 1939 that "the conduct of a written examination lasting ten days, for some 5,700 candidates dispersed throughout Scotland, would in time of war be quite impracticable and that the results of the examination, even if it were possible to conduct, would provide no reliable index of attainment in the case of pupils transferred to strange schools in the country, divorced from their usual facilities and equipment for study, and subjected to nervous strain in varying degree."² The S.U.E.B. and other interested professional bodies prevailed upon the S.E.D., however, shortly after the war started, to make emergency arrangements for "decentralising the examination"³ and regulations for the award of the 'Senior Leaving Certificate (issued in accordance with Circular 149)'; in 1940 were eventually issued.⁴ Similar arrangements were made in each subsequent year of the war.

The formal written examination with papers set and scripts marked by the S.E.D. was suspended and the certificate was awarded primarily on teachers' estimates of the candidate's proficiency in his selected subjects, supplemented by the results of an examination held in the spring term. Schools could set and mark their own papers, or take those set locally by a panel of teachers representing areas which generally/

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1. Ibid. Circular 130 (20 September, 1939).
 2. S.R.O., ED.25/4. Mackay Thomson to the S.U.E.B., 6 April, 1939.
 3. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Westwood, 13 March, 1941.
 4. S.E.D. Circular 149 (27 December, 1940).

generally conformed to the boundaries of inspectoral districts. The checking and adjustment of the estimates in the various subjects was the responsibility of teacher panels in each district with inspectors acting as conveners, after scrutiny of the marked scripts. The award of the certificate was entrusted to a board of assessors consisting, in each district, of selected headteachers, a director of education and an inspector acting, again, as convener. The boards were empowered to "make allowance, where necessary, for any adverse circumstances arising out of the war" which might have affected a pupil's work.¹

The conduct and structure of the examination proved to be a thorny and controversial issue and criticism became so strong in 1941 that eventually the Scottish Office was forced to take notice. Wide discrepancies in pass-rates between schools and districts convinced many teachers that only national, as opposed to local, papers would provide greater uniformity of standards. The S.E.D., stung by the intensity and extent of the criticism, seemingly leaned too much in their initial conception of the emergency certificate on the old adage that "teachers resent external examinations for their pupils and contend that all examinations should be internal."² They were, however, ^dobjurate:

"The demand for the setting of 'national' papers has been persistent, but the Department do not propose to yield to it. The scheme is local rather than national, and the setting of national papers would tend to make the written examination, rather than the Teachers' estimates, the main criterion of award - a transfer of emphasis which would defeat the main principle of the emergency scheme."³

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1. P.R.O., ED.138/65. Committee on Curriculum and Examinations of Secondary Schools (the Norwood Committee). Memorandum by the S.E.D. Appendix C, Senior Leaving Certificate: Emergency Scheme, 20 April, 1942.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

Mackay Thomson believed that the system was "working well in the difficult circumstances of the time" and urged the Secretary of State to give "no encouragement to any who may desire to tamper with it."¹ Nevertheless, the S.E.D. recognised "a strong desire" on the part of teachers and the education authorities to return to pre-war procedures which were accordingly reinstated at the end of the war.²

Did the wartime assessment structure of the Senior Leaving Certificate encourage lower standards which might, at least in part, explain the number of successful candidates? Mackay Thomson had no doubt that there was a decline: he told an E.I.S. deputation in July, 1941 that "passes ... were in excess of the normal figure. In certain cases there was deliberate leniency on the part of the Boards (of Assessors) ... in a few cases the Department had had to over-ride the decisions of the Boards."³ By July, 1942 the inspectorate agreed that while the panels had done their best to maintain standards, there had been "a gradual recession from the pre-war standard," but this had been halted.⁴ The percentage of passes - as indicated in Table 4.5 - was, however, maintained at a persistently high level throughout the war and certainly helped to persuade the S.E.D. that the temporary regulations, born in expediency and labelled "experimental", had no place in the peace-time Scottish educational system. Significantly, in the first post-war academic session under the old regulations, the number of certificates awarded/

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/4, op.cit.
 2. P.R.O., ED.138/65, op.cit.
 3. E.I.S. Papers. Deputation to the S.E.D., 2 July, 1941. Criticisms levelled at teachers by the Department were subsequently disclosed to the public and so in similar discussions the following year Mackay Thomson refused to supply detailed information about the working of the Senior Leaving Certificate.
 4. Ibid. Interview with S.E.D., 11 July 1942.

awarded fell by almost fourteen per cent.¹ So with the return of the centralised examination structure the task of some secondary teachers for the setting, marking and monitoring of scripts disappeared yet the ever-growing burden of duties associated with teaching in the war remained undiminished for the majority of the profession.

5. The 'Extraneous Duties of Teachers'

The call-up of active, young male teachers and the reduced supply of new entrants from the training centres and colleges placed greater teaching loads on those remaining in the schools. In association with their traditional teaching rôle, however, there developed, as the war progressed, a steady accumulation of duties and tasks which ranged from matters of child welfare such as school meals and clothing to a variety of campaigns conducted in part through the schools to promote the war effort.

At the start of the war teachers formed the nucleus of the staff required to execute the evacuation and the billeting of children. The teachers who accompanied the children to the reception areas found that their commitment extended beyond the classroom to the provision and supervision of recreational activities and social concerns though there was no legal requirement upon them to care for children's welfare out of school. Extra work was undertaken by the majority of evacuated teachers as a matter of course but there were some criticisms in the early months of the war that they were not doing enough. D. D. Anderson, H.M.I./

1. S.E.D. Summary Report, 1946, op.cit., p.7.

H.M.I., reported that, in Renfrew, "quite a few (Glasgow) teachers had failed to rise to the occasion"; and George T. Pringle, H.M.I., felt that in Aberdeenshire, "a considerable number of teachers have proved disappointing, 'more through lack of initiative than through lack of sympathy'."¹

Home-based and evacuated teachers were soon involved in official duties on behalf of evacuated children: a headmaster described his job in a reception area school in March, 1940 as "a curious motley: he was store-keeper, draper's buyer, boot-fitter, medical supervisor, clerk, public assistance official, hearer of numberless cases and appeals."² The difficulties experienced, for example, in claiming billeting payments back from parents induced the Ministry of Health and the D.H.S. to devise a system of keeping up-to-date rolls of all evacuated children. Although this was a task for billeting officers - some of whom were teachers - it could only be done with the help of the whole teaching force and they were, therefore, paid 25 shillings for every 100 children for whom they completed forms. As Gosden points out, this was almost certainly unique in that teachers were paid by the State for discharging a particular extraneous duty.³ In this sense, it was an atypical example of a piecemeal accumulation of duties to the teachers' rôle as his importance as an agent of communication between government - central and local - and the population-at-large was perceived as the war effort intensified, not only in size and scale, but in sophistication and co-ordination. The use of teachers for/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/41. First Report, December, 1939.
 2. S.E.J., 29 March, 1940.
 3. P. H. J. H. Gosden, op.cit., p.116.

for the issue of supplementary clothing coupons for children from 1941 illustrates this process.

The care and supervision of children during their leisure time - both in and out of term - greatly concerned the D.H.S. and the S.E.D. and appeals were made to undertake such work from time-to-time. At Christmas, 1939 and the following Easter there were anxieties that bored evacuees should not return home, nor become "a serious burden to many householders."¹ They hoped that "everything possible will be done so as to organise social activities, whether indoors or out-of-doors, as to afford to householders as much relief as possible," and suggested the possibility of teachers taking breaks in rotation to enable a proportion to be on duty at any one time.² The first summer vacation of the war presented more severe difficulties: Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow education authorities declared the importance of closing their schools for maintenance work, despite pressure to follow London's example in keeping the schools open.³ "I suppose I ought to be anxious to curtail the summer holidays", minuted Mackay Thomson, "in order to make up for lost time. But frankly I am not. The teachers deserve this holiday, on the whole: most of them, if to begin with they had an easy time, were busily employed later on with group instruction in towns or on evacuation duty in the Reception Areas - in both cases under more trying conditions than those of normal times."⁴ The policy of shortened holidays and of keeping the schools open in reception/

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1. S.E.D. Circular 139 (21 November, 1939).
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/32. Summer Holidays in Sending Areas. Minute by Mackay Thomson, 19 April, 1940.
 4. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Jardine, 22 April, 1940.

reception areas was continued through the second winter of the war in the face of rising disaffection among teachers as the evacuees had largely returned home.

In 1942 the Ministry of Labour wanted the Board of Education and the S.E.D. to see that schools remained open generally to cater for the children of mothers who had taken employment to help meet the wartime labour shortage. There were, furthermore, the strong arguments of Lord Woolton and his supporters in favour of providing children with school meals all the year round. Juvenile delinquency continued to disturb the public, particularly in Scotland, and an upsurge was feared if children were left to their own devices without parental supervision. On 1 July the S.E.D. issued a circular premised on the assertion that, "War conditions now require that special arrangements should be made for the care of children during school holidays", and urban and rural authorities were asked to consider "the possibility of providing organised holiday activities for school children" under teacher supervision.¹ The S.E.D. recognised that "many additional burdens" had been placed on teachers but remained confident that they would, "in ... the interests of the children, the needs of the war situation, and the extent to which the holidays of members of other comparable professions have been curtailed, ... be prepared to devote part of their normal holiday period to the supervision of activities ..."² Formal holiday duties remained a feature of many Scottish teachers' lives until the end of the war but they declined significantly after 1942/

1. S.E.D. Circular 237 (1 July, 1942).

2. Ibid.

1942 as relatively small numbers of parents encouraged their children to use the facilities of the schools that remained open. Many teachers were also involved in a variety of agricultural activities such as the supervision of harvest camps throughout Scotland during the holidays.

Civil defence, fire-watching and the Home Guard owed much to the teachers' spirit of service. The Clydeside raids, the resultant evacuation and the creation of an emergency relief organisation which leaned heavily upon teachers' help, displayed the strength of their goodwill. In January, 1941 Mackay Thomson had considered whether the D.H.S. and the Ministry of Food might approach Scottish teachers for pledges of help in the event of blitzing, but remained sceptical as "in the case of Glasgow, at least, any attempt to book the services of teachers in advance for general Public Assistance work may well meet with resistance: it might be more politic to count on their doing their best to help from humane motives after the event, without any previous planning. Glasgow teachers being what they are, may well demand a quid pro pro if any attempt is made to enlist them for work for which they are not paid."¹ A visit by three inspectors to the blitzed English cities of Manchester, Salford and Sheffield in February on the suggestion of Thomas Henderson, convinced them of the vital rôle of teachers in civil defence work. At a meeting of representatives of the D.H.S., the S.E.D. and the E.I.S. later in the month, Henderson "made a definite offer on behalf of the teaching profession in Scotland. The teachers were prepared to make the maximum contribution possible/

1. S.R.O., ED.24/25. Visit by H. M. Inspectors to Manchester and Sheffield. Mackay Thomson to Jardine, 29 January, 1941.

possible; their sole grievance was that enough use had not been made of their services in the past."¹ The Secretary of State - perhaps taken momentarily aback - promptly accepted the offer. Yet the creation of an emergency relief organisation in 1941 so heavily involved teachers that their work often conflicted with A.R.P. or Home Guard duties. In Renfrewshire a protracted dispute developed over the priority of teachers' services in rest centres and fire-watching.

A.R.P. work and Home Guard duties caused administrative difficulties. Local authorities were naturally reluctant to see teachers enrol in services which might result in their being called away from their schools at times of emergency. Teachers had been encouraged to support the Home Guard "as fully as compatible with the discharge of their professional duties", in a vaguely worded memorandum in September, 1940 which reminded education authorities and governing bodies to be aware of conflict of duties when deciding whether permission should be given to individuals wishing to join.² Two months later, in an effort to clarify the situation, the S.E.D. asked them to consider, in the event of an invasion, "what nucleus of staff would be necessary in any particular locality to safeguard the welfare of the school children and what members of the staff ... should be permitted to engage for service with the Home Guard ..."³. Some education authorities interpreted/

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1. Ibid. Note of Meeting held on 20 February, 1941 between representatives of E.I.S., the D.H.S. and the Department regarding the utilisation of the services of teachers in the event of serious air-raids on Scotland.
 2. S.E.D. Memorandum M173 (5 September, 1940).
 3. S.E.D. Memorandum M178 (25 November, 1940).

interpreted this as "discouraging teachers from joining, or remaining members of the Home Guard", and the S.E.D. were forced, in January 1941, to emphasise that although "ordinary duties" must come first in an emergency, except for a few members who might be called upon to give full-time service, teacher membership on a part-time basis was both "valued and welcomed."¹

Local authorities remained dubious, however: Renfresshire Education Committee in February, 1942, after failing to receive "satisfactory assurances" of teachers' loyalty if a Home Guard muster was called, instructed all of their teachers to resign from the force.² Hurriedly, the conditions of service were given greater specification.³ Unit commanders, in deciding the duties required of each man, were to be guided by his civilian occupation, and in the case of a teacher they had to obtain and consider the employer's views before issuing orders which would result in his leaving his work in the event of a muster. Education authorities were therefore asked to allocate members of staff in the Home Guard to two categories - those who would report for duty immediately in an emergency; and those who would report as soon as possible, and no later than within 48 hours. In the event of a disagreement over classification, an appeal was to be made to the Ministry of Labour for adjudication. This effectively ended over two years of administrative muddle; Glasgow's Education Committee immediately placed all its 167 teachers in the Home Guard in the second/

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1. Ibid. Memorandum M184 (11 January, 1941).
 2. The Dundee Courier, 17 February, 1942.
 3. S.E.D. Memorandum M253 (11 February, 1942).

second category,¹ whereas Edinburgh's assigned them to the first.²

It was the prospective extension of the school meals' system under a new education bill at the end of 1941 which prompted Henderson and his E.I.S. colleagues to stress in an interview at St. Andrew's House, "the extra work which was devolving upon teachers at an alarming rate."³ The Department diplomatically admitted the growing burdens in a memorandum in December. New tasks, such as national savings, school savings, school salvage collections, helping with meals and milk, had not, in their opinion, "seriously impaired teaching efficiency", but there was some evidence to suggest that "the volume of additional work ... is such as to interfere with the teachers' primary function in the schools."⁴ Education authorities were requested to consider the employment of extra clerical staff and to seek prior consultation with teacher representatives before inviting teacher-help in new departures. The plea for consultation was reiterated in an E.I.S. letter to directors of education which emphasised their executive's opinion that, in the extension of school feeding, teacher involvement should be limited to supervision.⁵ The E.I.S. endeavoured to check in 1942 and 1943 whether extra clerical help was being employed and what amount of consultation over additional duties took place. Their enquiries ascertained that most local authorities/

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1. E.I.S. Papers. J. Johnston to A. C. Young, 25 June, 1942.
 2. The Scotsman, 24 February, 1942.
 3. E.I.S. Papers. School Meals. Excerpt from Report of Interviews with the S.E.D. on the subject, 17 November, 1941. See Chapter Six.
 4. S.E.D. Memorandum M242 (8 December, 1941).
 5. E.I.S. Papers. Circular Letter to Directors of Education, 8 January, 1942.

authorities were attempting to follow the suggestions as far as the exigencies of war would allow. Such was the shortage of labour, however, that negotiations took place with the W.V.S. in late 1944 to see if they could relieve teachers of some of their ancillary duties.¹

By 1944, the extension and re-definition of the teachers' rôle "deeply concerned" the E.I.S. as its *raison d'être* was "for the purpose of promoting sound learning" and, not unnaturally, it gave a traditionally academic interpretation to this remit:

"For a considerable period there has been a growing tendency among those concerned with social welfare to make use of the schools and the teachers for the service of their particular interests. Generally speaking they are able to present a more or less plausible case for each new activity expected from teaching staffs. The motive always is the well-being of the child and/or the community. Since the outbreak of war, the tendency ... has grown much more rapidly until at present the child's schooling is suffering seriously through the preoccupation of teachers with an accumulation of duties which demand the sacrifice of working or leisure time for their proper performance."²

In rural areas, the village schoolmaster was not infrequently "the only suitable man in his district to organise the war effort of the local community", and, as a result, he was in some instances "carrying an almost impossible load."³ In the cities, a well-publicised survey undertaken by the Glasgow local association of the E.I.S. in the last months of the war revealed that a secondary schoolteacher spent an average/

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1. E.I.S. Papers. Mackey Thomson to J. Wishart, 7 October, 1944.
 2. Ibid. Extraneous Duties of Teachers, February, 1944; S.E.J., 10 March, 1944.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/42. December, 1940, op.cit.

average 3 hours 58½ minutes per week on milk, bank, registration, medical inspection, meals, lists, salvage and clothing and other minor tasks.¹ While sympathising with "the newer conception of the place and function of the school in the life of the community", the E.I.S. feared such tasks, "which could be done more economically and quite as efficiently by others", were interfering with class teaching - a fear shared by the A.E.C.² A headmaster, W. J. Stephens, pointedly summed up the effects of the war on the teacher's rôle when he commented that "the three R's of ill-repute had been cast out only to make way for the three M's - milk, meal, and money."³

The E.I.S., in a policy statement accepted by their Council in February 1945, endeavoured to clarify lines of demarcation between essential and non-essential duties and called again for more clerical and ancillary assistance, while repudiating activities such as the collection of salvage as being "no function of the schools."⁴ In the crucial area of milk and meals, however, the envisaged post-war expansion of a system regarded as an essential part of the fabric of the new welfare state, required the co-operation of teachers and this was duly offered, though limited to supervisory duties.⁵

A country schoolmaster suggested a war time recipe:

"Put/

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1. E.I.S. Papers. Glasgow Local Association. Extraneous Duties, 7 February, 1945.
 2. Ibid.
 3. The Scotsman, 15 July, 1944.
 4. E.I.S. Papers. Post-War Extraneous Duties of Teachers (as approved and printed in Minute No. 418, 9 February, 1945).
 5. See Chapter Six.

"Put about 40 pupils in a small school, remove 2 for the milk, 4 for potatoes, and 1 for the clinic; add 1 cwt waste paper or rags, some tinfoil, old iron or boxes, 2 savings' certificates and a blue, green or red stamp; some nettle or foxglove leaves. Mix with hips, chestnuts and elderberries; shake in the form of a temperance lecture and add some H.M.I. pepper; put in just the slightest soupcon of the 3 R's; stir the mixture until the Maister begins to boil. Place on 'circular' table, the children sitting on 'Forms' from the Education Department. Serve with T.T. milk, Horlicks or mid-day soup, preferably on a day when the doctor, dentist or masseuse is present, and the hotch-potch gives you a dish called Wartime Rural Education."]

Many schoolteachers shared this sense of frustration; the 'people's war' had impinged directly upon the life of the schools which, as institutions, in addition to the pursuit of their traditional academic concerns, became agencies for promoting the war effort and the physical well-being of the population. As a consequence of these stimuli; the rôle of the teacher, which had been slowly, but perceptibly, changing since the beginning of the century, was broader and more socially orientated by the end of the war. Yet some teachers were reluctant to adjust themselves, especially at a time of staff shortage, to changes that were perceived in some quarters as mere temporary aberrations of war.

1. S.E.J., 2 October, 1942.

Tables

A. EXEMPTIONS

Table 4.1: Permanent Exemptions, 1938 - 1945

| Year | Number of Permanent Exemptions |
|------|--------------------------------|
| 1938 | 3,229 |
| 1939 | 2,989 |
| 1940 | 5,576 |
| 1941 | 6,663 |
| 1942 | 7,010 |
| 1943 | 5,424 |
| 1944 | 4,455 |
| 1945 | 3,632 |

Source: S.E.D. Summary Reports, 1939 - 1945, op.cit.

Table 4.2: Temporary Exemptions, 1938 - 1945

| Year | Number of Temporary Exemptions |
|------|--------------------------------|
| 1938 | 2,283 |
| 1939 | 2,083 |
| 1940 | 1,713 |
| 1941 | 3,817 |
| 1942 | 7,259 |
| 1943 | 8,640 |
| 1944 | 6,912 |
| 1945 | 7,195 |

Source: S.E.D. Summary Reports, 1939 - 1945, op.cit.

B. ATTENDANCE

Table 4.3: Glasgow Schools; Roll and Attendance, 1939 - 1945

| | | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Roll | Highest in year | 177,051 | 151,500 | 152,030 | 154,186 | 159,804 | 163,859 | 165,892 |
| | Lowest in year | 176,293 | 149,173 | 113,959 | 141,250 | 155,906 | 160,136 | 163,050 |
| Percentage Attendance | Highest in year | 90.7 | 84.3 | 86.2 | 86.5 | 85.3 | 87.7 | 89.4 |
| | Lowest in year | 84.8 | 76.3 | 71.6 | 76.1 | 79.5 | 81.1 | 82.4 |

Source: The Corporation of Glasgow Education Committee.
Report of the Work of the Education Committee in
the War and Post-War Years, 1939 - 1948, p.100

C. POPULATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND EXAMINATIONS, 1938 - 1939 to 1944 - 1945

Table 4.4: Average Number of Pupils on Registers of Secondary Departments at 31 July for the years, 1939 -1945; and the Size of Corresponding Age Cohorts

| Year | Population aged 14+ | Third year pupils | Per-cent-age | Population aged 15+ | Fourth year pupils | Per-cent-age | Population aged 16+ | Fifth year pupils | Per-cent-age | Population aged 17+ | Sixth year pupils | Per-cent-age |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1939 | 87,172 | 21,726 | 24.9 | 91,054 | 8,463 | 9.3 | 90,555 | 5,787 | 6.4 | 97,363 | 2,536 | 2.6 |
| 1940 | 89,169 | 18,509 | 20.8 | 87,172 | 8,093 | 9.2 | 91,054 | 5,602 | 6.2 | 90,955 | 1,782 | 2.0 |
| 1941 | 85,603 | 17,915 | 20.9 | 89,169 | 7,415 | 8.3 | 87,172 | 5,325 | 6.1 | 91,054 | 1,661 | 1.8 |
| 1942 | 83,672 | 18,363 | 21.9 | 85,603 | 7,797 | 9.1 | 89,169 | 5,325 | 6.0 | 87,172 | 1,692 | 1.9 |
| 1943 | 84,220 | 18,501 | 22.0 | 83,672 | 8,073 | 9.7 | 85,603 | 5,830 | 6.8 | 89,169 | 1,653 | 1.9 |
| 1944 | 83,717 | 19,651 | 23.5 | 84,220 | 8,742 | 10.3 | 83,672 | 6,122 | 7.3 | 85,603 | 1,783 | 2.1 |
| 1945 | 86,134 | 21,064 | 24.5 | 83,717 | 9,467 | 11.3 | 84,220 | 6,711 | 8.0 | 83,672 | 1,877 | 2.2 |

Sources: S.E.D., Education in Scotland in 1947. Cmd. 7519 (1948); and Census of Scotland, 1931. Report on the Fourteenth Decennial Census of Scotland, Volume II (1933).

Table 4.5: The Leaving and Senior Leaving Certificate, 1938 - 1939 to 1944 - 1945

| Year | Number of Entries | Percentage of Age Cohort | Number of Certificates Awarded | Percentage of Passes |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1938 - 39 | 5,663 | 6.3 | 4,086 | 72.2 |
| 1939 - 40 | 5,558 | 6.1 | 4,679 | 84.2 |
| 1940 - 41 | 5,212 | 6.0 | 4,309 | 82.7 |
| 1941 - 42 | 5,267 | 5.9 | 4,338 | 82.4 |
| 1942 - 43 | 5,640 | 6.6 | 4,686 | 83.1 |
| 1943 - 44 | 5,943 | 7.1 | 4,943 | 83.2 |
| 1944 - 45 | 6,350 | 7.5 | 5,233 | 82.4 |

Sources: S.R.O., ED.37/52 - 58; S.E.D. Summary Reports, 1939 - 1945, op.cit. Census of Scotland, 1931, op.cit.

CHAPTER FIVE

STAFFING SCOTTISH SCHOOLS

1. Evacuation and the Distribution of Teachers

The war inevitably produced a shortage of teachers in Scotland which became increasingly more apparent as the mobilisation of manpower became more intensive. A concomitant effect was a maldistribution of available teachers between different parts of the country and even between schools in the same education authority area. Maldistribution was particularly evident and, consequently, of greatest concern to central and local authorities, in the early months of the war during the waves of evacuation and the subsequent return of evacuees to the sending areas. The S.E.D.'s peace-time policy with regard to class size was enshrined in the new Day Schools Code of 1939: classes were not to exceed fifty in an infant or primary division; forty in the first three years of a course in a secondary division; thirty in the fourth and subsequent years; and twenty for practical instruction.¹ These guidelines were never formally abandoned in the war but became largely irrelevant in the struggle to cope with the fluctuations in the school-age populations in the reception areas.

Nearly 30 per cent of the Scottish school population was evacuated at the outbreak of war and was accompanied by some 12 per cent of the teachers who remained to instruct the evacuated children in the reception areas. Where the evacuated infant and primary classes and schools were able to preserve their identity initially and work as units, evacuated teachers found themselves teaching much smaller classes than normal. This advantage/

1. P.R.O., ED.138/65 Article 27, Day Schools (Scotland) Code, 1939.

advantage was usually offset by makeshift accommodation, and a lack of equipment which necessitated a flexibility and the use of more informal methods on the part of teachers which not all of them were able, or willing, to display. Some local schools' rolls were swollen by the influx of official - and unofficial - evacuees and, with staffs depleted by the calls of war service and lack of help from certain sending areas, classes tended to be temporarily larger than before the war.

The drift back to the cities brought complaints that there were excessive numbers of teachers in the reception areas and that some were under-employed. The Treasury quickly pressed this point on the Board and the S.E.D. in the cause of economy, especially as the teachers were campaigning loudly and successfully for better billeting allowances.¹ The D.H.S. produced figures which claimed to show that in a "good many instances", the proportion of transferred teachers to evacuated children was "unusually high".² The S.E.D. wrote to H.M.I.'s in August, 1940 suggesting that "in view of the heavy expenditure involved in the payment of allowances... they would welcome an assurance that teachers are not... retained in the reception areas longer than is necessary".³ The inspectorate was asked to review the staffing adjustments made in the reception areas at the start of the new academic year and bring cases of "extravagant and unwarrantable staffing" informally to the notice of directors of education.⁴ If the situation persisted they were required to report to the S.E.D.

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1. S.E.D. Circular 169 (17 June, 1940).
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/10. Draft minute by the Secretary, S.E.D., to H.M.I.'s, 28 August, 1940.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

The size and delicacy of the problem and the relative inability of central authority to deal with staffing extravagancies and deficiencies, was well illustrated in the H.M.I.s' reports. Among the 34 children at the rural primary school in Foulden, Berwickshire, were two Edinburgh evacuees. The sole member of staff was, therefore, supplemented by an Edinburgh teacher as Berwickshire Education Authority considered 33 pupils the maximum for a one-teacher school. The "obvious expedient" of re-billeting the children - a brother and sister - presented difficulties "owing to the widespread lack of enthusiasm" for receiving evacuated children.¹ The district H.M.I., A.F. Hyslop, believed that "external (financial) pressure would seem to be required if the Department agree that the present arrangement is wasteful".² The S.E.D. displayed no desire to exert such pressure as these local embarrassments often, literally, disappeared overnight.

Secondary schools in reception areas watched their rolls growing while specialists in subjects such as mathematics, science, handwork and physical education, left to play a more direct role in the war effort; Stirling High School had 52 official evacuees in October, 1940 but no transferred teachers.³ The 166 Edinburgh children enrolled in the four secondary schools in the landward area of Inverness, however, were accompanied by six teachers from the city.⁴ Local situations were the product of the determination of receiving areas to maintain their regulation/

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1. Ibid. A.F. Hyslop, H.M.I., to S.E.D., 17 September, 1940.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid. R.B. Kerr, H.M.I., to S.E.D., 17 October, 1940.
 4. Ibid. R.Barron, H.M.I., to Mackay Thomson, 16 September, 1940.

regulation size of classes and the success of sympathetic sending authorities in persuading teachers to travel to, and remain in, frequently remote, rural locations. As we have observed, Glasgow Education Authority experienced such recalcitrance on the part of its teachers that they were obliged to institute compulsory three months' tours of duty. Edinburgh adopted a similar procedure.

The ebb-tide of evacuation helped significantly to reduce the problems of mal-distribution in the winter of 1940-1941 but they reasserted themselves in the dispersal following the Clydeside raids. The D.H.S., were unable - to the dismay of the S.E.D. - to take account of the educational needs of the evacuees as the availability of billets became the overriding factor in deciding where to send groups of children, rather than the availability of school accommodation. Thus the local authorities at Whitburn, West Lothian, generously "persisted" in offering billets, although the normal enrolment in the local school overflowed into two halls.¹ 900 evacuees were drafted into West Lothian but only one teacher was sent from Glasgow after "special application" for assistance because 100 of the children were admitted to one school.² Staff seconded from the S.E.D. to the D.H.S. and the use of H.M.I's as evacuation liaison officers were unable to prevent such local difficulties in the face of the acute shortage of billets.

The ebb and flow of evacuees and the maintenance of a balance between their numbers and those of transferred teachers proved an intractable problem. The different ratios of staff maintained by different sending areas/

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1. Ibid. Extract from Dr. Munro's Report. n.d. (mid-1941).
 2. Ibid.

areas in the same reception area was a source of increasing local bitterness. W.F. Arbuckle, seconded from the inspectorate to the D.H.S., eventually suggested that the "significant" ratios of teachers to children were those less than one to 20 in the burghs and one to 15 in the landward areas for the guidance of H.M.I.'s.¹ As educational life returned to Glasgow in 1940-1941, however, the city authorities began to suspect that they were subsidising the teaching strengths of 'reception areas' as the teacher shortage became more acute. The increasing sense of frustration in the city at the slow rate of its educational recuperation in the autumn of 1941 seemingly encouraged the inspector, Archibald King, to make investigations and observations which revealed a nexus of staffing problems. He noted that there were 32 schools in the city where, "owing to shortage of staff", the numbers of children in school at any one time fell short of the shelter accommodation. Glasgow had "not repaired to the full the usual wastage since the war began": over 600 teachers had left for national work or service in the forces; since 1 April, 1941 "at least 115" Chapter III teachers had been lost in this way and "many others" with Article 39 qualification had been transferred from primary to secondary schools. Double-shifting was commonplace. The Education Authority had appointed some 60 to 70 married women who had been forced to leave the profession in the previous five years but this did little to ease the growing problem of adequate staffing.² At the same time the city was struggling to maintain a ratio of one primary teacher to 30 evacuated children in some reception areas when the normal ratio within its own boundaries was one to 40 or 50. The growing number of available school/

1. S.R.O., ED.24/11. A. Williams to Jardine, 29 October, 1941.

2. Ibid. A. King, H.M.I., to Mackay Thomson, 24 October, 1941.

school places as the shelter building programme gathered pace and the well-publicised return of evacuees only served to underline the lack of teachers and arouse public criticism.

King's attention was drawn to the numbers of transferred Glasgow teachers in Bute where he found the ratio was one for every 33 evacuated city children. Dunbarton, in comparison, maintained one teacher for every 40 children and Renfrewshire one for every 33. "It is obvious", he concluded, "that Renfrewshire is not pulling its weight", and this was throwing greater burdens upon Glasgow teachers with the implication that a reduction in Glasgow's complement would be difficult to achieve without the S.E.D.'s intervention. King assumed from his discovery that "other counties may be holding on to Glasgow teachers so that their return lagged far behind the return of the children". He therefore requested Mackay Thomson for an inspectorate investigation to "find out if some of the teachers could not be returned to Glasgow".¹

The S.E.D. in a minute to H.M.I.'s in early November, 1941, launching the investigation, urged the desirability of no "very marked differences" in a receiving area between the ratios of transferred teachers to evacuated children from various sending areas because of the "undue strain" that this might place upon the resources of an authority which had "a relatively large number of its teachers out-stationed in a receiving area".² The results, however, while no doubt disappointing to King insofar as they did not reveal any significant numbers of teachers who might be more beneficially employed in their home authorities, must /

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to H.M.I.'s. Allocation of transferred teachers in receiving areas, 7 November, 1941.

must have reassured the S.E.D. Further inconsistencies in relative contributions were brought to light: in Ayrshire, Dunbarton maintained a one to 75 ratio as compared to Glasgow's one to 37; in Inverness, Glasgow supplied no teachers to help cater for its 416 pupils, while in Lanark, Dunbarton and Renfrew appeared to lean heavily on the 138 Glasgow teachers sent to teach the 5008 children evacuated from the city.¹ The reports revealed the local unpopularity of the Glasgow teachers' tours of duty in disrupting continuity of provision, but the S.E.D. were reluctant to attempt to upset the arrangement. "This," concluded A. Williams, Private Secretary to Mackay Thomson, "is doubtless their price for co-operation in the (evacuation) scheme and any attempt to lengthen their stay would embroil the E.A. with the E.I.S."²

The results of the investigation, rather than suggesting that Glasgow could legitimately claim for the wholesale return of teachers to the city, seemed to point to the need for a redistribution of its transferred staff among the receiving areas. In West Lothian, for example, where there was one Glasgow teacher and 329 city children, the problem was "serious and urgent".³ The S.E.D.'s appeal resulted in some minor reshuffling of staff in various areas but King commented in March, 1942, "that though their efforts had produced "some effect", the results had not been entirely satisfactory."⁴ In the previous month Glasgow Education Authority decided to take matters into their own hands.

Concluding/

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1. Ibid. Williams to Jardine, 2 February, 1941.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid. W.A. Munro, H.M.I., to Mackay Thomson, 19 January, 1941.
 4. Ibid. King to Mackay Thomson, 14 March, 1942.

Concluding that the supply of recruits, including married women, was insufficient to restore adequate staffing, they decided to open negotiations with receiving authorities for the return of 120 Glasgow teachers, although the decision was taken upon the basis of what King regarded as a misleading set of figures.¹ The return of the transferred teachers to the city was subsequently facilitated by the virtual collapse of the evacuation scheme in Scotland in 1942. Three years of total war, however, and its insatiable demands for manpower, made the preservation of an adequate, if much depleted, teaching force in Scotland an increasing source of concern for central and local government.

2. The Call-up of Scottish Schoolteachers

When considering the issue of conscription in May, 1938 and in the following September at the height of the Munich crisis, the S.E.D. countenanced the call-up of all male teachers under the age of forty. They naturally looked to the solutions employed in the Great War in meeting the consequent teacher shortage; they were prepared to authorise "as may be found necessary", the employment of "suitable persons" in the schools, "e.g. married women or other retired teachers... and... persons who may not fulfil all the technical requirements of qualification and training".² After the publication of the National Service Guide and the Provisional Schedule of Reserved Occupations, official attitudes were modified and the central departments issued advice to teachers as to their position in relation to the call for various forms of national service.³

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/1. Arrangements for the work of the Department in time of war, n.d. (14 September, 1938).
 3. B.P.P., Ministry of Labour and National Service. Schedule of Reserved Occupations (Provisional), Cmd. 5926 (1939).

In general, "the first responsibility" of teachers in time of emergency was to their pupils.¹ The provisional age of reservation for men was fixed at twenty-five; women were regarded as reserved irrespective of age, although they could volunteer for service which might become full-time nursing, or first-aid work, in time of war. Men under twenty-five were free to offer themselves for any form of national service which might become full-time in war. Those over twenty-five were not to volunteer but could offer service which could be given part-time in an emergency, outwith their regular teaching duties. Men involved with the Territorial Army, or similar organisations, were not expected to sever their connections.²

The strong recruiting campaign by the reserve forces in the spring of 1939 and the desire of some schoolmasters to volunteer rather than risk conscription to a service not of their choice, encouraged the Government to change their minds and permit those over twenty-five to enrol for full-time military service in the event of war.³ Teachers in schools in evacuable areas and whose services would be needed in the evacuation, would not be allowed to join their military units until the movements were completed. The Government reiterated their opinion that "teachers who are unable to enrol for active service... are giving the best form of National Service in their power by remaining in the schools..."⁴ A pledge was also given that, should war break out, legislation would be introduced to safeguard teachers' salaries and pensions if they were to join, or had previously joined, the forces with the sanction of their education authorities.

With/

1. S.E.D., Circular 118 (21 February, 1939)
2. Ibid.
3. S.E.D., Circular 119 (1 June, 1939)
4. Ibid.

With the coming of war, the reservation age of twenty-five was re-imposed for all teachers who had not already volunteered. Teachers who joined the forces, or undertook any other form of war service, could have their pay supplemented to 100 per cent of their civil salary under the Local Government Staffs (War Service) Act, 1939.¹ This measure granted permissive powers only to local authorities which some proved reluctant to exercise. By March 1942, seven Scottish authorities and three governing bodies were exercising them to the fullest extent,² nineteen were following modified schemes³ and eight had applied no general rule but were willing to give "sympathetic consideration" in cases of hardship.⁴ One authority had not reached a final decision.⁵ Strong representations by the E.I.S. to the S.E.D. and, ultimately, to the Secretary of State, proved unavailing, insofar as central authority was only willing to exhort local authorities to make full use of the act. An associated reluctance on the part of some Scottish education authorities to pay war bonuses recommended by the National Joint Council despite efforts by the S.E.D. on the teachers' behalf and an expanding range of duties in schools, contributed significantly to unhappy teacher-employer relationships in Scotland for the greater part of the war. Scottish teachers' superannuation rights were safeguarded, however, as promised under the Education (Scotland) (War Service Superannuation) Act, 1939, which provided for any period of war service to be treated as contributory service.⁶

In/

1. 2 & 3 Geo 6, c.94.
2. S.E.J., 27 March, 1942. Bute; Clackmannan; Dunbartonshire; Inverness-shire; Kirkcudbrightshire; Orkney; and Shetland. The governing bodies were the Merchant Company; George Heriot's; and Heriot Watt.
3. Ibid. Aberdeen; Aberdeenshire; Argyll; Ayrshire; Dumfries-shire, Dundee; East Lothian; Edinburgh; Fife; Glasgow; Kincardine; Lanarkshire; Midlothian; Moray & Nairn; Peebles-shire; Perth & Kinross; Renfrewshire; Stirlingshire; and West Lothian.
4. Ibid. Angus; Banffshire; Berwickshire; Ross & Cromarty; Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire; Sutherland; and Wigtownshire.
5. Ibid. Caithness.
6. 2 & 3 Geo 6, c.96.

In the critical military situation in the spring of 1940 the reservation age for schoolmasters was raised from twenty-five to thirty from 1 August, excepting that for headmasters which remained at twenty-five.¹ The Board and the S.E.D. had suggested that teachers between the ages of twenty-five and thirty in the lower medical categories should not be called up and the Ministry of Labour agreed that teachers in the medical grade 3 would be left in the schools until service demands for men in that grade had been met from other occupations.² As a consequence of the change in the age of reservation, Mackay Thomson anticipated "a certain amount of inconvenience" in the schools but in view of "national requirements", the S.E.D., like the Board, could do no other than accept the amendment.³

Even further losses of teachers were inevitable after a relaxation of the Schedule of Reserved Occupations in December 1940, which allowed the release of staff between the ages of thirty-one and fifty who had held commissions, or had O.T.C. experience.⁴ The patriotic fervour gripping the country prompted some teachers to write to the S.E.D. and the E.I.S. stating their wish to join the Army Officers' Emergency Reserve and the R.A.F. Volunteer Reserve. The S.E.D., like the Board, suggested that, subject to retaining men essential to the O.T.C's., education authorities and governing bodies should co-operate in releasing such teachers. The S.E.D. recognised that these various developments would face many secondary schools with "serious staffing problems", particularly/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 166 (31 May, 1940).
 2. S.R.O., ED.25/4. Mackay Thomson to Captain McEwen and the Secretary of State, 17 April, 1940.
 3. Ibid.
 4. S.E.D. Memorandum M 168 (7 August, 1940).

particularly in certain subjects.¹ To offset this, they believed that the continued fall in the school population and the postponement of the raising of the school leaving age might allow replacement by transfer rather than by appointment of new staff, while these gaps could be filled from the pool of unemployed teachers and, later, by the re-employment of married women.

Not surprisingly, the first specialist areas to be hit by the war were those of physical education, mathematics, science, domestic science and technical subjects. By the end of 1940 over half the male physical education teachers in Glasgow schools and a "good proportion" of the female staff had either joined the services, or had been absorbed in other activities arising out of the war, while over a third of the technical and handwork staff had also been lost.² The drain on the supply of physical education specialists was reduced in the autumn of 1940 with the agreement of the War Office to release such qualified staff as the S.E.D. believed necessary to maintain physical training in the schools' curriculum.³ But the education authorities were showing concern at the shortage of science and mathematics teachers by October, 1940; Mackay Thomson cryptically informed Henderson that, "It might be necessary to take separate action (from the Board) but that he was not hopeful of any result until, at least, all the expedients available had been tried".⁴ Such specialists were already enrolled on a central register and therefore/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 166, op.cit.
 2. The Corporation of Glasgow. Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., pp.5-6. S.E.D. Circular 161 (20 March, 1940); Memorandum M 166 (31 July, 1940); and Circular 171 (22 June, 1940), had all emphasised the importance of teachers of technical subjects' contributions to the war effort.
 3. S.E.D., Circular 181 (20 September, 1940).
 4. E.I.S. Papers. Interview with Mr Mackay Thomson, 30 October, 1942.

therefore, protected from call-up, but had often left the schools for other work of national importance.¹ In general, the S.E.D. felt that the staffing situation was "reasonably satisfactory".² Yet there were ominous signs: some teachers, previously unable to find work in the area of their choice, were now obtaining posts; and those areas offering the poorest salary scales such as Angus began to find that they were developing the severest staffing problems.

In January, 1941 the Board and the S.E.D. were confronted by a new set of proposals in a memorandum by Sir William Beveridge for the Man Power-Priorities Committee which would extend the de-reservation of teachers up to the age of forty and accomplish extensive changes in the schedule of reserved occupations.³ In assessing the political damage the proposals might inflict on the schools and educational service in England and Wales, the Board favoured the preparation of a list of categories of reserved teachers which would include all heads, all teachers in technical schools, and mathematics and science specialists. Mackay Thomson preferred a more flexible system to apply in Scotland.⁴ He wanted an arrangement with the Ministry of Labour whereby on registration for military service, a teacher's case would be referred to the respective education authority which, perhaps together with an inspector, would consider his indispensability. The final decision, however, would rest with the S.E.D. - a formula which would allow the Department to control, to some extent, a deteriorating situation.

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1. S.E.D., Press Notice. Teachers and National Service, 27 June, 1940.
2. Male teachers holding a 1st. or 2nd. class honours degree in physics, chemistry, mathematics, engineering or metallurgy who, with the raising of the age to thirty, were liable to be called up for military service on, or after, 1 August were asked by the Ministry of Labour to communicate with the central register so that their services might be considered for technical work in the war effort.
3. S.R.O., ED.25/4. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 6 January, 1941.
4. Ibid.

The Permanent Secretary was resigned to facing "further inroads on our teaching power" as a consequence of Beveridge's proposals; he estimated that they would result in the loss of some 4,300 men out of the 9,500 in schools, central institutions, training centres and colleges at the start of the war.¹ There would remain the core of the profession - some 21,000 women - and the possibility of temporary recruits. Nevertheless,

"The most serious danger we have to face is an undue depletion of the number of specialists in Maths and Science... The ranks of these teachers have already been somewhat heavily depleted in favour of ... national interests".²

"A substantial cache of specialists", he minuted, "must be maintained in the secondary schools".³ He was reconciled also "to the suspension of a good many features of the full peace-time curriculum" and "possibly to an increase in the size of classes as well as the acceptance of teachers with lesser qualifications than we normally expect".⁴ The responsibility lay firmly with the Secretary of State for judging "the necessity... of subordinating educational efficiency to the requirements of the fighting services".⁵ But "if the Department is allowed by the power of reservation, to maintain... the male staff which is deemed essential... the vital elements of education can be preserved despite the further heavy draft on the male side of the teaching profession which the present proposals will impose".⁶

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Data and Conclusions.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. Data and conclusions.

The Ministry of Labour eventually decided after negotiations that the age of reservation for assistant masters would have to rise to thirty-five on 1 July, 1941 but that 10 per cent of key assistant masters could be reserved.¹ The age of reservation for headmasters was to be kept at thirty. These two concessions were very important in the Scottish rural context as the appointment of heads and assistant masters to rural schools was causing difficulties in some areas. There was also to be reservation for specialists in mathematics and science and for key men in other subjects to the extent of 15 per cent of the age-group. Whereas the figure for key assistants was to be announced to enable education authorities to frame proposals, that for secondary schoolmasters would be simply communicated to H.M.I.'s for their guidance.

The extension of the call-up to cover what was regarded as the cream of the profession was widely regretted in the educational press.² The replacement of the thirty to thirty-five age group by the elderly, the retired, and the less-qualified auxiliaries recalled in many minds the disastrous policy of the First World War. Public opinion - if reflected accurately in the general press - was not so alarmed: a contributor to the Stirling Journal and Advertiser commented:

"Education is important - very much so - but at a pinch it can be done without. Our forefathers did not do very badly with very little of it".³

The growing concern of the E.I.S. was reflected in the assurance sought and gained by Dr G.A. Morrison, their parliamentary representative, from the/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 193. (9 April, 1941).
 2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.107.
 3. Stirling Journal and Advertiser, 29 May, 1941.

the Ministry of Labour in August, 1941, that "apart from some quite unforeseen development in the war situation, the present measure of reservation and deferment of teachers will not be disturbed".¹ Such an assurance was welcomed but seen as of limited value at a crucial stage in the war by the S.E.D. Several H.M.I.'s believed that if the war was a long one, "the call-up of men, especially from secondary schools, has gone as far as it can go if the interests of education are to be reasonably conserved. Further calling up will be disastrous".²

Such a possibility was, indeed, facing the two central education departments by October, 1941. The Man Power-Priorities Committee were considering the draft of some 16 per cent of all local government male staff, including teachers, between the ages of eighteen and forty as a further contribution to the requirements of the armed forces.³ The President of the Board was adamant about "not letting another teacher go",⁴ whereas the Secretary of State held that "we cannot go so far as the B.of E. propose to go".⁵ The S.E.D. nevertheless, brought as many arguments as they could effectively muster in the Scottish Office's submission. "While it might be possible in a few individual schools to release additional men, a general reduction..." it adjured, "would seriously affect the efficiency of the schools".⁶ Already 2,400 male teachers in Scotland had been called up; only 6,600 were left in the schools, including 2,600 between eighteen and forty. If "overriding considerations of policy made a further call-up of teachers necessary the /

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/54. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 9 October, 1941.
 2. S.R.O., ED.24/42. Summaries of H.M.I.'s Reports during War Period, July, 1941.
 3. S.R.O., ED.24/54. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 8 October, 1941.
 4. Ibid. P.J.G.Rose to D. Milne, 8 October, 1941.
 5. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 8 October, 1941.
 6. Ibid. Milne to Rose, teleprinter message, 9 October, 1941.

the Ministry of Labour could expect "a very small number" from Scottish schools and would be required "to accept the judgement of the Department as to which teachers can be spared". Furthermore, the Department regarded it as "absolutely essential" that women in this age group "should be allowed to join the teaching profession, otherwise it will be unable to meet its obligations..."

The shortage of manpower impelled the Government to work towards the abolition of the Schedule of Reserved Occupation by raising the existing age of reservation by one year on the first day of every month, commencing 1 January 1942.¹ The concept of a reserved occupation was replaced by that of deferment - the deferring of the call-up of particular individuals instead of reserving whole occupations - and thus more in line with Mackay Thomson's favoured solution. Some exceptions were made, mainly for the professions, the press, national government and comparable services where special deferment schemes existed. The S.E.D.'s circular in December, 1941 outlining the procedure for the deferment of educational staff, anticipated that, "Authorities and Managers will generally desire to retain all the men teachers still remaining in their employment" and urged them to apply at the appropriate dates "for the deferment of the calling-up of the whole of their teaching staff of military age..." If they felt that they could "dispense with the services" of any male staff they were to inform the Department.

The machinery created for the deferment of individual teachers stabilised the size of the male teaching force in Scottish schools for the remainder of the war.^{2/}

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1. S.E.D., Circular 212 (6 December, 1941).
 2. The position with regard to deferment of teachers is summarised in P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.467, footnote 76. 2,366 male teachers in Scotland had been deferred as at 31 December, 1944. S.E.D., Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Year 1946* Cmd. 6667 (1945-46), p.4. Hereafter cited as 'Summary Report, 1946*'.
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Nevertheless, by 31 March, 1942, 2,514 male teachers (28.6 per cent) were serving in the forces or other forms of war service, though the Scottish teaching strength had declined by only 5.4 per cent - from 28,963 to 27,402 - largely through the employment of women replacements. The latter had ensured that the net outflow of Chapter IV teachers was a mere 0.3 per cent but could not prevent a respective 19.8 per cent and 6.3 per cent fall in the numbers of Chapter V and Chapter VI teachers.¹

3. The Effects of the Call-up

The S.E.D. characterised the staffing situation in Scottish schools in 1942 as "fairly adequate"; 2,621 married women and 98 retired teachers had returned to the classrooms to help ease a worrying situation.² To preserve the educational fabric, however, central and local administration faced two interrelated issues: the retention of the female nucleus of the profession when the patriotic and economic lure of other work was so very strong; and the maintenance of a reasonable balance and standard of staffing throughout the country.

With women teachers safely included in the reserved list of occupations the S.E.D. were able to turn to exhortation in January, 1942:

"No woman teacher should feel any doubt where her duty lies: unless she has some special qualification which is of particular value to some other vital branch of the national war effort, she will be undertaking the best form of service in her power by continuing her teaching work".³

Women students at universities and training colleges intending to become teachers were advised not to abandon their courses as they would not be called/

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/450. S.E.D., Statement for the Royal Commission on Equal Pay, 15 February, 1945.
 2. S.E.D., Summary Report, 1942, op.cit., p.5.
 3. S.E.D., Circular 219 (26 January, 1942).

called up during that academic year. Suitably qualified schoolgirls wishing to enter training courses were to be encouraged. By February, 1943, with the supply of trained teachers giving cause for "serious apprehension" and other sources proving inadequate in filling the gaps, the S.E.D. found it necessary to repeat the appeal to womanly duty.¹

In an attempt to maintain a reasonable balance and standard of staffing in the various education authorities, the S.E.D. decided in 1942 to guide the flow of new entrants to teaching from the training colleges and centres to the areas of greatest need. The Board adopted a similar policy in England and Wales.² Scottish education authorities and managers were asked in May to indicate their minimum requirements for newly-qualified teachers³ while the S.E.D. concurrently gathered particulars of superannuated and married teachers employed to check whether these sources had been fully tapped.⁴ The information given by the authorities confirmed that the supply of honours graduates would "scarcely equal demand" and that of non-specialist Chapter IV teachers was /

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1. S.E.D., Circular 1 (20 February, 1943).
 2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., pp.99-102.
 3. S.E.D., Memorandum M.273 (16 May, 1942)
 4. The supply of married women returning to the classroom was not helped by the niggardly attitude of some education authorities who reduced the supplement to military service pay of those teachers whose wives undertook paid employment.

was less than half the output of the training institutions at the end of the summer term.¹ In view of the varying requirements for honours graduates and the relatively small numbers involved, the S.E.D. decided not to modify the normal appointment procedure. But as to Chapter IV teachers, it was considered "of prime importance in the national interest that these teachers should be distributed among the various authorities on the most equitable basis, regard being had to the general shortage of such teachers and to the needs of each area..."² The S.E.D., therefore, suggested a distribution scheme for student teachers completing their training in June and December and requested education authorities not to appoint a larger number than that allocated without "prior consultation".³ The small residue then remaining would be distributed to those authorities who could support their claim that their quota was insufficient "to maintain a reasonably satisfactory standard of education".⁴ Additionally, the authorities were requested not to make up any shortage by recruiting experienced teachers from other areas. The majority honoured the /

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1. S.E.D., Circular 273 (13 June, 1942). Qualification for teaching in Scotland was categorised as follows:
 - (a) Teacher's General Certificate (Chapter VI): a qualification to teach primary school subjects. For women there were two courses available to gain this certificate:-(i) a three year non-graduate course at a training college, and (ii) a university ordinary course in arts followed by one year and one term of professional training at a training college.
 - (b) Teacher's Special Certificate (Chapter V): a qualification to teach 'special' subjects in secondary divisions, or departments. Men and women had to obtain a first, or second, class honours degrees in arts or science and complete a year of professional training at a training college.
 - (c) Teacher's Technical Certificate (Chapter VI): a qualification to teach, inter alia, art, music, commerce, domestic instruction, physical training, agriculture and engineering. Men and women had to obtain a Technical Diploma in one of these fields of study and then take at least two terms of professional training at a training college.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

the system and kept a gentleman's agreement about the recruitment of experienced staff. The quota system was operated on a yearly basis by the S.E.D. for the remainder of the war utilising the estimates provided by the authorities.¹

The inauguration of the quota system angered the E.I.S. The failure of the memorandum to make the salary recommendations of the National Joint Council mandatory was interpreted as a betrayal of teachers' interests while protecting those of the children. "Surely," William Wallace told Johnston, "it had been possible to draw the attention... of any Authority which was not honouring the recommendations... and therefore might have been finding difficulty in recruiting and even maintaining its standard of staffing, to the fact that the Department was not willing... to assist by allocating quotas". The pent-up frustrations of the war found expression in the E.I.S.'s reaction to the scheme:

"... the profession had, during the last three years, given unstintingly of its service (but) it could not go on being givers and seldom receivers. We expected Military Service pay to be made up and threw ourselves wholeheartedly into carrying out the Evacuation Scheme: we expected the War Bonus awards and increased our efforts in Civil Defence and in Emergency Relief Organisation Work: we expected national awards to be nationally enforced and were told to go on with School Feeding"²

John Wishart indicated later that, if standard salary scales applicable to the whole country had been in operation, "our attitude might have been different"³

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1. The services of 800 teachers were distributed under the initial scheme. Dr. Jardine remarked that "the quota system had been working well..." E.I.S. Papers. Interview with the S.E.D., 24 September, 1942.
2. Ibid. Interview with the Secretary of State, 27 July, 1942.
3. Ibid. General Secretary to Mrs. L Manning, 10 October, 1942.

The gentleman's agreement between the education authorities resulted in the apparent 'immobilisation' of Scottish teachers akin to the 'freezing' of individuals in other jobs under Essential Works Orders. Such was the annoyance of the E.I.S. that their Parliamentary Committee hinted darkly that unless conditions were improved they might actively encourage Scottish teachers to take posts in England.¹ A number of cases of immobilisation were reported to the Institute after The Scottish Educational Journal requested personal experiences in May, 1943.² These revealed that on occasions, when pressed, the authorities backed down and allowed teachers to leave for jobs in England, or in other Scottish areas.³

The quota and gentleman's agreement were not entirely to the liking of the larger, and more financially attractive, authorities. After losing 22 per cent of male staff by September, 1940, Glasgow Education Authority were disposed to make good their losses, not only by waiving the ban on the employment of married women but also by luring experienced staff from other areas with the best salary scales in Scotland, despite the sourness created by a series of salary disputes in the pre-war years.⁴ Even so, by the end of 1941, with 640 teachers on military service and 987 on evacuation duty, the staff shortage was so intense that double-shifting was an unhappy feature of life in many Glasgow schools.⁵ An E.I.S. survey of seventeen city schools in the autumn of 1941 showed that 83 teachers were teaching separate classes in two shifts; the average teacher-pupil/

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1. Ibid. Notes of Discussion at Meeting of Parliamentary Committee held on 3 July, 1942.
 2. S.E.J., 28 May, 1943.
 3. E.I.S. Papers. 'Immobilisation' File.
 4. Glasgow Herald, 11 June, 1940.
 5. E.I.S. Papers. Report of Deputation to the Scottish Education Department, 17 November, 1941.

teacher - pupil ratio was one to 85; and there were nineteen classes containing over 50 children.¹ The general educational situation in the city was so difficult that Mackay Thomson gave a "definite assurance" to an E.I.S. deputation in November that "the Department did not expect the same standard of work to be maintained where war conditions were bound to affect it".² The quota system and unofficial immobilisation prevented the amelioration of Glasgow's chronic problems at the expense of other authorities, though these were considerably in excess of anything experienced elsewhere in Scotland. Restrictions on the employment of new teachers forced the city's Education Authority to employ those beyond the retiral age and, as noted, to review numbers on evacuation duty.³

Despite the expedients of individual deferment, quotas, immobilisation and, the modification of the regulations for the training and certification of teachers by the S.E.D. to permit the curtailment of professional courses, there was by midsummer of 1943 "an appreciable, though not yet serious scarcity of teachers".⁴ The supply of temporary substitutes was plainly not sufficient to compensate for the number of teachers absent on war service and the effects of under-supply from the training institutions. By the end of the war, the employment of almost 3,500 married and retired teachers and the early release of over 300 from the forces and other forms of national service, failed to prevent a rising number of vacancies which forced/

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1. Ibid. Double Shift System in Glasgow. Particulars regarding 17 schools drawn from different Areas in the City. n.d. (for consideration of a meeting of the Parliamentary Committee on 23 October, 1941).
 2. Ibid. Report of a Deputation... op.cit.
 3. Glasgow Herald, 25 August, 1942.
 4. P.R.O., ED.136/543. Third Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Extent of the Problem of Supply of Teachers, July, 1943, p.4.

forced the closure of some small schools, half-time instruction and the consolidation and reorganisation of classes in some areas.¹ One dimension of the problem was the intensified shortage of specialists in the familiar areas of mathematics, science, technical subjects, physical education and, additionally, nursery education; another was reflected in the concern over the size of classes, which was to manifest itself, for example, in the debate over the order of priorities to implement fully the Education(Scotland)Act, 1945.²

What were the effects of the Second World War on the size of classes in Scotland? An examination of the statistical data pertaining to the last years of peace and war suggests some important modifications to the generally gloomy picture suggested at times by the S.E.D. when surveying the loss of teachers in the first three years of the conflict. In March, 1939 there were 6,307 primary classes containing 40 or more children; by March, 1945 there were 5,820 - a decrease of 7.7 per cent - although those containing 51 or more had increased from 198 to 364 (See Table 5.1). In eighteen education authorities, all of which contained reception areas, there was a wartime increase in the number of classes with more than 40 children, and in fourteen a decrease, including the four burgh authorities. In Glasgow the overall number of such classes fell from 2,162 to 1,866 - a decrease of 13.7 per cent. Certain populous areas, however, did not share this improvement; Ayr, Fife, Lanark and Renfrew, which had significantly large numbers of these classes at the outbreak of war, failed to achieve decreases, probably because of their proximity/

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1. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Year 1945 Cmd. 6887 (1945-46). Hereafter cited as 'Summary Report, 1945'.
 2. See, for example, the Earl of Glasgow's motion in the House of Lords in September, 1945 to reduce the size of classes. P.R.O., ED.136/156.

proximity to the evacuation areas. Nevertheless, the conclusion can be drawn that the primary sector, in general, benefitting from a 2.7 per cent fall in roll in the war years, not only survived loss of staff and a diminished teacher supply, but experienced a reduction in the size of classes.¹ The explanation lies in the dominance of women in this educational sphere and their retention in the classroom in the face of other economic opportunities.

This improvement was offset by adverse trends in class-size in the secondary sector. Here, hindered by a 2.4 per cent increase in roll in the war years, the number of classes containing more than the stipulated 40 in the first three years, rose by 4.8 per cent from 2,340 in March, 1939 to 2,452 in March, 1945; 21 of the 35 education authorities reported increases and eleven decreases. Three of the burgh authorities were among the latter; in Edinburgh the number of such classes fell by some 39 per cent but Glasgow witnessed a sharp rise of nearly 22 per cent.

These differential trends in class-size in the war years in primary and secondary schools are partly explained by the loss of male secondary subject specialists and the shortage of general graduate teachers to the war effort which also deflected male graduates from teacher training.

The /

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1. The average number of pupils on school rolls at the beginning and end of the war was:

| | Session | Session | Percentage |
|-----------|---------|---------|--------------------------|
| | 1939-40 | 1944-45 | <u>increase/decrease</u> |
| Primary | 603,341 | 587,061 | -2.7 |
| Secondary | 162,188 | 166,138 | +2.4 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 765,588 | 753,199 | -1.6 |

B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Reports, 1939-1940, op cit., p.11; and 1945, op. cit., p.4.

The move towards an all-graduate male entry in the inter-war years, at a time of general over-supply, produced a reliance in secondary schools upon a cache of male specialists whose services were required elsewhere in wartime with the consequences outlined above. Yet the war only served to accentuate difficulties in teacher supply in Scotland which were becoming apparent at the end of the 1930's.

4. The Supply of Teachers

The Scottish teacher-training institutions were closed briefly at the outbreak of the war but quickly re-opened again. Unlike England, Scotland had "no abundance" of training colleges in the reception areas to which students could be evacuated, so it was decided that, together with the universities and other central institutions, they should carry on with their work.¹

In the absence of bombing in the early part of the war, the training colleges and centres did not suffer serious disturbance, although the closure of schools and pressure on educational accommodation produced a lack of facilities for teaching practice in their immediate environs. Increased amounts of practice were undertaken in schools near the students' homes which prompted the S.E.D. to enthuse that "this emergency measure has its advantages".² Very quickly added variety in teaching practice experience became available in school camps, nursery schools and wartime nurseries.

The /

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1. S.R.O., ED24/4. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 22 February, 1939.
 2. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1939-40, op.cit. p.22.

The outbreak of war, however, brought a marked decrease in the number of student entrants into the training centres and colleges: in 1938-39 there were 1,558 but in 1942-43 only 1,030 with the figure rising to 1,218 in the last wartime session (See Table 5.2). This decrease accentuated a decline apparent in the immediate pre-war years which was a consequence of an official policy of control in an attempt to reduce teacher unemployment, combined with a fall in the number of entrants into the arts and science faculties of Scottish universities. Sir Henry Keith of the Central Executive Committee of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, recalled that, in the early 1930's, "they were congratulating themselves that the numbers of entrants were falling" but by 1936 "whispers could be heard of a coming shortage".¹ In 1939 the annual demand for Chapter IV and V teachers was a thousand per year² - more than the annual intake of entrants in these categories since 1936-37.³ The reduction in the number of entrants in the 1930's was inadvertently to compound the problems of staff shortage in the schools during the war years.

As men left to join the armed forces or undertake other forms of national service, so the numbers-in-training dropped dramatically from 762 in all categories in 1938-39 to a mere 87 in 1942-43 (see Table 5.2). Fortunately, the number of women in the training institutions suffered only a 14 per cent decrease in the same period and, by the end of the war, showed even a slight overall increase, thus limiting the wartime reduction in the number/

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1. S.E.J., 3 July, 1942.
 2. P.R.O., ED.136/543. Third Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op.cit. p.5.
 3. The combined intake was 977 in 1936-37 and 920 in 1937-38. P.R.O., ED. 136/543. op.cit.

number of students successfully completing their training to 26 per cent. Indeed, it was the fairly constant supply of non-graduate female entrants which formed an ever-growing proportion of the General Certificate student numbers after 1934, that not only maintained Scottish primary education in the war years, but also helped to effect reductions in class-size in many areas. The S.E.D.'s decision in the early 1920's to confine compulsory graduate qualification to men probably prevented a serious reduction in the number of female entrants to training institutions, and unwittingly helped to mitigate the effects of war on the Scottish schools.

The major difficulty in supply occasioned by the war's outbreak apart from the relative dearth in some categories of technical subjects, was a consequence of the fall in the numbers of graduates, especially honours graduates, which after faltering in the pre-war years, were halved in the first three years of war. The numbers of honours students studying for the Special Certificate dropped from 216 in 1938-39 to 49 in 1942-43. The outbreak did not produce anything comparable to the collapse in the number of male university students in 1914.¹ Nevertheless the number declined sharply while that of women students steadily increased from 1940. In 1939 the age at which men were required to register for military service was twenty. This was lowered to nineteen in July, 1941 and subsequently to seventeen years nine months. As the age of registration was reduced so the joint recruiting boards, established at universities in the summer of 1939, found themselves increasingly involved in considering the deferment of younger students. The deferment of technical and scientific students who were making satisfactory progress was recommended by /

1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.145. The number of full-time students in attendance at grant-aided universities fell from 50,002 in 1938-39 to 37,839 in 1944-45.

by the boards so that they might complete the training necessary to prepare them for technical or scientific posts essential to the war effort.¹

The universities introduced special wartime regulations which reduced the minimum period of study required for a degree to two academic years for an 'ordinary' degree and three years for an 'honours' degree, but these concessions were only for students who went into national service.² Thus a total deferment of one year nine months was sufficient to enable men to obtain war degrees, although a number of the most promising students were permitted to remain at university to complete honours courses. Arts students entering universities in October, 1941, were still allowed at least one year at university provided that they were recommended by joint recruiting boards as likely to be suitable for commissioned service later. They were attested as members of the services and placed on the reserve to pursue their studies on condition that they trained with the Senior Training Corps or the University Air Squadron. The joint recruiting boards were informed in December, 1942 that there would be no arrangements to enable boys to proceed to universities in October, 1943 for the study of arts and so after the academic year 1942-1943 the study of arts subjects was confined to medically unfit men, and women.

The extension of registration and national service to women was not permitted to interfere seriously with their academic studies at university, but it did make it difficult for them to undertake professional training. The new regulations issued by the Ministry of Labour in July, 1942 did not allow women students to remain at university after the end of the academic/

1. Ibid., pp.145-146.
2. S.R. & O., 1940, No.319/516. This order was made under the Chartered and Other Bodies (Temporary Provisions) Act 1939. 2 & 3 Geo. 6 c.119.

academic year in which they reached the age of twenty.¹ This made a three year course the maximum even for the younger women entrants and a two year course the norm for most, with the result that Chapter V recognition, which required five years' study became impossible and Chapter III recognition - four years of study - difficult. A conference of the four Scottish Universities and the S.E.D. considered this difficulty and recommended that the universities should treat teacher-training and the acceptance of a teaching post as national service.² The curtailed degree courses would be recognised by the S.E.D., although if students could take the full university course they would be required to do so.

The recommendation was approved by the Ministry of Labour and incorporated in the arrangements for women entering full-time study at university in the autumn of 1943.³ These permitted a woman whose eighteenth birthday was on, or after, 1 October, 1943, to undertake a three year degree, diploma or certificate course. If she had passed her eighteenth, but not her nineteenth, birthday on or after the same date she could follow a two years' course. The university authorities would admit "only women who satisfy them that they wish to enter... for the purpose of qualifying for work of national importance, such as teaching or approved forms of social service".⁴ In October, 1943 the Secretary of State for Scotland duly announced an amendment of the regulations for teacher-training "with a view to meeting certain wartime difficulties"⁵; inter alia, these accepted shortened degree courses and that professional teacher-training followed/

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1. S.E.D. Memorandum M 281 (1 July, 1942).
 2. E.I.S. Papers., Recruitment of Teachers, Draft Memorandum of the Studies Committee, n.d. (April/May, 1943?).
 3. S.E.D. Memorandum M 27 (23 March, 1943).
 4. Ibid.
 5. S.E.D. Memorandum M 91 (28 October, 1943).

followed by appointment to a recognised teaching post, would be accepted by the universities as war service.¹ The provisions were applicable to all women students - including those who entered the universities in October, 1942 - who, under previous regulations, would have been unable to qualify for admission to teacher-training. These regulations remained in force to the end of the war, with the modification in 1944 which allowed two year courses to be extended to three for women reserved for study.²

The under-supply of graduates, particularly in the fields of mathematics and science, at the outset of the war and reduced further by the requirements of the conflict, was directly responsible for the shortages and consequent increase in class-sizes in secondary schools referred to early in the Chapter. The Advisory Council on Education estimated the total arrears of teaching staff in the three categories of certificate accumulated in the war years through under-supply and war losses at 2,500.³ Of this total, 680 - some 38.6 per cent - were in holders of the Special Certificate (Chapter V), though this qualification accounted for just over 15 per cent of the composition of school staffs in 1938.⁴ If, in general, the Scottish educational system survived the ravages of the war on teacher-supply remarkably well, the prospects for educational advance centred upon a raising of the school leaving age to fifteen years and ultimately/

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1. S.R. & O., 1943, No.1503. The Training of Teachers (Scotland) (No.1 Order), 5 October, 1943.
 2. S.E.D., M. 58 (1 July, 1944).
 3. B.P.P., S.E.D., Reports of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland on the Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers in the period immediately following the war. Cmd. 6501 (1943-44), Appendix Table 8, p.16.
 4. Ibid. Appendix, Table 1, p.10.

ultimately sixteen, without a rapid increase in teacher-supply, were unrealistic.

5. The Emergency Training Scheme

As thoughts turned increasingly towards reconstruction after the war, the importance of the relationship between aspirations for educational reform and teacher-supply, if the British systems of education were to be successfully extended and improved, was increasingly realised. Johnston regarded the recruitment and supply of teachers as "the keystone of the whole educational arch. If they could not recruit in adequate numbers the right type of teacher," he said, "then all their schemes and programmes for a better education of our children would be in vain".¹ The war had reduced teacher-supply to dangerous levels; not only did gaps have to be filled but new sources of supply would be required quickly to support advances and to meet the essential up-swing in the birth-rate predicted in the immediate post-war era.² In England, the Board set up an office committee in July, 1943 to consider and report on the problems in the emergency recruitment and training of teachers with the Deputy Secretary, A.S. Wood, as chairman. After their report, the Board established an advisory committee under the chairmanship of G.N. Fleming.³ The findings, published in a Board circular in May, 1944 approved the establishment of a number of emergency training colleges providing one year courses for members of the forces, and others in various civilian occupations attracted to teaching as a career.⁴ The circular also contained the first public/

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1. The Scotsman, 5 July, 1944.
 2. B.P.P., S.E.D., Reports of the Advisory Council...op.cit., Appendix, Part V, p.14. The post-war rise would begin to be significant in the sixth year after the end of war. By the eleventh year it was expected that the 4-14 age-range might be increased by about 60,000.
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.125.
 4. Board of Education, Circular 1652 (15 May, 1944).

public indication of the prospect of a Scottish scheme for the emergency recruitment of teachers analogous to that envisaged for England and Wales.

Among the many remits plied, at the insistence of Johnston, upon the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland was one on the recruitment and supply of teachers.¹ The committee which considered this problem estimated that in addition to the net teacher-deficit of 2,500 in the first post-war year, a further 1,430 would need to be recruited by "exceptional means" if the school leaving age were raised in the third post-war year, and another 320 if continuation classes were instituted in the sixth.² The committee's calculations assumed that the 2,500 retired teachers presently teaching would remain in service. A necessary pre-condition for attracting "the best types of men and women" into the profession was an enhancement of its status which the committee implied was dependent upon an improvement in salary.³ A newly-constituted National Joint Council under the chairmanship of Lord Teviot was set to work and resolved that there should be one set of improved standard salary scales to which all Scottish education authorities should be required to conform.⁴

The report further recommended the recruitment of candidates from new sources of supply, of which "the most fruitful source would be young men and women then in the Forces",⁵ and suggested the appointment of selection boards, rules for the selection of candidates and length of training.

Applicants/

1. See Chapter Eight.
2. B.P.P., S.E.D. Reports of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland... op.cit., Table 16, p.20.
3. P.R.O., ED.136/543. First (Interim) Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Recruitment and Supply of Teachers. 14 June, 1943.
4. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Westwood and the Secretary of State, 15 September, 1943.
5. B.P.P., S.E.D. Reports of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland... op.cit., p.40.

Applicants without the necessary qualifications for admission to Chapters IV and VI would be required to sit a special examination, though in "exceptional circumstances" the boards might waive this requirement. Conditions of entry would be closely examined and correspondence and tutorial classes instituted. Johnston, in his acceptance of the report asserted in July, 1944 that, "Every step that could be usefully taken to augment the supply of teachers based upon these recommendations would be taken".¹

The E.I.S. naturally viewed these recommendations with great suspicion. The Central Primary Committee expressed their concern about "post-war dilution of the teaching profession and consequent threat to professional standards"² and the Institute's Council instructed their Education Committee "to study the whole problem of dilution within the profession" and draw up an acceptable scheme.³ The report, adopted in June, 1945, acknowledged that "some measure" of dilution was inevitable but that "standards both academic and professional should be kept as high as possible" and that any emergency concessions made should be withdrawn within five years of the end of the war.⁴ William Wallace, in his presidential address in September, 1944 reflected some of the bitterness of the war-years when he commented that "the Institute could not take the risk of helping the Government to recruit for the teaching profession. When conditions of service are settled, when the improved salary scales are in operation, then and then only, can we reasonably be called upon to exert our influence".⁵

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1. The Scotsman, 5 July, 1944.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Central Primary Committee (Minute No.101), 27 May, 1944.
 3. Ibid. Council (Minute No.250), 14 October, 1944.
 4. Ibid. Annual General Meeting (Minute No.193), 9 June, 1945.
 5. Glasgow Herald, 30 September, 1944.

Johnston announced the broad lines of the emergency scheme to the Commons in November, 1944.¹ Under the aegis of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, selection boards composed of members of the provincial committees for teacher-training, training centre staff, and members of the S.E.D., were established at Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St Andrews. The boards determined the applicants' suitability and the length of course to be undertaken. In addition, there was a Central Selection Board of similar composition to the provincial selection boards, whose function was to review their decisions and establish a uniformity of procedure. By June, 1945, 1,169 applications had been received; one year later the total stood at 8,254; and by the winding-up of the scheme in 1949 some 13,427 had been considered, with the Glasgow board receiving over half this figure.²

The English scheme, which involved the establishment of emergency colleges providing a one year unexamined course with the satisfactory completion of a probationary period, was different in scale and purpose from its Scottish counterpart. Despite the fears of the E.I.S., the latter involved in practice "no large scale departure from the traditional standards of acceptance for entrance to the teaching profession in Scotland"³ The financial aid provided by the S.E.D. encouraged entrants from other spheres of economic activity, but of the 4,485 applicants eventually selected, 3,691 could "so far as the entrance and training demands made upon them were concerned, have obtained their recognition in the ordinary way".⁴

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1. Hansard (Commons) 5th series 401, 1089-1090, 4 July, 1944.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Central Selection Board. Emergency Recruitment and Training of Training of Teachers. A Report to the National Committee for the Training of Teachers (April, 1950), Table II, p.30.
 3. Ibid, p.21.
 4. Ibid. A number of men were admitted to a course lasting two years and two terms without graduation, the period of training occupying the same length of time as a 'war privilege' degree and professional training.

This aid recouped some of the social and economic losses of the depression years in that it "enabled many candidates to regain a foothold for the realisation of a previously frustrated desire to enter teaching".¹ The Glasgow board, in particular, interviewed many candidates whose careers at university had been tragically interrupted in the 1930's by financial pressures.

Successful Scottish entrants were catered for in existing training centres and colleges, although it was necessary for the "National Committee to secure additional premises for teachers of physical education and practical subjects."² The numbers accepted under the scheme were predominantly male (79 per cent) and exceeded the initial target set by the Advisory Council on Education by some 571. Table 5.3 reveals that the quota set for the Teacher's General Certificate under Chapter III regulations was not filled, but elsewhere the position was healthier. The supply of honours graduates was considerably in excess of the estimated requirement and sufficient candidates for the Teacher's Technical Certificate were forthcoming with the serious exceptions of physical education and commercial subjects. The Central Selection Board ceased to consider any new applications requiring educational and financial concessions from 1 April, 1947. By the start of the 1949-50 session it had become evident that special assistance would not attract further applicants from new sources of supply and that qualified candidates, with war service, could be trained under normal procedures.³

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1. Ibid., p.13.
2. Two emergency training centres for male and female teachers of physical education opened at Woolmanhill, Aberdeen at the beginning of the session 1946-47. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report on Education in Scotland for the Year 1946. Cmd. 7089 (1946-47)p.19. Hereafter referred to as 'Summary Report, 1946'.
3. Central Selection Board. op.cit., p.22. E.I.S. Papers.

As the end of the war approached, the difficulties of staffing the schools, particularly the secondary schools, in the post-war years were widely discussed. In Scotland, the situation in the secondary schools had deteriorated in 1944-45, and also, in some areas, in the primary divisions.¹ The first 'class' teachers, moreover, trained under the emergency scheme would not emerge until 1947. Although the student enrolment for the 1945-1946 session showed a "considerable increase",² perhaps partly due to the improved Teviot Scales, their eventual appearance would not be for some time and the retention of married and retired teachers in the classrooms during this transitional period was crucial.³ Mackay Thomson appealed to them in a message to teachers at the conclusion of hostilities "to continue in service so long as their circumstances and their health may permit, to help redress the loss in teaching strength which will have to be made good before the many educational reforms to which we are looking forward can be completely secured".⁴

The Labour Government's decision to raise the school leaving age on 1 April, 1947 was taken in the face of staffing and accommodation difficulties⁵; they were resigned, in Scotland, to a shortage of specialist teachers and the possibility of more intense, general staff deficits in the urban areas.⁶ But they looked optimistically to the future, hoping that "as a result of the return of teachers from the Services and from Industry, and of the output of teachers under the Emergency Training Scheme, the raising of the school leaving age will not on the whole occasion any serious deterioration of the existing situation".⁷

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1. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1945, op.cit., p.5.
 2. Ibid. See Table 5.3.
 3. Numbers eventually amounted to 3,300 married women and 200 retired teachers in 1946. E.I.S. Papers. Supply and Recruitment of Teachers. Matters before the Parliamentary Committee. Note by A.Peterkin to A.J.Belford, 13 September, 1946.
 4. S.R.O., ED.24/56. Message to Teachers by Secretary, S.E.D. n.d. (probably issued to the press on 16 May, 1945).
 5. P.R.O. CAB 128/1 Cabinet 28(45), 4 September, 1945.
 6. E.I.S. Papers. The Raising of the School Leaving Age. Press Conference at S.E.D., 28 September, 1945.
 7. Ibid.

A. CLASS-SIZE

5.1 A Comparison of Over-Size Classes in 1939 and 1945

| | Primary Class - Size | | | | | | | | Post Primary Class - Size | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|------|---------|------|---------|------|-------|-------|------------------------------|------|---------|------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| | 51 or more | | 45 - 50 | | 41 - 45 | | Total | Total | 41 or more | | 36 - 40 | | 31 - 35 | | Total | Total |
| | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 | 1939 | 1945 |
| Aberdeen City | 8 | 7 | 54 | 35 | 69 | 75 | 131 | 117 | 1 | - | 9 | 16 | 26 | 27 | 36 | 43 |
| Angus | - | - | 8 | 5 | 32 | 38 | 40 | 43 | - | 6 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 6 | 20 | 17 |
| Argyll | - | 4 | 6 | 12 | 15 | 20 | 21 | 36 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 16 | 10 |
| Ayr | 16 | 31 | 103 | 103 | 209 | 201 | 328 | 335 | 11 | 11 | 32 | 36 | 71 | 69 | 114 | 116 |
| Banff | - | - | 7 | 1 | 23 | 19 | 30 | 20 | - | 3 | 4 | - | 8 | 2 | 12 | 5 |
| Berwick | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Bute | - | 2 | - | 3 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 15 | - | - | - | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Caithness | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 11 | 2 | 16 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 7 |
| Clackmannan | - | - | - | 1 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 10 |
| Dumfries | 1 | 2 | 30 | 14 | 34 | 51 | 65 | 67 | 7 | 7 | 11 | 13 | 19 | 31 | 37 | 51 |
| Dumbarton | 3 | 59 | 158 | 125 | 117 | 83 | 278 | 267 | - | 23 | 29 | 31 | 41 | 41 | 70 | 95 |
| East Lothian | 1 | 3 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 22 | 43 | 46 | 1 | - | 7 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 13 | 14 |
| Fife | 1 | - | 49 | 41 | 188 | 207 | 238 | 248 | 19 | 23 | 67 | 77 | 98 | 71 | 184 | 171 |
| Inverness | - | - | 1 | 1 | 17 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 1 | 4 | 14 | 16 | 11 | 15 | 26 | 35 |
| Kincardine | - | - | 1 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 7 | - | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 12 |
| Kirkcudbright | - | - | 4 | 6 | 11 | 4 | 15 | 10 | 2 | - | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 6 |
| Lanark | 22 | 77 | 314 | 439 | 600 | 448 | 936 | 964 | 50 | 61 | 139 | 112 | 145 | 153 | 334 | 326 |
| Midlothian | - | 1 | 9 | 11 | 42 | 25 | 51 | 37 | - | 6 | 10 | 13 | 21 | 15 | 31 | 34 |
| Moray & Nairn | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 19 | 14 | 24 | 23 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 12 | 15 |
| Orkney | - | - | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Peebles | - | - | - | - | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 |
| Perth & Kinross | 3 | 2 | 21 | 20 | 37 | 64 | 61 | 86 | 4 | - | 16 | 12 | 7 | 27 | 27 | 39 |
| Renfrew | 30 | 55 | 189 | 165 | 223 | 223 | 442 | 443 | 15 | 32 | 75 | 63 | 55 | 60 | 145 | 155 |
| Ross & Cromarty | 1 | - | 5 | 4 | 13 | 10 | 19 | 14 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 13 |
| Roxburgh | - | 2 | 1 | 8 | 20 | 17 | 21 | 27 | 1 | - | 3 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 12 |
| Selkirk | - | - | 2 | 1 | 9 | 5 | 11 | 6 | - | - | 5 | - | 1 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| Stirling | 8 | 15 | 33 | 61 | 129 | 129 | 170 | 205 | 10 | 8 | 14 | 32 | 36 | 37 | 60 | 77 |
| Sutherland | - | - | 3 | - | 1 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| West Lothian | - | 2 | 11 | 18 | 43 | 59 | 54 | 79 | 5 | 5 | 17 | 16 | 21 | 21 | 43 | 42 |
| Wigtown | - | 2 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 13 | 20 | 1 | - | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Zetland | - | - | - | 1 | - | 4 | - | 5 | 1 | - | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Aberdeen Burgh | 21 | - | 78 | 11 | 125 | 73 | 224 | 84 | 3 | 4 | 56 | 60 | 59 | 53 | 118 | 117 |
| Dundee | 3 | 4 | 90 | 32 | 105 | 71 | 198 | 107 | 5 | 15 | 47 | 42 | 49 | 36 | 101 | 93 |
| Edinburgh | 14 | 8 | 263 | 174 | 387 | 412 | 664 | 594 | 26 | 21 | 121 | 23 | 110 | 114 | 257 | 158 |
| Glasgow | 62 | 83 | 924 | 657 | 1176 | 1126 | 2162 | 1866 | 50 | 167 | 276 | 322 | 285 | 255 | 611 | 744 |
| | 198 | 364 | 2400 | 1993 | 3709 | 3463 | 6307 | 5820 | 221 | 413 | 982 | 931 | 1137 | 1108 | 2340 | 2452 |

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B. TEACHER SUPPLY

Table 5.2: Students in Training Centres and Colleges, 1938-1939, 1942-1943, to 1945-1946

| Session | General Certificate Graduates | | General Certificate Non-Graduates | | Special Certificate | | Technical Certificate | | General Special Certificate | | General Technical Certificate | | Totals | | |
|--|---|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Total |
| | A. Students who commenced training in:- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1938-39 | 205 | 208 | 8 | 388 | 44 | 37 | 131 | 447 | 52 | 18 | - | - | 440 | 1118 | 1558 |
| 1942-43 | 19 | 238 | 3 | 397 | 6 | 43 | 33 | 290 | - | - | - | 1 | 61 | 969 | 1030 |
| 1943-44 | 18 | 211 | - | 424 | 13 | 55 | 39 | 287 | - | - | 1 | - | 71 | 977 | 1048 |
| 1944-45 | 14 | 271 | 9 | 509 | 11 | 57 | 52 | 294 | 1 | - | - | - | 87 | 1131 | 1218 |
| 1945-46 | 177 | 269 | 226 | 757 | 53 | 53 | 216 | 348 | 36 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 711 | 1434 | 2145 |
| B. Students in training on 1st November | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1938-39 | 347 | 418 | 26 | 927 | 41 | 37 | 240 | 757 | 93 | 45 | 15 | - | 762 | 2184 | 2496 |
| 1942-43 | 25 | 459 | 7 | 1144 | 6 | 43 | 46 | 525 | 3 | 12 | - | 1 | 87 | 2184 | 2271 |
| 1943-44 | 18 | 209 | - | 1101 | 10 | 53 | 51 | 518 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 79 | 1883 | 1962 |
| 1944-45 | 13 | 266 | 4 | 1100 | 10 | 55 | 76 | 546 | 2 | - | - | - | 105 | 1967 | 2072 |
| 1945-46 | 60 | 236 | 42 | 1471 | 24 | 45 | 143 | 531 | 5 | 3 | - | - | 274 | 2286 | 2560 |
| C. Students who successfully completed training in:- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1938-39 | 202 | 244 | 6 | 312 | 41 | 29 | 120 | 254 | 50 | 35 | 13 | - | 432 | 874 | 1306 |
| 1942-43 | 21 | 460 | 4 | 449 | 6 | 41 | 15 | 236 | 4 | 14 | - | - | 50 | 1200 | 1250 |
| 1943-44 | 16 | 201 | - | 434 | 12 | 52 | 10 | 243 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 39 | 931 | 970 |
| 1944-45 | 16 | 267 | - | 338 | 11 | 56 | 34 | 247 | 3 | - | - | - | 64 | 908 | 972 |
| 1945-46 | 102 | 256 | 1 | 358 | 27 | 43 | 121 | 200 | 27 | 3 | 3 | - | 281 | 660 | 1141 |

Source: B.P.P., S.E.D. Education in Scotland in 1947 Cmd.7519 (1948) Table 16.

Note: Figures for 1940-41 and 1941-42 are also excluded in the source.

TABLE 5.3: The Emergency Training Scheme, 1945 - 1950

| Category | Estimated requirement | Entrants | | Total | Applications received |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| | | Men | Women | | |
| General Certificate | 2,270 | 1,790 | 713 | 2,503 | 6,478 |
| Special Certificate | 589 | 874 | 64 | 938 | 1,393 |
| Technical Certificate | 1,044 | 893 | 151 | 1,044 | 5,556 |
| Totals | 3,914 | 3,557 | 928 | 4,485 | 13,427 |

Source: E.I.S. Papers. Central Selection Board. Emergency Recruitment and Training of Teachers. A Report to the National Committee for the Training of Teachers (April, 1950).

PART TWO : THE INFLUENCE OF WAR

CHAPTER SIX

THE PHYSICAL WELFARE OF THE CHILD

1. Nutrition and Education

Asa Briggs has remarked that, in the twentieth century, "Warfare has necessitated welfare..."¹ This generalisation is nowhere better exemplified than in the determined efforts made to safeguard the health of the school child through the maintenance and improvement of the school meals', milk and medical services in the Second World War. These services were invigorated by a keener public perception of the importance of the younger generation as a consequence of war and became an integral part of that vision of a "more generous society" sought by the "war-warmed impulse" of the British people.²

The problem of endeavouring to educate under-nourished children had become apparent with the growth of mass education in the nineteenth century. A variety of charitable bodies arranged for meals to be given to the most necessitous children; the Poor Children's Dinner Table Society, for example, served 850,000 dinners in Scotland in 1909.³ Such philanthropic efforts, however, were "sporadic, haphazard and totally inadequate", improving the lot of a very small proportion of Scottish children.⁴ The standard of the meals was generally poor and the conditions under which they were served often deplorable, but they "demonstrated the improvement in health which school meals could effect, and by their very deficiencies/

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1. A. Flanders & H.A. Clegg (eds)., The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain, (Oxford, 1954), p.20.
 2. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.508.
 3. J. Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, Volume 2, from 1872 to the present day, (1969), p.89.
 4. British Association for Labour Legislation, Report on Nutrition, (n.d., 1938?), p.44.

deficiencies emphasised the need for State action".¹

This action eventually came after the revelations of poor health and physical defects in the adult population disclosed in the recruitment of men for the Boer War, and its necessity reaffirmed by similar findings during the First World War. The reports of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland (1903) and the Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904) afforded abundant evidence of widespread malnutrition which undermined national health, and helped to promote a climate of opinion favourable to governmental measures to aid 'race regeneration'. School meals, medical inspection, health education, improved physical training and domestic science teaching stemmed from "a combination of frightened public opinion and the activities of philanthropic, political and educational pressure groups" in the opening decade of the new century.² The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and the Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1907, which included provision for the medical inspection of elementary schoolchildren in England and Wales, together with the complementary Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, created the legislative framework for the State's developing interest in the welfare of the child.

The burgeoning concern about the ill-effects of malnutrition and the possible benefits of adequate nutrition was reflected in a rash of literature and surveys in the inter-war years. Economic depression and unemployment gave added edge to the work of nutritionists such as Sir John Boyd Orr/

1. Ibid.

2. H.C. Dent, 1870-1970 Century of Growth in English Education, (1970),p.70.

Orr whose influential book, published in 1936, demonstrated the intimate relationship between food, health and income.¹ He held that over four-and-a-half million of the nation's population had no more than 4s (20p) weekly per head to spend on food, though he estimated the bare, minimum cost of an adequate weekly diet to be 10s (50p) per head.² "The diet of roughly the poorer half of the population," he asserted, "is not up to the standard required for health".³ Between a fifth and a quarter of the nation's children were found in the lowest income group whose diet - limited by the nation's economic circumstances, ignorance and improvidence - was seriously deficient.

There was considerable speculation arising out of research such as the Lanarkshire Milk Investigation in 1930, about the educational advantages of adequate nutritional standards.⁴ Orr told a conference on nutrition held at Stirling in 1937 that experimental evidence showed that when diet was improved, "not only did specific diseases vanish, but the whole general condition of the child was bettered both physically and mentally". He offered the lure to educationists of "the interesting question of the possible effect of diet upon intelligence" and argued for dietary tests upon mentally backward children.⁵

Orr firmly believed, however, that "the place to feed children was the home and not the school".⁶

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1. J.B.Orr, Food Health and Income (1936).
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Association of Directors of Education in Scotland, Joint Conference on Nutrition, 25 June, 1937.
 3. E.I.S. Papers. Memorandum on Undernutrition (as sent to Mr Henderson Stewart, M.P., 25 April, 1939).
 4. D.H.S., Milk Consumption and the Growth of School Children, Report on an Investigation in Lanarkshire Schools (Edinburgh, 1930).
 5. E.I.S. Papers. Association of Directors of Education in Scotland, op. cit.
 6. Ibid.

school. Nevertheless, pressure groups such as the Children's Minimum Council, the Children's Nutrition Council, the Committee against Malnutrition, the Home and School Council and the British Association for Labour Legislation campaigned vigorously in the 1930's for an extension of the school meals and milk services. Their case was, in the main, based not so much on the principle that "improved nutrition would enable children to learn their lessons better," but rather on the wider notion that "education is not merely to impart instruction but to help the young to grow and to enable them to 'take full advantage' of everything life offers them".¹ A resolution presented to M.P.'s in March, 1939 by a Joint Advisory Committee of the N.U.T. and E.I.S. stated the necessity for "special arrangements for the feeding of the under-nourished pre-school child" through the provision of meals and milk, "free or at low cost" in the light of "the overwhelming evidence that much of the prevalent ill-health and poor physique is due to defective nutrition during the years of growth".² The arrival of war brought the fear of a limitation of the social services; the Children's Nutrition Council deplored the possibility as "a short-sighted and dangerous policy. The problems raised by the war should be solved in such a way as to leave after it a heritage of beneficial social reform".³

The legal basis for the provision of meals, milk, clothing and medical inspection and treatment had been under review in the S.E.D. for three years before the outbreak of war. It remained largely in the 1908 Act⁴ supplemented/

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1. M.E. Green, School Feeding in England and Wales, (1938), p.20.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Resolution to Members of Parliament, etc., 10 March, 1939 Executive Minute No.249, 26 November, 1938.
 3. M.E. Green & Dr J. McMichael, Nutrition and Local Government in Scotland, (Tiptree, Essex, n.d., 1939?), foreword.
 4. 8 Edw 7, c 63.

supplemented by that of 1913.¹ The various services could only be provided by local authorities under certain conditions: the child had to be under the obligation to attend school and was attending; the parents were 'necessitous' and no voluntary help was forthcoming; and the child had to be deemed unable to take full advantage of the education provided. When food, clothing or medical treatment were found necessary the education authority was required to summon the parents to give an explanation of the child's condition. If this was unsatisfactory, the authority was obliged to send a report to the procurator fiscal for possible prosecution as a case of wilful neglect, unless the parents were necessitous. In this event it was the duty of the local authority to provide food, clothing or medical treatment. This cumbersome procedure was ill-suited to the growth in the numbers of necessitous children during the Depression and particularly to the requirements occasioned by the war.

The great majority of education authorities which granted free meals and milk applied a means test, though a few offered free milk on medical grounds. The S.E.D. did not publish any model set of income scales for the guidance of local authorities, but scales had to be submitted to their scrutiny. The scales in operation in the late 1930's were usually low: for a family with three children, the limit below which free meals were allowed - after the deduction of rent - was about 35s. (£1.75p).² Some authorities issued no scale, preferring to determine each case on its merits. At the outbreak of war the provision of free meals/

1. 3 & 4 Geo 5, c 38.

2. M.E. Green & Dr J McMichael, op.cit., p.12.

meals and milk by education authorities was limited: 20 operated meals and milk schemes in at least part of their areas, two offered only meals and four only milk schemes. In the last peace-time school session, 90,900 pupils obtained a daily school meal (13 per cent of the school age population) with 39,900 (5 per cent) receiving it free.² In addition to any provision made by education authorities aided by a 50 per cent grant from the S.E.D., free meals and milk were supplied by grants from local charities, trust funds, voluntary contributions and the proceeds of local entertainments.

As well as allowing for the provision of meals to necessitous children, the 1908 Act permitted authorities to provide meals on payment, mainly to meet the needs of rural areas where pupils frequently had long distances to walk to school and were unable to return home at midday. In fact, most meals on payment were provided on the eve of war at large secondary schools, in refectories or canteens, many of which were run on a self-supporting basis. There was, however, no aim, in the inter-war period, of providing a general service in canteens for meals on payment as there was little demand even in industrial areas where married women normally worked. This lack of demand might possibly have been related to the failure of local authorities to take advantage of their power to charge only the cost of the food, imposing relatively high charges to cover capital and service costs.³

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1. E.I.S. Papers. Table showing Provision of Free Meals and/or Free Milk to Necessitous Children, (April, 1939).
 2. B.P.P., S.E.D., Summary Report, 1939 and 1940, op.cit., p.18.
 3. M.E. Green & Dr. J. McMichael, op.cit., p.13.

In the immediate pre-war period there was a slow expansion of the school meals' service but only within the context of establishing feeding centres for the minority of poor, under-nourished children. A distinct social gulf existed between the clientele of the feeding centres and the school canteens. 'Free feeding' in Scottish state-maintained schools, as in the English, still retained in 1939 a "charity outlook" which was "only too often reflected in the poverty of the meals and the lack of decencies".¹ While free meals did "a great deal of good", the Senior Inspector of School Meals admitted frankly that they were "available only to the half-starved", though some authorities - particularly those in the cities² - interpreted the legislation "generously and liberally".³

The supply of free, cheap milk to pupils was started in 1934, partly as a device for extending the market for producers and, partly, in response to the public demand that some of the milk surplus should be diverted to children. The statutory scheme, regulated under the Milk Acts, disposed of the milk at the greatly reduced price of $\frac{1}{2}$ d per third of a pint, the remaining cost being shared between the Treasury and the Milk Marketing Boards.⁴ In the war the scheme fell financially within the province of the Ministry of Food who continued to run it when the statutory scheme lapsed in 1941. The powers of Scottish education authorities /

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/622, paper by E.D. Marris, 'War history of school meals and milk', September, 1944 (hereafter cited as 'Marris'). This paper which relates almost entirely to England and Wales, was prepared for use in the official history of education in the war.
 2. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.509, footnote (1).
 3. P.R.O., ED.138/65, Material sent by W.F. Arbuckle, S.E.D., to R.M.Titmuss, n.d.
 4. The Milk Industry (No.2) Act, 1939 limited the amount paid to the Boards to a sum not exceeding the estimated loss incurred in respect of milk sold at reduced prices for schoolchildren, expectant and nursing mothers and children under five years of age.

authorities with regard to the supply of milk were much the same as those for meals; they could facilitate the distribution of milk in schools; recover payment from children whose parents could afford to pay; and meet the cost of milk supplied to necessitous children. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1930,¹ however, empowered them to supply milk free to all school children under an approved scheme, if they so wished, without consideration of children's need, or parental ability to pay. At the outbreak of war, eleven Scottish education authorities had failed to adopt a scheme, either because their medical officers of health refused to approve possible sources of supply, or through the impossibility of finding suppliers to the schools at the prevailing distributive margin.² The last peace-time return to the S.E.D. showed that milk was supplied to 362,000 schoolchildren daily (47 per cent of the school roll) with 2.3 per cent receiving more than one-third of a pint.³ The number of necessitous children who received free milk represented 9 per cent of the school population.

2. Maintaining the Services

The prospect of evacuation in the event of war raised difficulties for the maintenance of the meals' and milk services which the various government departments recognised even if, in the event, they were largely unsuccessful in overcoming. The planning was sketchy and inadequate, but was undertaken in the anticipation of immediate, large-scale aerial attacks.

The implication of the evacuation scheme was that the provision of meals and milk in evacuation areas would cease with the closure of schools.

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1. 20 & 21 Geo 5, c 36.
 2. E.I.S. Papers. Table showing Provision of Free Meals and/or Free Milk to Necessitous Children, (April, 1939).
 3. B.P.P., S.E.D., Summary Report, 1939 and 1940, op.cit.

It was assumed that in neutral areas they would resume on the re-opening of the schools and would expand in the reception areas to meet the evacuees' needs. The desirability of communal mid-day meals for evacuees was plain to all: householders would be relieved of their presence for the whole day and would not have to prepare a meal until the evening. Accordingly, reception area officials were advised in June, 1939, to consult with the local authorities who could help by providing cooking and canteen facilities, if available. They were also enjoined to take advantage of any voluntary effort forthcoming from organisations such as the W.V.S.¹

Like so many other aspect of the Government's evacuation arrangements, the plans for communal feeding lacked precision and threw the burden of responsibility upon local authorities in the hope that they, together with the voluntary organisations, would arrange and provide services that central authority was unable, or unwilling, to organise, or financially underwrite. Indeed, a pronouncement by the S.E.D. in the first few days of war giving education authorities guidance on arrangements for the nutrition of schoolchildren left "detailed methods of administration" to their discretion, while emphasising that in reception and neutral areas the provision of free meals and milk to necessitous children was to continue "at any rate in the first instance".² Householders who decided to take advantage of any communal feeding arrangements would be required to pay "an appropriate charge" out of their billeting allowances, regardless of whether their evacuees were normally in receipt of free meals.

No/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 121 (19 June, 1939).
 2. S.E.D. Circular 125 (6 September, 1939).

No charge was to accrue to the receiving authority. If the householders volunteered to pay for children's milk, the money would have to be sent by the parents. Receiving authorities could provide free milk to necessitous evacuees and charge the cost to the evacuation authority who could then reclaim it from the evacuation fund.

These arrangements are easily criticised in retrospect: they tacitly ignored the predictable difficulties in the scheme of payment for communal meals, failed to offer a really practical solution to the question of payment for milk, and ensured that the administrative handling of free milk would involve the very maximum of accountability and correspondence over individual cases. The Treasury were understandably concerned that the evacuation might run completely out of financial control and their anxiety was reflected in the bureaucratic procedures adopted. The meals and milk services, however, were obviously a primary safeguard for evacuees in poor billets, or with feckless parents, but it was precisely these children who were likely to be deprived of the benefits by the inability of central authority to cope adequately with a complexity of practical, financial and administrative problems at what was, admittedly, a time of severe bureaucratic stress.

The immediate impact of the war on the supply of meals and milk was grave, as a consequence of school closure in evacuation areas and also in neutral areas, pending the completion of A.R.P. work. Local arrangements broke down, or were assumed to have been abandoned in the belief that school feeding and milk distribution was impossible under the threat of bombing. The one depot for the distribution of meals in Lanarkshire, for /

for example, was closed down.¹ The number of children receiving milk daily in Scottish schools was halved from 362,000 in March, 1939 to 186,000 in January, 1940, and it was not until the following October that the pre-war figure was regained.² The hard-pressed S.E.D. were unable, or unwilling, to include figures in the summary report for 1939 and 1940, issued after the outbreak of war, which would have revealed the extent of the damage caused to the school meals' service by evacuation. By the end of July, 1940, however, the total reached 85,614 meals - very near that for the last peace-time session - although 53 per cent of these were 'light' meals which could range from soup to hot chocolate (see Table 6.1).

The restoration of the services in evacuation and neutral areas was a matter of urgency. In October, 1939 the S.E.D. yielded to pressure from education authorities in evacuation areas who were concerned at their inability to supply meals to necessitous children and allowed the limited re-opening of schools, as long as this could be achieved without assembling children in greater numbers than A.R.P. provision allowed.³ In reception areas, despite the encouragement given for the provision of communal meals,⁴ the S.E.D. were forced to admit in February, 1940 that "very little extension of communal feeding arrangements has been made... by the establishment of additional feeding centres... Most authorities report /

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1. HH.61/530, Effect of Wartime Conditions upon the School Health Service. John Young, Executive School Medical Officer, Lanark County, 21 December, 1945, p.5. Hereafter cited as 'Lanark'.
 2. B.P.P., S.E.D., Summary Report, 1939 and 1940, op.cit.
 3. Ibid.
 4. S.E.D. Circular, 140. (21 November, 1939); and Circular 156, (1 March, 1940).

report that there is little public demand for communal meals, and as many children have returned to the sending areas, they do not contemplate any extension of their existing services".¹ The disinclination of the householders to pay the prices and the apathy of local authorities meant that few evacuees were being fed on a communal basis.² Yet within a few months, at the very lowest point of Britain's wartime fortunes, the planning of an expansion of the school meals and milk services was begun.

The First Step Forward

Despite the good intentions of the Board and the S.E.D., the first months of war had a most adverse effect on the twin services. Between June, 1940 and May, 1941, however, "certain decisions were taken and certain policies were shaped which not only looked forward to 'social reconstruction' after the war, but were destined also during the war itself to play a vital role in sustaining the health and working capability of the people".³ One area of decision-making concerned the nutrition of schoolchildren and the formulation of a policy necessitated by the war with the associated change of attitudes which brought about a transformation of the school meals and milk services, must be examined at a cabinet level, for they came to be perceived as an integral part of the nation's programme for physical survival. The practical results, however, will necessarily be gauged within the Scottish context.

There/

1. P.R.O., ED.138/65, S.E.D., Memorandum for the Select Committee on National Expenditure with regard to Evacuation of Children in Scotland, February, 1940, para.5.
2. The cost of communal meals varied considerably: an East Lothian communal feeding centre charged householders 5d. per meal for each child over four years of age and its counterpart in Perth 3d. The Scotsman, 14 September, 1939; and the Perthshire Advertiser, 20 December, 1939.
3. R.M.Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.508.

There were three phases in the wartime development of the services which can be delineated in the diagrams on pages 300 - 301: the first began in 1940; the second in 1941-1942; and the third in 1943. The initiative for the first phase came from Clement Attlee, the Lord Privy Seal in June, 1940. He examined in a memorandum to the Food Policy Committee of the War Cabinet which he chaired, the problem of providing cheap food for the poorer classes in wartime.¹ "The essential object of a cheap food policy", he wrote, "is to get the right food in the right quantities into the right stomachs". He saw numerous advantages in extending the provision of school meals: the children would be fed and the food provided would be "right nutritionally" and in ample supply; the most economic use would be made of the scarce resources required in its preparation; and householders would be relieved of the burden of cooking meals, thus allowing their charges to enjoy the educational benefits of communal feeding. Moreover, in the event of "hurried evacuation"; on parts of the country being isolated after invasion, the existence of a "well-ordered scheme" which did not discriminate between those who paid and those who did not, would "greatly relieve the situation". Despite calls for a free meals and milk service, Attlee believed that, in the case of parents not in receipt of State assistance, "it would be proper that they should repay the cost of the food".

Attlee's initiative won support from Lord Woolton, the recently appointed Minister of Food.² He perceived three sections of the population involved/

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1. S.R.O., ED.24/26, War Cabinet Food Policy Committee, FP(M) (40)74, The Provision of Cheap Food for the Poorer Classes, Memorandum by the Lord Privy Seal, 7 June, 1940.
 2. Ibid. FP(M) (40)77, Meals and Food Supplies for Factory Workers, Children, and Poor Families, Memorandum by the Minister of Food, 12 June, 1940.

involved in the equitable distribution of food supplies: the factory workers; infants, schoolchildren and nursing mothers who "on grounds both of humanity and of racial preservation, it is essential we should protect against malnutrition"; and those low wage-earners unable to obtain basic foodstuffs because of the rising cost of living. He believed that, in addition to milk, nutritionally-balanced meals should be supplied to schoolchildren at prices "within the capacity of the parents to pay". But the Minister wished to go beyond Attlee's proposals. As the feeding centres associated with school buildings were generally in the poorer districts of towns and cities, he urged the Food Policy Committee to consider the possibility of transforming them into "communal feeding centres", so that not only children with mothers at work could eat there but also all the other members of their families.

Attlee and Woolton, as advocates of an ambitious expansion of communal feeding, perhaps under the aegis of the Ministry of Food, faced resolute opposition from Herwald Ramsbotham, the President of the Board of Education.¹ In his view, provision of meals for all schoolchildren was impracticable because of the lack of premises and equipment, and parental apathy towards meals on payment which could only be dispelled by the eradication of the means test, or the reduction of the unit charge for a meal to well below the cost of the food. He supported the concept of communal feeding in the interests of the economic use of resources, but argued that it should be organised on a family basis by the Ministry of Food in co-operation with local authorities. Any attempt to build on the foundation of the school meals' service would be, he believed, "comparatively /

1. Ibid. FP(M) (40) 80, The Provision of Cheap Food for the Poorer Classes, Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education, 14 June, 1940.

"comparatively ineffective" and would be outwith "the proper functions" of L.E.A.'s.

Ramsbotham countered with limited, practical proposals aimed at securing an increase in the provision of school meals by the L.E.A.'s. His scheme, taking account of restricted capital resources, was directed towards specific needs: a greater supply of free meals for necessitous, under-nourished children in areas deficient in such provision; an improved supply of meals on payment for children of women war-workers and those attending schools at a distance from their homes; evacuees; and other children whose parents desired communal meals. As an alternative to the universal provision of school meals, he suggested a publicity campaign to bring about some increase in the consumption of milk in schools, though he felt that a large increase would require making milk free of charge.

The Food Policy Committee's cautious decision, reached at a meeting in late June, appeared to vindicate Ramsbotham's practical consideration of the problems inherent in any expansion of communal feeding.¹ They concluded that if a communal feeding scheme were compulsory, it would be "highly unpopular", unless it were also free; and if it were voluntary only a small proportion would be fed if parents had to pay. Significantly, the existing administrative framework was to be utilised, but it was recognised that over-burdened L.E.A. staff could not be asked to extend provision of meals to families. The Committee also accepted that a Scottish scheme could not be limited to "elementary" schoolchildren. They agreed, finally, to remit the whole question of communal feeding of schoolchildren/

1. Ibid. FP(M) (40) 19th Mtg., 24th June, 1940.

schoolchildren to Ramsbotham and Woolton for investigation in consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The presentation of the problem to the education departments paved the way for an extension of the school meals' service on the lines advocated by the President. The device employed to try and stimulate education authorities to greater efforts was an increase in the rate of grant payable in respect of expenditure on the provision of free meals and milk and on overhead charges for meals provided on payment. In Scotland, they were to be offered a special ad hoc grant of 20 per cent in excess of normal grant-rate on such expenditure which meant that the Exchequer would bear on average 73 per cent of relevant local outgoings. Education authorities were to be urged to consider whether their provision of free milk and milk on payment should be extended.

Ramsbotham's proposals¹ for extending the school meals' service to cover the categories of people delineated in his memorandum were supported generally by Woolton² and received the assent of the Food Policy Committee on 12 July.³ The S.E.D. and the Board launched parallel circulars announcing the policy of expansion ten days later.⁴ They repeated "all the former doctrines in great detail but with an emphasis and a confidence springing from the grave turn of events and the new sense of national/

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1. Ibid. FP(M) (40) 97, The Communal Feeding of School Children, Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education, 9 July, 1940.
 2. Ibid. FP(M) (40) 95, The Communal Feeding of School Children, Memorandum by the Minister of Food, 3 July, 1940.
 3. Ibid. FP(M) (40) 22nd. Mtg., 12 July, 1940.
 4. S.E.D. Circular 178 (22 July, 1940); Board of Education, Circular 1520 (22 July, 1940).

national responsibility".¹ Unfortunately, the education departments' reduced manpower was insufficient to cope with the comprehensive proposals that education authorities were asked to submit by 17 August. Considerable delays resulted from the 'respond and reply' method adopted and the local programmes of ambitious authorities were delayed for months in some instances. Perhaps more seriously, such bureaucratic procedures sheltered reluctant authorities from censure, and action, "though satisfactory in some areas, was neither rapid nor comprehensive in the country as a whole".²

Nevertheless, the foundations were laid for an advance, although this probably owed more to the critical war situation than administrative precept. "In the minds of those responsible...", observed Marris, "was the shadow of the grim events to come".³ The impetus given by the Battle of Britain, the invasion threat, bombing and renewed evacuation, led, in a few short weeks to a general acceptance of the idea of widespread communal feeding with school meals for all pupils an integral part. The formation of a Communal Meals Division of the Ministry of Food (later called the Wartime Meals Division), the decision to establish 'British Restaurants', the realisation of the need to provide shadow emergency feeding resources for at least 10 per cent of the urban population, and the development of factory canteens by the Ministries of Labour and Supply, helped to reduce the apparent immensity of the task surrounding a significant expansion of the school meals' service and, at the /

1. P.R.O., ED.136/662, Marris, p.7.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. p.8.

the same time, underlined its clear necessity.

The results of the new policy, however, were disappointing in the short term, particularly in Scotland, largely for reasons that both Ramsbotham and Woolton had anticipated. The difficulties presented by supplying meals to remote rural areas and islands, the reluctance of some education authorities, and shortages of materials, combined to limit the increase in the number of meals served daily to 21 per cent - from 84,625 in the session ending in July, 1940 to 104,185 in that ending in July, 1941¹ - as compared with a 100 per cent increase in English and Welsh elementary schools over the same period.² The number of children taking milk daily increased from 361,000 (49 per cent of the school roll) to 458,000 (61 per cent) in the twelve months from October, 1940 (see Table 6.1).³

4. The Campaign of 1941-1942

With public opinion turning strongly in favour of communal feeding and increased provision of school meals in the latter half of 1940, the Ministry of Food, the Board of Education and the Scottish Office collaborated to promote a further expansion of the school meals and milk services. The initiative this time came from Lord Woolton. "It seems to me", he wrote to Butler in July, 1941, "that the Government ought to be prepared to take all possible steps to secure the maintenance of a high standard of nutrition for the children of this country:.. and I should like to think that it was possible for us to secure that, at any rate for the period of the war, all children attending elementary and secondary schools obtained, during/

1. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1941, op.cit., p.13.

2. P.R.O., ED.136/662. Marris, p.8.

3. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1941, op.cit., p.12.

during term-time, one good meal a day independently of the domestic ration".¹

Butler and Woolton agreed that, on the existing basis, expansion might go as far as 500,000 meals daily in twelve to eighteen months' time, but with about 30 per cent of overhead costs falling on the rates, development would remain slow and geographically uneven. Serious difficulties threatened any projected expansion: the shortage of food supplies, particularly proteins such as cheese and meat; the competition for equipment between interested departments; and the vague statutory basis for the whole policy in England and Wales as compared with the clearer, but very restrictive, educational law in Scotland. The Board, however, believed that with an authoritative statement from the Government, the help of Woolton over food supplies, and the use of the countrywide cooking depots which could each produce 3,000 meals in two hours and serve them within a radius of ten to fifteen miles, an immediate target of one million meals (20 per cent of British schoolchildren) daily was possible with the possibility of a further expansion later. Such a figure did not accord with Lord Woolton's aim but, if the meals were evenly distributed, it could provide for those children who most urgently needed them. In the effort to meet the nutritional needs of all schoolchildren, the most vital step was an expansion of the milk-in-schools scheme which required a priority in milk supply.²

Woolton readily agreed to these prior requirements and, together with Butler and Johnston, put the case for expansion to the Lord President's Committee: /

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/83. Lord Woolton to Butler, 30 July, 1941.
 2. Ibid. Meeting of Minister of Food and President of the Board of Education on Feeding of School Children, 14 August, 1941.

Committee:

"Our first aim should be to see that every child has milk at school... Our second aim should be to provide dinner at school for as many children as possible. The provision of school meals, though greatly increased, lags far behind the rapidly growing demand".¹

The programme outlined entailed an "intensive drive" to procure as near universal provision of milk as possible. The cost of supplying meals to necessitous children and milk-on-payment would, in future, attract a 100 per cent grant. The new target of 500,000 meals daily was to be achieved during the 1941-1942 winter and one million in the following summer with a further expansion thereafter. The device was, again, to be an increase in the Exchequer contribution; in Scotland the rate of grant was to be increased from 20 to 30 per cent above the standard rate, thus retaining some local incentive to economy. By these measures it was hoped to improve dramatically the existing position in which only one out of seventeen children received school meals and three out of every five cheap milk at school in Great Britain.²

The general lines of the re-invigorated policy were outlined to the Scottish education authorities in October, 1941.³ They were exhorted not to "rest satisfied until school meals are available, so far as practicable, for all children whose parents wish to take advantage of the service"; and rapid expansion was envisaged in areas experiencing a growing demand for the services of married women in industry. The circular /

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/5. Revised Draft Covering Minute for Memorandum on Nutrition of School Children by the President of the Board of Education, the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for Scotland, 24 September, 1941.
 2. Ibid. The Nutrition of School Children, Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education, the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for Scotland, 24 September, 1941.
 3. S.E.D. Circular 206. (22 October, 1941).

circular firmly stated the S.E.D.'s policy that the price charged for meals should cover, but not exceed, the cost of food. The importance attached to the success of the new measures in Scotland by Johnston was stressed in a further circular in November.¹ He would not be content unless the provision of 'solid meals' was trebled to 150,000 (20 per cent of the school-roll) by midsummer, 1942; the progress of each education authority would be reviewed at the end of six months.

An analysis of the Scottish school meals' service undertaken by the S.E.D. in July, 1941 emphasised the difficulty of the task.² At that time only 40,000 children were receiving solid meals daily (5 per cent of the school-roll) and the new target implied that the populous areas of central Scotland would have to exceed 20 per cent in order to compensate for the very slow progress being made in some rural and island areas. Ayrshire possessed the best record among Scottish education authorities with 20 per cent of pupils receiving solid meals daily, followed by Edinburgh, Dundee, Kincardine, Stirling and Sutherland with between 10 and 15 per cent. Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth and Kinross, Peebles, Lanark and Dumfries were only catering for between 3 and 5 per cent. In counties such as Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, Moray and Nairn and in the Orkneys, there was some provision of soup to travelling pupils, but otherwise the wartime policy of expansion had made little impact. In Caithness, where the supply of hot meals was to prove a largely intractable problem throughout the war, the headmaster at Lybster wrote in early 1942 that "for five years here, I have had a voluntary scheme in operation for the provision of soup to all pupils who wish it and there is/

1. S.E.D. Circular 209 (19 November, 1941).

2. S.R.O., ED14/357. Education (Scotland) Bill. Notes by Dr Jardine and Mr Rodger for the Secretary of State, n.d. (October, 1941).

is an attendance of over 100 daily. A similar scheme is in operation at Wick and Thurso, but nowhere else in the county".¹

The low figures not only reflected difficulties in the preparation and transportation of hot meals on a daily basis in rural areas, but also varying degrees of local enthusiasm for the policy. Kirkcudbright, Stirlingshire, Lanarkshire, Aberdeen(city) and Clackmannan were busily engaged in extending the service. Glasgow had set 20 per cent as a first objective, the percentage of children taking daily meals having fallen to 4.7 "owing to the decrease of poverty" in the city. Edinburgh, East Lothian and Stirlingshire had already installed sufficient cooking equipment to meet this level of demand. Renfrew and West Lothian, on the other hand, had accomplished very little to expand their meals service and failed to display any intention of doing so in the S.E.D.'s view.²

The problem of ensuring that the small rural school gained some benefit from the new policy obviously concerned the S.E.D. Quite apart from 'side schools' which, in general, were the smallest of all, Scotland possessed 770 one-teacher, 610 two-teacher, and 310 three-teacher schools, constituting, in total, about half her school stock. The S.E.D. recognised that the cooking of hot meals for such schools in thinly populated areas was not practicable, but there remained the necessity of providing a nutritional mid-day meal for travelling pupils in a time of rationing:

"In normal times most of these children carried 'pieces' spread with butter or jam or both, and supplemented their meal by an egg, a piece of cheese, an apple... A few went /

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1. E.I.S. Papers. D.Campbell to Wishart, 7 January, 1942.
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/361. Provision of Solid Meals in Scotland, 21 November, 1941.

went to the village shop and bought a meat pie ..
Under present circumstances, these extras are difficult
to obtain".¹

Consequently, special arrangements were concluded with the Ministry of Food to meet the needs of rural schools. They were allowed to register as 'catering establishments', serving uncooked meals and thus were allowed 1 oz. cheese, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. butter or margarine, $\frac{2}{5}$ oz. sugar and $\frac{1}{5}$ oz. preserves for every meal served. Bread was to provide the 'filling' element of the meal and children who participated were to receive one third of a pint of milk to drink with their meal which could be served as cocoa in cold weather. Salads were to be used when available to relieve the monotony of the diet.²

The measures announced by Butler and Johnston in the House of Commons in October, 1941 gave added impetus to the school meals and milk services.³ Their important role was now to give all children "sufficient energy for their educational work and for healthy, spirited living", rather than merely alleviating the suffering of an unfortunate, and sometimes large, minority as in the pre-war.⁴ The target figure of one million daily meals in England, Wales and Scotland was, in fact, reached in just eleven months. But Scotland lagged behind her partners; Johnston's target of 150,000 meals was not to be achieved until October, 1943 - over twelve months later than his specified date. The problems of rural and island areas, the supply and installation of equipment, and the determined reluctance/

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/357. op.cit.
 2. S.E.D. Circular 210 (20 November, 1941).
 3. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 376, 1616, 1630-1633, 21 October, 1941.
 4. S.R.O., ED.14/357, op.cit.

reluctance of some authorities had proved greater obstacles than originally anticipated in the flush of enthusiasm that accompanied the opening of the second phase of wartime development.

Additionally, throughout Britain there was, on the part of the education departments, the unending struggle to raise the quality and attractiveness of school meals above the standard of "the cheap commercial catering to which many authorities were accustomed", especially those that had operated extensive pre-war feeding schemes.¹ It became increasingly apparent to the Board and the S.E.D. that no large and sustained demand for school meals could be expected "unless the meals attained the quality and attractiveness that would be found in a good home".² It was not until after 1941 as the Ministry of Food assumed greater responsibility for the national diet that the education departments met with increasing success in arguing that children had special needs which the Government could not neglect.³ The Ministry asked the Board's technical officers to draw up a dietary which they considered satisfactory for schoolchildren. The dietary, premised on a 1000 calorie midday meal that would contain most of the child's daily supply of first class protein and fat, received the full support of the Ministry's scientific advisers.⁴ Thus in November, 1941 the education departments were able to announce the required calorific basis and that consequently for school canteens the allowance of meat and sugar would be doubled and that of preserves nearly doubled and, furthermore, that a special allowance of milk for cooking would be available.⁵

1. P.R.O., ED.136/662. Marris, p.17.

2. Ibid.

3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.198.

4. E.M. Langley, 'School Diets in Elementary Schools', Proceedings of the Nutrition Society, III (1945), pp.132-133.

5. S.E.D. Circular 209 (19 November, 1941).

available. Their clear assumption of responsibility over the quality of schoolchildren's diet was an important wartime development in the expansion of the welfare services.

5. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1942

For three years before the outbreak of war, the S.E.D., urged on by various interest groups such as the A.D.E.S., were engaged in drafting legislation to amend Scottish law relating to the powers of education authorities over the medical inspection of schoolchildren, their treatment, and provision of food and clothing, in an attempt to bring it into line with that prevailing in England and Wales. The measure, approved by the Cabinet in 1937, ran into difficulties with government departments. On war's declaration, Peck, with considerable foresight, toyed with the idea of proceeding quickly with a bill "to simplify the procedure for the feeding of school children in case any extended provision was found necessary as a result of the war", but eventually recommended that no further action should be taken.¹

The expansion of the school meals' service envisaged in 1941 was threatened by the cumbrous procedure necessitated by the 1908 Act which made it impossible to supply free meals to schoolchildren on the basis of financial need without regard to evidence of actual malnutrition. Whereas the relevant section of the English Education Act, 1921, was sufficiently vague as to allow the interpretation that the new wartime policy required,² its implementation in Scotland could possibly be challenged in the courts by/

1. S.R.O., ED.14/356. Peck to Mackay Thomson, 19 September, 1939.

2. P.R.O., ED.136/662. Marris, p.16.

by ratepayers. Johnston, Under-Secretary Joseph Westwood, and Parker, after discussing the Board's proposals for the new school meals' drive in September, 1941 decided "to seek immediate legislation to bring Scotland into line with England..."¹

The bill was envisaged as an emergency measure: it would confer the power on education authorities to supply meals to schoolchildren on the basis of need, without recourse to evidence of malnutrition, while retaining the existing duty to provide food, clothing and medical treatment in certain circumstances, but simplifying the antiquated referral procedure required for all these services. Where meals, clothing or medical treatment were supplied, the draft bill would oblige education authorities to recover from the parent the expense incurred - or such part of it as he could afford to pay - although the amount was only to cover the cost of the food, clothing or treatment and exclude overheads. The temptation to require education authorities to make provision for school meals where the Secretary of State considered it necessary - an item from the S.E.D.'s reform programme - was resisted in the interest of the bill's speedy passage.

The S.E.D.'s secretariat were concerned that the bill might prove embarrassing to the Board of Education as it might publicise some differences between English and Scottish law, particularly the fact that L.E.A.'s were unable to provide necessitous children with clothing,² and the limitation upon the cost of school meals. N.D. Bosworth Smith, however, on reflection/

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/357. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 11 September, 1941.
 2. P.R.O., ED.136/329. Parker to Bosworth Smith, 19 September, 1941.

reflection at the Board felt that "it may strengthen our hands in trying to limit the charges made to parents in England". He concluded in a letter to Sir Maurice Holmes that,

"The effect of this Bill in general seems to me to be calculated to bring about the kind of situation advocated in the Green Book, and I should imagine that the legislation we should want to introduce after the war would be very much on the lines now proposed for Scotland. 1

Holmes agreed with him, but forecasted that, "the reference to clothing is likely to lead to sarcastic comment on the enlightened administration in Scotland as compared with England. But it cannot be helped".²

The bill won the approval of the Home Policy Committee on 21 October - the day of the announcement of the new nutrition programme - and they authorised its introduction into the House of Commons after Johnston, with the aid of the Board, had resolved some minor points which troubled the Treasury.³ The bill was warmly received by M.P.'s of all parties, although Jimmy Maxton thought "how terrible it was that some of us have had to wait 40 years for this Measure". He failed to understand "why this self-evident and important aspect of education has been so long neglected in Scotland, which always prides itself on being a country of education".⁴

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1. Ibid. Bosworth Smith to Holmes, 26 September, 1941.
 2. Ibid. Holmes to Bosworth Smith, 27 September, 1941.
 3. P.R.O., CAB.75/10. Home Policy Committee. HPS(41), 37th. Mtg., 21 October, 1941. The Treasury objected to the draft bill including five year old children awaiting admission to school; and pupils, of all ages, some of whom may have been evacuated, whose schools had been damaged, or destroyed, by enemy action, as in attendance. They could thus receive free school meals from an education authority if their parents were in financial need. A compromise was eventually reached whereby the latter category of child was to be excluded from the bill while the former was retained. S.R.O., ED. 14/357, Mackay Thomson to E. Hale, 31 October, 1941.
 4. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 376, 1878, 16 December, 1941. The only substantial opposition to the bill came from Major Guy Lloyd, M.P. (East Renfrew).

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the debates over the measure were the references to the relationship between war and reform. Although Johnston referred to the bill as "this little measure",¹ Major Thornton-Kemsley noted that "the importance of this Bill is out of all proportion to the number of its clauses.

It is significant because at a time when the whole world is at war a democratic Parliament thinks it worthwhile to turn its eyes from the sombre and enthralling present to plan for the future of little children. It is important because if we choose to make it so this can be a first instalment of a new plan for our nation".²

Kenneth Lindsay observed that "it has taken, not one war but two wars, literally to make the people of Scotland wake up to this public scandal... It often happens that in wartime people's habits change and there is more chance of getting something done".³ Nevertheless, despite a favourable climate in the House, when T.Henderson Stewart, M.P. for East Fife, moved an amendment to abolish the means' test in an effort to make the provision of meals, clothing and medical treatment "part and parcel" of the Scottish educational system, it was soundly rejected by 168 votes to 18.⁴

The bill was eventually passed without amendment and given the Royal Assent on 26 January, 1942.⁵ Scottish education authorities were now armed with "full power" to give effect to the policy outlined in the previous autumn, the prime object of which was "to prevent malnutrition rather/

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1. Ibid, 1868.
 2. Ibid, 1882.
 3. Ibid, 1888
 4. Ibid, 377, 259-262, 20 January, 1942.
 5. Ibid, 378, 407, 26 February, 1942.

rather than to remedy it after symptoms have appeared".¹

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1942², provided an important touchstone in the discussion of educational reconstruction which was to find practical expression in 1943 with the publication of the English White Paper.³ The bill's reception in the House cannot have failed to escape the attention of Butler in his determination to embark upon educational reconstruction. Its passage was significant because it marked both the determination of the Government to ensure the nation's physical survival in a total war and the growing expectations in British society of social reform measures in compensation for the sacrifices made in pursuit of military victory. War reduced in a matter of weeks obstacles which had effectively blocked legislation in the pre-war period. It facilitated the progress of a measure which not only prepared the way for an expansion of the Scottish school meals' service, but also reinforced the belief of a growing number of individuals and groups that a reconstruction of the English educational system was within the realms of practical politics. If this was so, some measure of Scottish educational reform would almost inevitably follow.

6. An Accelerated Programme

Johnston presented his promised review of the school meals and milk situation to the Civil Defence Executive Sub-Committee in May, 1942.⁴

He /

1. S.E.D. Circular 239 (20 July, 1942).
2. 5 & 6 Geo 6, c5.
3. See Chapter Nine.
4. S.R.O., ED.24/26, Milk and Meals in Schools, Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 19 May, 1942.

He was forced to admit that, despite the great publicity surrounding its inception, "in some respects the campaign to date has been somewhat disappointing". Dinners, lunches and soup meals were now provided for 83,000 children daily (11.1 per cent of the school roll) compared with 65,000 in July, 1941 (8.8 per cent). The increase in dinners and lunches - meals of "high nutritional worth" - from 35,000 to 63,000, the Secretary of State regarded as "substantial".¹ But this increase had been achieved in a relatively small number of areas; only one authority was catering for more than 30 per cent of its school population, and nineteen were supplying under 5 per cent (see Table 6.2). Even with the inclusion of soup meals the figures were little more reassuring with two authorities above the 30 per cent and twelve below the 5 per cent marks. Bute and Orkney lacked any sort of meal provision; and Caithness, Inverness and Selkirk could still only offer soup meals to small percentages of their school populations.

Johnston offered many familiar reasons for the slow progress made: overburdened local government staff; lack of equipment; and the restriction of building labour and materials. Above all, however, "a considerable number" of Scottish authorities had been "slow to move and conservative in their general attitude.

They have..., remained unduly staunch to their Scottish soup tradition; they have striven very strenuously to get equipment of the pre-war type by direct purchase and so have not made so full use as they might have done of the pool of equipment which was set up by the Ministry of Food".

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1. With the rapid development of the school meals service, the S.E.D. defined certain terms in common use in November, 1941. A 'dinner' was "a hot solid midday meal of one or more courses, one of which should be meat or other protein course"; a 'lunch,' "a substantial uncooked midday meal for children in remote schools", consisting mainly of bread and butter (margarine), cheese and milk; and a 'light meal', "a midday meal, e.g. soup or cocoa, which is too unsubstantial to be regarded either as a dinner or as a lunch". S.E.D., Circular No. 209, (19 November, 1941).

Jimmy Maxton put the matter more trenchantly:

"There are some county authorities in Scotland who take their responsibilities very lightly.. (they) will look at costs, one thing and another, and at the trouble and bother, and will require to be pushed and driven into doing the job properly".¹

The criticism applied equally as well to some L.E.A.'s in England and Wales: 184 of the 315 (58 per cent) catered for below 10 per cent of their school populations.²

Although a brighter future seemingly lay ahead in Scotland with local schemes for a further 55,000 meals in various stages of preparation, plainly Johnston's target of 150,000 solid meals by midsummer was an embarrassment. Nevertheless, the S.E.D. concluded that 1942 was a year of "steady progress achieved under difficult circumstances" in the expansion of the school meals' service.³ The number of dinners served daily had increased to 125,000 by February, 1943 (17 per cent of the school roll); and the total number of meals to 144,570 (19.7 per cent). Three authorities (Ayr, Kincardine and Stirlingshire) were supplying above 20 per cent of their schoolchildren with dinners or lunches, but eighteen remained below the 5 per cent mark (see Table 6.2).⁴

The final phase of wartime expansion began in March, 1943. Despite the progress made in some areas of Britain in the previous year, a combination of factors and events suggested the need of an "accelerated programme". The course of the Battle of the Atlantic was turning against Germany, but the demand for shipping to transport military equipment and personnel from/

1. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 376, 1879-1880, 16 December, 1941.

2. P.R.O., ED.136/662, Marris, p.42.

3. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1942, op.cit., p.9.

4. Ibid.

from North America to Britain meant that the public must endure " no increase in its rations, no slackening of its belts."¹ In these circumstances, the supply and quality of school meals assumed an even greater importance "as a means of maintaining the supply of body building foods".² Professor Drummond, the scientific adviser at the Ministry of Food consequently emphasised the great importance of increasing the number of children receiving school dinners "even if the quality of the meals had to be somewhat diminished".³ With the publication of the Beveridge Report in December, 1942 it appeared likely that school meals might be used to augment cash family allowances with benefits in kind. Furthermore, a draft English education bill under discussion at the Board imposed a duty to provide free school meals on L.E.A.'s.

Woolton fully supported a policy of further expansion. He reassured Butler, without committing himself absolutely, that coupons would never be required for school meals and that the special scale of food allowances would be continued. "My chief concern," he wrote, "is this: it is inevitable that with shipping and food supplies at my disposal I must subject the public at large to quite considerable restrictions...

Thus even if I can maintain individual rations which are nutritionally adequate, I cannot feel assured that the children are able to get full value from them. We cannot allow the rigours of wartime to undermine the physique of children. I am most anxious, therefore, at all times and in all ways to support you to the full in expanding the school meals service so that I can feel that whatever privations conditions may impose, the children will be receiving not only an adequate but a well prepared meal at the most profitable time of the day".⁴

Such a view, together with the Ministry of Works' offer of help in the building/

1. A.Calder, op.cit., p.524.
2. P.R.O., ED.136/662. Marris, p.26.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.26-27.

building of standardised kitchens, the improved supply of canteen equipment and pre-fabricated huts, encouraged suggestions within the Board for an "accelerated programme" based on a 100 per cent grant to local authorities in support of school meals. In the likelihood of a future shortage of first-class protein, the draft programme included a proposal that school milk should be provided free of charge. Butler, however, felt that it was inadvisable to raise the issue at this juncture.¹

The memorandum submitted by Butler, Johnston and Woolton to the Lord President's Committee in April sketched the results of previous measures taken to ensure the nutrition of schoolchildren; the number receiving school meals in Great Britain had risen to 1½ millions (nearly one in four) and that of pupils taking milk to 3 millions (three out of four). The new programme envisaged an eventual target of 2½ million meals a day in 1945, which could be achieved by stimulating the authorities with a maximum grant, thus underlining the importance attached by the Government to the development of the school meals' service.²

The general principles contained in the memorandum were accepted by the Committee later in the month.³ The proposal for a 100 per cent grant was rejected, however, after representations by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the traditional grounds that it was undesirable to have local administrative responsibility without inducement to economy. A compromise was eventually reached whereby the full grant would be limited to /

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1. Ibid., p.27.
 2. P.R.O., ED.50/233. War Cabinet, Lord President's Committee. LP(43) 85. Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland, 19 April, 1943.
 3. P.R.O., ED.50/233. War Cabinet, Lord President's Committee. LP(43) 27th. Meeting, 21 April, 1943.

to capital expenditure with the local authorities bearing part of the cost of day-to-day administration.¹ Target figures were reduced of necessity following this agreement: 2½ million meals were to be served daily in England, Wales and Scotland by April, 1945. Scotland's expected contribution was 250,000 meals by April, 1944 and 500,000 twelve months later.²

The accelerated programme was duly accepted by the Committee³ and announced by the Board and the S.E.D. in May, 1943.⁴ "It will not be possible", ran the Department's circular, "to hold that schoolchildren have been made as secure as is reasonably possible in the circumstances against nutritional dangers arising from the war until the majority of them are able to have a hot midday meal at school, planned to meet fully their needs for health, growth and energy". The Government's objective was fixed at feeding 75 per cent of pupils daily. To aid authorities reach this target the Ministry of Works were prepared to supply, erect and equip complete kitchens, sculleries and canteens free of charge; and from 1 May no charge would be levied on relevant equipment ordered from the Ministry. If authorities thought it more practical and economic to plan and execute the work themselves, the capital costs would now, of course, be fully reimbursed. New dining accommodation was not to be provided where "tolerable arrangements" could be made for pupils to dine in a hall or classroom. If new premises were essential as numbers increased, the use of pre-fabricated huts would be approved. Most importantly, the dinners must be "good and ample... and adequate in quality". The Department hoped that "the provision of dinners which, through inadequate expenditure on food,/"

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1. P.R.O., ED. 136/662. Marris, p.27.
 2. P.R.O., ED. 250/233. War Cabinet, Lord President's Committee LP(43)100. Joint Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education, the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for Scotland, 4 May, 1943.
 3. P.R.O., ED. 250/233. War Cabinet, Lord President's Committee, LP(43) 31st. Meeting, 7 May, 1943.
 4. S.E.D. Circular 4 (15 May, 1943); Board of Education Circular 1629(15 May, 1943).

on food, are seriously unsatisfactory in quality or in quantity may soon be looked upon as a thing of the past".

The ambitious targets set in the new programme proved to be unrealistic in Scotland, as in England and Wales.¹ When it was announced in May, 1943 about 125,000 Scottish children were taking dinners daily in public schools. In October, 1944 the total had reached 175,000 and twelve months later 187,000 - still well short of the intermediate target of 250,000 set for April, 1944² (see Table 6.1). Nevertheless, strenuous efforts were now being made by most education authorities and the rate of expansion accelerated dramatically after October, 1942 with an increase of over 50 per cent in the provision of hot meals recorded in the succeeding year. In February, 1944 a quarter of the Scottish school population, compared with a third in England and Wales, were receiving school meals which were available in about one third of education authority-maintained schools.³ Despite a slowing of expansion in 1944, the service encompassed about half of the schools by February, 1945 and provided meals for over 26 per cent of Scottish pupils, as against over 36 per cent in England and Wales.⁴ The percentage of children receiving school meals exceeded 40 per cent in Peebles/

1. In October, 1944, 1,495,000 meals were provided daily in England and Wales. Twelve months later the total reached 1,782,000. Ministry of Education, Statistics Relating to Education for the Years 1935-1946, op.cit.
2. Ibid.
3. B.P.O., S.E.D. Return showing the Percentage of Schoolchildren Receiving (a) Milk under the Milk in Schools Scheme and (b) Meals in the Area of each Education Authority, Cmd. 6533 (1944) Board of Education, Statistics for a day in February, 1944, of Public Elementary and Secondary School Pupils receiving School Meals and Milk under the Milk in Schools Scheme in the Area of each local Education Authority in England and Wales. Cmd. 6530 (1944).
4. Ibid. Return showing the Percentage of Schoolchildren Receiving (a) Milk under the Milk in Schools Scheme and (b) Meals in the Area of each Education Authority in Scotland. Cmd. 6643 (1945). Ministry of Education Return showing the percentage of Pupils in Public Elementary Schools and Secondary Schools receiving School Meals and Milk in the Area of each local Education Authority in England and Wales in February, 1945. Cmd. 6644 (1945).

Peebles and Midlothian: and 20 per cent in a further 23 education authorities. Bute, Caithness and Sutherland were recorded in February, 1944 as having provided their first dinners - evidence to support the qualified success of the accelerated programme.¹ (see Table 6.2).

Familiar difficulties such as labour shortages and lack of materials, intensified by the opening of the Second Front, were partly responsible for the slow rate of expansion in the school meals' service in the last year of the European War.² In April, 1944 a ban was secretly imposed on any new building proposals estimated at a gross cost of £5,000 or over which affected about half of the kitchen capacity planned, although Butler managed to secure the omission of equipment from the limit, arguing that the slowing down of the school meals' programme would embarrass the Government. The flying bomb attacks on south-eastern England in 1944 exacerbated a difficult situation; building materials and labour were drafted in from other areas, including Scotland, to repair houses which by September was "the overwhelming need... far outweighing other considerations".³ In mid-August, however, the education departments reached an agreement with the Ministry of Works whereby special efforts would be made to complete proposals which were well advanced.

The milk-in-schools scheme reached the zenith of its wartime expansion in the years 1942-1944 as the graph on p301 indicates. It had experienced severe difficulties early in the conflict as a consequence of evacuation, the shortage of milk, bottles and caps, unavailability of transport and rising/

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1. B.P.P., S.E.D., Return showing... Cmd. 6533 (1944).
 2. P.R.O., ED.136/662. Marris, p.32.
 3. Ibid.

rising costs which threatened complete breakdown in many areas where it operated in 1941.¹ The major problem was the growing disenchantment of the milk trade with the poor financial margins prevailing under the scheme. Dairymen wanted to increase profitability by supplying the schools in bulk - in churns, or in large bottles - rather than in one-third pint bottles. The education departments reluctantly agreed to accept bulk supplies where supply in small bottles was impossible to continue; and Ramsbotham eventually persuaded the Treasury to agree to an increase in the distributive margin from 8d. to 10d. per gallon.² These actions effectively saved the scheme but the problems of increasing consumption and extending it to more remote areas remained; it was only in late 1941 that Banff, Moray, Orkney, Zetland, the Western Isles and mid - and north Argyll were included.³ Caithness, however, remained outwith the scheme until the latter stages of the war.

The importance attached to the milk-in-schools scheme throughout the war was reflected in the financial inducements given to education authorities by the Government as outlined earlier in the chapter. They brought about an increase in the number of Scottish pupils receiving milk in grant-aided schools to almost 67 per cent in February, 1942. from 47 per cent in the last peace-time session.⁴ But although significant progress was made in Scotland during the war the diagram on p. 301 reveals that, it was not as marked in England and Wales. By 1945, 94 per cent of Scottish pupils had the opportunity to take milk⁵ but the level/

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/662. Marris, p.10.
 2. P.H.J.H.Gosden, op.cit., p.202.
 3. S.R.O., ED.25/6 Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 22 January, 1942.
 4. S.R.O., ED.24/26, op.cit.
 5. B.P.P., S.E.D. Return Showing... Cmd. 6643 (1945).

level remained obstinately below 70 per cent, reaching a peak of 68.8 in February, 1944 (76.3 in England and Wales)¹ although this climbed to 80.8 in October, 1946 when milk was given free of charge to all pupils who wanted it.² The percentage of children taking as much as two-thirds of a pint daily rose from 2.3 in March, 1939 to 13.7 in October, 1941, with the peak figure of 14.6 being attained in February, 1944⁴⁵ (40 per cent in England and Wales).³

The expansion of the school meals' and milk services after 1941 caused discontented rumblings within the teaching profession in Scotland as in England and Wales. Although their assistance was voluntary, their success depended heavily upon the goodwill and co-operation of teachers but as 'extraneous duties' multiplied in the war, they began to balk. The E.I.S. were favourable to expansion, informing the S.E.D. in November, 1941 that their members "welcomed anything that could be done in the way of providing nutritious meals for the children".⁴ Assistance rendered by teachers varied widely from the mundane collection of money to more unusual tasks such as distributing milk at weekends in Aberdeenshire and the preparation and serving of meals and the cleaning of dishes in the more remote schools. The E.I.S. wanted assistance to the meals and milk schemes to be limited to supervision and the S.E.D. in late 1941, encouraged education authorities to appoint special auxiliary staff, accepting such expenditure as legitimate for grant-earning purposes.⁵

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1. Ibid. Return showing... Cmd. 6533 (1944) Board of Education, Statistics for a day... Cmd. 6530 (1944).
 2. Ibid. Summary Report, 1948; op.cit., p.9.
 3. Ibid. Summary Report, 1945, op.cit., p.9.
 4. E.I.S. Papers. Deputation to Scottish Education Department, 17 November, 1941.
 5. S.E.D., Memorandum M.242 (8 December, 1941).

But the authorities found it difficult, or were reluctant, to appoint such staff and the E.I.S. Committee on Educational Reconstruction were obliged to re-state the extent of teachers' assistance in 1943 as supervision and educating children in table manners, in the face of internal opposition to any help being offered.¹ The attempts by the S.E.D. to bolster the evacuation policy and retain working mothers in industry by keeping schools open in holidays in order to serve meals and milk had been treated with great suspicion by many teachers and the policy was largely unsuccessful.²

In the discussions leading up to the English Education Act, the N.U.T. eventually supported a general extension of the services with the children's dining and social training supervised by the teachers as a professional task. A clause was included in the bill which limited, in regulations issued by the Minister, the teachers' compulsory duties to such supervision.³ The E.I.S. gained no such limitation in the Scottish measure because the S.E.D. considered it "desirable to avoid any restriction on the services which may be rendered by teachers", in view of the large number of single-teacher schools.⁴ Thus the Secretary of State was given vague, but theoretically wide, powers to make regulations about school meals "as to the defraying of the cost and as to consequential matters".⁵

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1. E.I.S. Papers. Report of the Committee on Educational Reconstruction (Edinburgh, February, 1943), p.35. At a special General Meeting on 9 April, 1943 it was proposed that the opening sentence of the subsection on supervision (p.35) should be amended to read that "the supervision of meals should not be undertaken by the school staff". The Report was, however, adopted by 187 votes to 92. E.I.S. Papers. Note on supervision, n.d.
 2. See Chapter Four.
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.204.
 4. S.R.O., ED.14/370. Revised schedule showing the respects in which clauses of the Education (Scotland) Bill (Bill 32) differ from the corresponding sections of the Education Act, 1944, n.d. (March ? 1945).
 5. B.P.P., Education (Scotland). A Bill to amend the law relating to education in Scotland (Bill 32), 9 March, 1945, clause 36.

7. The School Health Services

At the outbreak of war the general supervision of the school health services was the responsibility of the D.H.S., the duty having been transferred from the S.E.D. under the Scottish Board of Health Act of 1919.¹ The cost of the services, however, was borne by the education grant. Following the passage of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929,² the 31 county councils and four cities which were responsible as education authorities for their respective school health schemes, were also the public health authorities. Thus in all the education authority areas the medical officer of health was also the chief administrative school medical officer, and in many he was also the executive school medical officer. The reconstructed county councils submitted schemes for the allocation of responsibility for the school health services; ten entrusted this to their education committees; the four cities and seven counties to their public health committees; and the majority of the remainder to some combination of the two.³

Despite the disruption of a total war, it would appear that the school health services in Scotland, stood up remarkably well to the problems it created or exacerbated. The outstanding difficulty was that of maintaining the services in the face of loss of staff to the armed forces. At the end of 1942, 175 part - or whole-time school medical officers were employed in Scotland - one for every 4,291 pupils, thus providing a better ratio than that prevailing in England and Wales even at the war's outbreak. The position varied from one authority to another: Lanark possessed/

1. 9 & 10 Geo. 5, c20.

2. 19 & 20 Geo.5, c25.

3. S.R.O., HH.61/530. Sir James Dunnett to Bosworth Smith, 5 August, 1942.

possessed only seven for its 86,509 schoolchildren, whereas Bute employed six part-timers for 3,390. Similarly with nurses, whose services were the mainstay of the services, their distribution was uneven: in Edinburgh there was only one for every 3,605 pupils compared with Glasgow's one for every 2,101.¹

School dentists were in particular short supply and the school dental service which had been weak before the war because of a lack of clinic accommodation and full-time staff,² had almost ceased to function in parts of Scotland. Dentists registered under the National Service Acts became liable from June, 1940 to be called up to serve in a professional capacity in the armed forces. As a consequence the school dental service which contained a relatively large proportion of young men was denuded by recruitment.³ In June, 1944 the number of dentists employed part-time or whole-time was equivalent in aggregate to 92 whole-time dental officers, each serving 8,163 pupils on average.⁴ This in fact represented an improvement on 1937 when each of the 97 dentists then employed served, on average, 11,000 children.⁵ A representative of the L.C.C. dental service had stated in June, 1940 that with 8,000 children to one dentist effective treatment for all in London was impossible.⁶ In Scottish urban and industrial areas the ratio was much less favourable and/

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1. Ibid. School Health Administration. Particulars relating to (a) school population, (b) staff employed, and (c) arrangements for specialists services, in certain Education Authority areas during the year ended 31st July, 1943. n.d.
 2. J.A. Bowie, The Future of Scotland (1939), p.65.
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.172.
 4. S.R.O. HH.61/530, School Health Administration, op.cit.
 5. J.A. Bowie, op.cit.
 6. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit.

and in the large cities had reached 20,000 pupils to each dentist.

The small county authorities presented much lower figures: Zetland, 1 to 2,300; Kincardine, 1 to 2,800; and Roxburgh, 1 to 3,000.¹

The state of Scottish children's teeth in the pre-war period was deplorable.² Paradoxically, however, in Glasgow, despite a shortage of dentists and clinics, there was a rapid improvement in the children's dental health in wartime. The percentage of children of all ages found in the city at routine inspection, to have sound teeth progressed from 28.9 to the "very high figure" of 60.6. It seems likely that this improvement was related to a better dietary as a result of school meals and milk, together with the enforced lack of sugar products, as the percentage displaying sound teeth had fallen in 1948 to 57.5.³

With opening of hostilities, the closure of schools and evacuation, the work of medical inspection and treatment was brought quickly to a standstill in the sending areas. School medical officers were procured for A.R.P. duties to deal with civilian casualties expected from the imminent bombing. Most of Glasgow's Education Health Service staff were transferred to such work with only sufficient retained to keep open only the most essential school clinics.⁴ In reception areas, such as Selkirk, examination of evacuees, which was expected to last a few days, occupied several weeks due to the well-publicised outrage felt by many billeting householders at the unclean nature of their charges.⁵

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1. S.R.O. HH.61/530, School Health Administration, op.cit.
2. J.A. Bowie, op.cit.
3. The Corporation of Glasgow. Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., p.86.
4. Ibid.
5. HH.61/530, Effect of Wartime Conditions upon School Health Services (Selkirk), n.d. (1946?). Hereafter cited as 'Selkirk'.

As schools in evacuation and neutral areas gradually re-opened and health service personnel returned, regular medical inspection with modifications, such as 'classroom inspections' in some areas, and interruptions, most notably those caused through the intensive work required by the Children's Overseas Evacuation Scheme and the Clydeside raids. Intensive cleanliness inspection was introduced in Glasgow, including search for scabies' cases, with medical officers from other sections of the public health service, students and general practitioners assisting. Quite early in the school session, 1940-1941 it was evident that the prevalence of scabies was sharply increasing in urban and industrial areas, and the epidemic reached a peak figure of 17,000 cases in Glasgow in 1943.¹ Dundee was forced to open two extra skin clinics where "treatment by baths and application of benzyl benzoate emulsion was carried out enthusiastically by lay attendants under the direct supervision of a trained nurse" with "highly satisfactory" results!² In Lanark a special scabies survey was carried out in 40 schools in six densely populated areas in 1941-1942 because of the apprehension caused by the prevalence of the disease among the population. Of the 22,441 children examined 4.5 per cent were found to be suffering from the disease.³

"The prevalence of scabies and vermin is a disturbing feature of school-life", observed the D.H.S., "It is also an indication of the neglect of hygiene in the home".⁴ Cases of pediculosis also showed a marked increase in some areas, though its incidence was probably underestimated in the pre-war years. Despite the publicity given to unclean evacuees, Glasgow Corporation reported after the war that "there seems little doubt that, except/

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.R.O. HH.61/530, Notes on 'Effect of Wartime Conditions upon the School Health Service', (Dundee), J.A. Cuthbert, March, 1946, para. 3.
 3. Ibid. Lanark, op.cit.
 4. B.P.P., D.H.S. Summary Report... for the Year ended 30th. June, 1942. Cmd. 6372 (1941-1942), p.13.

except perhaps during the first year of the war, (pupils) were at least as clean and as well-cared for as in pre-war years..."¹ But Lanark's school medical officer regarded the state of cleanliness as "one of the less satisfactory aspects of the war years. There was a definite increase in the number of children who were dirty and in a good number of cases verminous".² Several reasons were advanced for this deterioration in standards: neglect by mothers engaged in war-work and the absence of many fathers; the 'double-shift' system and non-compulsory attendance at school; the fashion for long hair amongst girls; and the temporary suspension of routine medical inspection and less-intensive school visiting by nursing staff.

There was some fear early in the war that epidemics of infectious diseases such as diphtheria, scarlet fever and poliomyelitis would break out as evacuees mixed with local children, but they largely failed to materialise.³ A large-scale immunisation campaign against diphtheria was launched in 1940 and by the end of June, 1942 some 792,000 children of school and pre-school age (69 per cent) had been immunised.⁴ The number of diphtheria notifications which stood at 15,069 in 1940 in Scotland had fallen to 9,255 (unconfirmed) in 1943.⁵ The incidence of scarlet fever remained at a "fairly high level", though well below that of pre-war years.⁶

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1. The Corporation of Glasgow. Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., p.85.
 2. S.R.O., HH.61/530, Lanark, p.8.
 3. S.E.D., Circular 121 (19 June, 1939).
 4. B.P.P., D.H.S., op.cit., p.14.
 5. Ibid. Summary Report... for the Year ended 30th June, 1944. Cmd. 6545 (1943-44), p.20.
 6. Ibid. Summary Report... for the Year ended 30th. June, 1945. Cmd. 6661 (1945-46), p.9.

There was, however, an inexplicable upsurge in cerebro-spinal fever early in the war; 1,868 cases were reported in 1942 as against 304 in 1939.¹

The social upheaval of the war increased demands for psychological guidance in dealing with difficult children and there was a considerable development of the child guidance service in some parts of Scotland, most notably Glasgow and Ayrshire. The inclusion of powers to allow local authority provision for this service in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, reflected changing social conditions and interest in psychological aspects of education. Glasgow Corporation's two clinics at Bridgeton and Renfrew Street, and the voluntary clinics in the University and Notre Dame Training College, virtually ceased to function at the war's outbreak and the staff sent to advise and help in the reception areas. The dispersion of a proportion of the city's school population contributed to a decision to establish a residential clinic and school at Nerston Homes, near East Kilbride, in 1940 which primarily accepted children who could not be treated in the city, or in their reception areas. This emergency measure proved of such great value that Nerston residential clinic became an integral part of Glasgow's child guidance service and had by 1948 treated more than 550 children suffering from serious emotional disorders.²

Over the war years, however, there was evidence of an overall improvement in the physical condition of schoolchildren, particularly in urban and industrial areas, compared with the pre-war period. Glasgow's school medical/

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1. Ibid. Summary Report... for the Year ended 30th. June, 1944, op.cit.
 2. The Corporation of Glasgow. Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., p.50.

medical officers found through their inspections that the percentage of children recorded as free from any defect increased from 17.8 in 1939 to 35.6 in 1948. The record of annual average heights and weights in the city revealed on balance an increase during the war reaching in 1945-1946 their highest points since 1920.¹ "After many years experience of work among children", reflected the medical officer of health for Selkirk, "I can truthfully say that they were never healthier than during the war years".²

The reasons were undoubtedly complex; greater levels of employment; a rise in the standard of living; and an improved diet in which school meals and milk played a prominent part, were significant factors. "In retrospect", puzzled the author of Glasgow Corporation's post-war report", it would appear that evacuation or freedom from school produced an upward trend in their average measurements".³ Malnutrition declined: a survey of nine year old children in 57 schools in Lanarkshire - an area which suffered badly in the Depression years - undertaken at the request of the D.H.S. in 1942-1943 categorised only 1.4 and 1.2 per cent as 'below average' in two medical examinations.⁴ According to a report to the Scottish Health Services, 5.3 per cent of schoolchildren were placed in this category at the annual routine examination of Scottish schoolchildren in 1933-1934.⁵

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1. Ibid. p.86.
 2. S.R.O., HH.61/530, Selkirk, op.cit.
 3. The Corporation of Glasgow. Report, 1939-1948, op.cit., p.86.
 4. S.R.O., HH.61/530, Lanark, pp.6-7.
 5. E.I.S., Report of the Committee on Educational Reconstruction, op.cit. p.33.

The wider appreciation of the value of the school medical service as a consequence of the war stimulated demands for a free and more extended service as part of the post-war reconstruction. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1942, was more than in a straw-in-the-wind in limiting the power of education authorities to recovering the cost of medical treatment given to pupils, although the S.E.D. were very anxious that the school medical service should not be transformed locally into a full-blown health service, tending to the full-range of children's medical needs.¹ The Education (Scotland) Act, 1945,² brought together and materially strengthened the powers and duties of local authorities in this area of pupils' welfare while leaving the administrative structure intact. It became, for example, the duty of authorities to provide for the medical inspection and supervision of all children and young persons attending schools under their management and to take the necessary steps to ensure that all those in need of treatment might be able to receive it free of charge. Education authorities could, at their discretion, make provision for the medical inspection of young persons over eighteen years if it was desired. A duty was also placed on authorities to secure "comprehensive facilities" for free medical treatment. They were also empowered to provide a child guidance service.

The nature and form of an extended post-war school health service was necessarily bound up in the Ministry of Health's projected comprehensive reorganisation of the health services in general which would include schoolchildren. In the interim period before the health services bill, the Ministry suggested to the Board that L.E.A.'s should concentrate mainly/

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1. S.E.D., Circular 239 (20 July, 1942)
 2. 9 & 10 Geo 6, c72.

mainly on providing those services which would be their special responsibility when the new health service was in operation and taking only temporary measures to meet particular needs.¹

The joint circular issued by the D.H.S. and S.E.D. in November 1945 to the local authorities reflected this advice, emphasising that the school medical service would have to be integrated as an efficient unit into the new national health service.² Facilities for the treatment of minor ailments - diseases of the ear, nose and throat, orthopaedic complaints, speech defects and juvenile rheumatism - were to be available to all pupils at no cost to their parents. New measures envisaged included extended arrangements with consultants - aurists, ophthalmic surgeons, dermatologists, and specialists in children's diseases - and appropriate hospitals. The need for a "full and efficient" dental service was pressed and local authorities were urged as a "first step" to appoint school dental officers to organise local provision. Wartime experiences had clearly demonstrated the need for an improvement in the standards of personal cleanliness which was now seen as "not only essential to the health and well-being of the child but as an educational factor of the first importance to the child's future". The Education (Scotland) Act had given new powers to local authorities in this regard and it was considered timely to enforce them "with firmness and consistency".

8. A Social Revolution?

The change in public and governmental attitudes towards the provision of school-meals, milk and medical treatment between 1939 and 1945 is testimony to/
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1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.181.

2. D.H.S., Circular 147/1945; S.E.D. Circular 45 (7 November, 1945).

to the impact of total war on British society and institutions. Prior to the war such provision, whether in Scotland or in England and Wales, had been perceived as relief for necessitous and under-nourished children. Evacuation, the threat of invasion and bombing helped to create a climate of opinion receptive to more comprehensive child welfare services. As Titmuss has argued, British concern for communal fitness, as reflected in social policy, has "followed closely upon the course of our military fortunes";¹ the Attlee initiative in 1940, the War Cabinet decisions in the following year, and the speedy passage of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1942, must be seen in this context. Within the subsequent three years the school meals' and milk services were transformed and if progress in Scotland was not as marked as in England and Wales, it was, nonetheless, remarkable. In round figures, one Scottish child in four was being fed at school in 1945 as compared with one in eight in 1938-1939; and two out of every three children were taking milk as compared with one in two in 1940.

The political and economic significance of the services acquired in the war lay in the part they played in the planning of post-war reconstruction. The question facing the Government was, if a system of family allowances, as advocated in the Beveridge Report, were to be introduced, should they be paid in cash or in kind? As Gosden has pointed out, the school meals service, particularly as it was expanding towards a comprehensive provision, "presented an obvious means of giving benefits in kind".² The Government cautiously affirmed their intention of introducing a 5s (25p) children's allowance supplemented by free meals and milk in November, 1944 though the Scottish Education Bill sidestepped the issue. It imposed a
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1. R.M. Titmuss, Essays on 'The Welfare State', op.cit., p.81.

2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.206.

duty upon education authorities to provide meals but left the Secretary of State to make "regulations" as to the manner in which and the persons by whom the expense of providing such milk, meals and other refreshment is to be defrayed".¹ In March, however, Johnston had called for "greatly increased efforts" from some Scottish education authorities in the provision of school meals as the date for the commencement of cash family allowances had been announced as August, 1946 and "a strong public expectation of the addition of Family Allowances in kind within a reasonable time has been created".² In the event, the Labour Government decided to make school milk free to coincide with the introduction of family allowance payments, but declined to offer free school meals as, it was later argued, facilities were available for only about two million children.³ Indeed, in Scotland, some 65 per cent of pupils would have been unable to take advantage of such payment in kind.⁴

If the school meals and milk services assumed unexpected prominence in the concerns of civil servants and politicians during and after the war, their development also expressed "something very close to a revolution" in the attitude of parents, teachers and children to an aspect of child welfare which, only a few years earlier, "had not been regarded with much respect or sympathy".⁵ The diet of many British schoolchildren improved immeasurably during the war years to the benefit of their physical health and educational potential, because a relief measure, tainted with the poor law /

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1. B.P.P., Education (Scotland)... op.cit.
 2. S.E.D. Circular 26 (22 March, 1946).
 3. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 421, 587, 28 March, 1946.
 4. B.P.P., S.E.D. Summary Report, 1946, op.cit.
 5. R.M. Titmuss, Social Policy, op.cit., p.510.

law was transformed into a social service. "The service", wrote Mackay Thomson, "is inseparably bound up with the life and organisation of the schools themselves... The view that the service is an integral part of the education system, has been fully confirmed in the course of its wartime development".⁶

1. S.E.D. Circular 76 (12 June, 1946).

A. GROWTH IN NATIONAL (SCOTTISH) PROVISION OF SCHOOL MEALS AND MILK

TABLE 6.1: Provision of School Meals and Milk in Scotland, 1939-1945

(in schools conducted by education authorities)

| | | Thousands | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | On a selected day in October in:- | | | | | | |
| | | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 |
| Pupils on registers | | 764 | 737 | 750 | 739 | 738 | 744 | 730 |
| Day pupils taking dinners | | 91* | 86* | 104* | 105* | 158 | 175 | 187 |
| Percentage | | 11.7 | 11.7 | 13.9 | 14.2 | 21.5 | 23.5 | 25.7 |
| Day pupils taking milk | | 186 ^x | 361 | 458 | 498 | 496 | 502 | 468 |
| Percentage | | 24.3 | 48.9 | 61.1 | 67.4 | 67.3 | 67.4 | 64.1 |

Notes: (i) A 'school meal' in the context of this table is a 'dinner'.
(see p.275, footnote 1).

(ii)* These figures relate to 31 July and include a certain number of light meals.

(iii)x This figure relates to January, 1940.

Source: Ministry of Education; Scottish Education Department; Ministry of Education, Northern Ireland, Statistics Relating to Education for the years 1935-1946 (1948), Table 106.

B. GROWTH IN LOCAL (SCOTTISH) PROVISION OF SCHOOL MEALS AND MILK

Table 6.2: Provision of School Meals by Education Authorities, 1942-1945.

Education Authority Percentage of children received dinners and lunches or soup meals on a day in February in:-

| | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Aberdeen | 8.5 | 15.6 | 21.3 | 21.3 |
| Dundee | 12.5 | 18.1 | 22.2 | 23.8 |
| Edinburgh | 16.7 | 18.0 | 24.5 | 23.2 |
| Glasgow | 4.6 | 18.4 | 23.2 | 25.1 |
| Aberdeen (County) | 25.1 | 27.5 | 26.8 | 27.8 |
| Angus | 23.6 | 25.2 | 35.2 | 34.1 |
| Argyll | 2.6 | 5.1 | 6.2 | 10.3 |
| Ayr | 21.3 | 28.3 | 32.0 | 33.0 |
| Banff | 9.6 | 12.0 | 9.1 | 8.3 |
| Berwick | 11.8 | 11.3 | 13.4 | 16.1 |
| Bute | - | - | 8.2 | 11.6 |
| Caithness | 2.3 | 5.7 | 4.9 | 6.7 |
| Clackmannan | 2.5 | 31.2 | 34.4 | 26.5 |
| Dumfries | 14.2 | 16.1 | 18.5 | 26.5 |
| Dunbarton | 4.1 | 36.9 | 36.4 | 35.4 |
| East Lothian | 13.8 | 26.9 | 32.2 | 28.3 |
| Fife | 9.2 | 18.7 | 23.5 | 24.6 |
| Inverness | 1.8 | 1.2 | 10.3 | 8.1 |
| Kincardine | 39.8 | 42.2 | 38.6 | 36.0 |
| Kirkcudbright | 20.9 | 21.6 | 28.8 | 31.6 |
| Lanark | 7.6 | 19.5 | 38.5 | 40.4 |
| Midlothian | 19.1 | 19.6 | 26.0 | 27.9 |
| Moray & Nairn | 8.6 | 7.5 | 21.2 | 27.0 |
| Orkney | - | 7.3 | 9.6 | 11.1 |
| Peebles | 4.1 | 12.5 | 44.6 | 48.2 |
| Perth & Kinross | 7.7 | 11.0 | 15.0 | 19.9 |
| Renfrew | 6.1 | 9.2 | 18.1 | 18.9 |
| Ross & Cromarty | 3.4 | 11.9 | 18.5 | 22.9 |
| Roxburgh | 14.3 | 12.6 | 13.1 | 20.3 |
| Selkirk | 2.4 | 3.3 | 20.1 | 21.3 |
| Stirling | 31.3 | 28.2 | 28.9 | 24.3 |
| Sutherland | 10.6 | 24.7 | 23.6 | 22.6 |
| W. Lothian | 3.4 | 18.9 | 17.9 | 15.3 |
| Wigtown | 11.1 | 11.2 | 11.5 | 32.9 |
| Zetland | 2.6 | 18.4 | 19.7 | 30.3 |

Source: B.P.P., S.E.D., Returns showing the Percentage of School Children Receiving (a) Milk under the Milk in Schools Scheme and (b) Meals in the Area of each Education Authority in Scotland. Cmd.6366 (1942); Cmd.6444 (1943); Cmd.6533 (1944); and Cmd.6643 (1945)

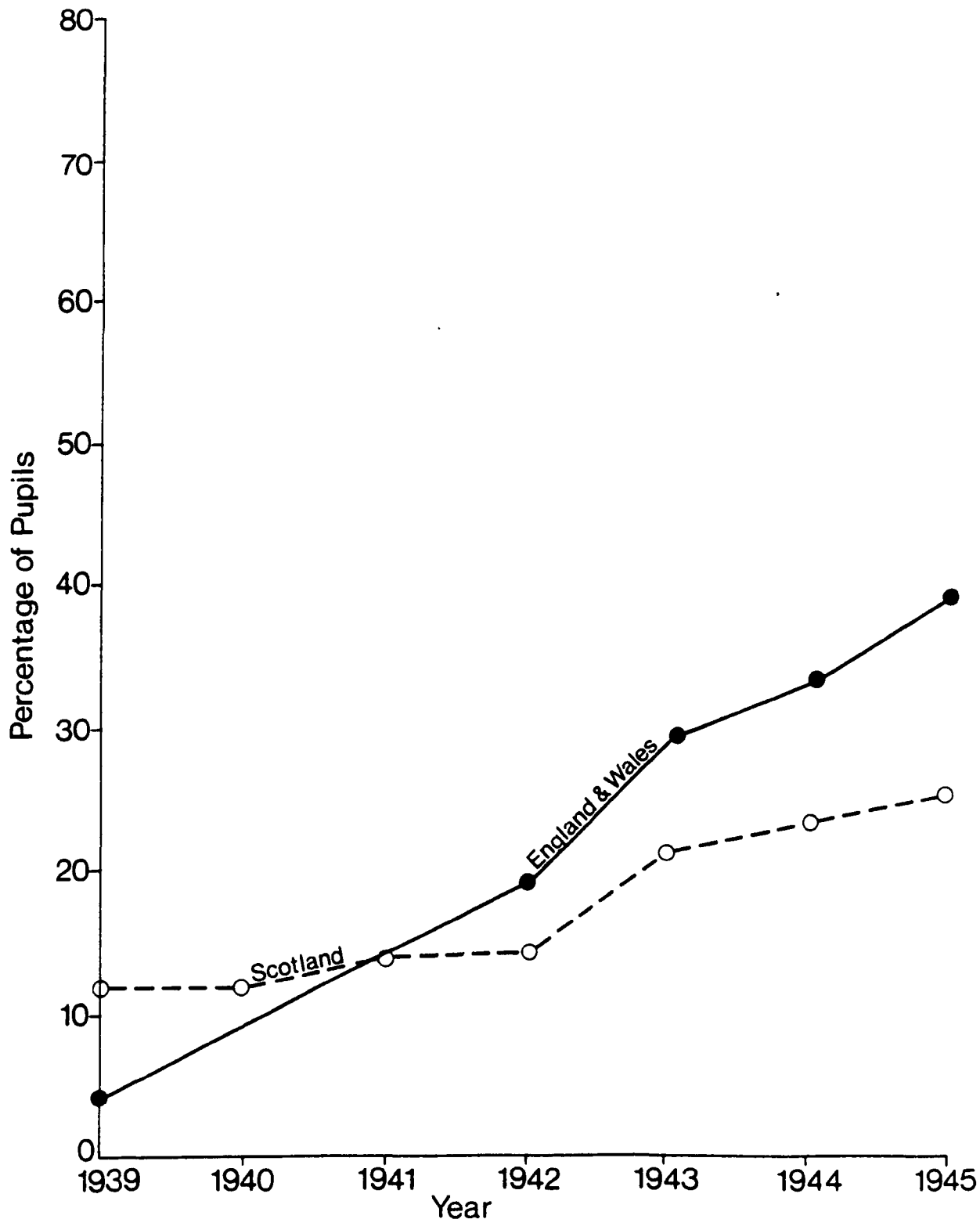
Table 6.3: Provision of School Milk by Education Authorities 1942-1945.

Education Authority Percentage of children receiving Milk under the Milk in Schools Scheme or other arrangements on a day in February in:-

| | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Aberdeen | 67.6 | 72.0 | 73.1 | 69.5 |
| Dundee | 56.8 | 66.3 | 74.5 | 64.4 |
| Edinburgh | 77.7 | 76.7 | 80.3 | 76.5 |
| Glasgow | 82.4 | 82.8 | 83.8 | 81.3 |
| Aberdeen (County) | 35.8 | 43.2 | 42.1 | 40.6 |
| Angus | 40.3 | 39.2 | 39.3 | 36.9 |
| Argyll | 44.2 | 50.1 | 50.2 | 49.6 |
| Ayr | 74.0 | 73.0 | 72.3 | 71.5 |
| Banff | 13.3 | 14.2 | 6.7 | 39.0 |
| Berwick | 45.1 | 42.9 | 25.3 | 23.2 |
| Bute | 34.5 | 56.9 | 55.0 | 41.4 |
| Caithness | - | - | - | 1.8 |
| Clackmannan | 74.3 | 69.7 | 75.0 | 68.5 |
| Dumfries | 63.9 | 61.8 | 64.3 | 60.9 |
| Dunbarton | 71.3 | 67.2 | 69.7 | 64.7 |
| East Lothian | 76.3 | 70.9 | 70.5 | 69.1 |
| Fife | 64.9 | 64.9 | 64.9 | 62.1 |
| Inverness | 53.4 | 30.1 | 59.4 | 56.1 |
| Kincardine | 26.0 | 24.7 | 29.2 | 37.6 |
| Kirkcudbright | 59.3 | 53.2 | 54.1 | 53.4 |
| Lanark | 73.4 | 69.7 | 67.1 | 62.0 |
| Midlothian | 73.8 | 79.4 | 82.5 | 77.9 |
| Moray & Nairn | 36.5 | 51.7 | 37.3 | 40.7 |
| Orkney | - | 16.2 | 15.1 | 11.5 |
| Peebles | 64.9 | 66.2 | 65.7 | 67.7 |
| Perth & Kinross | 50.8 | 53.5 | 55.1 | 53.9 |
| Renfrew | 71.8 | 73.7 | 77.7 | 66.5 |
| Ross & Cromarty | 5.2 | 16.1 | 25.1 | 20.4 |
| Roxburgh | 47.9 | 43.5 | 41.5 | 52.3 |
| Selkirk | 69.7 | 70.7 | 64.7 | 62.6 |
| Stirling | 68.0 | 65.3 | 69.0 | 63.8 |
| Sutherland | 23.0 | 41.4 | 40.0 | 42.1 |
| W. Lothian | 82.7 | 78.2 | 85.1 | 76.8 |
| Wigtown | 45.8 | 57.6 | 51.8 | 49.4 |
| Zetland | 36.0 | 61.7 | 53.8 | 56.0 |

Source: Returns showing the Percentage of School Children Receiving (a) Milk under the Milk in Schools Scheme and (b) Meals in the Area of each Education Authority in Scotland, Cmd. 6366 (1942); Cmd. 6444 (1943); Cmd. 6533 (1944); and Cmd. 6643 (1945).

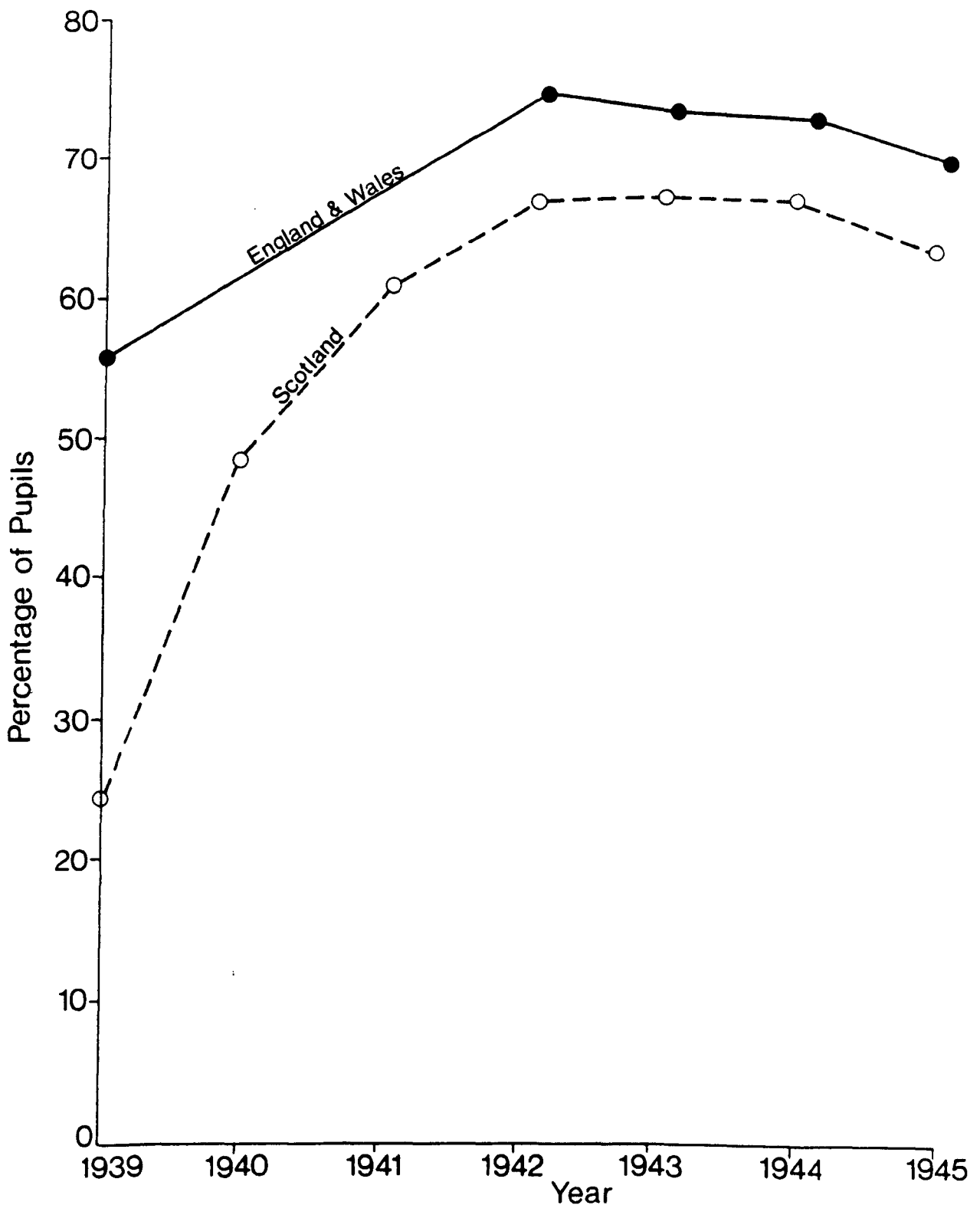
The Comparative Growth of the School Meals' Service in England and Wales, and Scotland, 1939-1945.



Statistical Source: Ministry of Education; Scottish Education Department; Ministry of Education, Northern Ireland. Statistics Relating to Education for the years 1935-1946 (1948), Tables 94 and 106.

Note: The percentage of English and Welsh pupils receiving school meals in 1939 (4.5) was estimated from data contained in P.R.O. ED 136/662. 'War history of school meals and milk', by E.D. Marris, September, 1944, p.44.

The Comparative Growth of the School Milk Service in England and Wales, and Scotland, 1939-1945.



Statistical Source: Ministry of Education; Scottish Education Department; Ministry of Education, Northern Ireland: Statistics Relating to Education for the years 1935-1946 (1948), Tables 94 and 106.

Note: The percentage of English and Welsh pupils receiving school milk in 1939 (56) was estimated from data contained in P.R.O., ED 136/662. 'War history of school meals and milk,' by E.D. Marris, September, 1944, p.43.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A NEW JERUSALEM?

1. Surveying the Post-War

The outbreak of war and evacuation nullified the series of administrative reforms which the S.E.D. had planned to introduce with the raising of the school leaving age in September, 1939. The advent of the First World War had seemingly ended the prospect of improving the educational systems and the start of the Second had effectively removed the much-criticised substance of the 1936 Education Acts. But the First World War had eventually encouraged the adoption of major, if ultimately ill-fated, educational reform and the press were quick to express the hope that history might be repeated but with more practical, long-lasting effect.¹

As briefly indicated in an earlier chapter, the pressures for a thorough-going reform, improvement and extension of educational provision increased dramatically, particularly in English society, as the war impinged upon the lives of the people.² These pressures were significantly slower to build up in Scotland possibly because of the commonly-held belief in the inherent soundness of the educational system and of its superiority over its English counterpart. Nevertheless, the signs were quickly discernible in the columns of the educational press in both countries: The Scottish Educational Journal soon perceived an important role in promoting and directing the spirit of reform:

"Now /

1. See, for example, S.E.J., 10 November, 1941.
2. See Chapter Three.

"Now we must all be putting on our thinking caps regarding the future... there is a great chance that after the war is over we may get a complete reorganisation of our educational system. We must be getting public opinion ready for it".¹

The need for direction was also apparent in a more important quarter. In the First World War the Board of Education had shut up shop for the duration of the conflict and were, consequently, surprised by, and unprepared for, the upsurge of demand for educational reform in 1916. The lesson was not forgotten within the Board, not least upon R.S. Wood, the Deputy Secretary, who came to see the necessity for leading, and not following, current opinion. Thus the proposal was made that some of the Board's senior officials should make a co-operative study of the educational problems which would arise when the war ended, and in November, 1940, the Committee of Senior Officials on Post-War Educational Reconstruction, composed of permanent assistant secretaries and chief inspectors, was born. "It may be," wrote Sir Maurice Holmes, "that public opinion, and indeed the wishes of the Government themselves, may lead to the setting-up of a post-war educational policy, but this possibility does not, I think, absolve us from forming our own views as to the educational changes which we should like to see in a post-war world".² The much debated and extensively modified memoranda produced in the wake of this informal committee eventually appeared as chapters of the 'Green Book' and "effectively charted the main features of the policies which the Ministry of Education was to follow during the twenty years following the Education Act of 1944".³

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1. S.E.J., 5 January, 1940
 2. P.R.O., ED.136/212. Education after the War. Minute by Sir Maurice G. Holmes, 5 November, 1940.
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., p.239.

Perhaps as a consequence of the efforts of Wood and Holmes to stimulate consideration of future educational 'reconstruction' within the Board, the topic emerged officially for the first time in St. Andrew's House. In a note to Staff Officer, J. Crosfield, dated 12 November, Mackay Thomson informed him that 'Education after the War' was on the agenda of a conference of the secretariat and H. M. chief inspectors on 22 November, and requested him to "give this problem some preliminary consideration."¹ The Secretary had "confidentially ascertained" the "general outlines which the Board of Education have at present in mind for England." Foremost was the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen with no exemptions for beneficial employment. This might prompt consideration of the question of maintenance allowances for pupils between fourteen and fifteen, but "no decision can be reached on this at present because we do not know what the economic system will be when the war is over. It may be that some form of family allowance will be introduced as part of the wage system." For fifteen to eighteen year-olds there would be compulsory part-time instruction equivalent to one day a week very much on the lines of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. "It may be asked," wrote Mackay Thomson, "how a system of part-time continuation classes could be organised in rural districts, and it is suggested that the school camps point the way to a solution of this problem." On reaching eighteen, "boys should have a compulsory period of six months' full-time training. Whether this should be military training ... or ... some other form of national service, such as Forestry work, etc., might depend on the state of public opinion and upon the international situation from time to time." After/

1. S.R.O., ED.7/1/47. Mackay Thomson to J. Crosfield, 12 November, 1940.

After six months of training or service they would be free to proceed to university, or employment. The Secretary concluded:

"This is a general outline of the scheme. Details will have to be worked out at a later stage; no doubt, the whole thing will have to be submitted for the consideration of the Cabinet. Out of the questions still to be considered is whether the experience gained during the war suggests the desirability of making any change in the school curriculum, or in the provision of secondary education."

He determined on following a similar procedure to the Board's in asking the inspectorate to comment on the effect of the war on education and on "any promising experiments which might be worth adopting in the post-war organisation," but there was, significantly, to be no formal, or informal, committee to delineate more clearly a coherent scheme for educational reform.

During the conference on 22 November where reconstruction was but one item on the agenda, Parker, echoing The Scottish Educational Journal, referred to "the probability that this war, like former wars, would be followed by developments in educational legislation ... and it was desirable that the Department should be ready with an agreed scheme on similar lines (to the Board's), but with the special needs of Scotland in view."¹ Discussion ranged over the seemingly certain elements - the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen and day continuation classes. Archibald Lang, H. M. Senior Chief Inspector, emphasised the need for "differential treatment" of the large proportion of fourteen to eighteen year old pupils who would not complete the Leaving Certificate course. "Education for these children," he believed, "should be vocational; it should include training in citizenship and have a technical or rural bias,/"

1. Ibid. Notes of Conference of Secretariat and H. M. Chief Inspectors, 22 November, 1940.

bias, according to the circumstances." J. G. Frewin suggested that vocational training should begin as early as the age of twelve, arguing that existing provision beyond that age was unsuitable except for secondary pupils who intended to proceed to university. W. A. Robertson countered with the assertion that the new Junior Certificate course would cater for the rump of pupils who would be forced to remain at school to the age of fifteen. He characterised the Board's tentative proposal to provide a weekly compulsory half-day of largely physical education as bearing "considerable resemblance to the methods employed by Germany in their technical schools, such as the Horst Wessel School at Dresden." Dr D. J. Macleod added a plea for the establishment of agricultural schools on the lines of the Danish folk schools. He favoured instruction for young people in the Highlands in weaving, navigation and seamanship, regretting the absence from the existing syllabus of "anything bearing on the economics of the croft."

The most fundamental contribution to the discussions came from Dr. Jardine who argued persuasively that post-war developments should commence at the other end of the age-range. Nursery school provision should be extended with children remaining to the age of seven in such schools and classes restricted to 40. The primary school curriculum should be recast, partly to underline the importance of moral training and hygiene and there should be "a great development" of the feeding and health services. The problem of the education of the fourteen to eighteen year old age group should be left to ad hoc regional advisory committees, with Departmental assessors, who would compile schemes suitable to individual areas. Block grants from the Department to education authorities should be abolished, "at any rate in part," and a percentage grant introduced in order to encourage/

encourage them to undertake new developments. R. T. Hawkins, the financial expert, was obliged to point out that any amendment of the grant system on a percentage basis would inevitably meet with opposition from the Treasury and the Board.

The discussion produced nothing new in the way of proposals arising out of a year's experience of the struggle to maintain the essential fabric of the educational system in the face of war. Indeed, many of the proposals were all too familiar, having been considered by the Advisory Council in the pre-war years. The most enduring suggestion, perhaps, came from Parker who wished to see panels established for both primary and secondary curricula "to study the problems which would arise out of post-war developments," insofar as the regenerated Advisory Council was later set to work in these fields.

As the wind of reconstruction whistled through Whitehall in the New Year of 1941, Parker, amidst the multitude of tasks requiring his attention, prepared some preliminary "rough notes" on post-war educational policy which he sent to Mackay Thomson on 27 January.¹ He approached the problem tangentially "mainly from the point of view of a school building programme" as this seemed likely to be the first question considered by an advisory committee on physical reconstruction to be appointed by the new Ministry of Works and Buildings. But a school building programme would necessarily depend upon the Government's future educational policy and as the Department would, "sooner or later," be asked to contribute to its formulation, Parker was forced to speculate about its possible nature./

1. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Parker to Secretary, 27 January, 1941.

nature. He was anxious to receive the Secretary's reactions to his musings so that he could eventually prepare two draft memoranda - one for the advisory committee and the other "dealing with the general policy for education in Scotland", which might be required later by the Minister without Portfolio. Parker's notes initiated exchanges between Mackay Thomson and himself which provided the essential framework of the educational legislation at the end of the war.

He surveyed the familiar possibilities - the raising of the school leaving age and day continuation education - pausing to ask whether the latter would be on lines laid down in section 15 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, or whether wartime experience suggested some modification? Should the day continuation class system, for example, "include an element of recreative work similar to that done in the youth welfare movement, or should that movement remain on a voluntary basis entirely outside any compulsory system?"¹

Parker also noted that the Board were considering "some important changes" in the educational organisation in England and Wales: the removal of the distinction between provided and non-provided schools; the abolition of the term 'elementary education'; the extinction of Part III authorities and the creation of one local authority responsible for all forms of primary, secondary and technical education. Significantly, the Second Secretary observed:

"Most/

1. Ibid. Notes on Post-War Policy in Education in Scotland with particular reference to school building, 27 January, 1941.

"Most of these reforms have already been effected in Scotland. We have Education Authorities responsible for all forms of primary and secondary education in their areas, and with the duty to provide continuation classes; we have no schools in the position of the English non-provided schools; and we have a unified Code."

There were, however, two points which might require investigation "at a later stage". Firstly, were the existing duties placed on education authorities by statute sufficient to secure an expansion of technical education? Secondly, there were suggestions in some of the papers circulated to the Reconstruction Committee that some public services could best be organised on a regional basis with larger administrative areas. "There is probably something to be said for enlarging the unit for educational administration in some parts of the country," commented Parker, "but no doubt this will follow any decision taken with regard to the unit for other (services)".

Parker listed a number of changes, or developments, in the educational system derived from the November conference which might require legislation and would influence a building programme: more nursery schools; greater attention to moral training, hygiene and health services; smaller classes in infant departments and, possibly, in the primary and first three years of the secondary course; the development of technical education, including more alternative secondary courses; and the provision of more school and holiday camps. He concluded that a detailed programme for school-building after the war could not be drawn up until there was further information not only about the Government's educational policy, but also with regard to the rebuilding of bombed areas; slum clearance and housing; the location of industry and the organisation of transport; and the international post-war situation.

He/

He did go so far, however, as to suggest "two tentative conclusions of a preliminary nature" which reveal the expectation of heavy damage from air-raids. Firstly, full-time education should be resumed as soon as possible after the war in all areas where it had been interrupted. Where school buildings had been damaged, accommodation might have to be provided in temporary buildings until it was known whether there was to be any general re-building of the area. Secondly, where urban areas were to be re-planned and re-built, suitable sites of adequate size should be reserved for any schools needed to serve the population of the area.

Within a week Mackay Thomson had replied to Parker, commending his notes as "most valuable as a starting-point for the preparation of any Memoranda on post-war policy that may be demanded of us," and asking him to prepare the two memoranda suggested. The Secretary revealed his great anxiety that,

"the B. of E. may produce some very spectacular programme beside which our own may seem insignificant,"

and stressed the importance of the Secretary of State appreciating how much administrative reform of Scottish education had been achieved before the outbreak of war.¹ "When England were studying (sic) the Spens Report on the eve of the raising of the leaving-age," he continued, "our own preparations for that event had either been already made or were on the point of completion ... there had been a fairly comprehensive review of our system and a general 'tidying-up', as 1st September, 1939, was being regarded as the beginning of a new educational era."

He expanded upon the assertion of the advanced state of Scotland's educational/

1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 2 February, 1941.

educational preparedness. The new Day Schools Code which had bestowed the title 'secondary' on all forms of post-primary education, though nominally operative, was designed to apply to the educational system as it would be when the leaving-age was raised to fifteen. The accompanying memorandum¹, moreover, contained "an abundance of precept which many of the Authorities still have to digest and apply." The Junior Leaving Certificate had been introduced to replace the Day School Certificate (Higher) as from December, 1939 though its issue was now suspended until further notice. Changes in the award of the Senior Leaving Certificate to be implemented in 1940 were similarly suspended. A new minute regulating teachers' salaries required as a consequence of the changes in the nomenclature of schools introduced in the new Code, had come into force on the same day.² When the war broke out, a new edition of the regulations for the training of teachers had been prepared and was being considered by the education authorities. A new Education (Scotland) Bill had been drafted and printed which consolidated all previous legislation and was awaiting presentation to parliament. Subject panels were at work on memoranda on the teaching of their subjects and "several would have been published by now but for the war." The Department's Advisory Council published, in March, 1937, a well-regarded report on the position of technical education in the Scottish day school system.³ No serious efforts had been made by the Department to implement their proposals, but the Secretary now hastened to add - perhaps/

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1. S.E.D., Memorandum Explanatory of the Draft Day Schools (Scotland) Code, 1939 (1938).
 2. All maintained schools and departments were now either 'primary' or 'secondary'.
 3. S.E.D., Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Report as to the position of Technical Education in the day system of Scotland (and developments which may be desirable in order to establish a close relation between day school work and industries requiring technical knowledge and ability (1937)).

perhaps a tribute to the effect of war - that they deserved "close study," though the Department might have to consider whether the Advisory Council "should be given the opportunity of telling us what extent, if at all, their views have been modified by the experiences of industry under war conditions."

As for post-war policy generally, Mackay Thomson inevitably concurred with the Board's assumption that the leaving age would be raised as soon as possible after the war, without any exemption for beneficial employment; and that there would be a system of day continuation classes for the fifteen to eighteen age group. He agreed with Parker's desire for more nursery schools and school and holiday camps, as well as fuller powers for the D.H.S. to deal with unhealthy children. "The main battle," he believed, "will be joined on the vexed question of the curriculum from 12 - 15." Stewart Mackintosh, Director of Education for Aberdeen, had recently been "very vocal" about the "urgent need for drastic reform" of the curriculum for this age-group.¹ The Secretary asserted vehemently that the new Code and Junior Leaving Certificate regulations were "so elastically framed that I can find nothing in them to prevent him from setting about the drastic reform he desired, and asking us to approve his proposals so far, beyond vague generalities, he has produced nothing constructive."²

He had scented a familiar adversary in the talk of educational reform among the professional élite - "the advocates of more vocational training in the day school" - who were "already active". Yet he sagely predicted that/

1. S.E.J., 20 December, 1940.

2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Parker, op.cit.

that "the larger the socialist element in the post-war Government, the less likely it is that we shall be driven in that direction." He, personally, was "not disposed to do more than press for an ample provision of practical courses" leading to the Junior Leaving and Senior Leaving Certificates, and for a "modicum" of practical work for every pupil who chose a non-practical course for his certificate. No change was required in the certificate regulations themselves to accomplish this end, though some revision of approved schemes of work might be necessary. For those pupils who were unlikely to attain Junior Leaving Certificate standard, the Secretary briefly remarked that "less ambitious courses should be professed."

Reviewing the whole certificate system, Mackay Thomson needed no urging to ride his particular hobby-horse. He preferred the adoption of the English system with a general certificate at the end of the fourth year of secondary school, followed one, or two, years later by a higher certificate "on a narrower front". The Junior Leaving Certificate could be left to the conduct of education authorities with the hope that "many pupils would be tempted to remain at school for an extra year" to obtain the Department's higher certificate. Revealingly, he observed:

"It is now more than six years since I first advocated this change, but I have had no support from within the Department, though there is a steadily increasing body of support for it among the more reputable Headmasters who deplore, as I do, the fact that our secondary schools are unable to produce boys capable of winning a scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge - as boys from Council schools in England now do in large numbers. But Scottish opinion generally seems still opposed to specialisation at school, and I doubt if the time is ripe for any such change."

He felt that the Advisory Council should eventually report on the problem, but that, meanwhile, "we must carry on with the J.L.C. and the S.L.C. under the revised regulations which but for the war would now be in force."

He also ruled out any attempt at a reduction in the size of classes until arrears of building had been overtaken, though if a "political gesture" were necessitated, new maxima could be set for future implementation and as a rule-of-thumb in the construction of new schools. In contrast, the political and social climate undoubtedly encouraged his observation that the Department would have to ensure that "more attention is paid to the teaching of Citizenship." This quality, he believed, was firmly associated with community-living and that "many or most" of the advantages of boarding-school education could be made available to "large numbers" of Scottish children if more hostels could be established at secondary schools in the counties, perhaps by tempting education authorities with ad hoc grants. The hostels could be used by young people in the holidays for their compulsory continuation education. Such provision might be supplemented by rural or agricultural schools of the type suggested by the Advisory Council in pre-war years.¹ The schools could also mount rural Junior Leaving Certificate courses on a residential basis as well as day continuation education.

One important area of concern was post-school technical education for it was here that Mackay Thomson was sure that the Department would be called upon to make proposals. The Advisory Council had recommended the existence of technical schools in all towns with populations over 15,000, and he believed that a "promising list" could be compiled of areas meeting this criterion.² It was the relationship between the economic interests of the various local areas and technical education which/

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1. S.E.D., Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op.cit.
 2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Parker, op.cit.

which bothered him. Although the 1918 Act contained a mandatory section which set up local advisory councils with the duty of "advising the Authority on matters of educational interest relating to the education area", the Department appeared to have acquiesced in its general non-observance. Every educational authority had appointed a council in 1919; by 1926 seven were still to hold their first meeting and the remainder, with two exceptions, gradually fell into inactivity.¹ The Department would now have to consider whether new legislation should provide for the appointment of "local advisory committees" to advise education authorities generally, but specifically on the technical education required by fifteen to eighteen year olds in compulsory continuation classes. They could be "representative of the crafts and industries practised in the education area... and of such other crafts and industries as the E.A. with the consent of the Department might select". These committees would fulfil the functions of the local advisory bodies in technical education recommended by the Advisory Council.

Their report had also suggested a 'central industrial advisory committee' for Scotland, but the Secretary was dubious about the necessity for such a body. What was more important in his mind were the regional committees which had already been established with regard to the four central institutions providing technical education. They could gain "a new importance in co-ordinating and supervising the activities of the Local Advisory Committees in their respective provinces". This was the only respect in which Mackay Thomson believed there was any case for larger administrative educational areas.

1. Edinburgh and Peebles.

The exchange of minutes and notes between Mackay Thomson and Parker established the underlying philosophy and the general outlines of Scottish educational reform in the Second World War. The rationale was defensive and self-justificatory: the Scottish educational system was fundamentally sound and, in many ways - not least its unified nature - superior to the English. During the inter-war years when educational reform was a political pariah, the Department had achieved a remarkable degree of administrative reform by virtue of a tight, unchallenged control over a strongly centralised and compact educational system. In contrast, R. S. Wood believed that the balance of power and initiative had passed steadily from the Board to the L.E.A.s and that it responded to, rather than anticipated, issues. The influence of the Board had diminished, particularly under the presidency of Lord Eustace Percy (1924 - 1929) "whose general policy was to belittle the powers and position of the department, and to circumscribe its control."¹ The Department's reforms - largely untested because of the war - served two important purposes: they were seemingly evidence of their prescience and quiet efficiency; and could be used to demonstrate the argument that Scottish education did not require radical reconstruction on the lines of the proposed English measures.

Two further points can be illustrated from the exchange. The future of Scottish education was in the main, the concern of the two most important and likeminded officials in the Department - Dr. J. Jardine also read the papers but offered no written contribution. There was no informal committee as set up within the larger Board which would allow the prolonged expression/

1. P.R.O., ED.136/212. R. S. Wood to Holmes, 8 November, 1940.

expression of more radical views, such as those of W. C. Cleary, a principal assistant secretary, and R. H. Charles, a chief inspector who argued persuasively in favour of the multilateral school. While such minority views never prevailed, their expression did, at least, help to sharpen the edge of the traditionalists' arguments. Secondly, Mackay Thomson and Parker displayed no great sense of urgency in their deliberations; the assumed pace was leisurely as their eyes were focussed upon the dim horizon of the "post-war" which, given the existing war-situation, could only be envisaged as a long way off. Yet if the pace was slow and debate surrounded by an air of smugness, a request from the Minister of Reconstruction sounded a more urgent note and demanded consideration of educational reform from a different, and more uncomfortable standpoint.

2. The Reconstruction Memorandum

In January, 1941 Churchill announced that Arthur Greenwood, Minister without Portfolio, would assume responsibility for the study of post-war problems and reconstruction. He was to work on the assumption that the Coalition would continue for about three years after the war, and prepare practical measures of advance in "four or five great spheres of action."¹ The Reconstruction Committee over which he presided until he was dismissed in February, 1942, was to meet only on four occasions. His appointment was, in fact, an indication that reconstruction had a very low priority in Whitehall in the second winter of the war.²

Greenwood began "with a great fanfare from the press", and at the first meeting/

1. P. Addison, The Road to 1945, British Politics and the Second World War (1977), p.167.

2. Ibid.

meeting of the Committee on 27 February 1941 circulated "a grandiose memorandum" which classified every possible goal at home and abroad.¹ Among the long-term social problems was included: "Equality of opportunity and reform of educational system: facilities for enjoyment of leisure."² Already, in late January, Greenwood had aroused the ire of the Board by inviting the W.E.A. to produce plans for post-war educational development which could be considered in conjunction with those produced by the Board and the Department. From the Board's point of view "it was a clearcase of trespass by amateurs" and drew a sharp protest.³ It was an inauspicious start for Greenwood whose committee could only co-ordinate the work of the various departments, having no powers to compel action.

While Parker at Fielden House was, no doubt, aware of this contretemps, it was not until 10 March that Mackay Thomson learned, with surprise and annoyance, of Greenwood's intended activities in the educational domain, when studying a series of cabinet memoranda. In one dated 27 February he noted Greenwood's intention to invite the Board and the Department "to communicate to the Committee in due course the schemes which he (Greenwood) understands they have under consideration for securing equality of educational opportunity and for general reform and expansion" of the educational system.⁴ "This is the first I have heard of any suggestion", minuted Mackay Thomson, "that we should work out any scheme 'for securing equality of educational opportunity', and I am somewhat puzzled/

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. P. H. J. H. Gosden, op.cit., p.215

4. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 10 March, 1941.

puzzled that Mr. Greenwood should imagine we are in fact doing so. I should like first of all to know precisely what he means by these words."¹

The turn-of-events depressed the Secretary:

"In general, these momentous memoranda seem to throw pretty well everything into the melting-pot, and one cannot very safely count on the survival or anything from the maelstrom of committees and enquiries which are contemplated."

The shift of emphasis from 'reform' to 'reconstruction' was clearly not to his liking and Parker, in reply, presumed that any proposals that the Board, or Department, might put forward would have "little chance of acceptance" unless they carried the label of 'equality of educational opportunity'.² The Second Secretary revealed that he was already working on the material previously prepared in an attempt to produce a draft memorandum for Greenwood. Yet if the required approach to the problem was to be vastly different, Parker indicated that his starting-point was largely unaffected by Greenwood's request:

"I hope to be able to show that the Act of 1918 did nearly all that legislation can be expected to do to secure equality of educational opportunity in Scotland, and to indicate some further steps which might be taken towards attainment of that ideal."

As well as governmental pressure to produce definitive plans for educational reform, the Department was confronted with a request from the A.D.E.S. for the formation of a committee "representative of all educational thought and practice", to consider post-war problems.³

Mackay Thomson hastened to ask R. S. Wood how the Board were dealing with/

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 12 March, 1941.
 3. S.R.O., ED.7/1/47. Frizzell to the Secretary, S.E.D., 16 April, 1941.

with Greenwood's request. Wood told him that when the Board's proposals were complete they would discuss them confidentially with "a few representatives" of the L.E.A.'s and the teachers - A.L. Binns, Director of Education for the West Riding, Sir Percival Sharp, the Secretary of the Association of Education Committees, and Sir Frederick Mander, General Secretary of the N.U.T. The proposals would then go to the President and, if approved, forwarded to the Reconstruction Committee. Wood had reassured the Secretary by suggesting that it would be "some months" before a memorandum would be ready for Greenwood.¹

But Mackay Thomson did not wish to open the discussion to include outside interests in the manner of the Board. In advising the Secretary of State to decline the request of the directors of education, he informed him that, "it was never our intention to have consultations with any interested parties - whether Directors, Education Authorities or Teachers - until we have submitted (the memorandum) to you for your approval and received your instructions as to further procedure.

"Such consultations seem to me to be premature at this stage, and I feel that the course of action which the Board apparently intend to follow may well be embarrassing. There can be no certainty that the proposals they are to discuss 'confidentially' with the Authorities and the Teachers will be approved by their President, or by Mr Greenwood's Committee, or by the Cabinet, and there is a danger that they may raise expectations that may not eventually be fulfilled. In my opinion it is only when the war situation enables us to see more clearly ahead that consultation with outside interests will be either useful or advisable".

Mackay Thomson's insistence upon the lack of information to aid planning at such a juncture in the war was the introductory note in his memorandum on 'Equality of Opportunity' in late March, 1941.² Any proposals in this/

1. S.R.O., ED.25/5. Mackay Thomson to Westwood and the Secretary of State, 17 April, 1941.

2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Equality of Opportunity. Memorandum by Mackay Thomson, 26 March, 1941.

this field, he argued, "must necessarily be determined by a governmental decision as to the duration and type of education for which equal opportunity was deemed desirable; and whether full-time education beyond school leaving age was to be offered to all, or only to those who were judged fit to profit by it." Such a decision "must in its turn depend largely upon such wide issues as the financial resources of the country after the war, the social system which is evolved, and the conditions regulating the supply of labour." The functions of the education departments extended only to "the provision of education of one kind or another, without payment of fees ..., to all who desire it, and who are judged fit to profit by it (should the Government - as is to be hoped - think it proper to impose that condition)." It was for other government departments to decide whether financial compensation could be provided for loss of wages in respect of pupils who remained at school beyond the leaving age. Expedients such as "family allowances" and a "national minimum ... might make it possible" for adolescents to gain further education "from which they have felt themselves precluded by pre-war economic conditions." But as Scottish educational legislation stood, maintenance allowances could not be paid for the loss of hypothetical wages.

"Scotland," he claimed, "has for long been proud of the 'equality of opportunity' afforded under her educational system," and proceeded to examine the existing position to support his assertion. The main area of weakness lay in nursery education where provision was a power, not a duty, of education authorities. Provision was "scant": 37 nursery schools and eighteen primary schools with nursery classes. To establish equality of opportunity at this stage of education, the Secretary proposed that the power would have to be converted to a duty, but this "could not reasonably/

reasonably be enforced in sparsely populated or remote districts". At the primary stage "equality of opportunity" already existed in that the standard curriculum was available to all, irrespective of parental means. Affluent parents in 39 Scottish towns could elect to send their children to the fee-paying primary departments of 62 secondary schools, but "except for a tendency towards smaller classes the education received there is substantially the same as elsewhere". Such children did possess the advantage of starting certain secondary subjects at an earlier age than their peers in public schools. There was nothing, he held, in the Code to prevent such study in an education authority school. The only children, in his opinion, who were, perhaps, at a disadvantage at the primary stage were those living in remote parts; they had to attend a side school, or were educated in their homes by peripatetic teachers. Lodging allowances were usually available to enable attendance at a main school, though whether they were always adequate was "not by any means clear".

After this optimistic review of Scottish primary education, Mackay Thomson, not surprisingly, gave junior secondary courses short thrift. Before the war, about 50 per cent of the post-primary school population left before the age of fifteen. "Some of these children", he observed, "left in order to enter employment and supplement the family income; some because they had shot their educational bolt and were adjudged, or judged themselves, incapable of profiting by further attendance; some because a third year of secondary education could be obtained only if they were willing to reside away from home at an appropriate centre". When the leaving age was raised to fifteen, a three-year secondary course of some type would "theoretically" /

"theoretically" be open to all pupils alike, though the numbers taking advantage of the opportunity would depend upon a governmental decision on maintenance allowances. Under existing legislation bursary awards for secondary education were dependent upon the pupils' "promise of profiting", and only some of the pupils who would be compelled to take a third year, after the raising of the age, could satisfy that criterion. Without amending legislation; financial support for those showing no "promise of profiting" would have to be derived from some source other than the Education (Scotland) Fund. There was, furthermore, "some risk" of a pupil's choice of course being limited outwith the larger population centres, although the education authority was, theoretically, bound by the 1918 Act to bring the type of course desired within his reach.

In the senior secondary domain, Mackay Thomson was obliged to explain why, for example, the 1936 entry for the Leaving Certificate constituted only 4.8 per cent of the original school entry in 1924 - 25.¹ The major reasons for the small rolls in the upper years of the secondary school were the restrictions on entry to a full course by use of 'control' tests imposed by education authorities; the withdrawal of children at fourteen or fifteen to enter employment; and the inability of the many who would remain at school, if they could secure a bursary, to attain the standard required by education authorities as evidence of "fitness to profit" by a complete secondary course. Senior secondary schools did contain many pupils of relatively poor ability whose parents could afford to maintain them at school. On the other hand, the bulk of early leavers could not be tempted to remain even by the award of a bursary which they might be fitted to secure. He concluded that, "while at/

1. The age-group entering secondary school in this session numbered 104,582.

at present the opportunity of a full secondary course is theoretically open to all who are adjudged fit to profit by it, or be qualified to take it, there are in practice many such pupils who either cannot for financial reasons avail themselves of the opportunity, or who, if they do avail themselves of it, involve their families in varying degrees of financial sacrifice". In the meritocratic view of the Secretary the remedy lay solely in the hands of the Government.

He was generally satisfied with the annual entry to the Scottish universities which amounted to approximately 2,400 students with 2,000 coming from Scottish state-aided schools - some two per cent of the 1924 - 25 school age cohort. Although a very small percentage in relative terms, it was "considerably higher" than the corresponding English figure."¹ Admission of large numbers "would intensify the complaints" frequently made that the benevolence of education authorities encouraged unfit students to enter university. Indeed, Mackay Thomson regarded it as "probably as easy, already, for a pupil of the requisite ability to proceed to a Scottish University as it is desirable to make it." Financial assistance was available from either the education authorities, the governors of various endowments, the Carnegie Trust, or the university itself. He did ponder whether education authorities should be bound by a duty to grant financial assistance rather than merely empowered, but he favoured parental support supplemented by income from long vacation employment./

1. Scotland possessed one university student per 513.7 of her population; England one per 1,144.3. U.G.C. returns revealed that "whereas 38.6 per cent of students who entered English universities began their education in public elementary school, the Scottish figure was 65.7 per cent. But Wales beats us with 92 per cent." S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Equality of Opportunity, op.cit.

employment. He observed in Scotland, with much satisfaction, "a strong reluctance to secure a University education at the expense of neighbours' pockets."

There remained the problem of the Scottish fee-paying secondary schools to complete the Secretary's review of equality of educational opportunity. He dismissed the necessity to consider the day schools as "it is not likely to be argued that day-boys at Edinburgh Academy, for instance, get anything so much better in the way of education than is offered elsewhere." This left a handful of boarding schools, mostly in Edinburgh, which were akin to the English public schools. Of these, only Fettes offered any semblance of "equality of opportunity" for pupils (boys) without means by maintaining and educating fifty foundationers free of charge, and offering twelve foundation scholarships for boys from public, or state-aided, schools in Scotland, though competitive scholarships were available at the others. Mackay Thomson conjectured that the financial difficulties in which the public schools would find themselves at the end of the war would be resolved by some scheme of Government grants in return for the allocation of a certain number of free places for pupils from the state-systems. These places would, on the Fettes analogy, amount to about 25 per cent of the roll and the opportunity of securing them, he surmised, would probably be afforded to all. In fact, the financial position of the public schools improved significantly in the war, but the Secretary's forecast regarding links between the independent and public sectors of education anticipated the recommendations of the Fleming Report. The problems of selection inherent in such a scheme, however, did not seem to concern the Secretary unduly as he did not see fit to mention them.

The Secretary circulated his memorandum among the senior inspectorate for comments and the most critical reply came from J. G. Frewin, who, from the standpoint of technical education, saw the glaring weakness of his gloss on the phrase 'equality of educational opportunity'.¹ This slogan", Frewin minuted, "means much more than a free run from infant room to graduation. In that limited sense Scotland may well be proud but it is clear that an opportunity offered to those unable to accept it ceases to be an equality of opportunity." Although the Department had "very considerably enlarged" the scope of secondary education in recent years, it led inevitably to the learned professions:

"Industry has had to thrive on the so-called second best or even third rate and pupils taking courses other than one of the standard academic courses are looked upon as inferior and know it. Secondary H.M.I.'s measure pupils by their own yard stick. The vicious principle by which (they) are content to produce 'men in their own image' must be broken before we can speak of equality of opportunity."

Post-war education would, he believed, only provide "equality of inducement" by becoming "broad enough to recognise that the educational values placed on school subjects today - a survival of mediaevalism - is unwarranted."

He strongly disputed the Secretary's view that equality of opportunity existed at the primary stage. "A standard curriculum available to all is not," he ventured, "equality of opportunity. The Education Act of 1870 (sic) provided the three Rs for children of the working classes"; and the 'Qualifying' examination by concentrating on basic skills "crushed out" other subjects. This left the intelligent child marking time, taking an examination at twelve or thirteen years of age which he could/

1. Ibid. Equality of Opportunity, Memorandum by J. G. Frewin, H.M.I., 4 April, 1941.

could have passed at ten or eleven, while the "more fortunate fellows" at preparatory schools had long started certain secondary subjects. Frewin argued vehemently in favour of a 'clean-cut' at eleven plus which would allow pupils to complete, at least, a three-year secondary course. As it was, many spent little more than a year in a secondary school and some remained in the primary school as they were too near the leaving age to profit from a transfer.

He provided a caustic addendum to Mackay Thomson's description of some pupils leaving secondary schools as they were "adjudged or judged themselves incapable of profiting" by further attendance:

"... in other words teachers and pupils alike agree that the school with all its pretensions has nothing further to offer."

The falling-off of numbers in the junior secondary schools detracted from their value and morale; and the unsuitability of the courses and methods only contributed to the desire to leave at the earliest moment:

"I am frequently amazed at the patience of pupils who remain with sullen indifference and without rebellion ... Schemes of work and methods are designed to fit pupils of secondary schools. Shakespeare and Scott figure as introductions (!) to English literature. Mathematics is taught, not as a useful tool, but as an intellectual exercise. French is taught as to Chap. Vs (at one secondary school). All pupils take the same course for the first six months so that the head may prove to the pupils beyond a doubt that many are incapable of, say, learning French. At the Dec. test 1940 many pupils with groans and tears ... reached from 5 - 20%. The 'leaving date' is a happy release. A soured child cannot give promise of profiting."

Frewin's blast impressed both Mackay Thomson and Parker, but none of his points ultimately found expression in the memorandum prepared for Greenwood's committee as they were deemed capable of rectification "when circumstances permit", by administrative action.¹

1. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 17 June, 1941.

By early April, 1941 the reform momentum was gathering pace. The flurry of activity prompted by Greenwood's intervention had, seemingly, helped to crystalise possible lines of action into firm proposals. Mackay Thomson revealed to Hawkins on 3 April his intention to suggest to the Secretary of State the implementation of the Advisory Council's recommendation that technical schools should be established in the principal towns and asked for advice on how these schools could be financed and managed.¹ On the same day he told Dr Jardine and Hawkins that he also wished to propose to Johnston that the Department should take the power to enforce the provision of nursery schools, or classes, "in any place where there is a known need for them, or an expressed demand for them," despite the fact that the Board had informed him that they did not intend, at present, to make any change in their statutory provision.²

On 13 May, 1941 Holmes submitted the final revised chapters of 'Education after the War' to the President of the Board. The document was premised on three main lines of advance:

- "1. Raising the leaving age to fifteen without exemption.
2. Establishment of day continuation schools for the fifteen to eighteen year olds.
3. Reform and expansion of the secondary school system so that a secondary education of a type suitable for every child over eleven would be available."³

The foreword explained that the document did not commit the Board in any way and represented only the views of some of their officers, being prepared/

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1. Ibid, Mackay Thomson to Hawkins, 5 April, 1941.
 2. Ibid, Mackay Thomson to Jardine and Hawkins, 3 April, 1941.
 3. The Times, 13 May, 1941 quoted in P. H. J. H. Gosden, op.cit., p.265.

prepared simply as a means to foster discussion with other interested parties. Holmes emphasised that the President was not being asked to endorse any of the provisional conclusions outlined. The time for ministerial decisions about post-war policy would arrive after discussions between the Board and other interests and opportunity for the latter to develop their own policies. It would prove embarrassing later on, however, - as Mackay Thomson had pointed out - if the document were found to contain any major suggestions on policy unacceptable to the President and he was asked to consider whether any such difficulty might be likely. The President replied the same day that there were no such controversial suggestions and requested that the document be printed and circulated, as soon as possible.¹

In a private interview with John Wishart, the new General Secretary of the E.I.S., at the end of May, 1941 Mackay Thomson reiterated that he had no intention of following such a procedure in Scotland where the "S. of S. had rightly ... taken the view ... there should be no discussion with E.A.s, or with the E.I.S., or with any interested parties, until he himself considered the issues and formulated his policy. Discussion with interested parties would come later.²

Wishart concurred with this procedure, holding that "we must be much more certain of what the position of the country is going to be at the end of the war before we make any definite proposals."

The decision which Mackay Thomson persuaded the Secretary of State to make had unfortunate repercussions. The discussions and negotiations which/

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1. P. H. J. H. Gosden, op.cit., p.263.
 2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 1 June, 1941.

which the Board conducted with pressure groups and interests on Butler's initiative before the publication of the White Paper and bill in 1943 served to familiarise large sections of opinion with the suggested lines of advance and took much of the heat out of a potentially controversial measure, thus creating a climate more amenable to compromise. In contrast, the Education (Scotland) Bill was eventually drafted and introduced in the Commons as a basis for national discussion. The lack of information available before publication and the sense of anticipation generated by Butler's activity, encouraged expectations beyond the power of the Department to fulfil and subsequent disappointment with the limited nature of the measure in some quarters.

Mackay Thomson was also plainly relieved to learn that Wishart saw,

"... no reason for any drastic reform of the Scottish system merely because there has been a war; the system as it would have been from 1st September, but for the war, has not been given a trial. He feels, as I do, that there will be no strong demand in Scotland for any great development of vocational education before the age of 15, but, rather that any such tendency would meet with opposition."¹

The Secretary characterised the 'Green Book' - still a confidential document which he had not yet seen - as "devoted to two reforms which we effected as long ago as 1918, viz. reduction in the number of local authorities, and denominational schools." As to the third point in the English programme - the provision of secondary courses suited to the capacity and ability of the individual, Wishart "did not seem to expect anything very much from us on that score ..."².

With his views confirmed by the General Secretary and the lines of a policy/

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

policy apparently decided, Mackay Thomson confided to Parker that "the time has come for me to move about a little and have informal talks with some of the leading Directors and others, so as to discover if there is any general feeling in Scotland that drastic reforms are expected after the war."

By mid-June, 1941 Parker had produced a first draft of the Department's memorandum for submission to the Reconstruction Committee.¹ He sent a copy to R. S. Wood at the Board with a note of apology:

"We realise that, in comparison with yours, our programme may appear humdrum and unenterprising ..."²

In justification, drawing extensively upon Mackay Thomson's memorandum, he aimed in the first part of the document at "showing why Scotland does not need to do some of the things that are to be done in England." The tentative nature of the limited proposals was emphasised in a preamble which asserted the necessity of relating educational change to the as yet unknown social and economic structure of the post-war world. Nevertheless, "practical considerations", such as the school-building programme made provisional decisions necessary.

The memorandum examined access to educational provision in Scotland and claimed that the statutory framework was "designed to secure a large measure of equality of opportunity." There was "no sharp line of division" between primary and secondary education. Unlike England and Wales, where educational administration was complicated by the existence of Part III authorities, Scotland enjoyed the efficiency of unitary bodies./

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/217. S.E.D., Proposals for the development of the educational system. n.d. (June, 1941).
 2. Ibid. Parker to R. S. Wood, 18 June, 1941.

bodies. Moreover, the daunting question of dual control, which had for so long bedevilled English reform plans, had been resolved in the 1918 Act bringing voluntary schools within the national system. The inevitable conclusion was drawn that

"... there is no need for great changes in the framework of the Scottish Educational System. What is needed is extension and improvement in some directions, and particularly with regard to the 14 - 18 age group, where the present system fails to attain the ideal of equality of opportunity."

Thus, apart from the raising of the leaving age to fifteen without exemption for "beneficial employment" if the Government adopted a system of family allowances, the proposals were chiefly concerned with this older age-group.

The Department favoured a modification of the system of compulsory day continuation classes contemplated under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 but never fully implemented. The emphasis, unlike that of the First World War proposals, would be upon physical education and games, though general education - including education for citizenship - and vocational instruction would be added as soon as facilities and manpower became available following the introduction of the new school leaving age. The classes for all young people up to the age of eighteen should be introduced "at the earliest possible date after the war."; and, at the same time, the youth service, in the process of being built up by the Scottish Youth Committee, should be "developed and expanded ... and linked up ... with the more formal instruction given in the continuation classes." As a solution to the difficult question of the provision of such classes in rural districts, the memorandum suggested that instruction should be concentrated in the period of "least agricultural activity." In the long-term the Department favoured the creation of more/

more hostels, camps and residential schools which formed an important part of the overall programme to broaden generally educational opportunity.

In addition to the familiar, major reforms, the memorandum touched briefly upon a mixed bag of proposals which included the more generous provision of bursaries by education authorities; a greater number of alternative courses in senior secondary schools; an expansion of the school health and meals' services; and an increase in nursery education. Perhaps significantly technical education was only considered towards the end of the document. Gaps in the provision of advanced technical education, which was concentrated mainly in the four large cities, were to be filled by a system of evening classes. The memorandum endorsed the recommendations of the Advisory Council that colleges should be established in towns with populations over 15,000 to provide courses for students on full-time release from industry; day continuation classes for young people under eighteen; evening study for older pupils; and instruction for pupils attending day schools. To assist in the development of technical education, local advisory committees should be established in all the larger towns and cities.

3. The Department and the 'Green Book'

The brevity of Parker's draft contrasted sharply with the extended treatment of English educational problems in Education after the War, a copy of which Holmes forwarded to Mackay Thomson on 4 July with a covering note expressing the somewhat ironic hope that "you will not find/

find it too revolutionary."¹ The Secretary, in early August, sent to Johnston and Westwood a summary of the Board's major proposals with some brief notes on their relation to existing Scottish provision.² Again he was critical of the Board's modus operandi, observing with quiet satisfaction that its secretiveness had evoked adverse press comment. Yet he remained fiercely determined to avoid discussions with Scottish interests until an educational reform programme was complete. He reported to his political masters that the Department's memorandum was still in preparation for their perusal prior to submission to Greenwood's Committee. As the Board's discussions were likely to be protracted, its completion was not now regarded as urgent. Thus Johnston, unable to read the document, was singularly ill-placed to make a sound judgement of Scotland's educational standing in the light of the 'Green Book' proposals as communicated to him by the Department.

The general thrust of the Department's remarks on the 'Green Book' was predictable: the bulk of the reforms had already been accomplished, apart from the raising of the school leaving age and the introduction of continuation education. In matters such as the proposed re-definition of elementary education; the inclusion of all schools at the secondary stage in one code of regulations; the creation of unitary education authorities; and the reform of the dual system, the Department felt legitimately entitled to claim, and impress upon the new Secretary of State, that these no longer constituted problems in Scotland./

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1. S.R.O., ED.7/1/52. Copy of Education after the War (never published), marked 'strictly confidential' with letter attached, Holmes to Mackay Thomson, 4 July, 1941.
 2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Westwood and the Secretary of State, 12 August, 1941.

Scotland. Indeed, after reading the Department's "modest plan for a 'New Jerusalem',"¹ Holmes observed, "I cannot help feeling rather envious at the relatively simple position from which you start as compared with ourselves in England."²

Perhaps, in the Department's desire to establish the strength of this position, the reconstruction memorandum overlooked, or failed to explore adequately, a number of crucial questions which inevitably affected, directly or indirectly, the issue of equality of educational opportunity. The administrative structure of Scottish education at a local level was not critically examined despite much obvious dissatisfaction with multi-purpose county councils and rumblings in favour of a return to ad hoc authorities. Understandably, the nature of the relationship between the central education department and education authorities was absent from consideration. Omitted also was government finance of Scottish education; the seemingly immutable Goschen formula effectively tied educational development to that in England and Wales, though there were obviously weighty political factors that prevented Scotland from following a more independent educational policy.

There existed, furthermore, complex and interrelated problems concerning access to, and the nature of, secondary education which were not acknowledged in the memorandum, or the Department's notes. Although the new Day Schools Code had recognised the various types of available courses as equals, the practical position remained "somewhat short of that aim."³

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/217. Parker to Sir Robert Wood, 23 September, 1941.
 2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Holmes to Mackay Thomson, 23 June, 1941.
 3. P.R.O., ED.138/42. British Secondary Schools in Wartime. Extracts from the Department's files on proposed pamphlet for British Information service. n.d.

The status of schools and courses had also troubled the senior officials at the Board as they sought, in 1940 - 41, to map the future contours of English and Welsh secondary education. The Department and the inspectorate had long perceived the severe difficulties in Scotland and the lack of obvious administrative solutions:

"The older tradition of Scottish education - the three R's for all and a broad academic training for the talented pupil from any walk of life ('the lad o' pairts') dies hard. Although before the war the more practical types of instruction, commercial, technical, rural and domestic, were developing fairly rapidly, the gifted boy or girl was still generally to be found in an academic course; that was where he was most likely to bring credit to himself, his parents and his school. Industrial instability and the fear of unemployment were also potent factors in influencing working class parents to divert their promising children into the bookish type of course which gave entry to some of the safer forms of black-coated employment. Most apprenticeship schemes failed to put any premium on school attainment and, as a result, the inducement to remain at school and follow technical courses, which these schemes might have provided for children intending to follow a trade, was lacking. There is a long way to go before the mass of parents will be able to see advantages in advanced secondary education for potential young workers."¹

The complex social determinants of such attitudes must qualify any criticism that might be directed at the Department's effectiveness in mitigating the effects. Yet their determination could be questioned for the Department's secretariat and the inspectorate shared with the Board's senior officials, the desire, as successful alumni, to safeguard the academic, professional tradition in education.²

Inextricably/

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1. Ibid. Of the 5,212 entries for the Senior Leaving Certificate in 1941 4,865 (93.3 per cent) followed the 'traditional' type of course, i.e. the group of subjects including English, mathematics or science, and a foreign language. P.R.O., ED.138/65. Committee on Curriculum and Examinations of Secondary Schools. Memorandum by the S.E.D., 20 April, 1942.
 2. See Chapter One.

Inextricably bound up with this issue was the Department's ambivalence towards the multifarious regulations and procedures employed by education authorities in determining the suitability of pupils for senior secondary education. Extraordinary vision was not required to anticipate the problem of selection becoming acute in the more egalitarian post-war world anticipated by the Department and the Board in their deliberations. The 'Green Book' suggested the abolition of the 'special place' examination at eleven years of age in England and Wales and that all children should proceed to secondary schools of different types on the basis of primary school records supplemented by suitable intelligence tests. This merely drew the bland comment from the Department that there was no such examination in Scotland:

"All pupils pass from the primary to the secondary division at about the age of 12 or under a 'clean cut' arrangement, or on passing a control test, which, in the case of eleven areas includes intelligence tests."

In the light of Frewin's evidence, such a generalisation was plainly misleading without severe qualification.

Similarly, the Board's proposal that a "genuine review" and transfer between courses at thirteen, if necessary, with the rider that education in the first two secondary years should be "generally the same" in all types of school, drew the rejoinder that,

"Scottish schools provide a variety of course, and transfer from one to another, as development of the pupil's aptitude may suggest, is generally possible. In many schools the work of all first-year pupils is the same for six months or for the whole session, to facilitate the posting of the pupil to the type of course for which he is most suited."

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1. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Westwood and the Secretary of State. op.cit. 25 education authorities imposed a control examination. P.R.O., ED.138/65. Committee on Curriculum and Examinations, op.cit.

In reality, the development of alternative courses outwith the academic was weak and geographically patchy, transfer was rare and, as Frewin noted, the common course, where available, was sometimes employed to convince the majority of pupils of their inability to cope with academic work.

There remained, also, the problem of access to the large, well-established day schools - mostly endowed and managed by bodies in receipt of S.E.D. grants - which, although Mackay Thomson had chosen to ignore them in his analysis of equality of educational opportunity, "exerted an important influence" on Scottish education.¹ In the main fee-charging, they cultivated an academic and social élite which represented about seventeen per cent of all Scottish secondary pupils. As the Department observed later in the war,

"Their prestige is high; and if social considerations do enter into that prestige, real achievement, scholastic, athletic and social, is an important source of it."²

Herein lay the paradox of Scottish education: these schools set a standard of academic excellence revered both within and beyond Scotland, but the pervasiveness of this excellence seemingly stifled the growth of other forms of 'secondary education' and their public acceptance.

The Department's notes to the Secretary of State and the draft reconstruction memorandum exuded an air of complacency characterised by John Lambie, H.M.I. who, on reading the latter document, remarked that, "The extent to which the English proposals have been anticipated is truly astonishing."³

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1. P.R.O., ED.138/42. op.cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. J. Lambie, H.M.I. to Secretary, 22 September, 1941.

Not surprisingly, when the Department produced a second draft of the memorandum by the end of the summer, revision was very slight.¹ Only one proposal - to encourage education authorities to set up child guidance clinics - was added to an otherwise unchanged submission.² There were signs, however, that the new Secretary of State, having found his feet, was prepared to broaden discussion on educational reform. "The proposals have not yet been discussed outside the office," admitted Parker to Sir Robert Wood in September, 1941, "but we understand that (he) is likely to refer them to the newly appointed Council on Post-War Problems, and this body in its turn may refer them - or parts of them - to our own Advisory Council. It may, therefore, be a considerable time before they can be submitted to the Minister without Portfolio."³

The prospects for Scottish educational reform were inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the English proposals which were shortly to be entrusted to R. A. Butler. The attitudes of Johnston and Butler towards educational reform, the comparative range of their political objectives, the single-mindedness and methods employed in their pursuit, were to play a decisive part not only in the progress of such reform generally, but also in the eventual fates of their respective measures.

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1. P.R.O., ED.136/217. Parker to Sir Robert Wood, op.cit.
 2. S.R.O., ED.33/7. Proposals for the development of the educational system, second draft, n.d. (September, 1941).
 3. P.R.O., ED.136/217. op.cit.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TOM JOHNSTON AND THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

1. The 'Council of State' and Educational Reform

The appointment of Tom Johnston as Secretary of State for Scotland on 8 February, 1941 was greeted with satisfaction by The Scottish Educational Journal. A former member of Dunbartonshire Education Committee, he was seen as "a friend of education, of which he has intimate knowledge", having "on more than one occasion... rendered valuable service to our cause".¹ Their estimate was qualified at times subsequently by Johnston's penchant for repeated criticism of the academic bias of the Scottish school curriculum. By the end of the war, however, Johnston was once more popularly acclaimed in the educational world for his apparently single-handed rescue of the seemingly doomed Education (Scotland) Bill. Ironically, as will be argued below, Johnston was only able to pose as the heroic saviour largely because of his indifference towards educational reform which helped to delay the submission of a measure to parliament.

Johnston's lack of interest in the general field of education is reflected in his autobiography where the few references are, at the very least, anti-climactic. At the outset of his period in office, he had a grand vision of inaugurating "some large scale reforms under the umbrella of a Council of State... which ... might mean Scotia Resurgent!" an industrial parliament to begin attracting industries north; the development of hydro-electricity on a public corporation basis; rating reform; hospital building; /

1. S.E.J., 14 February, 1941.

building; afforestation; and a convention of Scottish M.P.'s in Edinburgh.¹ As for educational reform, he would "have a stab at teaching citizenship in the schools". In reviewing his achievements he records his "bad flop" in convincing the public and the educational profession of the "first necessity of all education, a culture of good citizenship"; and his success in encouraging domestic science in the schools.² On the Education (Scotland) Bill there is silence. Is this a measure of its relative insignificance; his indifference; an indication of the complex demands of the Scottish Secretaryship; or a combination of all these factors?

Much more significant for the future of educational reform in general was the appointment of R.A. Butler as President of the Board of Education in July, 1941. In contrast to Johnston's wide-ranging concerns, the war provided Butler with an unparalleled opportunity for a single-minded pursuit of a social and political goal. Although Churchill envisaged him in the role of a caretaker, Butler surprised him by not only welcoming the post, but also by his quick action in building upon the reform foundations laid by the Board. As Addison has observed, Butler has been "very properly credited with the implementation of educational reform, a task which required great political subtlety and persistence".³ The Board, in publishing the 'Green Book' proposals were "chancing their arm"- it was, however, a long and arduous road from the blueprint to the statute book.⁴ The "great domestic appeaser", with his penchant for negotiations and willingness to compromise, resolved difficulties arising out of the existence/

1. T. Johnston, Memories, (1952), p.148.

2. Ibid. p.153.

3. P. Addison, op.cit., p.172.

4. Ibid.

existence of the dual system and Part III education authorities which had defied political solution since before the First World War. By the end of 1942, after winning over the reluctant Churchill with the support of Kingsley Wood and Sir John Anderson,¹ Butler had succeeded in setting out the reform proposals in a draft White Paper and presenting them to the Lord President's Committee. He had also removed controversial issues such as the future of the public schools and the secondary curriculum and examinations from official discussions by the device of referring them to special enquiries. The President's activities facilitated Scottish educational reform insofar as they forced the reluctant Secretary of State to give attention to this social field.

In the meantime, the advent of Johnston threatened to snare Scottish educational reform in a web of advisory bodies. By the late summer of 1941 Johnston had fashioned the Advisory Council of ex-Secretaries of State on Post-War Problems to assist him in planning Scottish post-war reconstruction. The establishment of this body, popularly if confusingly known as the 'Council of State', was an outcome of the concern over reconstruction in 1941 which prompted the appointment of Greenwood. Lord Reith, as Minister of Works and Buildings, was responsible for the planning of physical reconstruction, and his support of a Central Planning Authority would have curtailed the powers of the D.H.S.² Johnston, ever-sensitive to Scottish opinion, countered with the suggestion that he should be allowed to set up an advisory committee for Scotland on all post-war planning which would be immediately responsible to him, with proposals thereafter, proceeding to a central authority.³ The Lord President/

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1. See Chapter One.
 2. S.R.O., ED.33/7. A.J. Aglen to Fraser, 9 July, 1941.
 3. Ibid.

President's Committee assented on 11 July,¹ commissioning the 'Council'- as Johnston eventually decided the body should be called - to advise the Secretary of State "on all questions relating to planning in its widest sense".²

The appointment of the Council, and the existence of the Scottish Economic Committee, raised questions about the extent of their joint and several areas of concern. Lord Reith gave some indication in the debate on post-war reconstruction in the House of Lords on 17 July, 1941:

"The Scottish Economic Committee was representative of industry (including coal mining), finance, transport, travel and labour. In connection with the Committee now to be appointed the inclusion of persons expert in local government, town and country planning, fishing and education will also have to be considered".

When asked, in September, "whether the Council would have in its purview matters of educational as well as of physical reconstruction", Johnston revealed that education was to be excluded.⁴ He suggested that Highland development, hill sheep farming, hydro-electricity and gas-grids were among the subjects that might be considered - education did not seem to figure prominently in his priorities. At a meeting of heads of departments in St. Andrew's House on 24 July to discuss terms of reference and personnel, Johnston indicated that, "Its existence should not be allowed to impair the position and usefulness of existing or future/

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1. Ibid. Aglen to J. Hogarth, 11 July, 1941.
 2. Ibid. Conclusions of a discussion between the Secretary of State, the Lord Advocate, the Minister of Works and Buildings, the Under-Secretary of State and Mr. Norman Brook, Lord President's Department, n.d. (July, 1941).
 3. Ibid. Machinery for consideration of Post-War Problems. Note by Scottish Home Department, 22 July, 1944.
 4. Hansard (Commons) 5th series, 374, 305, 11 September, 1941. See also ED.33/7. Mackay Thomson to Jardine and Hawkins, 29 July, 1941.

future standing Advisory Committees set up to advise Ministers on specific services".¹ It was agreed, however, that each Department would prepare a statement of questions which "appeared to call for consideration" as a useful preliminary step".²

Mackay Thomson in a minute on 29 July on the possible activities of the Council concluded that, "I hardly think it likely that educational problems of any intricacy are likely to be taken up by it".³ He expanded on this view when he requested his senior staff on 23 August for a note of matters suitable for reference to the new Council:

"My own opinion is that any problems with which we are likely to be confronted are much more suitable for reference to our own Advisory Council than to this new body, which will have very few, if any, members with the educational knowledge and experience requisite for dealing in any adequate manner with such questions as we would wish to refer. The new Council is much more likely to occupy itself with questions of physical reconstruction, including housing, localisation of industry and agricultural development, and with economic policy".⁴

Hawkins, in his reply, agreed that the Council was "not suitably instituted to make enquiries on the various adjustments of educational machinery and provision which will be necessary during the period of post-war concern", but stressed the interlocking nature of reconstruction issues.⁵ He felt that it would be "useful if the Council were available to review any proposals for post-war educational reconstruction" made by the Advisory Council, in the light of "far-reaching social and economic changes which may be contemplated". Educational reform would follow, not determine, such/

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1. S.R.O., ED.33/7. Note of a Meeting of Heads of Department... 24 July, (1941) to discuss terms of reference and personnel of the proposed Advisory Council on Reconstruction.
 2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Jardine, Hawkins, Parker and A.S. Lamb, 23 August, 1941.
 3. S.R.O., ED.33/7. Mackay Thomson to Jardine and Hawkins, 29 July, 1941.
 4. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48, op.cit.
 5. Ibid. Hawkins to Mackay Thomson, 30 August, 1941.

such changes. Hawkins clearly had in mind demands for an emphasis on physical and vocational training of a kind which would radically affect the conduct and organisation of the schools. Yet he held that it would be undesirable¹ to put such contentious issues before the Scottish Council until the main trend of opinion regarding post-war social and economic reconstruction was more clearly in view". Remits on particular aspects of educational reform might appear "fragmentary or possibly trivial" to the new body.

Nevertheless, on 10 September, Mackay Thomson gave Johnston two problems of "high educational policy" - technical education and day continuation classes - for possible reference to the Council as "sooner or later" he would have to make decisions on them.¹ He added the hope that the Council, "before expressing a final opinion on them, will think fit to refer them to the Department's Advisory Council, which consists of members specially selected for their ability to deal with intricate educational issues". The complexity and inter-dependence of reconstruction problems was illustrated the following day when Mackay Thomson added in the margin of a note on Post-War Problems from the D.H.S., "Local Government, Medical Personnel (What of the School Medical Services?), Nursing Services (training, etc.), Health Services generally"². To a further note he appended in addition to local government, "Welfare Services and Penal Reform (e.g. juvenile delinquent), Cultural and Academic (museums and galleries, records, libraries, universities)".³

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1. S.R.O., ED.33/7. Mackay Thomson to Under-Secretary of State, 10 September, 1941.
 2. Ibid. D.H.S. Note on Post-War Problems, 11 September, 1941.
 3. Ibid.

When it transpired that the Council would be composed of "living ex-Secretaries of State"¹ and would be asked what reconstruction enquiries should be instituted, Mackay Thomson anticipated that "our entire Reconstruction Programme" might be sent by Johnston to the new body. "It would have to be decided, he minuted, "whether the Advisory Council as at present constituted, or ad hoc committees, were the proper bodies to consider the items concerned".² This complication was not welcomed by the Secretary: sending a copy of the second draft of the reconstruction memorandum, he observed in a covering note to Sir Maurice Holmes:

"Tom Johnston has not seen it. It was my intention to submit it to him for consideration and then, after such amendment as he thought fit, to Greenwood's Committee... But our position has been dismally complicated by the creation of the 'Advisory Council on Post-War Problems'... It therefore seems unlikely that we shall have anything definite to put to Greenwood until S.of S. has got the 'All Clear' from his new Council, and when this will be must depend on whether any of our proposals are thought by the Council to need enquiry and exploration".³

On 29 September, 1941 the Scottish Council on Post-War Problems held an inaugural meeting.⁴ Nine days previously Mackay Thomson submitted a memorandum to Johnston with a copy of the Greenwood memorandum. He reminded him that the Board's proposals had "not as yet been definitely formulated".⁵ Private discussions were in progress on the basis of Education after the War. In Scotland there had "not yet been any discussion /

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1. Hansard (Commons). 5th series, 374, 304-305, 11 September, 1941. The members were Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P. (Caithness & Sutherland), Secretary of State for Air; Walter Elliot, M.P. (Kelvingrove); John Colville, M.P., (North Midlothian); Ernest Brown, M.P. (Leith), Minister of Health; and Lord Alness. Lord Dunedin was eligible but was omitted on account of his age.
 2. S.R.O., ED.33/7. Mackay Thomson to Jardine, Hawkins and J. MacDonald, 16 September, 1941.
 3. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Mackay Thomson to Holmes, 22 September, 1941.
 4. S.R.O., ED.33/7. Scottish Advisory Council on Post-War Problems. S.C. (41) 1st. Meeting, 29 September, 1941.
 5. Ibid. Memorandum by the S.E.D. submitted for consideration of the Secretary of State. 20 September, 1941.

discussion of educational reconstruction problems between the Department and any public body concerned". Bodies such as the A.D.E.S. and the E.I.S. were "known to be keenly interested in future developments", and would certainly expect, "sooner or later", to be allowed to put their views before the Secretary of State. He added with surprising ingenuousness that, "The local authority associations may also wish to be consulted".

He emphasised to Johnston that the two most important of the Department's proposals were the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen and the implementation of part-time education up to the age of eighteen. Both in England and Scotland public opinion "confidently expected that the Government will effect these delayed reforms". The Secretary thereupon tried to commend again to him for the consideration of the Council of State the two problems he had referred to earlier in the month. Part-time continuation education was, in Scotland, with its large tracts of sparsely populated country, "complicated by difficulties which in England are not so acute, and it may prove that a different line may have to be taken on certain features of the main provision". Technical education also required "special consideration" in Scotland where provision outside the four large cities was "relatively less adequate than the existing English provision for coping with post-war requirements". He reiterated his plea that, if the Council accepted the need for enquiries into these two problems, the Department's Advisory Council would be "the most appropriate body" to undertake them.

At the first meeting of Johnston's new Council, the members drew up a "preliminary list" of subjects for consideration. Johnston's suggestions included hydro-electric development, the herring industry, hill sheep-farming, /

sheep-farming, gas-grids, reorganisation of water supplies, and unification of hospital services. Walter Elliot suggested housing, health services, and food production. Sir Archibald Sinclair put forward dairy-farming and the white fish industry; Colonel Colville, industrial development.¹ Education was seemingly not mentioned - a surprising omission in view of the growing clamour for reform, most noticeably in England, the debate over the 'Green Book' proposals in the summer and the presence of Lord Alness on the Council. Perhaps Johnston and his fellow members were more pre-occupied with more important economic issues which might eventually have implications for educational reform. Also, Johnston may have happily deferred consideration of this issue until the Board's intentions and the Government's attitude towards them had been clarified. He certainly regarded Mackay Thomson's suggested remits on day continuation and technical education as too precipitate, even as late as May, 1942.

The influence of the 'Council of State' on Scottish industrial policy has been evaluated elsewhere.² In the field of education its contribution was negligible. The extent of its direct concern was marked by discussions of school building, on the prompting of Mackay Thomson, which led to the appointment of an ad hoc committee in 1943 to advise the Secretary of State on the planning of schools and other buildings required in the post-war period³; and advice on personnel, requested by Johnston, for the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, reconstituted in /

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1. Ibid. Scottish Council on Post-War Problems, op.cit.
 2. See R.H. Campbell, 'The Committee of Ex-Secretaries of State for Scotland and Industrial Policy, 1941-1945'. Scottish Industrial History (to be published).
 3. S.R.O., ED.33/8. Scottish Advisory Council on Post-War Problems. S.C.(43) 22. Committee on School Building. Note by the Secretary of State. 18 May, 1943.

in late 1942. The Council kept a nominal, watching brief on the work of this satellite body and that of the Scottish Youth Council, established in November, 1942. It was eventually asked to support the Education (Scotland) Bill in late 1944, and again in the spring of 1945 as Johnston sought to silence the critics.¹ By then, however, with no executive function, the body had lost whatever initiative and enthusiasm Johnston had managed to instil at the outset.

2. Marking Time

There was no immediate response from the Secretary of State to Mackay Thomson's memorandum of 20 September. Johnston was presumably pre-occupied with other responsibilities and, in particular, the 'Council of State' which by the summer of 1942 had met eight times - half the eventual total of meetings. Indeed, the only flicker of interest displayed by him was over the relationship of education and local government which was on the national reconstruction agenda. Greenwood had commissioned Sir William Jowitt, the Solicitor-General, to make a study of post-war problems relating to central and local government with particular reference to current theories of regionalism. By February, 1942 Jowitt had concluded that any drastic reform of local government would not be possible immediately after the war. It was, however, apparent that a reform of the units of local educational administration was a necessary preliminary to educational reconstruction in England and Wales.²

Talk/

1. Ibid. S.C.(44). 15th Meeting, 24 October, 1944; S.C.(45)16th. Meeting, 16th February, 1945. See Chapters Nine and Ten.
2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op.cit., pp.292-296.

Talk of local government reform and the emergence of the issue in departmental memoranda for possible reference to the Council prompted Johnston and Westwood to raise the matter with Mackay Thomson on 12 September, 1941.¹ The Secretary of State had vehemently opposed the abolition of ad hoc education authorities under the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929² which handed their powers and duties over to the county councils, except in the four large cities where town councils were so entrusted. The change had coincided with economic retrenchment and by the outbreak of war there was a widespread belief that the ad hoc decade after 1919 represented a 'golden age' in Scottish education. A. Sloan voiced the sentiments of many Scottish M.P.'s when he referred to the Act as a 'tragic and ghastly failure...

The most prolific and fruitful period in education was the eleven years between 1919 and 1930. It is a thousand pities that those ad hoc authorities were ever allowed to be removed... I was never of the opinion that you could mix sewage and education".³

Johnston now sensed the possibility of righting an old wrong; and by lightening the load on local authorities he would make it possible "for busy people to take a hand" in local government while, at the same time, providing "less scope for graft" in Glasgow.⁴ At a meeting of heads of department on 28 November it was agreed that each would prepare a list of questions about local government which they felt required examination.⁵ Parker suggested the possibility of returning education authorities/

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1. S.R.O., ED.7/1/52. Aglen to Crosfield, 8 September, 1941.
 2. 19 & 20 Geo. 5, c25.
 3. Hansard (Commons). 5th. series, 381, 858, 8 July, 1942.
 4. S.R.O., 7/1/48. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 11 October, 1941.
 5. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 2 December, 1941.

authorities to ad hoc status, thereby stimulating debate on a familiar theme.¹

Dr Jardine regretted the passing of the ad hoc education authority, but felt that it would be "very difficult to get it re-established. The opposition would be great and I think it is most unlikely that England would take this line".² Mackay Thomson doubted, however, whether England need be considered.³ J. MacDonald, a junior member of the secretariat, agreed with Jardine's conclusion, noting that "adverse criticism... normally attacks the practice and not the principle" of multi-purpose authorities. "I can hardly see how the need for ad hoc Education Authorities," he added perceptively, "could be claimed without an admission that ad hoc authorities for public health were also necessary". Echoing Johnston, he held that the lack of interest in local government stemmed from the "failure of our education to awaken civic consciousness in our young citizens; it will take many years even to lessen it appreciably; it is therefore all the more urgent to make a start".⁴

Whether the abolition of ad hoc authorities led to a loss of local interest in education is difficult to determine; there had been a decrease in the number of election candidates and of contested divisions during the ad hoc era. At the end of the 1920's the important questions were finance, and the development of post-primary education, both issues being debated and decided at a national, rather than a local, level. What-ever/

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1. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 5 December, 1941.
 2. Ibid. Jardine to Mackay Thomson, 10 December, 1941.
 3. Ibid. Marginal note by Mackay Thomson. n.d. (December, 1941).
 4. Ibid. J. MacDonald to Mackay Thomson, 8 December, 1941.

Whatever the reason, there was too little interest in the workings of ad hoc education authorities to provide any effective protest at their abolition. Possibly more people were convinced by 1929 of the need to integrate the education, health and housing services, or fewer believed in the virtues of specially elected authorities for education.¹ If ad hoc administration of education was not a burning issue at the end of the 1920's, it was most decidedly not so in the midst of a world war.

The weight of inspectorial and departmental opinion was, however, in favour of a return to ad hoc authorities: a straw poll presumably taken at the Secretary's request, brought a twenty to five vote for such a return with all the senior members of the Department - Grainger Stewart, Hawkins, Jardine, Parker and Mackay Thomson - voting with the 'ayes'.²

The Secretary advanced a variety of complaints to support the recommendations of what he curiously described as a return to the status quo: the inferior personnel attracted to education committees when compared with the old ad hoc authorities; the "exasperating delays" that occurred between education committee decisions and their ratification by the finance committee and, eventually, the council itself; and the unfortunate tendency of certain county clerks to keep their directors of education "in a state of subjection", causing indefinite delays in educational matters.³ The Secretary appreciated that he had raised a serious question for consideration by the heads of departments which could not be decided in isolation/

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1. J.Stocks, 'Scotland's ad hoc authorities, 1919 - 1930'. History of Education Society. Studies in the Government and Control of Education since 1860 (1970).
 2. S.R.O., ED.7/1/48. Question of ad hoc Education Authorities. Summary of Inspectors' Observations. n.d. (December, 1941).
 3. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Milne, 22 December, 1941.

isolation from the other social services . "But we are convinced," he concluded, "that under the 1929 Act the Town/County Councils have so much to do that Education cannot receive from members saddled with such a variety of responsibilities the care and attention devoted to it by the ad hoc Authorities".

There, however, the issue languished until, in May, 1943, Mackay Thomson tried to call Johnston's bluff in a paper prepared for a meeting of heads of departments which cited the evidence and "strong desire" for a restoration of ad hoc authorities before finally asking "whether the Secretary of State is prepared to consider a reversion... or whether the (present) system... is to continue".¹ The assurance was given that "there were to be no radical changes in the local government system during the reconstruction period".² Nevertheless, as shall be noted, when the Education (Scotland) Bill was in an advanced state of preparation in 1944, Johnston decided upon a partial return to the ad hoc principle, thereupon stirring a hornet's nest which ultimately threatened the bill's passage.³

The Secretary fretted at Johnston's lack of concern for the general problem of Scottish educational reform and by February, 1942 believed that it was time to prompt some action from him. The editorial columns of The Scottish Educational Journal continually hammered away at the necessity for educational reconstruction throughout 1941, demanding "the planning of a new educational order for Scottish children to be realised when the war has been won".⁴

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/474. Reorganisation of Local Government. Note by the S.E.D. (Mackay Thomson), 28 May, 1943.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 23 April, 1944.
 3. See Chapters Nine and Ten.
 4. S.E.J., 1 August, 1941. In mid-1942 the editor commented that, "The policy of gradualism within the school was proving ineffective... the time had arrived for changes more fundamental than any hitherto envisaged". Ibid. 12 June, 1942.

won" - a reflection of the sympathy of E.I.S. leadership for the 'radical reconstructionist', rather than the 'gradualist', approach.¹ The E.I.S. set up an 'exploration' sub-committee on educational reconstruction which recommended the necessity "to get down without delay to the consideration of problems connected with reconstruction after the war." Accordingly, a committee structure was established to consider the administration and control of education; the framework of the national system; the supply, training and service conditions of teachers; youth welfare; the health of schoolchildren; rural education; religious and moral education; and buildings and equipment.²

Johnston plainly did not share this sense of urgency. Mackay Thomson wanted to remind him of the two remits on technical and continuation education he had included in his September memorandum but, on Parker's advice, decided "to leave S.of S. to make first move..."³ The question of the two remits arose again in May, 1942 when Westwood told Parker that the Secretary of State wished to take "no action meantime".⁴ Mackay Thomson discussed the matter with Johnston and was told that Westwood thought that the "time for a Technical enquiry had not yet come".⁵

The implication of this remark was that other aspects of education might now be worthy of consideration. By May, in fact, intervention from an unexpected source seemingly alerted Johnston to make some gesture towards/

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1. Ibid. 23 January, 1942.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.R.O., ED 7/1/48. Discussed with Mr Parker (Mackay Thomson), 9 February, 1942.
 4. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 13 May, 1942.
 5. Ibid. Marginal note by Mackay Thomson, 19 May, 1942.

towards the growing demand - at least in professional circles - for educational reform. Particularly vocal was Harry Bell, rector of Dollar Academy and secretary to the A.H.S.S. who had asserted publicly in February, 1941 that it was "high time Scotland had a Royal Commission on Education".¹ In April, 1942 he sent some notes on 'Reconstruction in Scottish Education' to Arthur Woodburn, Johnston's parliamentary Private Secretary - also a critic of current Scottish education - who passed them on to the Secretary of State.²

Bell sensed "a firm belief, particularly strong in well-informed and well-intentioned circles, that Scotland is now ready for a big step forward in education".³ Whereas England and the U.S.A. had built up "flexible and progressive systems of education suited to modern needs", Scotland, "with her undoubted lead, has not felt the same urge to advance" - a situation which he blamed largely upon the conservatism of teachers and especially headmasters. He particularly deplored the lack in Scotland of a body such as the English Consultative Committee which had produced the Hadow and Spens reports and reiterated his call for a "Commission or Committee... to make a survey of Scottish education... in the light of modern requirements". Dismissing the Advisory Council as inappropriate for the task, Bell expected his new body, aided by a planning and research staff which would form a permanent part of the Department, to produce a series of reports and proposals for the consideration of the Secretary of State.

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1. S.E.J., 21 February, 1941.
2. S.R.O., ED.25/6. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 27 May, 1942.
3. Ibid. Reconstruction in Scottish Education. Notes by Mr Bell, n.d. (April, 1942?)

When Bell's notes were given to the Department for comment, Parker admitted, rather reluctantly, the existence of "the feeling, which appears to be fairly widespread, that something ought to be done about education.

The idea is, apparently, that the conditions that the country will have to face after the war will be very different from those it has had to face in the past and that these changes will lead to modifications of some kind or other in the educational system".¹

Not surprisingly, he was vehement in his denunciation of the charge that Scottish education had been "standing still for the last 40 years". This assertion, he argued, ignored the "revolutionary changes" made in that period: the replacement of the parochial school boards by larger authorities with adequate resources; the great increase in secondary school provision; the provision of food, clothing and medical services; the inclusion of denominational schools within the national system; the re-organisation of teacher-training; the widening of the secondary school curriculum and consequent changes in the Senior Leaving Certificate regulations; the unification of all forms of primary and secondary education in one code; and the improvement of teacher-status by the introduction of salary scales and a more generous pension provision.

Thus, he concluded, Scotland had "endeavoured to follow a progressive educational policy" and, in "one or two" of the changes, Scotland had improved on the English model. Moreover, many of the catalogue of changes introduced in Scotland had "not yet been adopted in England, and in these respects it may be claimed that Scotland still maintains her lead". Adroitly, he turned Bell's argument that the apparent failure to advance was due to the innate conservatism of Scottish teachers and headmasters.

1. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 18 May, 1942.

headmasters. "This suggests", he countered, "... not so much a change in the framework of educational organisation as a change in the school and the classroom". Here Parker felt criticism was justified: " We know that the schools have not shown themselves very ready to take advantage of the freedom which the regulations for the Senior Leaving Certificate gave them to make experiments and to depart from the established school curriculum...".

Parker also agreed with Bell that "an enquiry into Scottish education, or some aspects of it, if properly conducted by a properly constituted body, might serve a useful purpose". An investigation into curriculum and methods by a body commanding the respect of both teachers and public "would at least focus attention on the question" and improve the chances of the recommendations carrying weight with the teaching profession. "They might even be more successful", he minuted optimistically, "than departmental circulars or the efforts of H.M. Inspectors in persuading teachers to think out their problems anew". Yet the scope of Bell's proposed enquiry troubled Parker for he saw it would cover all forms of education under the purview of the Department - nursery, primary, secondary, technical and adult. Parker felt that this was "clearly too wide a field to cover in one enquiry", and that if there was to be any enquiry at all, it should be limited to one part of the field.

"We have already decided that this is not the moment for an enquiry into technical education. Nursery education is perhaps not the first question that should be tackled, and I doubt whether adult education is the best subject to start with. This leaves primary and secondary education, and of the two I am inclined to think that secondary is the more urgent. This is apparently also the view of the Board of Education".

As to the body which would be entrusted with such an enquiry, Parker believed that the Department's Advisory Council best fitted Bell's specification /

specification, but wondered whether, rather than reconstituting it for the purpose, "we should follow the example of the Board of Education, who have ignored their Consultative Committee and set up an ad hoc committee to enquire into the curriculum and examinations in secondary schools". Whichever method was adopted, "the selection of the right people" was of "first importance".

Mackay Thomson agreed with all the Second Secretary's comments and accepted his suggestion that Bell's notes should be discussed with the chief inspectors at a regular meeting. "This is perhaps more than they deserve", he commented on 20 May, but Mr Bell is well-meaning and is friendly to the Department, so we need not grudge him this compliment"¹. Five days later he had soured somewhat, minuting Parker that "the more I consider his suggestions, the less I like them".² Nevertheless, Mackay Thomson welcomed the idea of an enquiry by an ad hoc committee, or the Advisory Council, "suitably reinforced", into the "very questions now being considered by the Norwood Committee", as it would "perforce have to embrace the question in which I have been interested for so long, and which appeared to interest S.of S. also when I mentioned it to him, viz. whether we should have a General School Certificate at 16 followed at 17 or 18 by a Higher Certificate of a more specialised and academic type.

Scotland must make up its mind sooner or later whether we are to adhere to 'secondary education on a wide front' or are to make some degree of specialisation possible. I think a change of opinion is developing. It would be odd if Scotland elected to adopt the present English Certificate system just at the time when England is perhaps advised by the Norwood Committee to abandon it".³

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 20 May, 1942.
 2. Ibid. Annotation by Mackay Thomson, 25 May, 1942.
 3. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, op.cit.

In the preface to his minute to Johnston on 27 May, the Secretary concluded: "I hardly think that you are likely to feel that his(Bell's) suggestions would lead to anything which we cannot secure through existing machinery - your Council of ex-Secretaries of State, the Department's Advisory Council, and the Department itself - when you decide that the time is ripe".¹ He supported a survey of Scottish education by the Advisory Council, undertaken by stages, if the Council appointed five sub-committees with co-opted members to cover the various fields. Bell's "simple machinery" - a committee or Royal Commission - would prove slow and costly, making an existing statutory body quite redundant. Moreover, as he remarked significantly to Parker, a new committee would be "a constant embarrassment to us and to S.of S"² Quite obviously, the Advisory Council was perceived as more amenable and capable of being controlled.

The reply to Bell drafted for Johnston by the Secretary affords an insight into how the war was affecting official attitudes towards Scottish education and the significant part that the rector's initiative played in activating the administrative machinery to consider reform. "I am now considering", ran the reply, "whether the Department's Advisory Council should be reinforced and given special enquiries to undertake.

This Council has been given no remit since the outbreak of war, as it was not felt that the time was opportune, or that all the possible circumstances in which the war might conclude were sufficiently visible for us to indulge in educational speculations and proposals for reform. But the situation is changing, and it may now be worth considering whether the time is ripe for special enquiries".³

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1. S.R.O., ED.25/6. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 25 May, 1942.
 2. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 20 May, 1942.
 3. S.R.O., ED.25/6. Draft reply to Mr Bell submitted to the Secretary of State by Mackay Thomson, 4 June, 1942.

3. Reconstituting the Advisory Council

In early June, 1942 the Secretary took advantage of changed circumstances and sent Johnston some background information on the creation, constitution and accomplishments of the first four advisory councils since the statutory establishment under the 1918 Act. The Fifth Advisory Council, appointed in November, 1939, had been inactive in consequence of the Prime Minister's directive about reducing the number of committees. Mackay Thomson observed that some of the members would resign if it was set to work again because of wartime duties and one member had, in the meantime, died.¹ This would happily provide Johnston with "the advantage of selecting new members specially appropriate for any particular enquiries which may be contemplated".²

If the Advisory Council was reactivated, an important assumption about the nature of educational reform would be tacitly accepted by the Scottish administration. Mackay Thomson explained that a standing advisory council was composed of persons "expert or actively engaged in the service in connection with which their advice is sought".³ Such advice was "most valuable in connection with questions involving domestic or technical issues on which the Central Department requires guidance". But advisory councils such as the Department's which was appointed to advise "on educational matters", were not well constituted "to deal with vital issues involving radical changes of machinery or principle which may disturb large vested interests and which will require legislation of an important/

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1. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 9 June, 1942.
 2. Ibid
 3. Ibid.

important kind". Radical changes would require an ad hoc departmental committee or a Royal Commission. "If this distinction of function is accepted", he continued, "it would seem that our present Advisory Council is quite suitable to maintain the standing interest in educational developments which Mr Harry Bell desires to see".

Spurning Butler's strategy of hiving off specific educational issues for consideration by ad hoc bodies, thus removing obstructions from the path of his reform measure, Johnston came to favour a largely free-ranging Advisory Council, much to the annoyance of the S.E.D. He advised the E.I.S. Parliamentary Committee in January, 1945 to "develop the Advisory Council and to make it a parliament of education. He was doing his best to give it power and status".¹ Whether this was part of a well-formulated policy, or an opportunistic appropriation of newspaper speculation is open to question.

In June 1942, however, Johnston merely indicated that he would "like to have a talk sometime, particularly about the personnel of the Council and about the subject of enquiries; one possibility that occurs to him is the success or otherwise of the policy of the 1929 Act..."² A discussion was held on 20 July at which Johnston declared his intention to discuss with his Scottish Council on Post-War Problems, the reconstitution of the Advisory Council.³ It was agreed that a strong chairman, preferably an educationist would be "very important"; the names of Lord Cooper, Lord Keith and Sir William Hamilton Fyfe were considered.

After/

1. E.I.S. Papers. Parliamentary Committee. Interview with the Secretary of State, 9 January, 1945.
2. S.R.U., ED.8/22. T.D. Haddow to Williams, 11 June, 1942.
3. Ibid. Notes for discussion: 20 July, 1942.

After further discussions in July and August with Johnston and Westwood, a note was drafted for submission to the Scottish Council on Post-War Problems, in which the Secretary of State acknowledged his intention to re-establish the council by a new order-in-council with certain modifications: the membership was to be increased from twelve to twenty-one, and limited to three, instead of five, years; and the chairman and vice-chairman were to be his nominees instead of the Council's.¹ The note was at pains to point out that the council was not statutorily limited to consideration of remits referred by the Secretary of State; the Council could submit advice or make representation to him on any matter. This was a very broad hint that the Advisory Council could display more initiative than it had in pre-war years - an acknowledgement, perhaps of Bell's suggestion of a body sitting in continuous session. A suitable composition was suggested in the light of the fact that of the 21 members fourteen were required "to represent the views of various bodies interested in education" and sixteen names were advanced to supplement the five remaining from the previous council including that of Sir William Hamilton Fyfe, Principal of Aberdeen University to act as chairman. The increase in the size of the Council was partly due to Johnston's insistence on three Labour representatives and - much to Mackay Thomson's distaste - three M.P's "to kill off their nuisance value".²

On 2 September, 1942 Johnston explained to the Scottish Council on Post-War Problems that "the object of the changes... was to widen the scope of the /

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1. S.R.O., ED.33/8. S.C.(42) 17. Reconstitution of the Advisory Council. Note by the Secretary of State, 17 August, 1942.
 2. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Mackay Thomson to Sir Horace P. Hamilton, 13 August, 1942.

of the (Advisory) Council by enabling it to be in more or less continuous session, and to give opportunity for the appointment of sub-committees, for the examination of particular questions, consisting partly of Council members and partly of additional members selected by the Secretary of State with the advice of the Council of State".¹ The Council agreed to Sir William Hamilton Fyfe acting as chairman and to Elliot's suggestion of Lord Provost Sir Garnet Wilson serving as vice-chairman. The Council subsequently advised Johnston in October to enlarge the Advisory Council and it was increased to 25, of which seventeen would be representative of interested bodies, to allow for greater female representation.² "Somewhat late in the day", according to Kenneth Lindsay,³ the new Advisory Council was established by order-in-council on 5 November, 1942, "for the purpose of advising the Secretary of State on Educational matters in Scotland".⁴

There remained the thorny, interrelated problems of possible remits and the mode of procedure for the Advisory Council. Johnston's early suggestion of the effectiveness of the 1929 Act with regard to the administration of education was complicated by its inevitable implications for Scottish local/

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1. S.R.O., ED.33/8. Scottish Advisory Council on Post-War Problems S.C.(42) 9th Meeting, 2 September, 1942.
 2. Ibid. S.C.(42) 10th Meeting, 12 September, 1942.
 3. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 391, 971, 21 July, 1943.
 4. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Education (Scotland). Advisory Council Order, 5 November, 1942. The members of the Advisory Council on its reconstitution: Sir William Hamilton Fyfe (chairman); Lord Provost Sir Garnet Wilson (Vice-chairman); Agnes M. Allison; W. Barry; Lord Provost J.M. Biggar; Professor E.P. Cathcart; J.B. Clark; E. Greenhill; J. Henderson Stewart, M.P., E.G.R. Lloyd, M.P.; W. McClelland; Bridget M. McEwen; P. McGhee; N. MacLean, M.P.; R.C.T. Mair; A.M. Millar; Agnes B. Muir; R.M. Munro; J.E.S. Nisbet; J.J. Robertson; J. Rothnie; J. Cameron Smart; Etna J. Taylor, and R. Taylor. The Secretary was T. Grainger Stewart (S.E.D).

local government in general. Westwood admitted in the Commons in July, 1942, that he was uncertain "whether the Advisory Council will be the competent body to consider such a problem".¹ As to the improvements in educational provision and curricula which were generally felt to be desirable, most of them were "practicable under the existing Statutes and under the new combined Code and the new Certificate Regulations which came into force in 1939 but have been frustrated by the war. What has to be considered", suggested Mackay Thomson in July, 1942, "is whether some measure of compulsion is not required to overcome the inertia of the Town and County Councils and the prejudices of parents and teachers".²

With the reconstitution of the Advisory Council imminent it was necessary to become more explicit and, on 11 October, the Secretary asked Parker for suggestions to discuss with Fyfe.³ He ruled out allowing the Council to review the educational system and deciding for themselves what questions to consider. He was determined to keep as tight a rein as Johnston would permit on the Council by following "our old procedure" and feeding it with remits. A clash with the conception of a freer, wide-ranging Council seemed inevitable.

There remained, too, the difficulty that the Government had not yet made an announcement committing it to any specific lines of educational advance. "We cannot...", observed the Secretary, "frame a remit on any major issue except on the assumptions (a) that the school leaving age will be raised to 15 as soon as possible after the war; (b) that some form/

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1. Hansard (Commons), 5th series 381, 906, 8 July, 1942.
 2. S.R.D., ED.8/22 S.E.D. Advisory Council. Notes for discussion: 20 July, 1942.
 3. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 11 October, 1942.

form of compulsory part-time education in day continuation-classes will be instituted immediately after the war, or as soon as the leaving-age has been raised to 15. If S.of S. cannot allow us to plan on these assumptions now, it seems little use to trouble the Advisory Council with remits based on indefinite continuance of the present system, except on side-issues... But if he could get authority for these two assumptions, we would draft our remits accordingly, and then one or more of the remits we have already contemplated... would be possible". He felt that the Council should at least be directed to proceed on the basis of the first assumption as the higher age was already on the statute book and the Government, in introducing the Education (Emergency) (Scotland) Bill after the outbreak of war, had made it plain that the reform was merely postponed until "as soon as possible after the war". The second was much more problematic. While provision for day continuation classes was also on the statute book, awaiting an 'appointed day', the Government had not given any formal undertaking on the subject. There was, also, "a good deal of doubt" as to whether "the untried machinery" of 1918 was "quite what is required for the best development of compulsory continuation classes under present-day conditions".¹ Advice on this issue would prove valuable, but at a later stage.

The whole issue was further clouded by the likelihood of the Department having to produce an education bill in the next parliamentary session and Parker suggested that it would be "best not to give the Council a remit on any subject which may involve legislation".² The primary school curriculum/

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 9 November, 1942.
 2. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 2 November, 1942.

curriculum was already under consideration by the Department's Primary School Panel; and technical education was precluded by national enquiries into apprenticeship, building and mining in progress. Citizenship had occurred to Johnston as a possible remit, after the remarkable suggestions of ventilation in schools and phonetic spelling, but Sir William Hamilton Fyfe had, seemingly, squashed this by arguing that the Department's Memorandum on Training for Citizenship¹ seemed to go "as far as it is possible to go, before the future pattern of school education is decided".²

The Secretary suggested that the Council should ride his own hobby-horse, not unnaturally in the circumstances. "I should much prefer", he wrote to Parker, "a remit on the Secondary School and its examination system much on the lines of the remit given to the Norwood Committee".³ Thereafter, he favoured an enquiry into teacher-training. Parker agreed, though coupling primary education with teacher-training as a second order of priority. The Second Secretary was obviously concerned that the Advisory Council should not receive the impression that it was being fobbed off with the inconsequential. "Perhaps when S.of S. addresses the Council at its first meeting", he advised, "he might explain that the Council is being invited to consider questions of fundamental importance, namely what should be taught in the schools, and how teachers should be recruited and trained".⁴

Mackay Thomson /

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1. S.E.D. Training for Citizenship (1942).
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State. 9 November, 1942.
 3. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 11 November, 1942.
 4. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 2 November, 1942.

Mackay Thomson offered his conclusions on procedure and remits to Johnston on 9 November.¹ He favoured offering the Advisory Council one remit announced either in the Secretary of State's opening speech at the inaugural meeting, or in the notice covering the meeting, rather than giving two concurrent remits, or allowing the Council itself to choose from a circulated list and members' suggestions. The one remit would be an investigation of "the organisation and curricula of secondary schools, and the regulations for the award of the Junior Leaving Certificate and the Senior Leaving Certificate, and to make such recommendations as may seem desirable". This would complement the Norwood enquiry and "would be useful, in view of the important differences between Scottish and English conditions". A remit on the organisation and curriculum of primary schools, including nursery provision, would follow "at a later stage". This would then leave the way clear for remits on two matters consequential on the results of the first two enquiries - the recruitment and training of teachers, and school planning and building. The teacher-training enquiry would complement that of the McNair Committee in England and Wales and would constitute "a valuable enquiry" in that "war wastage and the additional demands of the higher leaving age and (perhaps) compulsory part-time day continuation classes will present us with acute problems of supply".

Johnston rejected the Department's advice on procedure, the areas, and priority, of remits. He proposed to ask the Council to deal initially with three concurrent remits: the organisation and curricula of secondary schools; training for citizenship, contrary to the advice of Fyfe; and technical education.² The choice of the latter marked a change of mind on /

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 9 November, 1942.
 2. Ibid. Hardy to Mackay Thomson, 12 November, 1942.

on the part of Westwood and the Secretary of State who now believed that "it would be useful if the Council would review the earlier (pre-war) recommendations in the light of all that has happened..." At a later date, he would ask the Council to consider the organisation and curriculum of the primary school (including nursery education), promising to place the findings of the Departmental Primary School Panel at their disposal. When conclusions had been reached in these diverse areas, Johnston thought it "appropriate that you consider the recruitment and training of the teachers whose duty it will be to carry out the programme which you envisage". In delineating this programme "the last thing" Johnston wished to do was to restrict the Council's activities and intended to propose that the Council inform him within three months "whether there were any questions which might form the subject of a remit".

At the Council's first meeting, the Secretary of State, in an expansive mood, displayed his eagerness "to do a big job".¹ To the dismay of Mackay Thomson, he gave "definite encouragement" to the Council "to survey the whole field of education..."

"The Advisory Council was selected by the Council of State, which was an innovation in the machinery and practice of Government, but an innovation pregnant with possibilities. The members had been selected as the most capable advisers the Council of State could find to assist in preserving and improving the vital educational services in Scotland. The Advisory Council had a great task in front of them. Their field was the child from the nursery school to adult education, the field of the future generation of the race. He hoped they would regard themselves not as a mere committee of enquiry to report on remits specially given them by the Council of State. He hoped that they would regard themselves as a parliament on education, that they would discuss among themselves prior questions in education".²

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1. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 19 December, 1942.
 2. S.R.O., ED.8/23. Advisory Council. Papers Issued..Minute of a Meeting. 27 November, 1942.

"Their enquiries", continued Johnston, "should as far as possible be directed to reforms or changes which were capable of speedy translation into practice". He would welcome chiefly recommendations which did not require legislative sanction though these were not barred. He concluded by outlining the five remits in an order of priority, giving pride of place to citizenship, followed by the organisation and curriculum of primary and nursery schools; the organisation and curricula of secondary schools with reference to the award of the Junior and Senior Leaving Certificates; technical education; and the recruitment and training of teachers.¹

The Council immediately responded to the "impulse" provided by the Secretary of State, obviously determined in the atmosphere of war, not to be the passive body of pre-war years. Sir Garnet Wilson sensed in the attitude of his colleagues "evidence of a desire for change, and this not least from the members of the Educational Institute of Scotland"². Undaunted by the magnitude of the task, the Council delineated no less than eleven remits for concurrent study: citizenship, primary, secondary and continuation education to be dealt with by the whole committee, while the remaining eight would be given to seven committees.³ The Council decided to give "first place" to the citizenship enquiry, hoping that it might be able to make some early progress with the others, particularly those into primary, secondary and continuation education.

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1. The remits are contained in Appendix I.
 2. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Sir Garnet Wilson to Mackay Thomson. 17 December, 1942.
 3. Ibid. T.Grainger Stewart to Mackay Thomson, 17 December, 1942. The other remits concerned technical education; recruitment of teachers; adult education; commercial education; backward children and approved schools; rural and agricultural education; and the administration of education.

The Council also agreed that the committee on the recruitment, supply and training of teachers should prepare an interim report on the first two aspects, deferring their consideration of training until the Council had formulated their policy for primary and secondary education. They hoped that the Secretary of State's reply to their proposals would be available for their next meeting on 22 January, 1943, so that they could plan their future procedure. "I hope that this action on the part of the Council," wrote Sir Garnet Wilson to Johnston, "will not be regarded as an excess of zeal. I say this because I fear that the friendly encouragement which you, yourself, gave to the Council ... is largely responsible..."¹

The Council's decisions alarmed Mackay Thomson. "I am not a little concerned," he confided to Sir Garnet Wilson, "lest the Council may be embarking on a heavier programme than it may prove possible, under the limitations imposed by war conditions, to execute with the thoroughness you would like. My own inclination would have been to concentrate on a smaller list of remits and deal with them more thoroughly and intensively"² Parker found the Council's remits "a very ambitious programme. One must admit, however," he minuted, "that all the subjects are important and worthy of investigation".³ In view of Johnston's open encouragement to the Council to scrutinise the whole field of education, Parker doubted whether the Secretary of State would be willing to restrict its activities: "They have been pushed off making a survey of University education and some of the members would strongly resent any further restrictions". He offered/

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1. S.R.O., ED.8/108. Wilson to the Secretary of State. 17 December, 1942.
 2. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Mackay Thomson to Wilson, 18 December, 1942.
 3. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 19 December, 1942.

offered the sage advice to Mackay Thomson that, "It is quite possible that it will come home to them very soon that they are attempting too much at once, but I think it should be left to them to make this discovery themselves".

The Secretary could not accept this advice, although he was pessimistic about persuading Johnston to prevail upon the Advisory Council to accept a more limited programme. His suggestions to the Secretary of State for submission to the Scottish Council on Post-War Problems on 25 December, 1942 were "necessarily something of a compromise, and not what I would suggest if I thought I had the least chance of getting my own views supported by S.of S".¹ His arguments against the Advisory Council pursuing eleven remits concurrently were strong.² Firstly, it was a precedent; hitherto, the Council had only considered one subject at a time. Some members would be sitting on as many as four committees in addition to dealing with three remits in full council. Secondly, there was the strain on the Department's staff when there was pressure to make further economies. Finally, the Secretary pointed to the D.H.S.'s Advisory Committee on Housing which was working through five sub-committees with no subject under consideration by the Committee as a whole - "a much more manageable programme". In England there were three, separate ad hoc committees considering "less than three" of the subjects the Advisory Council proposed to tackle.

Mackay Thomson's /

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Jardine and Hawkins, 24 December, 1942.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 25 December, 1942.

Mackay Thomson's compromise was that the whole Council should consider the remits on citizenship, primary education and a limited remit on secondary education; that three committees might look at technical education, commercial education, and rural and agricultural education; and that, as and when any of these subjects were successively disposed of, the remaining subjects - teacher recruitment, adult education, handicapped children, and continuation education - could be taken in order.

The force of the Secretary's arguments influenced Johnston when they met to discuss the matter on 28 December. After consulting the Scottish Council on Post-War Problems, he reduced the programme by stressing the overriding urgency of some of the enquiries.¹ He was "particularly anxious" to receive reports, "as soon as possible", upon "the more urgent matters which affect the majority of school children and to which it might be possible to give speedy effect without legislative action". Johnston anticipated that these enquiries "would be of more value to him than a more comprehensive, elaborate and interrelated series of reports which would, of necessity, take a considerable time to complete". Johnston, in the main, followed Mackay Thomson's advice and concluded that four issues were most pressing - citizenship; primary education; secondary education; and teacher recruitment - and that the Council should be invited to pursue them immediately. Teacher-training would be considered later.

The Council were naturally disappointed that Johnston saw fit to limit their scope after the excitement engendered at the initial meeting.² Concern was expressed about the absence from the priority list of an enquiry into the /

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to T. Grainger Stewart. 8 January, 1943. The letter was largely drafted by Grainger Stewart.
 2. Ibid. Grainger Stewart to Mackay Thomson, 2 February, 1943.

the administration of education; the exclusion of compulsory day continuation classes from the proposed remit on secondary and continuation education; and the postponement of the enquiry into adult education. The first of these stimulated the most passion. The Council took the view that "consideration should be given to the nature and functions of units of local educational administration in connection with any proposals for post-war educational reform". The members felt strongly that educational services and facilities were "so closely bound up" with the administrative machinery, both local and central, that an enquiry into the former would be incomplete and unsatisfactory unless the latter were reviewed concurrently.

Such was the strength of feeling at this second meeting that a resolution was passed unanimously deploring the fact that the Secretary of State had not invited them to submit a priority report on "what modifications, if any, are required in the arrangements for administering the public educational services in Scotland", and asking him to reconsider his decision. Otherwise the Council fell in with Johnston's proposal for priority enquiries. The members agreed to postpone consideration of other problems "until substantial progress has been made with the more urgent enquiries". But they proposed to deal at once with one aspect of the enquiry into adult education - that voluntary bodies as well as education authorities should be recognised for grant purposes - as it was unlikely to make undue demands on the Council's time, or the Department's staff. Mackay Thomson urged against a programme "so extensive as to be likely to delay recommendations on subjects of prior importance and impose an undue strain on all concerned".¹ But with some reluctance, Johnston agreed to an extension of the proposed remit on secondary education and to a limited remit on adult education. He ruled out, however, a proposed enquiry/

1. S.R.O., ED.8/108. Mackay Thomson to Grainger Stewart, 11 February, 1943.

enquiry into the administration of education. Though he was "far from being opposed " to the purpose of such an enquiry he felt that it would be an "unfortunate time" to undertake it:

"Any change in the machinery of local government is almost bound to raise controversial issues, and if the Advisory Council were to enquire into the subject... the proceedings could be represented as a prelude to controversial legislation and as a breach of the Government's pledge that they will not promote such legislation during the war".¹

Johnston was "particularly apprehensive" that a controversy at this time would be "gravely embarrassing" to the Prime Minister and requested the Advisory Council to "refrain from pressing any such enquiry at the present moment".

The letter convinced the Council that further resistance would be futile and the Secretary of State's ruling was accepted at the next meeting in April, 1943.² Members of the Council remained uncertain, however, about the priority to be given to the various remits and Fyfe asked in May whether there was "any fixed date by which you wish us to report on any matter"and whether there were "any specific points on which you would like the Council to make early brief reports?"³ Johnston, in reply, indicated that the remit on citizenship was "most urgent" as recommendations on this subject "should prove of great assistance in helping to solve the grave problem of juvenile delinquency".⁴ He hoped for a report, "even if it is only an interim one" before the late autumn, by which time he added that he would like recommendations on compulsory day continuation classes/

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.R.O.,ED.8/22. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Minutes of a meeting... 16 April, 1943.
 3. S.R.O.,ED.8/23. Sir W.H.Fyfe to the Secretary of State,10 May, 1943.
 4. Ibid. Secretary of State to Fyfe, 17 May, 1943.

classes and the recruitment and supply of teachers. But his letter was at pains to open the whole field of education, with the exception of administration and the universities in general, to the purview of the Council:

"You may find in the course of your deliberations that there are particular aspects of education either directly covered by your enquiries or arising incidentally out of them where in your view reform is necessary and urgent: it is with regard to such aspects that I would value interim reports, especially if the changes which you recommend can be carried out without having to amend the existing statutes... I feel that, as your enquiries develop, desirable reforms... will occur to the Council when you are agreed, either unanimously or otherwise, upon such a reform, you should not delay in sending me a report".

The Council set to work through committees on the three remits given prior importance by Johnston, heeding Fyfe's advice that the Secretary of State "did not expect to receive full-dress reports... on the scale of the Spens Report".¹ Evidence on the primary and the remainder of the secondary remit - now that continuation education had been extracted for urgent consideration - was collected, but detailed examination was postponed until the initial work of the Council had been completed. By the end of 1943 six reports had been submitted: three covering the salaries and supply of teachers, and the training of recruits from national service;² two dealing with day continuation education³; and one surveying Johnston's particular concern, citizenship in schools.⁴ As issues were disposed of the/

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1. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. op.cit.
 2. The Third and Fifth Interim Reports were eventually published as a Command Paper: B.P.P., S.E.D. Reports of the Advisory Council on the Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers in the period immediately following the War. Cmd. 6501 (1943-44).
 3. The Second and Fourth Interim Reports were published as a non-parliamentary paper: S.E.D. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Compulsory Continuation Classes (1943).
 4. B.P.P., S.E.D. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Training in Citizenship. Cmd. 6595 (1943-44).

the Council accepted new remits from the Secretary of State on teacher-training and technical education in November, 1943.¹ Johnston also agreed to a request for a widening of the remit concerning the possibility of grants to voluntary organisations providing adult education to cover the whole field of grants for adult education in February, 1944.² A further three reports on adult education grants³, education authority bursaries⁴ and technical education had been completed by December, 1944.⁵

The whole work of the Advisory Council can be surveyed at two levels: the immediate response of the Department seen in terms of recommendations given effect by administrative, or legislative, action; and the relevance to, and more long-term impact of, the Council's prescriptions upon the Scottish educational system. In the former regard, with the exception of the reports on the recruitment, remuneration, and supply of teachers which were considered in a previous chapter, the product hardly justified the seeming importance Johnston attached to the prospect of the Council's recommendations on some issues in the framing of an education bill. In the event 29 recommendations were considered by the Department and sixteen were accepted in whole, and a further ten in part, for inclusion in the second Education (Scotland) Bill. Many were concerned with points of detail; others, such as the suggestion of the constitution of a National Advisory Council for Technical Education and four or five Regional Advisory Councils, represented proposals which were long familiar to the Department.⁶

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1. See Appendix I. A special committee on technical education was established by order-in-council on 19 November, 1943.
 2. S.R.O., ED.8/108. Grainger Stewart to Mackay Thomson, 16 February, 1944; Mackay Thomson to Grainger Stewart, 21 February, 1944.
 3. A report was completed and signed on 28 July, 1944 but not published. Ed.8/103.
 4. B.P.P., S.E.D. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Education Authority Bursaries. Cmd. 6573. (1944-45).
 5. Ibid. Interim Report on Technical Education, Cmd. 6593 (1945).
 6. S.R.O., ED.8/22. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Education (Scotland) Bill. Note of Action taken on the Recommendations of the Council involving Legislation. n.d. (1944-45).

An additional fourteen recommendations were made by the Council after seeing the text of the first Education (Scotland) Bill in late 1944. Three were accepted but only one, relating to the establishment of child guidance clinics, was of any substance.¹ Yet it must also be remembered that the Council did serve the useful function of acting as a post-box and sounding-board for the views of pressure groups and individuals which at a time of some educational ferment, often tested the Department's patience and resources before the Council's reconstitution.

In the second regard, the Council, with the help of this written and oral evidence, went on to publish, in the immediate post-war period, general reports on the educational system covering the fields of primary and nursery education, secondary education and teacher-training.² Although their detailed consideration lies outwith the chronological limits of this study, they afford an interesting insight into the influence of the war on the Scottish Educational system. Fired with wartime idealism, their conception of education was so far ahead of its time in many respects that their recommendations were not acceptable to the profession-at-large and proved such an embarrassment to the Department that the Council were never thereafter asked to produce a general report. The only subsequent use of consultative machinery was under a section of the Education (Scotland) Act which empowered the Secretary of State to appoint a sub-committee, half of whose members were to be members of the Advisory Council, to consider very specific remits as, for example, on the transfer procedure from primary to secondary schools.³ When the Eighth Council's period of office/

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1. See Chapter Six.
 2. The wartime publications of the Sixth Advisory Council are contained in the bibliography.
 3. B.P.P., S.E.D. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, Transfer from Primary to Secondary Education. Cmd. 1538 (1961-62).

Office expired in 1961, no new Council was appointed, though the Department resorted subsequently to employing the services of ad hoc working parties, when it might have been appropriate to use the Advisory Council.¹

If, therefore, Johnston employed a deliberate policy of opening up the whole Scottish educational system to the purview of the Advisory Council in an effort to give the body power and status, in contrast to Butler's strategy of plying ad hoc committees with limited remits on controversial issues, then it can only be seen as a failure with long-term repercussions. It is not surprising that such a body appointed at a time of great national sacrifice should produce views which outran those current in central and local administration and among the rank-and-file of teachers. Johnston's cherished desire to impart "a culture of good citizenship" into the schools underlines certain fundamental truths about the implementation of idealistic, exhortatory educational reports. First came the "polite, although obviously reluctant, acquiescence, and then do-nothings, and the Petronella dance-like side-stepping of the pundits"; and, thereafter, "the hard core of materialists among the teachers who didn't care what they taught in school, so long as their students passed the examinations... and since University preliminaries paid no attention to citizenship - well, why worry overmuch about the notions of this fellow at St. Andrew's House? And he might not be long there anyhow".²

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1. G.S. Osborne, Change in Scottish Education (1968), p.78.
 2. T. Johnston, op.cit., pp.153-154.

APPENDIX I

The Sixth Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (5 November, 1942 - 30 June, 1946)

The Advisory Council received seven remits from the Secretary of State in the course of 1943:

1. To consider how the educational system of Scotland can most effectively contribute to the training in the duties, rights and practice of citizenship and to make recommendations. (S.R.O.,ED.8/108, J. Mackay Thomson to T. Grainger Stewart, 11 February, 1943)
2. To review the educational provision in Scotland for children from the time of entry into the nursery school until the completion of primary education, and the arrangements for promoting them from primary to secondary education, and to make recommendations. (Ibid).
3. To review the educational provision in Scotland for young people who have completed their primary education and have not attained the age of eighteen years or discontinued full-time attendance at school whichever is later, the examinations for which they may be presented, and the certificates which may be awarded, and to make recommendations. (Ibid).
4. To consider whether the existing arrangements for the recruitment and supply of teachers in Scotland are adequate, and to make recommendations.1 (Ibid).
5. To consider whether grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund should be made to voluntary organisations making provision in Scotland for the education of adults of eighteen years of age and over, and if so, under what conditions, and to make recommendations.2 (Ibid).
6. To enquire into the provision made for the training of teachers in Scotland, the selection of candidates for training and the conditions of admission thereto, the courses of training, the types of certificate which may be awarded and the conditions of award, the withdrawal of such certificate, whether temporarily or permanently, and the administration and finance of the said services, and to make recommendations. (Ibid. J. Mackay Thomson to T.Grainger-Stewart, 11 November, 1943).

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1. This remit was subsequently widened by the Secretary of State to enable the relevant committee to consider the training to be given to demobilised men and women who wished to teach. S.R.O.,Ed.8/108. Mackay Thomson to Grainger-Stewart. 13 July, 1943.
 2. The committee dealing with this remit found it impossible to exclude grants for adult education from consideration and therefore received the Secretary of State's permission to widen its scope to include this aspect. S.R.O.,ED. 8/108. Mackay Thomson to Grainger-Stewart, 21 February, 1944.

APPENDIX I (continued)

7. Having regard to the prospective requirements of Trade and Industry and the provision made for technical education in the Universities, to enquire into the provision, administration and finance of technical education outwith the Universities, and to make recommendations. (Ibid, J. Mackay Thomson to T. Grainger-Stewart, 18 November, 1943).

CHAPTER NINE

TOWARDS LEGISLATION, JULY 1943 - NOVEMBER, 1944

1. Following England?

The prospect and progress of a Scottish educational reform bill during, or shortly after, the war depended upon a variety of factors largely outwith the control of the Department. Firstly, in late 1942 the attitude of the Government towards educational reform remained to be determined, and a Scottish measure would almost inevitably have to await the successful introduction or passage of an English bill if the case for legislation was accepted. Secondly, there were the predispositions and predilections of the Secretary of State; he plainly lacked interest in the issue and remained to be persuaded of the necessity for a Scottish bill. Here the success of Butler's initiative would be crucial. If he gained cabinet support and managed to manoeuvre a potentially controversial education bill through parliament, its effect upon Scottish educational and public opinion would probably exert sufficient political pressure on the reluctant Johnston for the Department to convince him that a complementary Scottish measure was unavoidable. Thirdly, the 'Council of State' and the Advisory Council were still unknown quantities whose deliberations threatened to influence the shape of any measure and affect its progress.

The Board began actively to make preparations for a draft bill in the autumn of 1942 when the elements of a settlement of the religious issue could be discerned in negotiations with the Church of England.¹

Butler outlined the main features of his reform scheme in a memorandum

1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op. cit., p.309.

considered by the Lord President's Committee in December:¹ the recasting of the general structure of the educational system; the raising of the school leaving age; the amendment of the dual system; and the introduction of a plan for the "continued care and training of young persons after they leave school". Controversial issues - teacher training, the public schools, and the secondary curriculum and examinations - were receiving attention from appropriate committees and would not require legislative action. Butler emphasised, in successfully requesting permission to prepare a draft bill, that "an opportunity such as this will not recur and that the task is one which a National Government can and should undertake".²

Butler was encouraged to proceed with his scheme and prepare a draft bill for eventual submission to the War Cabinet. The improving prospects for educational reform were reflected in the inclusion of a few sentences in the King's Speech, at Butler's suggestion, despite the doubts of some Cabinet members who felt that it was premature to envisage a reconstruction of the educational systems at such a stage in the war.³ Nevertheless, after receiving Churchill's acquiescence in the spring of 1943, Butler won War Cabinet authorisation to present a white paper to parliament with leave to print a bill.⁴

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/365. War Cabinet. Lord President's Committee. LP(42) 76th Meeting. Conclusions of a meeting held on ... 18 December, 1942.
 2. Ibid. LP(42)277. Educational Reform. Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education, 10 December, 1942.
 3. P.R.O., ED 136/378. Extract from the King's Speech to Parliament, 11 November, 1942; Hansard (Commons). 5th series, 385, 6-8, 11 November, 1942.
 4. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op. cit., pp.311-313.

The publication of the White Paper, Educational Reconstruction,¹ and Butler's statement in the Commons² "marked the point at which the wartime Coalition Government publicly adopted what was probably its most comprehensive single piece of post-war social policy".³ The proposals were warmly received in both England and Scotland. "Many of the reforms", commented The Scottish Educational Journal "... are as urgent in Scotland as in England and it is expected that a Scottish Bill will also be introduced to ensure that any advantages made applicable to England will also be available here".⁴ The Glasgow Herald believed that the proposals were "liberal and in keeping with the trends of modern thought ... they lay down principles of reforms which it may be expected will also be followed in Scotland".⁵

Such comments were indicative of the raised level of expectation of educational reform, at least among interest groups within Scottish society, which, undoubtedly, helped to impel Johnston from a state of 'wait and see' in the autumn of 1942 to a commitment to introduce legislation in the summer of 1943. "Public interest in the question of Education", observed the Scottish District of the Communist Party, "has never been as great as now".⁶ In December, 1942, as the possibility of English legislation grew stronger, a new pressure

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1. B.P.P., Board of Education. Educational Reconstruction. Cmd.6458 (1943).
 2. Hansard (Commons) 5th series, 391, 539-540, 16 July, 1943.
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op. cit., p.313.
 4. S.E.J., 23 July, 1943.
 5. Glasgow Herald, 17 July, 1943.
 6. Communist Party: Scottish District, Scotland's Schools (Glasgow, 1944), p.3.

group, the Scottish Council for Educational Advance - a counterpart of the English Council - was established "to prepare the public for changes which were desirable in Educational law".¹ Johnston had played his part - albeit a reluctant one - in prompting debate by reviving the Advisory Council and inviting individuals and organisations to contribute their views. Several hundred representations were handled by the Council's secretariat with the volume increasing substantially after the publication of the Scottish bill in the autumn of 1944.

In late 1942, however, the Secretary of State was content to sit on the fence. Westwood, his representative at the Lord President's Committee which discussed Butler's memorandum, commented that a number of the proposals "related to matters which had already been dealt with in Scotland".² There were items, nevertheless, such as the raising of the school-leaving age; the inspection of private schools; and continued education up to the age of eighteen which could not be applied in Scotland without further legislation. "At the present time", he continued, "the Secretary of State had not decided to introduce corresponding legislation on any of these points". Rather, he proposed before making any final decision, "to await further development of the project for legislation applying to England and Wales". The reference to Scotland included in the King's Speech was suitably non-committal.

The Department's secretariat assumed that Johnston would be forced to take legislative action. Parker, in reviewing the White Paper

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1. E.I.S. Papers. General Secretary to A.G. Carrie, 13 March, 1946.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/365. Conclusions of a meeting... op.cit...

proposals in June, "found nothing ... to which we can take exception. What we shall have to do is to consider how far we shall follow the English lines in our own Bill" ¹ In addition to what had already been accomplished in Scotland and the measures advanced in the reconstruction memorandum, Mackay Thomson wanted Johnston to display some interest in a range of English proposals. These included, inter alia: the power to order education authorities to appoint joint education committees; "development plans" which L.E.A's would be obliged to produce; compulsory inspection and registration of all private schools; an act of worship to begin each school day, subject to a conscience clause; ending the confinement of religious instruction to the beginning and end of each school-day; the "ultimate raising" of the school-leaving age to sixteen; the obligation upon L.E.A's to conform to standard salary scales for teachers; medical inspection and treatment of young persons; the provision of milk and meals at young people's colleges; and the duty of the Board and the power of L.E.A's to conduct and assist with research. ²

There were also some White Paper proposals "which may prove embarrassing to Scotland". Foremost among these was the abolition of tuition fees in all L.E.A. schools which the Secretary found "inconsistent" with a plea in the introduction for a "diversity of types of school". He also included in this category the various religious provisions such as instruction in religion according to an agreed, undenominational syllabus; and the limiting of teachers'

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/364. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 17 June, 1943.
 2. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 19 June, 1943.

assistance in the school meals' service to supervisory duties which would render its extension to "our multitude of small and remote schools very difficult".¹ In a letter to Holmes he also indicated that the Department would make provision for temporary exemptions from school attendance, although recognising that this would meet with opposition in Scotland.² There remained the question of the administrative structure of Scottish education. "It is possible - but not, I think, very likely", he wrote, "that there may be a move in some quarters here for a reversion to ad hoc authorities for education".

On the eve of Butler's statement to the Commons in July, 1943, the Lord Advocate and Mackay Thomson both concurred that "S. of S. was not displaying any great keenness about educational legislation".³ Nevertheless, Johnston realised that a failure to announce a complementary Scottish educational advance would invoke considerable criticism. Thus he confirmed that there would be a Scottish measure in a House of Commons statement on 21 July,⁴ remarking that some of the White Paper proposals "related to matters in which Government policy will naturally be the same for Scotland as for England and Wales. Others relate to England and Wales only, because they deal with matters on which there has been legislation in Scotland ... An Education Bill must therefore differ in some ways from the English Education Bill". Nevertheless, "we shall

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Holmes, 22 June, 1943.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.R.O., ED 14/367. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 15 July, 1943.
 4. Hansard (Commons). 5th series. 391, 935, 21 July, 1943 .

require to march in step with England's proposals relating to the raising of the school leaving age to 16, and compulsory part-time education up to the age of 18". In framing his proposals he hoped to have the benefit of recommendations from the Advisory Council. He could not resist concluding his statement without his familiar jibe at the Scottish secondary curriculum, suggesting that, while not advocating technical education in day schools, there might in future be "a little less training in medieval chronology and a great deal more tuition in applied science".

Even with the public promise of a Scottish measure extracted from Johnston, there were factors which threatened to impede its drafting and introduction into parliament. The Department were understandably anxious to press the Secretary of State for decisions as to the bill's nature and a legislative time-table, but both involved political hazards. There appeared to be two possible courses of action in deciding the nature of the bill: to promote legislation dealing with reforms and amendments of Scottish educational law, followed, as soon as possible, by a consolidation measure which had been in preparation since the 1930's and had recently been revised by Grainger Stewart; or to draft a comprehensive bill which would include reforms, amendments and consolidation of the law.¹ The latter, as the Lord Advocate pointed out, would throw open to discussion all sections of educational legislation which were to be re-enacted without alteration, thus providing the opportunity for "dissatisfied religious elements" to propose the amendment of the 1918 religious settlement.² The

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Parker to the Secretary of State, 4 August, 1943.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/367 op. cit.

alternative in the form of a short amending and reform bill might bring invidious comparisons with the comprehensive English counterpart, leaving Johnston open to the criticism that "while Mr. Butler has produced a complete measure, he has produced only a thing of shreds and patches".¹ It would, however, possess the important merit of avoiding a religious controversy as a subsequent consolidation bill would enjoy the protection afforded by the simplified procedure followed by the Consolidation Committee. The Department, understandably, favoured a short amending and reform measure.

In considering a legislative time-table there were a variety of factors to take into account: the work of the Advisory Council; the timing of consultations with the education authorities and other bodies; and parliamentary arrangements in relation to the English bill. The Advisory Council's final reports on citizenship and the recruitment and supply of teachers were expected by the autumn. An interim report on the modifications needed to bring the law relating to compulsory day continuation classes in line with changes since 1918 was already at hand. The remaining remits were not likely, in Parker's opinion, to produce changes in the law and thus it was unnecessary to await further reports before beginning to draft a bill.² As to consultations with interest groups, the Second Secretary and Mackay Thomson believed that these could be safely postponed until later in the legislative process.

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Parker to Grainger Stewart, 19 July, 1943.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Parker to the Secretary of State, 4 August, 1943.

The introduction of a Scottish measure in parliament was very much dependent upon the publication of the English bill and its reception in the Commons. "No doubt when the English Bill is introduced", observed Parker to Johnston, "pressure upon you to make progress with the Scottish Bill will increase.

"You could try to proceed pari passu, or you could wait until the English Bill had made substantial progress in the House of Commons. The first course would avoid the criticism of delay and of Scotland being dragged at the heels of England. The second course would, however, probably be the best as it would enable you to take advantage of any decisions reached by the House on clauses in the English Bill which will also be included in the Scottish Bill".¹

He tried to spur Johnston into action by reminding him that both the debate on the Scottish estimates and the English White Paper had revealed "a strong general desire on the part of M.P.'s that quick progress should be made with substantial reforms". The Department would be ready to draft a reforming and amending measure as a preliminary to a consolidation bill, if the Secretary of State agreed, as soon as the English bill had made "substantial progress".

Johnston, however, was not prepared to make quick decisions in the late summer of 1943 about the final nature of the bill, or when it would be introduced. He was only prepared to authorise the drafting of a reforming and amending measure on the understanding that, when it was ready, he would decide whether the bill should be made comprehensive.² That the Secretary of State could entertain the possibility of the latter course of action, seriously alarmed Mackay Thomson:

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. Parker to Grainger Stewart, 5 August, 1943.

"We must do our utmost to persuade S. of S. to adopt [the recommended] course. It is incredible that he should consider, for a moment, a course ... which will involve him in a re-opening of the religious settlement of 1918. The less favourable terms offered by Mr. Butler to the Roman Catholics would make the defence of [section] 18 extremely embarrassing."¹

In the meantime, the Department began work on drafting legislation which would include those reforms in the English bill not already enacted with regard to Scotland, forty sets of amendments deemed "necessary or desirable", and repeal nine obsolete acts and sections of fifteen others.²

2. 'Democratising' Educational Administration

The publication on 16 December, 1943 of the English education bill, "a complicated, comprehensive measure proposing ... a recasting of the whole framework of an important segment of social life", brought to fruition years of effort on the part of Butler, J. Chuter Ede, and senior officials at the Board of Education.³

The debates in both houses were, in the main, suffused by a heightened realisation of the importance of education as a national service which was reflected in the successful amendment to substitute the term 'Minister' for 'President of the Board' in the measure.⁴ Indeed, the spirit in which the bill was discussed impressed the observers of the E.I.S.'s Parliamentary Committee who attended the second reading and renewed their determination to secure a Scottish measure at such an opportune time.⁵

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1. Ibid. Marginal note by Mackay Thomson, 1 September, 1943.
 2. Ibid. Parker to the Secretary of State, 4 August, 1943.
 3. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op. cit., p.321.
 4. Ibid., p.323.
 5. E.I.S. Papers. Parliamentary Committee Meeting Folders, 1933-1944.

Aspects of the bill and the parliamentary debates surrounding them carried implications for a Scottish bill which will be considered in the course of the chapter. There was, however, no possibility of introducing a Scottish measure during, or immediately subsequent to, the English bill which made much slower progress through the Commons than its supporters anticipated. The delays occasioned by Johnston's unwillingness to take decisions over the nature of the bill contributed to the failure of the Department to produce a draft before Easter, 1944. The Scottish Office hoped that it would obtain a first reading in the current parliamentary session so as "to facilitate discussion", but as late as March the Secretary of State was still hesitating.¹ When the Lord President asked whether Johnston would be bringing forward the education bill listed in the Home Policy Committee's legislation programme, Westwood was evasive, replying that "before taking any final decision on the question .. the Secretary of State was awaiting further Reports from the Advisory Council ... It might be that the Scottish legislation would not proceed by way of complete repeal and re-enactment of the existing law but would be confined to an amending bill".²

Mackay Thomson discussed a provisional time-table for the bill with Parker and Sir Marshall Millar Craig, the parliamentary draftsman for Scottish legislation, in early April.³ He envisaged the bill only being ready for a first reading at the end of October. There would be no preliminary white paper on English lines. "Our

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/365. Haddow to P. Allen, 5 January, 1944.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/365. War Cabinet. Lord President's Committee. LP(44) 11th Meeting. Conclusions of a meeting held on ... 3 March, 1944.
 3. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Mackay Thomson to Grainger Stewart, 16 April, 1944.

procedure", he minuted, " - to introduce a draft Bill at the end of the session and thereafter to consider representations from intended parties - will enable us to make any amendments adopted as a result of these representations in the third draft of the Bill". He expected the amended measure to receive a first reading "sometime in February 1945", with a second reading following "fairly soon after" in view of the prospective re-establishment of the Scottish Grand Committee. But Millar Craig was "most pessimistic about the rate of progress "once the ... Committee gets hold of a bone so much to its taste".

The discussion began several months of hectic activity to settle controversial points about the legislation in an effort to complete a second draft by the beginning of the parliamentary summer vacation. The Department's secretariat held daily meetings at St. Andrew's House for a fortnight in June and the issues and ensuing recommendations were incorporated in a series of fourteen papers sent under the Secretary's initials to Johnston for his scrutiny and decision between April and August.¹ The vital first paper submitted on 26 April endeavoured to force from the Secretary of State an indication of the type of measure he desired now that the English bill was nearing the end of its parliamentary road.² Mackay Thomson again urged the adoption of the two-stage legislative process with an amending and reform measure followed by a consolidation bill so as to avoid "the undesirability of gratuitously providing an opening to religious controversialists".

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1. See Appendix I for a list of these papers.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. General Scope of Educational Legislation. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 26 April, 1944.

Johnston's first reaction was revealing in that it displayed his lack of understanding of the difficulties which Butler had so astutely and patiently overcome in negotiating the successful passage of his measure. Impulsively, he wanted to "follow England and put everything into the Bill.

He is quite prepared to face a discussion on section 18 of the 1918 Act, and he feels that, as Butler has 'got away' with his Bill, it would be a mistake to have only an Amending Bill for Scotland."¹

Second thoughts convinced him of the foolhardiness of such a policy and on 2 May he finally agreed to adopt the Department's recommended legislative course. The deciding factor was the denominational issue: Johnston realised that there was "a real possibility that an amendment might be put down to amend or repeal section 18(7) of the 1918 Act, and it would be very difficult for him to defend a provision which empowers the S. of S. to override the decision of a local authority as to whether a new denominational school is or is not necessary".²

Perhaps it was the pallid nature of an amending measure compared with Butler's triumph that helped Johnston to persuade himself, with Westwood's help, of the need to reform the local administration of Scottish education. Certainly he appears to have been influenced by Chuter Ede's determined and successful efforts manifest in the English bill to relieve English and Welsh county education committees of detailed work and devolve significant tasks upon divisional executives and excepted districts, thus attracting responsible people to local educational government.³ On 20 April

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1. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 28 April, 1944.
 2. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 2 May, 1944.
 3. For the details of the English and Welsh administrative settlement, see P.H.J.H. Gosden, op. cit., pp.315-316.

when seeing Mackay Thomson and Grainger Stewart on a matter unconnected with educational legislation, he asked about the progress of the bill "and then went all ad hoc, as he has done many times already".¹ Johnston was now urging that "we should seize the opportunity offered by this Bill to 'democratise' education".

Johnston, blowing hot and cold on the issue, was tempted to undo some of the perceived damage of the 1929 Act without risking the controversy of an attempted return to ad hoc authorities. His chief concern was to "enable the ordinary citizen, who cannot spare more than a few hours in the evening, to take part in local administration".

"... he feels that the wrong people get on county councils because membership is possible only to people who can attend meetings during the day. Some of his strongest criticism was directed against the unemployed and the unemployable who get on to county councils and draw allowances for the time spent at meetings".²

There was, however, nothing in the proposals as they evolved to alter this situation; the method of electing county councils was to remain unchanged and most, if not all, the members of education committees would also be derived from the county councils. Nevertheless, the Secretary of State came to believe that the proposals for devolution "would be a real step in advance and would strike the imagination of the people of Scotland".³ It was a complete miscalculation which almost cost the entire bill.

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/474. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 23 April, 1944.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 10 May, 1944.
 3. Ibid.

With a bill in draft form, the Secretary was perturbed about the Secretary of State's apparent change of heart on local government. "It is awkward having to cope with his aspirations so late in the day as this," he wrote to Parker, "after having, as I thought, got an authoritative ruling in May, 1943 to leave well alone ... but there it is".¹ Parker also regretted having to deal with this unexpected problem in an education bill as it would make it "more contentious" and, consequently, "more difficult" to ease through the committee stage.²

In early May Mackay Thomson submitted to the Secretary of State a key paper on local educational administration containing proposals for change which ultimately formed the basis of the administrative reforms included in the autumn Education (Scotland) Bill.³ Contrary to an earlier remark, the Secretary now considered it "helpful and necessary to keep in mind the new arrangements ... proposed for England and Wales in the Education Bill". The latter radically altered the relationship between the Minister and the L.E.A.'s by making it his duty "to secure the effective execution by L.E.A.'s, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service". A "highly complex", four-tier system of local administration had been adopted for England and Wales after protracted negotiation: L.E.A.'s (county councils and county borough councils); education committees; divisional executives (except in county boroughs of a certain size); and school governing bodies and management committees for secondary and primary schools respectively.

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/474. op. cit.
 2. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 25 April, 1944.
 3. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Memorandum on the Local Administration of the Public Educational Services. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 5 May, 1944.

Certain features of this framework were deemed by the Secretary to be of "special interest" to Scotland, particularly the wide powers of control over L.E.A.'s given to the minister. "In the interests of Scottish education", he recommended, "it will be necessary to secure similar wide powers for the Secretary of State". English and Welsh education committees would continue to include co-opted members, with teachers also eligible for service, in an attempt to ensure local involvement of interested people. Schemes of divisional administration, which were subject to central approval, must define the functions devolved by L.E.A.'s and include provision for ministerial determination of any disputes between L.E.A.'s and divisional executives, as well as the submission of expenditure estimates and accounts for the approval of L.E.A.'s. No scheme could authorise a divisional executive to borrow money, or to raise a rate. Finally, it would be necessary to consider the emphasis given to the importance and individuality of each school by the constitution of the governing bodies and management committees and the definition of their respective powers and duties in relation to the schools.

The Secretary perceived "serious disadvantages" in the existing Scottish system of local administration which consisted of three tiers: education authorities (county and city councils); education committees, constituted under schemes approved by the Secretary of State through the Department; and school management committees for individual, or groups of schools. The Department's dissatisfaction concerned both the legal relationship between central and local administration and the operation of the system at local level. In the former regard the principal objection was that the central

authority lacked sufficient power to force a revision of administrative schemes governing the discharge of functions relating to education, the poor law and public health. Although such schemes required the approval of the Secretary of State on their proposed adoption or change, he had no power to call for a revised scheme. In 1930 William Adamson had established the general principle that a central department should only disapprove of a scheme if it was "markedly unreasonable", objectionable or illegal. Thus the Department believed that a central department might dislike a scheme yet not be justified in enforcing their view against local opinion "except in really strong cases".

The Department were also concerned about the anomalous position of school management committees whose legal status was left unaffected by the Local Government Act, 1929. The committees, set up under schemes subject to central approval, were intended to have all the powers and duties of the education authority in regard to the general management and supervision of their schools, including attendance, except those affecting the raising of money, land, teachers and bursars. In effect, the law sanctioned the restriction of their powers by education authorities without reference to central authority with the result that they tended to be given insufficient work, suffered from low esteem and were widely criticised.

At an operational level, as the education committees were composed of personnel "definitely inferior" to that attracted to the old ad hoc authorities, "they are not so well informed about education nor so keenly interested in its development". The multiplicity

and unsympathetic attitude of committees through which plans for education had to pass frequently caused serious delay, mutilation or rejection. Finance committees and county clerks were singled out for particular criticism because of their opposition to educational expenditure.

The paper considered various possibilities for a restructuring of the local administration of education. Mackay Thomson, however, advocated a four-tier system, hastily concocted by Grainger Stewart and bearing some resemblance to the new English structure, which would cause "least disturbance of the existing system", but would, nevertheless "obviate many of its disadvantages". The education authority was to remain the city, or county, council which would be compelled to delegate to the education committee all educational functions except the raising of money by rate or loan; the power to adjust and approve the total annual budget; and decisions on matters affecting the co-ordination of education with other public services. There would be one education committee for each area consisting of not more than a "statutory proportion" of education authority members, thus avoiding "absurdities" such as the Lanarkshire Education Committee which consisted of the entire county council plus co-opted members. The education committee would be required by a scheme approved by the Secretary of State to delegate functions to school governing bodies which might be elected by local government electors, or alternatively, undertaken by town, or district councils working either directly, or through, local education committees. The power of council finance committees would be statutorily curtailed.

Co-option to education committees would cease. Partly to reduce the sense of loss to local interests, a fourth tier of administration would be introduced in the form of 'county advisory councils' - a resurrection of a lapsed section of the 1918 Act. They might be composed of representatives of education committees, school governing bodies, teachers, parents, trades, industries, the Churches as well as "persons of special knowledge and experience of education". A council would have the statutory right to advise the education authority, the education committee or committees, and school governing bodies on matters of educational policy affecting the area and the duty to give opinions on questions referred to it.

The Department's secretariat displayed some ambivalence towards the proposals. In their favour was the strengthening of central authority control over local administration, as well as the opening of educational bodies to interested local people, perhaps by direct election and the freeing of education from the irksome restrictions often imposed by city and county councils. The maintenance of the administrative status quo, however, would ease the problem of securing the appropriate advances contained in the English bill from an accommodating parliament. "I am not sure", wrote Parker confidentially to Mackay Thomson, "whether you regard [the proposals] as second best, and would prefer to leave things as they are".¹ They were also not entirely to the liking of D.H.S. and S.H.D. officials who felt that they would have inevitable repercussions upon other fields of local government and that a more synoptic view of the problem should be taken.²

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 2 May, 1944.
 2. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 10 May, 1944.

It was, nevertheless, decided to proceed on the basis of the Secretary's proposals.¹ The prospective structure of local administration, suitably elaborated and developed, was outlined to various professional interests and the Churches in the summer months before a modified scheme was presented to the Lord President's Committee in October as part of a memorandum on the Education (Scotland) Bill.² It was prefaced by Johnston's decision against a return to ad hoc authorities despite his personal conviction and a "strong desire in many quarters" which he noted during his summer talks. Such a course was impracticable: "the advantages of a single rating authority for an area are obvious, and equally so is the desirability of a close co-ordination of the education and health services". The existing framework of county and town councils would be retained but power would be taken in the bill "to call for new schemes for the constitution of Education Committees and for the administration of functions relating to education" so as to secure for the committees "the largest possible measure of independence". There was, however, only to be one lower tier of administration - 'local education committees' based on the existing sub-divisions of counties - rather than the two outlined in the Secretary's paper, as 'county advisory councils' had drawn the opposition of groups such as the A.D.E.S. The alternative to 'local education committees' - school governing bodies - offered in the original paper, also found disfavour just as the Secretary had forecast because this English institution was "alien to Scottish practice and ideas".³

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1. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 8 May, 1944.
 2. P.R.O., ED 136/567. War Cabinet. Lord President's Committee. LP(44)158. Education (Scotland) Bill. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 28 September, 1944.
 3. S.R.O., ED 14/455. File 36. Secretary of the A.D.E.S. to the Secretary, S.E.D., 12 June, 1944.

Local administrative schemes were to be subject to certain statutory conditions. Firstly, the power and duty to appoint co-opted members was to be restricted to the appointment of church representatives - a concession granted in the face of Episcopalian, but particularly Roman Catholic, opposition to the proposal to end co-optation. Secondly, provision was to be made for the compulsory delegation to education committees of all functions relating to education except the powers to raise money by rate or loan and to approve, with or without adjustment, the estimates presented by the committees, and the execution of any function which could be shown, to the Secretary of State's satisfaction, that it was expedient to reserve to councils. Johnston hoped, in this way, to "break down as far as possible" the over-centralisation of function in the hands of county councils and the excessive interference by finance committees in educational affairs.

School management committees were to be abolished and replaced by 'local education committees' established under suitable schemes. These new bodies were to include representatives of town councils, district councils and the education committee including, where there was a transferred school, representatives of the church concerned. The bill would require the maximum delegation of local functions from the education committee to the local education committees and accord the latter the right to make recommendations to the superior body upon any educational matter affecting their respective areas. The Secretary of State hoped by this means "to bring education nearer the people and to stimulate local interest and thus secure better candidates for the district .. and town councils who will be concerned in the new committees". No

provision, however, was to be included in the bill for the establishment of local education committees in the cities; it was left to city councils, or their education committees, to appoint sub-committees, if they so wished, to replace school management committees under the relevant section of the 1929 Act.

Finally, Johnston proposed to remedy the fact that, hitherto, no special statutory provision had been included in Scottish legislation for the appointment of a 'chief education officer'. In some areas "the status of this official is not as high as it should be", and in one there was no such officer.¹ He proposed to include in the bill a provision requiring education authorities to appoint a director of education to be the chief education officer. It was considered unnecessary to follow the English Act which required consultation with the Minister before an appointment was made, thus enabling him to prohibit the appointment of any particular individual.

3. The Educational Functions of the Secretary of State

An important feature of the Scottish education bill was the increase in the number and extent of the powers reserved to the Secretary of State, an augmentation which, in one regard, has been referred to in the previous section of this chapter. This attracted some adverse contemporary comment and gave rise to the generalisation that, together with the later consolidating measure, the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, gave central authority "more direct and extensive control than in England".² This reinforcement of a

1. Renfrewshire.

2. H. Cooper, The War, the Arts, and Ideas (Open University, Milton Keynes, 1973), p.18.

centralising tendency in Scottish education was a consequence of decisions taken by Johnston in response to proposals from the S.E.D., framed in the context of their perceptions of the English legislation.

The English education bill proposed to give the Minister of Education much wider powers to influence the development and administration of educational services in England and Wales than had been entrusted to the President of the Board. The first clause imposed a duty upon the Minister "to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to receive the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area".¹ As Butler declared, he intended to "lead boldly and not follow timidly" without destroying, or diminishing the spirit of partnership in which the Board had always worked with the local authorities.²

The Department were torn by the attractions of such an opening clause and re-asserting the independence of Scottish educational tradition. Scottish legislation had never excluded "any similar or comprehensive statutory declaration of the national policy in education", nor of the educational functions of the Secretary of State and the education authorities.³ Nevertheless, the Depart-

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1. B.P.P., 5 & 7 Geo 6, 16 October 1944.
 2. Quoted in H.C. Dent, The Education Act, 1944 (11th ed., 1966) pp.7-8.
 3. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Educational Functions of the Secretary of State and the Minister of Education. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 2 June, 1944.

ment were persuaded to adopt such a clause which also emphasised the heightened national awareness of the importance of education through the experience of war.

Johnston, however, eventually decided not to include such a clause on the advice of the Lord Advocate who believed that it would have "no effect upon the power of the Secretary of State which must depend upon the specific provisions of the Bill with regard to each separate function".¹ As a result of this policy decision in favour of specific powers there were manifold references to the 'Secretary of State' in the bill which gave the appearance, and in some instances the reality, of direct central control in contrast to the more qualified and covert powers retained by the English Minister. Two examples will be used to illustrate this point, both relating to the Secretary of State's power to approve education authority schemes.

The English bill proposed that L.E.A.'s should submit development plans for educational provision in their areas to the Minister in such a form as he might direct, showing the action that they intended to take to ensure that there would be sufficient primary and secondary schools, and the successive steps intended to accomplish this purpose. The plan was to go into considerable detail and the bill made elaborate provision for consultation between a L.E.A. and the Ministry during its preparation, and for the consideration, adjustment and approval of the plan by the Minister.²

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1. P.R.O., ED 136/567. op. cit.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Method of Central Control of Educational Provision by Education Authorities. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 13 May, 1944.

When the Minister approved a development plan he was obliged to issue a 'local education order' which defined the "duty of the authority with respect to the measures to be taken". If the L.E.A. objected to the order and informed the Minister that they were "aggrieved", then it must be laid before parliament and either house might, within forty days, annul it. An amendment might be made by the Minister only after he had given notice to the L.E.A. and any schools concerned; and they had two months in which to submit objections.¹

As there was to be no "drastic reorganisation" of educational provision in Scotland as in England, the Department decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to adhere largely to the procedure which had operated successfully since 1919.² This would allow existing schemes to remain in force until the Secretary of State called for, or the education authorities submitted to him, new schemes. He might approve such a scheme and, thereupon, it became the duty of the education authority to carry it into effect as approved. If the Secretary of State did not think that the scheme was adequate, and if he was unable to agree with the education authority as to what amendment should be made, he had to offer to hold a conference; and, if requested by the authority, hold a public inquiry. If, thereafter, he disapproved the scheme, and if within one month agreement had not been reached, the Secretary of State was to report to Parliament the action he proposed to take by way of withholding, or reducing, grants payable to the authority. Thus the Scottish procedure was simpler and more direct than the

1. H.C. Dent, *op. cit.*, p.21.

2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. *Method of Central Control ... op. cit.*

newly-adopted English procedure with its checks and balances necessitated by the recasting of the educational system, and the possibility of friction between local and central authority which might be occasioned by such an upheaval.

The second illustration concerns the inter-related questions of the adequacy of secondary educational provision in an education authority's area and the rights of parents with regard to their children entering secondary school. Mackay Thomson had shrewdly anticipated that these issues could cause difficulty both during and after the passage of the bill. Indeed, when the Scottish Grand Committee began consideration of the measure in May, 1945, the first day's proceedings were largely taken up with an amendment concerning the right and ability of an education authority "to decide on the kind of intended education the children are to get".¹ The Secretary had long been anxious that, with the advent of family allowances up to the age of sixteen years, the senior secondary schools might become "cluttered up ... with quite unworthy pupils".²

The Court of Session had ruled in 1929 that the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, did not place any duty upon an education authority to provide free secondary education, but merely required the submission to the Secretary of State of a scheme dealing with such provision in their areas, and that it remained with him to decide whether it was 'adequate'. The Act contained no definition or standard of

1. Hansard (Commons) 5th series. Standing Committee on Scottish Bills. First Day's Proceedings, 8, 17 May, 1945.
2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Method of Central Control ... op. cit.

'adequacy' to guide him. Nevertheless, once an education authority's scheme had gained the Secretary of State's approval, it was their duty to carry it into effect. Could a parent then insist on his child being admitted to a particular school or course? The legal position was very vague; the Day Schools' Code made it a condition of grant to an education authority that "no child shall be refused admission to a school on other than reasonable grounds".¹ The education acts did not prescribe how education authorities were to decide to which secondary schools or courses pupils were to be admitted or transferred from primary schools or departments. Under the Code, however, the authorities had to submit schemes of promotion for the approval of the Secretary of State, showing how they proposed to tackle "this difficult problem".² Education authorities usually retained the safeguard of 'fitness to profit' in schemes determining which pupils should receive the benefit of a secondary education.

Such a legal morass in a dawning age of greater equality of educational opportunity so troubled Mackay Thomson in July, 1944 that he requested Parker to ask the Board whether the English bill conferred on all pupils "irrespective of their ability or of their capacity to profit by it, an unqualified right to secondary education beyond the school leaving age? And if so, to what age or stage?"³ The Ministry eventually agreed that the effect of the Education Act, 1944 was that the L.E.A.'s would be under the obligation to make adequate provision and that the final judge of/

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1. Ibid. Duties of Education Authorities and Rights of Parents. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 23 August, 1944.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 11 July, 1944.

adequacy would be the Minister.¹ The parent of a pupil between the ages of twelve and sixteen years would have no statutory right to insist upon his admission to a particular secondary school or course - an important interpretation of the Act in view of the tripartite secondary structure adopted by many English local authorities and the later controversy over the eleven plus examination. The L.E.A.'s sole duty with regard to parental wishes was to consider them, but then it was at liberty to decide that the pupil should be educated in some different way, provided always that the Minister was satisfied that the authority, or school governors, had not acted, or were not proposing to act, unreasonably. If he was not so satisfied, he could under a clause added during the report stage of the bill, give such directions as to him appeared expedient.² Johnston had eschewed such a power. "It will, I think", he observed, "be sufficient in Scotland to make the exercise of a discretion by an Education Authority subject to ministerial control only on particular issues specified in the statute."³

"In view of the uncertainties of the present Scottish position and of what has been done in England", wrote Mackay Thomson to Johnston, "we think it desirable to define in the new Bill more clearly than at present the duties of the Education Authorities and the rights of parents with regard to secondary education".⁴ The Education

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1. Ibid. Duties of Education Authorities ... op. cit.
 2. Ibid. Educational Functions of the Secretary of State ... op. cit.
 3. P.R.O., ED 136/567. op. cit.
 4. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Duties of Education Authorities ... op. cit.

(Scotland) Bill eventually included an opening clause which placed a duty upon education authorities "to secure that adequate and efficient provision is made throughout their area of all forms of primary, secondary and further education ...".¹ The provision of secondary education would be deemed 'adequate' if "a reasonable variety of courses is provided to enable the parent of a pupil to select a course from which, in the opinion of the Education Authority, the pupil shows promise of profiting".² Parental interests were recognised by the inclusion of a 'general principle' which prefaced Part II of the bill, stating that "so far as compatible with the provision of suitable instruction and training, and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents."³

Presciently, a duty was also imposed on education authorities to submit, for the Secretary of State's approval, schemes "showing the methods to be adopted for promoting pupils from primary schools or departments to secondary schools or departments and for enabling an opinion to be formed as to the courses from which each pupil shows reasonable promise of profiting and a decision to be made, after taking into account the wishes of the parent as to which course the pupil is to be admitted". The elaboration and inclusion of this power represented an important extension of direct control over the activities of education authorities by the Secretary of State, but was considered by experienced commentators, such as H.C. Dent, as a thoughtful advance on the English measure which left this issue to the discretion of the L.E.A.

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1. B.P.P., 8 & 9 Geo. 6. Education (Scotland) Bill. (Bill 65).
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

The bill which significantly increased the functions reserved to the Secretary of State in the fields of legislation, arbitration, supervision, approval and administration, was attacked on the ground that it made for an increase in bureaucracy; that too many of the powers conferred would be exercised by the Department on his behalf; and that some of the powers were achieved at the expense of those currently enjoyed by education authorities. A strong plea was made for the local authorities, as the elected representatives of the people, being left "in uncontrolled possession of the educational machine", despite demands for increased contributions from central taxation to alleviate the growing burden on the rates.¹

Interestingly, however, contemporary opinion viewed this consolidation and extension of the Secretary of State's control over education not as an outgrowth of Scottish educational tradition which was characterised as essentially democratic, but as a consequence of following the precedents set by the English Act. Johnston rejected this criticism as misconceived as he had been "careful to avoid the undoubted bureaucratic tendency of the English Act:

"Some central control was, however, essential in the case of a service into which sums of Government money were poured. If [local authorities] did not like the supervision by the Secretary of State the alternative was supervision by the Law Courts, and he thought ... that of the two the supervision by the Secretary of State was much more preferable. They should remember that the Secretary of State could always be called to account in the House of Commons".²

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Memorandum on the Functions of the Secretary of State. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State. n.d. (November-December, 1944?)
 2. Ibid. Note of Meeting with County and Town Clerks, 18 January, 1945.

4. The Abolition of Fees

One of the most controversial aspects of the draft Education (Scotland) Bill was the preservation of the education authorities' discretion to charge fees "in some or all of the classes in a limited number of primary and secondary schools, without prejudice however to the adequate provision of free primary and secondary education".¹ The decision marked the subordination of the personal views of Scottish ministers such as Johnston and Westwood to the exigencies of local Scottish politics and educational practice.

The discretion contained in the 1918 Act had resulted in a situation in which, of the 3,111 education authority schools, 54 charged fees while the remainder were completely free.² Eighteen of the 54 charged fees in both primary and secondary departments with the others charging fees in primary departments only. There were, additionally, fifteen prestigious secondary schools outwith the control of education authorities that received grant directly from the S.E.D. and all except one charged fees in their primary and secondary departments.

In England, prior to the Education Act, 1944, the duties of the L.E.A.'s with regard to secondary education were much less definite than in Scotland. While the Education Act, 1921, provided that no fees, or charges, were to be levied in public elementary schools no prohibition existed in respect of secondary schools. There were in England and Wales, at the outbreak of war, about 1,400

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1. B.P.P., 8 & 9 Geo. 6, op. cit.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. School Fees. Present Position. (J.W. Parker) n.d.

grant-aided, fee-charging secondary schools catering for over half a million pupils. All provided a proportion of free places for which there was generally keen competition. Thus in English and Welsh secondary schools at the outbreak of war, 51 per cent of pupils paid fees as opposed to ten per cent in Scotland, though this figure excluded a "considerable number" of pupils in fee-paying schools who were in receipt of bursaries. In the primary sector 99.5 per cent of pupils in England and Wales and 97.2 per cent in Scotland received free education.

The 1944 Act made the duties of L.E.A.'s more specific in the provision of secondary education and provided that no fees should be charged in respect of admission to, or education provided in, L.E.A. maintained schools. Fees were therefore abolished in about 800 secondary schools maintained by L.E.A.'s and it was expected at the time that they would also assume responsibility for a proportion of the remaining 600 so further extending the provision of free secondary education. A number - impossible to estimate at the time - were expected to remain as independent schools receiving aid from L.E.A.'s, or direct grant from the Ministry of Education in return for a quota of free places.

The issue was further complicated by the existence in England and Scotland of schools outwith the national systems in the sense that they received no Exchequer aid and were dependent upon fees and endowments. Ranging from "Eton to the smallest dame school", some in England and Wales were inspected and recognised as efficient by

the Ministry of Education while the remainder would be inspected for the purpose of recognition when the relevant sections (70-75) of the 1944 Act came into operation. A Departmental Committee in 1932 estimated that there were approximately 10,000 such schools with 400,000 pupils in England and Wales. In Scotland, the S.E.D. knew of 186 'private venture' schools with about 12,000 pupils, not in receipt of public funds, all of which were inspected or regarded as efficient by the relevant education authorities.

Johnston was opposed, on principle, to the charging of fees in education authority schools, but he was hampered politically by Butler's successful initiative to maintain the link between the public and private sectors through the retention of fees in direct grant schools. Despite the vague sentiment in favour of abolition contained in the White Paper, Butler in the Commons, and Lord Soulbury in the Lords, justified retention. An amendment to abolish fees in all assisted, as well as maintained schools, was pressed to a division in the Commons but was defeated by 183 votes to 95.¹

Mackay Thomson, in seeking a decision from the Secretary of State in May appreciated that even if the Minister was not so personally opposed, he "might find it difficult, politically, to disregard what Mr. Butler has done and to maintain the status quo in Scotland, when the Labour Party are advocating the abolition of fees".² With the determination of Scottish Unionists to maintain the power of the education authorities to charge fees and prevent restriction

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1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, op. cit., pp.327-328. See also R. Saran. Policy-Making in Secondary Education, A Case Study (Oxford, 1973), pp. 34-40.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Abolition of Fees in Education Authority Schools. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 11 May, 1944.

being placed on the charging of fees by local schools receiving aid, the Secretary feared "an acute cleavage of opinion" when the bill was presented to Parliament.

Mackay Thomson, a keen advocate of the status quo, brought a range of arguments to bear upon Johnston. Tradition and nationalism were always open to appeal: in the primary sphere Scottish practices differed from the English and he saw "no need for assimilating our practice to that of England in the future.

To the best of my recollection the Department have never, since the 1918 Act was passed, been troubled about the charging of fees in any Education Authority primary school; but there were bitter and persistent complaints when West Lothian Education Authority abolished fees in the Primary Department of Linlithgow Academy; and a deputation representative of all social classes arrived at 14, Queen Street with suitcases full of signed protests".

In the secondary sphere Butler's White Paper argument that "many children get the benefit of secondary education owing to the ability of their parents to pay fees ... possibly to the exclusion of an abler child whose parent is not in that position", was deemed not applicable in Scotland by the Secretary. The inspectorate had assured him that, in districts with fee-paying schools, no able child was debarred from a secondary education "merely because the place ... had been bought, to his exclusion, by a pupil of less or no promise". As long as the presence of less-able, fee-paying pupils did not exclude abler children, "there is nothing wrong about that". Moreover, the abolition of fees was difficult to reconcile with the Department's policy of encouraging the provision of a variety of types of school as it was "not easy to find any educational grounds which would justify the change".

"As a weapon of social reform", the Secretary argued, "this abolition of fees in one type of school only ... will almost certainly misfire.

These schools ... form a meeting-ground for children drawn from a wide range of social classes, and it is generally agreed that a mutual benefit results from the association. They serve as a bridge between the free Education Authority schools on the one hand and the fee-paying independent schools on the other. The gap will seem all the wider if the bridge is removed, and I suspect that the recruits to the independent schools will be much more numerous than the advocates of this change suspect".

Queues had formed at the offices of Glasgow independent schools when it was believed that the Corporation's policy of abolition might be approved. As for Edinburgh,

"it is notorious that the Education Authority's fee-paying schools are so popular that there are long waiting-lists for most of them (some 1,500 pupils in all), and the application of Mr. Butler's policy would undoubtedly send hordes of pupils on a search for places in the Merchant Company's schools ... The plain fact is that there are in Scotland great numbers of parents who desire to pay fees for the education of their children, even at some personal sacrifice; and these parents are to be found in all classes".

Prohibition of fees in education authority schools would also depress educational standards and create "acute organisation problems" in regard to such schools as Edinburgh Royal High School and Glasgow High School which attracted pupils from the whole city areas and beyond. It seemed reasonable to the Secretary to leave the authorities with a power which they had exercised "sparingly and rarely" without prejudice to their duty to make adequate provision for free secondary education.

Johnston and Westwood were plainly irked when Mackay Thomson saw fit to broach the matter "as they felt fully committed to the policy of the abolition of fees in Education Authority schools",

and a change of policy was "politically impossible".¹ Westwood was "not impressed" by the evidence of the inspectorate that able pupils of less affluent parents were not excluded from a secondary education in districts with fee-paying schools. He took the meritocratic stance that to gain entry to an education authority secondary school "everyone should pass the test laid down by the Authority "regardless of means. "It is quite clear", wrote Grainger Stewart to Parker on 13 May, "that fees are to be abolished and I think it would be unwise for the Secretary to raise the matter again with the Ministers".²

Yet by the end of June the Secretary of State was obliged to desert his principles and reverse his policy, though remaining privately of the opinion that fees should be abolished in education authority schools. On 30 June Mackay Thomson was informed by Westwood of Johnston's decision to maintain the status quo in Scotland and leave education authorities the discretion they presently enjoyed.³ In his memorandum to the Lord President's Committee in September, Johnston employed some of the Secretary's arguments to support his position, but the deciding factor was apparently the disquiet and disorganisation that abolition would have created in certain areas of Scotland.⁴ "While there is a considerable body of opinion in favour of the complete root and branch abolition of the fee system", he observed, "some Authorities value the power to charge fees in some schools,

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1. Ibid. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 12 May, 1944.
 2. Ibid. Grainger Stewart to Parker, 13 May, 1944.
 3. Ibid. Mackay Thomson to Grainger Stewart, 30 June, 1944.
 4. P.R.O., ED 136/567. op. cit.

e.g. schools which attract pupils from overseas, or which have a long history and tradition. The abolition of this option would create difficulties and opposition, especially in Edinburgh and in Aberdeen". The conclusion appeared justified by the evidence afforded by Glasgow when the abolition of fees in city schools was proposed. An analysis undertaken at Johnston's request revealed that this would have resulted in large numbers of pupils from schools in the central areas being drafted into the relatively few and overcrowded schools in the newly developed estates on the periphery of the city.¹

Nevertheless, the political ramifications of an increase in rate burdens consequent upon general abolition must have played an influential part in Johnston's decision. Despite the effect of increased grants accruing to the Education (Scotland) Fund following the abolition of fees in England, the Department estimated that the policy would have resulted in rate increases of 1.8d in the pound in Aberdeen, 0.5d in Dundee and Edinburgh, and 0.3d in Glasgow.²

5. The Publication of the Bill

By late August, 1944, the bill's provisions, though still in need of further attention from the draftsmen, were substantially in their final form. "You will see", wrote Parker to Sir Robert Wood at the Ministry, "that we have borrowed a good deal from your Act,

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1. S.R.O., ED 14/445. Notes of Meeting with Representatives of the E.I.S., 5 March, 1945. E.I.S. Papers. Education Bill. Interview with the Secretary of State, 5 March, 1945.
 2. S.R.O., ED 14/444. Draft Notes on Clauses. Clause 11, Free Education. 27 February, 1945.

but on some points of detail our Secretary of State is proposing to take his own line".¹ The major difference between the two measures, as Johnston pointed out to the Lord President's Committee, was that the Scottish bill was confined to amendment and extension of existing provision with consolidation to follow later.²

The bill's underlying rationale had been formulated since the very earliest, wartime murmurings about educational reform:

"The changes which are desirable for Scotland, although extensive, do not amount to the complete reform of the educational system which was necessary for England".

The memorandum reached far back into Scottish history, as well as reviewing the pre-war reforms, to justify this claim. "Accordingly", concluded Johnston, "a number of provisions which occupy a large part of the Education Act and took much Parliamentary time need not be included in the Scottish Bill". This observation seemed to reveal the Secretary of State's lack of perception as to the controversy that would be stimulated by his attempt to reform the local administration of education. It is indeed somewhat surprising as Johnston knew the strength of support among Scottish M.P.'s for a return to ad hoc authorities, which would inevitably be expressed when the administrative clauses of the bill were debated in Parliament.

The principal object of the measure was "to apply to Scotland those parts of the Government's educational policy which are of general application and which have already been applied to England and Wales by the Education Act, 1944". Thus the bill dealt with the raising

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1. P.R.O., ED 136/567. Parker to Sir Robert Wood, 22 August, 1944.
 2. Ibid. War Cabinet. Lord President's Committee. op.cit.

of the school leaving age to fifteen, and later, sixteen; compulsory part-time education up to the age of eighteen; the provision of further education, including technical education; facilities for recreation, and social and physical training; the education of handicapped children; the provision of meals, milk and medical inspection and treatment; aid to pupils; travel and boarding facilities; married women teachers; and the registration and inspection of independent schools. The clauses concerning these various subjects were to follow the "general lines" adopted for England and Wales, but with adjustments and modifications to suit Scottish conditions.¹

Apart from the details of the administrative changes, the relative powers of the Secretary of State and the Minister of Education, and the retention of fees in some education authority schools, there were a number of minor differences between the two measures, such as the nomenclature of colleges in which compulsory part-time education was to be given,² and regulations concerning attendance at school. One of the more interesting were the sharp definitions of 'primary', 'secondary', and 'further' education contained in the Scottish bill whereas its English counterpart interpreted the stages of education solely in terms of the age of pupils. The definitions were conceived in terms of subjects of instruction "following Scottish practice," appropriate to the "age, ability and aptitude of

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1. Appendix II contains a summary of the bill's major provisions.
 2. There was an intermittent debate both within the Department and between the Secretary of State and the Permanent Secretary over this issue. Mackay Thomson would have settled for county colleges' as adopted in the English measure, but Johnston insisted on 'junior colleges' as more appropriate because they were to be established in cities and towns as well as counties.

the pupils" which were to be prescribed in general terms by the Secretary of State in the code of regulations.¹

In the matter of religious observance and instruction in schools, Johnston proposed a change, but not one which assimilated Scottish to the newly-evolved English practice which, under the Education Act, laid down that the school-day in every county and voluntary school should begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils in attendance; and that religious instruction should be provided in such schools. Under the Scottish bill, the education authorities were empowered to continue the custom of making provision for religious observance and instruction. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 imposed the restriction that this must take place at the beginning, or at the end, of a school meeting. The Advisory Council had recommended that this restriction should be removed - the only change which the Churches had requested - and Johnston proposed to give effect to the recommendation.²

Johnston's memorandum seeking approval for the introduction of legislation came before the Lord President's Committee on 3 October and his proposals and procedure to give the bill a first reading in the current session with a view to early introduction in the following session, subject to modifications prompted by discussion, were accepted.³ There was, according to Chuter Ede's account, "some criticism" of the proposal to retain fees. Johnston had

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1. B.P.O. 8 & p Geo. 6. Education (Scotland) ... op. cit. S1 (2) (3) and (5).
 2. P.R.O., ED 136/567. War Cabinet. Lord President's Committee, op. cit.
 3. P.R.O. CAB 71/15. War Cabinet. Lord President's Committee LP(44), 46th Meeting. Conclusions of a Meeting held on 3 October 1944.

retorted that the number of fee paying places was diminishing and that Scottish education authorities would object to rate increases as a consequence of abolition. "It is curious", minuted the Parliamentary Secretary to Butler, "that we had no such representations from the English Local Education Authorities and a cynic might find cause for gratification in comparing the English attitude with that of the Scots, who are supposed to practice the egalitarian principle of education in the common school".¹

The Legislation Committee and the 'Council of State' duly approved of the bill presented to them on 24 October and the former body authorised its introduction into parliament.² The accompanying Explanatory and Financial Memorandum indicated a pre-development expenditure of £17.1 millions rising to £23.3 millions in the seventh year of developments following the Act becoming fully operative, and an ultimate cost - including the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen - of £27.5 millions, of which £16.4 would be derived from central taxation and £11.1 millions from rates.³

The Education (Scotland) Bill⁴ - "a five part measure designed to give the Secretary of State and the Education Authorities the necessary powers to enable them to secure the rapid and progres-

1. Ibid. Chuter Ede to Butler, 4 October, 1944.
2. Ibid. War Cabinet, Legislation Committee. HPC (44) 32nd Meeting. Minutes of a Meeting held on ... 24 October, 1944. S.R.O., ED 33/7. Scottish Advisory Council on Post-War Problems. SC (44) 15th Meeting. 24 October, 1944.
3. B.P.P., 7 & 8 Geo. 6. Education (Scotland). Explanatory and Financial Memorandum. 26 October, 1944
4. Ibid. 7 & 8 Geo. 6. Education (Scotland) (Bill 51). 26 October, 1944.

sive development of Scottish education in the period following the war"¹ - was given a first reading on 26 October and published five days later. The immediate reaction of the educational press was generally favourable: The Scottish Educational Journal commented that

"A new conception of the value and need of education and of its function in the training of citizens to enjoy their rights and fulfil their duties in a democratic State has evolved in the stress of war; and the Bill ... is an honest attempt to carry these new ideas into practice."²

The Times Educational Supplement believed that the general feeling in Scotland about the bill would "probably be one of sober and cautious gratification rather than of excited enthusiasm, for the very good reason that it does not, as did the English Bill, portend a revolution".³ The general press commended its arrival in the main but on examination some papers dismissed it as possessing no worthwhile content, being unrepresentative of Scottish opinion and merely consequential on the English Act, thus leading to more bureaucratic control. In this way the discussion stage of the bill's progress, as envisaged by Johnston and the Department, began. The irony was that discussion came to centre upon Johnston's only real interest in the measure - the lately conceived administrative clauses - and the strength of reaction to these eventually threatened the future of the entire bill.

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1. Hansard (Commons). 5th series. 404, 374, 26 October, 1944.
 2. S.E.J., 10 November, 1944.
 3. T.E.S., 4 November, 1944.

APPENDIX I

S.E.D. Policy Papers : April - August, 1944

Between 26 April and 23 August, 1944 the Department's secretariat produced fourteen papers under the initials of the Secretary to enable Johnston to take decisions on certain points of policy before the draft bill was printed. The sequence and scope of the papers was as follows:

1. General Scope of Educational Legislation, 26 April.
2. Memorandum on the Local Administration of the Public Educational Services, 5 May.
3. Abolition of Fees in Education Authority Schools, 11 May.
4. Method of Central Control of Educational Provision by Education Authorities, 13 May.
5. Distribution of the Functions of Education Authorities, 22 May.
6. Defective Children, 29 May.
7. Exemption from School Attendance, 1 June.
8. Educational Functions of the Secretary of State and the Ministry of Education, 2 June; Supplement, 18 July.
9. Religious Worship and Religious Instruction in the Schools, 3 June.
10. Method of Bringing the Act into Operation, 9 June.
11. Abolition of the Councils and Committees and of the Power to make Grants under the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937. 12 June; Supplement. 18 July.
12. Admission of the Press to Education Committee Meetings, 3 July.
13. Provision of Books and Stationery. 17 July.
14. Duties of Education Authorities and the Rights of Parents. 23 August.

APPENDIX II

A Summary of the Major Provisions of the Education (Scotland) Bill (Bill 51, 26 October, 1944)

"The securing of adequate and efficient provision throughout their area of all forms of primary, secondary and further education is made the duty of the Education Authority under Part I of the Bill. The duty is comprehensive and includes primary education in nursery schools and classes, primary and secondary education in day schools and boarding schools, compulsory further education in junior colleges and other forms of further education such as technical education and adult education. The powers and duties of Education Authorities in relation to pupils suffering from disability of mind or body will be as extensive as in the care of normal children. Primary, secondary and further education are to include adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training, and Education Authorities are to co-operate with voluntary societies or bodies providing such facilities.

The restriction imposed by the 1872 Act on the time at which religious instruction may be given is repealed, and (unlike the English Act) no specific form of religious instruction is prescribed.

Primary, secondary and further education in schools and junior colleges managed by Education Authorities must be free, but Authorities are allowed to continue, as at present, to charge fees in a limited number of primary and secondary schools, without prejudice, however, to the prior necessity of or adequate provision

of free education. Where education is free there must also be provided, free of charge, books, writing materials, stationery, mathematical instruments and other necessary articles.

Rights and duties of parents and the functions of Education Authorities in relation to individual pupils are dealt with in Part II. So far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents. For the promotion of pupils from primary to secondary schools or departments, Education Authorities must submit a scheme showing the methods to be adopted. School age is five to fifteen, but provision is made for postponing the raising of the age from fourteen until not later than 1st April 1947, and for raising it eventually to sixteen. Education in nursery schools for children under five is voluntary. The Bill contains revised procedure for the issue and enforcement of attendance orders ... An important change introduced by the Bill is the reduction to two miles of the distance to school which children under eight may be required to walk.

When compulsory further education is instituted, young persons aged fifteen to eighteen will be required to attend junior colleges for one day in each of forty-four weeks in every year or for equivalent periods.

Pupils who live in a remote place may be provided with travelling facilities or accommodated at a boarding school or hostel. When pupils must travel to school they may be given expenses or carried

in Education Authority transport or provided with bicycles at arranged terms.

It is the duty of Education Authorities to provide milk, meals and other refreshments to pupils at schools on days when the school meets. They are also empowered to provide for pupils on other days and for children over five pending their admission to school.

The Education Authority are to provide for medical inspection and supervision of all pupils in attendance at schools under their management. They are also to arrange for free medical treatment as necessary. Special arrangements are to be made for the medical examination of children suffering from a disability of mind or body.

Changes designed to democratise education and to revive local interest in the schools and their affairs are dealt with in Part III of the Bill. While there is not to be a reversion to the ad hoc system, it is proposed to extend the powers of Education Committees and to provide for the delegation to them of most of the educational functions except certain powers dealing with finance. The system of co-option to Education Committees provided for under the Local Government Act of 1929 is to be modified, but the representation of the churches will be retained. School Management Committees will be abolished, and in their place Local Education Committees will be created in county areas. Counties will be divided into Local Education Areas, and the Town Councils and District Councils in a local area will send representatives to serve on the Local Education Committee along with representatives

of the County Education Committee. The Bill provides for the admission of the press to meetings of the Education Committee.

Education Authorities are to appoint Directors of Education, and Part III of the Bill prescribes the conditions under which they are to hold office.

The Minimum National Scales of Salaries for teachers are abolished and the Bill provides that Education Authorities shall pay salaries in accordance with scales to be prescribed by regulations made by the Secretary of State. Before making the regulations, the Secretary of State is to have regard to the recommendations of a Council representative of authorities and teachers. Another provision ... prohibits the dismissal by reason only of marriage of women teachers in schools under the management of an Education Authority.

Every school and junior college is to be inspected on behalf of the Secretary of State, and he is also empowered to have any other educational establishment inspected.

Independent schools are to be registered. Part IV of the Bill makes it an offence to conduct an unregistered independent school. An independent school is a school providing full-time education for five or more pupils of school age which is neither under the management of an Education Authority nor in receipt of grants. The Secretary of State may take objection to an independent school on the ground that the instruction is inefficient, or that the school premises are unsuitable, or that the accommodation is inadequate, or that the proprietor or any teacher is not a proper

person to be a proprietor or teacher. These complaints may be referred to an Independent Schools Tribunal, which will consist of the Sheriff of the county and two members drawn from an education panel

It is proposed to bring the Bill into operation by stages on a series of days to be appointed by the Secretary of State. The clauses providing for the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen are to come into operation not later than 1st April 1946 but with a power, if necessary, to postpone the raising of the leaving age for one year. The clauses dealing with compulsory further education are to come into operation not later than three years after the date upon which the school-leaving age is raised to fifteen".

Source: Adapted from a Scottish Office press release,
31 October, 1944: S.R.O., ED 14/439

CHAPTER TEN

THE SAVING OF A BILL, NOVEMBER, 1944 - JUNE, 1945

1. A 'Reasoned Criticism'

The extent of Johnston's miscalculation over the nature and volume of the reaction to the administrative changes envisaged in the Education (Scotland) Bill soon became apparent shortly after publication. Belatedly, and not without considerable vacillation, he had gone back on his assertion in 1943 that there could be no changes in local government in the immediate post-war reconstruction period. In a bill which was a by-product of Butler's successful initiative, he attempted to repair some of the damage that he perceived had been inflicted upon the Scottish local administrative structure by Sir John Gilmour's measure in 1929, presumably on the precedent set by the changes in educational administration included in the Education Act, 1944. He rejected the advice of the Department's secretariat who, though sympathetic to the concept of ad hoc education authorities, believed a return was beyond the realm of practical politics and preferred the status quo in order to reap the benefits of the English Act quietly and quickly. The Secretary of State's cause was not helped by the surprise engendered by his administrative proposals. His sudden decision to act, allied to Mackay Thomson's secretive legislative strategy - proposals confidentially formulated within the Department, published in a bill for discussion and minor modifications subsequently incorporated - served to spring the controversial clauses on a largely unprepared public, bringing about such an inconclusive debate that the bill's second reading was delayed and the measure all but lost on the demise of the Coalition Government.

An education bill that disappointed educationists stood little chance of exciting the general public. Dr R.R. Rusk observed that "the best that can be said... is that it tidies up a lot of weaknesses in previous Acts and is not so reactionary as the English Act, but it is a great opportunity missed".¹ A.J. Ross, Rector of the Grammar School, Dunoon concluded that "the Bill is at best a poor thing. Many of us had hoped for something revolutionary".² Slighting comparisons with the English Act and frequent comments that now "the English were ahead of the Scots in education"³ so roused Johnston's nationalist susceptibilities that he made a concerted effort, with the help of Westwood, Chapman and the resources of the Scottish Office, to still such criticism. He came to the E.I.S. Congress in Glasgow in late December, 1944 "with the intention of firing a few shots into a community whom he might describe as the Scots Detractor Group..."

The Secretary of State argued that Scotland had a higher percentage of her population at university; that, unlike England, almost all her primary teachers were certificated; and that in Scottish post-primary schools 37 per cent of the teachers were graduates, compared with only seven per cent in England. In Scotland all secondary schoolteachers were certificated, whereas in England there was no requirement as to either certification or qualification. Since 1918 Scottish secondary education had been provided free to all pupils judged fit to profit by it; in England, until the 1944 Act, all grant-aided secondary schools had been required to charge fees, and to offer as a minimum 25 per cent of 'free places' which entitled a partial, or total remission of fees. In Scotland 65 per cent of new university students in 1938-39 domiciled in the United Kingdom had begun their/

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1. E.I.S. Papers. Dr R.R. Rusk to Wishart, 13 November, 1944.
 2. Ibid. A.J. Ross to Major Duncan MacCallum, M.P., 19 December, 1944.
 3. The Times, 28 December, 1944.

their education in state-maintained schools, as opposed to only 38 per cent in England. Chapman complemented this comforting array of statistics with the well-worn view that Scotland had accomplished many of the reforms contained in the English Act and that its Scottish counterpart provided "only a framework, and... within this framework... we contemplate an extensive re-shaping of our educational aims and methods".¹

This "vigorous reply to croakers" did not silence expressions of unease in the press.² The Aberdeen Press and Journal replied that "comparisons may be comforting but that should not be allowed to obscure the important question which is whether Scottish education is as good as it might be".³ The Glasgow Herald and The Scotsman asserted that while in general agreement with the Secretary of State, there remained a feeling in a good many minds that all was not well in Scottish education and that at some stages the English system had outstripped it.⁴ "What is most felt is not detraction but disquiet", concluded The Times Educational Supplement, "... It is fair... to say that, while there are few signs of downright opposition, there is a reasoned criticism that is far removed from any mere disparagement of Scottish education. The English Act is making Scotland think again and that this should be so is no bad thing".⁵

Johnston, however, having been persuaded to avoid the religious question, promoted /

1. S.R.O., ED.14/439. Scottish Education Bill. Press Office, St Andrew's House, 6 December, 1944.
2. Evening Dispatch, 27 December, 1944.
3. Aberdeen Press and Journal, 28 December, 1944.
4. Glasgow Herald, 28 December, 1944; The Scotsman, 28 December, 1944.
5. T.E.S., 6 January, 1945.

promoted the issue of local government, thus effectively swamping discussion of more prosaic educational matters. Organisations such as the S.C.E.A. endeavoured to sustain such discussion; the Council were foremost in campaigning for "necessary improvements" in the bill which was welcomed as providing "the basis of educational advance".¹ The Secretary of State rebuffed the Council's suggestions for a target date - on, or before 1 April, 1950 - for the raising of the school-leaving age and a reduction of class-size to 30, on the grounds of shortage of teachers and accommodation.² The remainder of their ambitious programme seemed utopian in the economic circumstances expected to prevail at the end of the war.³

Three issues - school fees, educational finance and the increased powers accruing to the Secretary of State - attracted some attention, apart from that devoted to the overriding administrative question. There was obviously a substantial opposition to the retention of school fees from the E.I.S., the S.C.E.A. and socialist and labour organisations. The strength of feeling was indicated at a meeting of the Advisory Council in November when a fierce attack on the offending clause was launched by Miss A.B. Muir⁴ and J. Rothnie⁵ who described it as "a blot upon the Bill" and not consistent with the ideal of equality of opportunity".⁶
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1. E.I.S. Papers. S.C.E.A. The Education Bill, n.d. (Autumn, 1944?).
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/445. Note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State and a Deputation from the S.C.E.A., 22 January, 1945.
 3. The Council desired inter-alia, the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen and, three years later, to sixteen; free primary and secondary education; adequate provision of nursery schools; free medical services and school meals; maintenance allowances for all in post-primary and higher education; day continuation education for school-leavers; and prohibition of employment below school-leaving age.
 4. Headmistress, Craigtinny School Edinburgh; President of the E.I.S. 1936-37.
 5. A member of Montrose Town Council and of St Andrews University, Advisory Committee on Army Education; Secretary of the Local Branch of the W.E.A.
 6. S.R.O., ED.8/27. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Minute of a Meeting... 22 November, 1944.

An able champion of the status quo was found in J.J. Robertson¹, the rector of Aberdeen Grammar School, who described the English Act as "an illogical and cowardly compromise".

"It made a discrimination not on the broad social principle that a school could not be fee-paying and at the same time get Government grant, but on the historical circumstances of whether the school happened to be under the local education authority or was a direct-grant school. To follow England before being ready to tackle the whole problem of the combination of fees and public money would be to deal a deadly blow at a small number of schools with long traditions... All that the Bill did was to leave (education authorities) free to continue the existing position, if they so desired, of a small number of schools. It was well to remember that the history of the Royal High School of Edinburgh was simply the history of secondary education in Scotland. Compared with it schools like George Watson's and Daniel Stewart's were no more than parvenus".

The bulk of the Council supported the retention of fees. When an attempt was made to suggest an amendment to the clause, it was defeated by twelve votes to six.

Although Johnston's conferences with interest groups in the winter revealed a "preponderance of opinion" in support of his position on school fees, he was persuaded to recommend to the Lord President's Committee in late January a change in the wording of the relevant clause "to emphasise the duty of the authority to make adequate provision" of free primary and secondary education.² Despite support pledged by the Scottish Unionist Association and the Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses, Johnston detected sufficient opposition to the perpetuation of fee-paying within the ranks of his own party to create difficulties in the House of Commons when the bill was taken in committee. He therefore tried to recruit the support of the E.I.S. in March, 1945 using the threat of a leakage of pupils to the independent sector in the wake of abolition/

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1. Formerly headmaster of Fort William Secondary School, Falkirk High School and rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh.
 2. P.R.O., CAB.71/20. War Cabinet, Lord President's Committee. LP (45) 26. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 30 January, 1945. See Appendix I.

abolition to play upon the Institute's extreme distaste for an extension of the 'public school tradition' in Scotland.¹

He had also sought the help of the Roman Catholic hierarchy at a specially-called meeting in February, asking them, if in agreement with his views, to communicate their desires to "a number of Members of Parliament".² A tacit understanding was reached whereby in return for their lobbying Johnston assured them that, in considering the number of local education committees to be established, he would consult with them in any case where they thought the administrative scheme was "in any way unfair". This would safeguard Roman Catholic interests in areas where there was an uneven distribution of their followers. The unusual circumstances surrounding the committee stage of the Education (Scotland) Bill, however, prevented any discussion of the school fees' question. Thus the Secretary of State was to be fortuitously saved from embarrassment here as on the administrative clauses, for it was apparent at the bill's second reading that Party colleagues were determined to "make a fight" of it.³

The desertion of principle and the threat of determined opposition over school fees encouraged Johnston to increase the egalitarian aspects of the measure by improving bursary provision with two amendments.⁴ The first made it possible for a pupil who, having passed the statutory leaving /

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/445. Note of a Meeting with Representatives of the E.I.S. 5 March, 1945.
 2. Ibid. Note of a Meeting with the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, 15 February, 1945.
 3. Hansard (Commons), 5th series. 411, 624, 4 June, 1945.
 4. P.R.O., CAB. 71/20. op.cit.

leaving age and shown 'promise of profiting' from further full-time education at school, technical college, or university to receive an award without consideration of means.¹ The second - following the advice of the Advisory Council - permitted education authorities to "disregard, in whole or in part, bursaries won in open competition", when considering the question of financial need. In the face of opposition from the Ministry of Education,² Johnston's wishes prevailed when the Chancellor of the Exchequer assured Butler that the Government would accept a similar arrangement in England and Wales "if pressed to do so".³

There was much anxiety exhibited by the local government officials and interest groups over the effects of the proposed legislation on educational finance and the consequent increased burden to be thrown on the rates. Johnston proposed to make no change in the arrangement whereby the Goschen formula regulated Exchequer contributions to the Education(Scotland) Fund from which government grants-in-aid of public education in Scotland were paid.⁴ Rising wartime costs and the strain upon ratepayers (see Table 1.1), together with the expenditure which would be necessary to implement an education act, prompted representative bodies such as the National Committee of the Scottish Convention to urge that a larger percentage should be met by the Exchequer. Pending the establishment of a new/

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1. The provision would not apply if a family allowance was paid in respect of the pupil.
 2. See P.R.O., ED.136/567.
 3. P.R.O., CAB.71/19. War Cabinet Lord President's Committee LP(45) 6th. Meeting, 2 February, 1945; P.R.O., ED.136/567. Holmes to Butler, 21 February, 1945.
 4. P.R.O., CAB.75/20 op.cit.

new system of grants-in-aid "more adequate to the heavy commitments in housing, health and education which the local authorities are being required to undertake in the post-war era", the National Committee recommended that interest on loans raised to build schools should be paid by the Treasury, and that grants up to 75 per cent should be given in respect of expenditure on teachers' salaries.¹ The S.C.E.A. maintained that the cost of education in Scotland was relatively greater in Scotland than in England and Wales and that, therefore, the Scottish Exchequer grant should not be related to the English and Welsh.²

Glasgow's draft budget adopted by the Finance Committee in August, 1944 involved a rate increase of approximately 1s 6d in the pound, making the combined rate in Glasgow and Govan parishes 16s 4d in the pound - "the highest that has ever been levied in the history of the city". This development was attributed mainly to the higher estimates of the education, welfare and public health services which, together, required an extra £600,000 over the previous year. The costs of education in the city had risen from £3,297,200 in 1939-40 to a budgeted £4,467,529 in 1944-45, largely as a consequence of higher incremental payments to an ageing teaching force. The rise in rates brought threats of "something in the nature of a rebellion by people who usually shudder at the prospect".³ Councillor Andrew Hood pictured an even darker future for the city's ratepayers: an education bill would ultimately increase Glasgow's expenditure by approximately £969,000 - a rise of 7s 9d in the pound - and there would presumably be similar rises in rates for housing, health and welfare.⁴ Unless larger Exchequer grants were forthcoming, he predicted /

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1. E.I.S.Papers. Scottish Convention Memorandum on the Education (Scotland) Bill, March, 1945.
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/445. Note of Meeting between the Secretary of State and a Deputation from the S.C.E.A. 22 January, 1945.
 3. S.E.J., 5 January, 1945.
 4. Ibid.

predicted that an education act would not become operative and that the English measure would "add to the infant mortality rate".

References to the bill's financial provisions were eventually amended in the memorandum which accompanied the revised bill published in March, 1945, to take account of prospective increases in teachers' salaries following the approval of the Teviot scales.¹ Ultimate expenditure on legislative developments in Scotland was now estimated at £32.6 millions compared with the former estimate of £27.5 millions, and the revised estimated increase over pre-developmental expenditure amounted to £12.1 millions as against £10.4 millions previously budgeted. Taxation would provide £19.3 millions of the ultimate cost and rating £13.3 millions. The ratio of Exchequer grant to rate - 59 to 41 per cent - represented no improvement on the October figures.

Johnston persistently reiterated his belief in the Goschen formula, arguing that "it should not be discarded without being certain that Scotland would not lose by doing so".² He was all too well aware of the Treasury's ingrained reluctance to disturb existing financial relationships and principles, averring that the Chancellor "could only view educational expenditure as part of the whole problem of the finance of services: it must be looked at in relation to the general revision of the system of block grants".³ Improved Exchequer grants in support of education from the post-war Labour Government did not reduce anxiety about the system of educational finance. J.S.C. Reid warned in 1946 that/

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1. B.P.P., 7 & 8 Geo 6, Education (Scotland) Bill, (Bill 32), 9 March, 1945.
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/445. op.cit.
 3. Ibid. Note of Meeting between the Secretary of State and Representatives of Glasgow Corporation, 16 April, 1945.

that if the Government did not look afresh at the matter "we shall have a very serious slowing down of educational progress in Scotland".¹ Another twelve years were to pass , however, before education was fully integrated into the block grant system and thus into "the main stream of local administration".² But at the end of the war the Treasury took advantage of Johnston's difficulties over the reform of educational administration to ensure that the Goschen formula remained undisturbed.³

2. Compromising the Bill

The attempt in the bill to improve the machinery of educational administration satisfied nobody; it merely provided the ideal opportunity for the enthusiasts of ad hoc education authorities to revive their claims. In their ranks was a wide spectrum of opinion - a large number of M.P.'s of all parties, most of the presbyteries and many of the most influential associations and bodies concerned with local government and education, such as the Royal Convention of Burghs and the E.I.S. From the publication of the bill they raised a "pretty extensive clamour"⁴; elements of the Scottish press continually attacked the administrative formula and regretted the failure to return to an ad hoc system. Its abolition was seen as having had a "detrimental effect on educational progress" and the subsequent concentration of all local authorities on county and town councils as having "impoverished public life", a situation only mitigated by the presence of co-opted members on education committees.⁵

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1. Hansard (Commons). 5th. series. 423, 2276, 6 June, 1946.
 2. J. Scotland, op.cit., p.187.
 3. Infra., pp, 453-454.
 4. S.R.O., ED.14/450. Teleprinter Message from the Secretary of State to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 27 April, 1945.
 5. The Scotsman, 10 January, 1945.

The limitation of co-option was regarded by many Unionists as a "retrograde step".¹ Early in the New Year the pressure reached substantial proportions. "More and more County Councils wish to return to the 'education' authority abolished in 1929", claimed the Daily Record.² "It looks as if the biggest controversy on the Bill will centre on this issue", forecasted the Aberdeen Press and Journal, "... the demand for the return to ad hoc committees may prove irresistible".³

The furore over the respective merits of ad hoc and ad omnia authorities can only be appreciated, perhaps, by a comparison with the intensity of the debate over Scottish regionalisation in the early 1970's. It is best understood as part of "the periodic reassertion of an independent Scottish tradition" in the face of gradual, if uneven, assimilation to evolving English administrative practice.⁴ The seriousness of the ad hoc revolt was indicated by the reaction of the Advisory Council in late November, 1944.⁵ Although previously warned to steer clear of the administrative issue, this body felt that, despite the attempts at restraint by the Chairman, Sir William Hamilton Fyfe, Johnston's decision to take action now permitted comment. The Council resolved to inform the Secretary of State that they were "seriously dissatisfied with the administrative structure and that on purely educational considerations they advocated the introduction of a system of ad hoc administration of education of not less than county scope; that the existing position was worsened by dropping co-option of members of Education Committees; that this/

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1. Ibid, 28 November, 1944.
 2. Daily Record, 13 January, 1945.
 3. Aberdeen Press and Journal, 6 February, 1945.
 4. J. Stocks, op.cit., p.69.
 5. S.R.O., ED.8/27. op.cit.

this power of co-option should be continued and should also be applied to the local education committees..."

The A.D.E.S. and the E.I.S. both repudiated Johnston's policy. The directors observed "an absence of a clear philosophy in the administrative clauses of the Bill.

Is it a return to School Boards or a forerunner of regionalisation? Is the Education Committee to be a policy-making body and the Local Education Committee the Executive?" 1

The E.I.S. having supported the Local Government Act, 1929, had since changed their minds. Their Parliamentary Committee expressed their regret to Johnston that administration was to be continued, under the city and county councils, by the same personnel who had failed to promote educational progress in the past.² They preferred a national ad hoc authority for education, or regional ad hoc authorities, but realised that such proposals were too radical to gain acceptance.

During the course of his negotiations in the winter of 1944-45 with the various interest groups Johnston effectively destroyed any hope of securing a compromise on the administrative issue by his determination to be all things to all men. He told bodies that supported the ad hoc principle, "Ad Hoc in five years " ³; and that the bill represented "the first step towards the re-establishment of the ad hoc bodies for the administration of education..."

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/439. A.D.E.S. Education (Scotland) Bill. 28 November, 1944.
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/445 Note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Committee of the E.I.S., 9 January, 1945.
 3. S.R.O., ED.14/474. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 21 March, 1945. Marginal note by Mackay Thomson, 22 March, 1945.

If the new scheme did not work we should then have a much stronger case for 'ad hoc' in the future".¹

Westwood, though perhaps more positively inclined towards the bill's administrative proposals, expressed similar views, telling the Reverend W.A. Hutchinson that "the principle of the ad hoc Education Authority is best but the pass was sold in 1928 and it is exceptionally difficult to go back - at one jump - to the pre-1929 position and we are, through compulsorily delegated powers to Education Committees, seeking to retrace some of the steps taken in the 1929 Act..."² The Secretary of State was not, however, averse to informing Town Clerks that a return to ad hoc authorities was impractical,³ an opinion which he had presented to the Lord President's Committee in October.⁴

Johnston realised that he was unable to proceed on the basis of the administrative clauses contained in the first edition of the bill. In May he had told Parker that it would be impossible to carry the administrative proposals "unless there was a strong backing of public opinion"⁵; this he plainly did not have. There seemed to be three courses open to him if the bill was to make progress: maintain the status quo as originally preferred by the Department; sanction a complete return to ad hoc authorities; or offer some modification of the administrative proposals which might still the ad hoc lobby without unduly annoying the ad omnia enthusiasts.

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/445. op.cit.
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/474. Westwood to Reverend W.A. Hutchinson, 9 January, 1945 (my underlining)
 3. S.R.O., ED.14/444. Note of a Meeting with County and Town Clerks, 18 January, 1945.
 4. See Chapter Nine.
 5. S.R.O., ED.14/444. Parker to Mackay Thomson, 10 May, 1944.

enthusiasts. He rejected the first course for having provoked the anticipation of change he felt obliged to pursue his initiative. Moreover, he was "satisfied that the present system had no friends among Members of Parliament", that the principle of co-option was unsound and, if extended to other committees, would eventually "obliterate" local authorities.¹

The second and most extreme course obviously appealed to the Secretary of State's sentiments, but if this was his longer-term goal he could not admit it as a practical possibility in the short-term; such a step could not be taken towards the end of the war "without most careful enquiry". Yet the other arguments he adduced were equally as valid in the long, as in the short-term: "... it would be very difficult to disentangle education from other local services

... There were bound to be strong conflicts of interest in the financial field. The struggle would be accentuated if a power were given to an ad hoc authority to precept. Then again common services had been established in such matters as planning, building and school health".²

There remained the possibility of the third course and he eventually accepted the revised Departmental suggestion of partly-elected education committees which Mackay Thomson had felt to be "deliciously ingenious. It gives us an ad hoc education authority once again, in respect of almost everything except the control of Finance, and yet leaves the County Council there on paper as the supreme local authority".³

The new draft of the bill and accompanying memorandum which the Secretary of/

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1. Ibid. Note of a Meeting with County and Town Clerks. 18 January, 1945.
 2. Ibid.
 3. S.R.O., ED.14/474. Mackay Thomson to Parker, 23 April, 1944.

of State presented to the Home Policy Committee's Legislation Committee in February outlined the scheme.¹ Co-option was to be replaced, except for the Churches' nominees, by direct election to education committees of "education members" for periods of three years. Their number was to be fixed by the administrative scheme prepared by the county or town council of each authority and was "not likely to exceed" two-fifths of the education committee. Each county or town was to be divided into electoral divisions for education purposes, or alternatively to be treated as one electoral area with each elector having a number of votes equal to the number of "education members" to be elected. Elections were to be held in the same year as county council elections.²

The Legislation Committee approved the draft bill and authorised its re-introduction into the House of Commons³ though it was now unlikely to achieve a second reading before the Easter recess as originally envisaged in Mackay Thomson's projected time-table.⁴ The revised measure also won the support of a depleted 'Council of State' with Lord Alness warmly congratulating the Secretary of State on his decision to constitute education committees partly by direct election. As the Minister who piloted the bill through parliament in 1918 which gave Scotland ad hoc education authorities on a county and large burgh basis, he anticipated their return in Johnston's action, noting that the "Secretary of State's present concession in that direction would prove a useful springboard for/

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1. P.R.O., CAB.75/22. War Cabinet Legislation Committee. HPC(45)28. Education (Scotland) Bill. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland, 23 February, 1945.
 2. Further details of the scheme are contained in Appendix I.
 3. P.R.O., CAB.75/21. War Cabinet. Legislation Committee. HPC(45) 8th. Meeting, 27 February, 1945.
 4. S.R.O., ED.14/444. Tentative Time-table. Mackay Thomson to the Secretary of State, 22 December, 1944.

for further action at the appropriate time".¹ The concession forced by the ad hoc lobby, however, perplexed an official at the Ministry of Education: "It strikes me as somewhat odd", he wrote, "to have two methods of appointing to Education Committees persons experienced in education - members appointed on the nomination of the Churches and members directly elected by local government electors in the area - and I should be surprised if members appointed in the latter way were as effective as members co-opted in the way familiar in this country but the Scots rule their own roosts and I understand... that elections to committees are are not unknown in Scotland".²

The publication of the amended bill and accompanying white paper failed to ameliorate opposition in Scotland over the failure to restore ad hoc education authorities and abolish fees. The Scottish Office desperately tried to persuade public opinion that the new administrative clauses represented a "Novel Compromise on 'Ad hoc' Representation... which if adopted by Parliament will be something quite new in Scottish local government"; and to emphasise that fee-paying would only be permitted when it would be "without prejudice to free public school provision".³ The vested interests that supported ad hoc education authorities were unimpressed by the latest concession. The Royal Convention of Burghs and the National Committee of the Scottish Convention remained steadfast in their belief that "the only satisfactory form of educational authority was that obtained by ad hoc election...",⁴ but the latter body was prepared to see the new electoral /

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1. S.R.O., ED.33/8. Scottish Advisory Council on Post-War Problems. SC(45) 16th Meeting, 16 February, 1945.
 2. P.R.O., ED.136/567. R.N. Heaton to Miss S. Goodfellow, 1 February, 1945.
 3. S.R.O., ED. 14/444. For the Information of the Press. Scottish Office, March, 1945.
 4. S.R.O., Ed. 14/474. Note of Meeting with Representatives of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 15 February, 1945.

electoral system in operation before taking a stand, though "doubtful whether it would be satisfactory in practice and whether it would arouse sufficient interest among the electors".¹

Opinion towards the new administrative clauses, as evidenced in the press, was deeply divided. The Dundee Courier referred to them as "climb-down",² while The Bulletin held that if a mistake had been made in 1929 "the proper thing to do now is to put it right completely".³ The Scotsman believed the proposals represented "an ingenious compromise",⁴ but the Ayrshire Post as "compromise gone mad" - a "mixtie-maxtie queer hotchpotch" which would not survive the promised consolidation measure.⁵

The case for retaining the status quo, if previously muted, began to emerge more strongly amidst the bewildering array of proposals and opinions. Adherents such as the Association of County Councils maintained that there must be unity of financial control in county or city: one local authority must be in a position to decide how much money the area could afford to spend upon local services and the order of priority among the claims upon it. An ad hoc authority could not take this wide view and, if given power to levy its own rate, or to precept on other rating authorities, the result would be an imbalance in the local budget. Before 1929 there were loud complaints from rating authorities required to levy education rates to meet expenditure over which they had no control. If, however, the educational service had to depend for money upon a rating authority/

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1. S.R.O., 14/445. Note of Meeting with Representatives of the Scottish Convention, 4 April, 1945.
 2. Dundee Courier, 15 March, 1945.
 3. The Bulletin, 15 March 1945.
 4. The Scotsman, 15 March, 1945.
 5. Ayrshire Post, 23 March, 1945.

authority which had responsibility for other services, excluding education, it was likely to become the "Cinderella of the local services".¹

There were other powerful arguments in favour of retaining the multi-purpose authority. The constitution of an ad hoc authority for education would encourage claims for similar authorities to control other local services and co-ordination after disentanglement would be difficult. Ad omnia authorities had made efficient and economic use through co-option of the declining number of people "with the leisure, the inclination and the capacity" to become involved in local government. A return to ad hoc authorities across the range of local services would result in the election of "the wrong people" with a consequential lowering in the standard of administration. Perhaps the most telling argument was that Scottish education had made "satisfactory progress" under town and county councils in spite of economic retrenchment in the 1930's and the onset of war. Many of the uncommitted in the argument about forms of educational administration simply believed that the incumbent authorities deserved a chance of proving what they could do in more 'normal times'.

Edinburgh Education Committee, after considering the provisions in the revised bill, decided to adhere to a previous resolution in favour of the status quo in regard to the appointment of members to the Committee.² The counties, too, came out strongly in the proportion of three to one in opposition to the proposals in support of the existing system of administration. The sensitivity of feelings, however, was reflected at/

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1. S.R.O., ED.14/474. Education (Scotland) Bill. Arguments for and against Ad Hoc Authorities. n.d. (February/March, 1945).
 2. The Scotsman, 21 March, 1945.

at a meeting of Fife Education Committee when Chairman Baillie Izatt refused to give his casting vote after members had divided equally over whether educational interests would be best served by a return to ad hoc authorities.¹

The debate in Glasgow was particularly heated. Sir Patrick Dollan at a meeting of the City's Education Committee in March deplored the proposal for the election of education members as a "dangerous half-way return to the ad hoc system" which would "revive the old trouble of the 'Billy and Dan' atmosphere in the control of education that, he claimed, had been eliminated since 1930."² Yet a resolution urging reversion was adopted later in the month by sixteen votes to fourteen in the Committee.³ J.C. Scott writing in the Glasgow Herald remarked upon "the fact that on this occasion the co-opted members upset the Socialist Party policy with a unanimous vote is the measure of our strong belief that the subject of education is far too vast and complicated to be in the hands of a committee composed almost entirely of already over-driven members of the Corporation".⁴ The Evening Citizen suggested in an editorial that "our George Square Socialists" paid only lip-service to democratic principles and asked why they should object to the public having the right to appoint representatives directly to the education committee when the Secretary of State had made the concession in response to "public demand".⁵ /

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1. Glasgow Herald, 6 April, 1945.
 2. Ibid, 1 March, 1945.
 3. The Scotsman, 23 March, 1945.
 4. Glasgow Herald, 26 March, 1945.
 5. Evening Citizen, 30 March, 1945.

The reluctance of the Corporation to suffer a diminution of control over education was evidenced when the members accepted a recommendation of the Parliamentary Bills Committee that the bill's provision relative to the delegation to the education committee of corporation functions should be deleted and the status quo in the matter retained.¹

By mid-April, 1945 the bill was in grave danger of being wrecked by the lack of agreement upon the future shape of the administrative machinery to control education at the local level. Johnston could do little to influence the situation admitting that "opinion was generally opposed to the compromise put forward in the amended Bill".² His own party opposed the new proposals, agreeing with Glasgow's Lord Provost that they were likely to lead to religious bitterness. He managed to win the grudging support of the Church of Scotland and the E.I.S., because of the fear of losing the entire measure if they insisted upon their preferred administrative solution. "I have an uneasy feeling", wrote W.M. Wightman on behalf of the Church, "that the nebulous 'Authority' which guides so much of Government policy may be so 'thirled' to the matter of 'unified control' in local government that we may have to choose between this Bill or none".³ Glasgow Corporation warned the Secretary of State to "leave well alone" as far as the cities were concerned, even if there was a good case for remedying maladministration in the counties, and to maintain the status quo.⁴

Johnston's complete failure to secure either support for his proposals or a negotiated compromise was underlined by the reaction of the Advisory Council to Mackay Thomson's request for their support of the amended/

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1. The Scotsman, 30 March, 1945.
 2. S.R.O., ED.14/445. Note of a Meeting with Representatives of Glasgow Corporation, 16 April, 1945.
 3. S.R.O., ED.14/455. W.M. Wightman to Mackay Thomson, 25 January, 1945.
 4. S.R.O., ED.14/445. op.cit.

amended bill.¹ They agreed that the measure had their "strong and unanimous backing" but, spurred on by Guy Lloyd, passed a resolution reiterating their dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements for the local administration of education and rejected the proposals for amendment contained in both editions of the bill. Because they attached so much importance to the enactment of the bill during the current parliamentary session, they expressed the hope that the Secretary of State would drop the "highly contentious" administrative clauses and establish machinery such as a Select Committee "to investigate the whole question... with a view to early legislation".²

With the bill due to be moved on 1 May the desperate Johnston decided to approach the Lord President's Committee for permission to allow a free vote during the second reading on the administrative machinery clauses contained in the first and second editions of the bill, as both provided for extensive delegation of powers from the local authority to its education committee and limited co-option to Church representation. "We are... faced", observed a chastened Secretary of State in an urgent teleprinter message to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on 27 April", with a direct cleavage between the ad hoc and the ad omnia adherents, and it is doubtful which grouping (and those groups cut across both parties in the House of Commons) have the majority. If we are to get our Bill - for the purely educational clauses of which we have got very general support - it appears to me that it would be unwise for us to insist upon our compromise solution, but we should be prepared to offer a free vote..."³

Butler/

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1. S.R.O., ED.8/28. Mackay Thomson to Grainger Stewart. n.d. (March/April, 1945).
 2. Ibid. Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Minute of a Meeting... 27 April, 1945.
 3. S.R.O., ED. 14/450. op.cit.

Butler did not wish to raise any objection to this procedure, though the severe limitation on co-optation in both bills went directly against the Education Act, 1944 which provided that every education committee in England and Wales should include persons of experience in education, as well as members acquainted with educational conditions prevailing in a particular area. He made it quite clear, however, that he proposed to press in the House for the inclusion of co-opted members apart from church representatives.¹ If he succeeded then the primary reason for Johnston's sudden decision to take action in the field of local administration would have been repudiated. The Chancellor accepted Johnston's device, as did the Lord President's Committee.²

As there was a possibility that the Scottish Grand Committee might well reject the machinery clauses in both bills and vote for a return to ad hoc education authorities, the Secretary of State was obliged to prepare for his preferred, long-term solution which might be achieved in the most humiliating circumstances. An outline of draft clauses and a time-table for the establishment of ad hoc authorities were submitted by Mackay Thomson at a meeting with Johnston, Westwood and representatives of the S.H.D., the D.H.S., and the S.E.D. on 23 April.³ The time-table anticipated a decision in favour of the ad hoc policy by the Scottish Grand Committee on, or about, 22 June, the bill receiving the Royal Assent on 31 July, and the completion of the first elections by 31 March, 1946 with the transfer of functions, officers, property and liabilities completed by the end of May, 1946.

With/

1. Ibid.
2. S.R.O., ED.14/474. Aglen to Hale, 10 May, 1945.
3. S.R.O., ED. 14/450. Draft Outline of Clauses Providing for Ad Hoc Authorities, 21 April, 1945.

With parliamentary time at a premium and the bill's prospects doubtful, the Coalition Government began to founder.¹ In April, Coalition Ministers Ernest Bevin and Brendan Bracken attacked each other in public speeches. On 30 April, the Reconstruction Committee considered proposals for the future efficiency of the iron and steel industry. Morrison declared that the Labour Party favoured its nationalisation while Butler, for the Conservatives, attempted a rebuttal of this policy. As Addison observes, the politicians were emerging at last into the light of common day. When Germany surrendered on 7 May a return to full party politics was generally expected.² The prospects of a change in government added to the Scottish Bill's difficulties, but offered Johnston a chance to save face.

3. Postscript: the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945.

Against this political background, Johnston moved the second reading of the bill on 1 May, 1945.³ It was a much shorter measure than the corresponding bill for England and Wales - five parts, 92 clauses and six schedules - but the administrative clauses threatened to create controversy akin to various proposals in the English bill. The striking differences lay, however, in the comparative handling of the two pieces of legislation: Butler had smoothed the passage of the English measure through skilfully negotiated compromises over a long period of time, whereas Johnston had lessened the chances of a successful Scottish bill by his interjection of the /

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1. The Lord Chancellor, Viscount Simon observed in March that "it was no longer necessary to press Departments to get legislation introduced as soon as possible in order to fill up the Parliamentary time-table" P.R.O., CAB.75/21. War Cabinet. Legislation Committee.HPC(45), 9th Meeting, 6 March, 1945.
 2. P. Addison, op.cit., p.256.
 3. Hansard (Commons). 5th Series. 410, 1262, 1 May, 1945. The changes incorporated in the bill are outlined in Appendix I.

the administrative issue at a late date in its preparation and his failure to secure sufficient support for his, or an alternative, solution.

In introducing the bill, Johnston referred to it as "the Government's attempt to make provision for the bridging of... gaps in our educational system".¹ He, less than truthfully, characterised it as having "emerged from the crucible of long discussions with a wide variety of organisations interested in Education... and in some important respects - it bears the impress of the advice tendered by the Advisory Council on Education". In indicating his offer of a free vote on the administrative clauses, the Secretary of State recognised that it was "idle to pretend that there is any general acceptance of the compromise proposals, which we devised with a view to overcoming the differences between those who support the ad hoc principle and those who support the present system".² Johnston, who had given every encouragement to the ad hoc lobby, was now "convinced that, if we were to seek to tack on to our present Education Bill any major alteration in our present local government structure, we shall not be able to get this Bill on to the Statute Book. We are running against time".³

There were two discernible features in the ensuing debate. Firstly, it demonstrated that there was common agreement over the acceptability of the bill's educational provisions; secondly it revealed the impossibility of gaining agreement over the administrative clauses in the House. The majority of the Labour Party did not wish to see an extension of co-option, nor any attempt to "thrust in "an ad hoc administrative solution that would mean unduly delaying the bill's progress."⁴ The Unionists were "not/

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1. Ibid, 1263.
 2. Ibid, 1272.
 3. Ibid, 1274.
 4. Ibid, 1292.

"not wildly enthusiastic" about the bill's administrative clauses, but preferred them "to any idea of tinkering" with the existing system".¹

"We are prepared to accept the status quo as it stands", stated Lieutenant-Commander Hutchison, M.P., "but I do not feel that we should be disposed to dispense with co-opted members..." There were also murmurings by Labour Party members against the retention of fees which, Jimmy Maxton charged, had been "given a cachet by the Scottish Office, by the present Secretary of State... and by the present Government - at a time when the whole idea is being very badly discredited".²

Johnston made a further effort to expedite the bill's progress before the start of committee proceedings in mid-May. He secured the Chancellor's agreement to a proposal to set up a departmental committee to enquire into the nature of the local government machinery which could best be used for the administration of educational services in Scotland.³ The Secretary of State accordingly proposed to announce the institution of the enquiry during the committee proceedings, believing that the "the Committee may be prepared to accept broadly the proposals of the first Bill leaving for future settlement... the question of a more radical alteration in the present administrative structure". The Ministry of Health, fearing repercussions on local government in England and Wales, were "not enamoured" of the proposal, but were prepared to acquiesce in it as long as it was acceptable to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry agreed; and the Treasury also, but only "on the clear understanding that any question as to the Exchequer grant for education in Scotland is outwith the/

1. Ibid, 1296.

2. Ibid, 1327.

3. S.R.O.,ED.14/474. Aglen to Hale, 10 May, 1945. The remit proposed was "to review the operation of the machinery of local government for the administration of the educational services and other local authority services allied therewith and to consider whether, in relation to the general system of local government and local taxation in Scotland, any modification of that machinery is desirable and practicable, and to report".

the scope of the Enquiry".¹ The need for expedition was emphasised at the first meeting of the Scottish Grand Committee on 17 May.² Sixty-six amendments were tabled on the order paper and by the adjournment Clause I was still under consideration. The Committee was not scheduled to meet again until after the Whitsun recess.

The bill's prospects were thereupon uniquely affected by larger political events. After Germany's surrender, Churchill, increasingly obsessed by the rift which he saw opening up between Russia and the West, tried to keep the Coalition Government alive. On 18 May the Prime Minister wrote to the leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties inviting them to continue in coalition until the defeat of Japan, or accept an immediate election. Attlee was obliged to refuse though the Liberals, under Sinclair, would have been prepared to stay. Churchill consequently resigned office on 23 May, but was re-appointed head of a 'caretaker' government of Conservatives, National Liberals, and non-party functionaries. The Earl of Rosebery was given the Secretaryship of Scotland. At the same time as the new administration was formed, it was announced that parliament would be dissolved on 15 June.³

It seemed inevitable that the Education (Scotland) Bill would be lost on dissolution. Johnston told a representative of the E.I.S. that he was "going to make every effort to drive it through the Committee Stage", but "if amendment after amendment were put by Members and long speeches were made, then it would be impossible to get it through".⁴ He asked the E.I.S. /

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1. Ibid. Note of telephone message from E.Hale, 10 May, 1945.
 2. Hansard (Commons). Standing Committee on Scottish Bills. Education (Scotland) Bill. First Day's Proceedings, 17 May, 1945.
 3. P. Addison, op.cit., pp.257-258.
 4. E.I.S. Papers. Parliamentary Committee. Notes of Discussion at Emergency Meeting, 19 May, 1945.

E.I.S. to lobby M.P.'s and a letter was issued jointly with the A.D.E.S. "It would be a major disaster for Scotland", it ran, "if the Bill had to be dropped and there were lost to Scottish school children many desirable improvements in the educational service which were secured for England by the Act of 1944".¹ Replies were generally sympathetic but gloomy about the bill's chances of success. The E.I.S. were particularly worried about the threat to Scottish teachers' salaries. The Government had tabled an amendment which would ante-date new scales to 1 April so as to bring Scottish arrangements into line with those applying in England and Wales.²

The advent of the Earl of Rosebery to the Secretaryship had complicated an already difficult situation insofar as he was constitutionally barred from guiding the bill through the committee stage in the Commons. Churchill indicated that, if returned to office, he would be prepared to re-adopt the measure but also broadly hinted at Government help in expediting its passage if there were "general agreement" in the Scottish Grand Committee.³ At urgent meetings in the House, the Scottish Unionist Members' Committee and the Scottish Socialists agreed to facilitate the bill's passage so that it could become law before dissolution. "If that happens", commented The Scotsman, "it can only be as a result of dropping some of the controversial clauses of the Bill, in particular those dealing with the composition of the new Education Committee. There would be no hope at all of the measure going through in its present form." The Unionists requested the postponement of the administrative clauses.⁴

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1. Ibid. General Secretary, E.I.S. and Honorary Secretary, A.D.E.S. to Scottish and English M.P.'s on Scottish Grand Committee and Mr Winston Churchill, 23 May, 1945.
 2. Johnston's amendment was adopted by his successor.
 3. Hansard (Commons) 5th series, 411, 37-38. 29 May, 1945.
 4. The Scotsman, 30 May, 1945.

On 30 May the "legislative miracle"¹ occurred in the Scottish Grand Committee's "breath-taking proceedings" when all the bill's 92 clauses and six schedules, excepting one sub-section, were passed with only one division within the allotted two hours by the 51 attending members.² The contrast with the full sixteen days spent upon the English measure could not have been more complete. Sir Samuel Chapman, the Joint Under-Secretary of State and J.S.C. Reid, the Lord Advocate, were empowered to represent the Government's position in the absence of the Secretary of State. Chapman assured the Committee that all previous undertakings with regard to the bill would be honoured, and suggested that the "highly contentious" administrative clauses (44-47) should be left out in their entirety.³

Johnston, however, was critical of the Government's statement, arguing that no plausible reason had been presented as to why the clauses should be abandoned in toto.⁴ If agreed to, Chapman's proposals would prevent the Secretary of State from calling for the submission of fresh educational schemes from local authorities. Many existing schemes were "long outmoded" and, as they would be considerably affected by the new Bill's educational clauses, would need to be recast. Failure to include this power would render "a large part of this Bill" inoperative over "great areas of Scotland". He eventually moved the retention of Clause 44 which also gave the Secretary of State power to call for the submission of fresh schemes for the constitution of education committees by local authorities/

1. Ibid, 29 May, 1945.

2. Ibid, 31 May, 1945.

3. Hansard (Commons). Standing Committee on Scottish Bills. Education (Scotland). Second Day's Proceedings, 35-36. 30 May, 1945.

4. Ibid, 36.

authorities and defined the distribution of business and powers that must be delegated to such committees, with the exception of the subsection limiting co-option.¹

The ex-Secretary of State's amendment was carried, in the face of Government opposition, on a free vote by 23 votes to 22.² The legislative implications were that education committees would, in future, enjoy increased and more carefully defined, powers; and the deletion of the bulk of the administrative clauses meant no provision for the direct election of "education members" to education committees, and the retention of school management committees, rather than their replacement by local education committees. The Education (Scotland) Bill, "the last will and testament" of the Coalition Government, received a third reading, after some minor amendments, on 4 June³ and the Royal Assent eleven days later.⁴

The saving of the Education (Scotland) Bill was a time of congratulation in the Scottish Office and the Department, but particularly for Tom Johnston even if the immediate events leading to its passage were anti-climactic after the years of talk and preparation. The Scotsman held that his "personal intervention and persuasiveness" allowed the Scottish Grand Committee to perform the "seemingly impossible".⁵ The editor of The Scottish/

1. Ibid, 53.

2. Ibid, 60.

3. Ibid. 411, 638, 4 June, 1945. Three Government amendments were carried in committee without a division. The first two related to the provision of technical education; and the third brought new salary scales into operation as from 1 April. On the request of the Roman Catholic hierarchy three amendments to Clause 29 safeguarded the right of withdrawal from instruction or religious observance at junior colleges.

4. Ibid, 1904, 15 June, 1945.

5. The Scotsman, 31 May, 1945.

The Scottish Educational Journal enthused over the ex-Secretary of State:

"Such an achievement is, first and foremost, a great personal triumph... It was well known that Mr Johnston had a large share of personal responsibility for the contents of the Bill. His high prestige as an educationist no less than as an administrator, undoubtedly assisted in the ready acceptance of his views....."1

Johnston, as demonstrated, had shown little interest in the arguments for educational reform and had reluctantly followed Butler in presenting a bill. He had, moreover, to the dismay of many civil servants, roused the advocates of ad hoc authorities, almost losing the bill as a consequence. That his name should have been so associated with the successful passage of the measure is ironic and it is, perhaps, to his praise that he lays no claim upon it in his autobiography. Only one contemporary was seemingly willing, amidst the plaudits, to offer publicly a more realistic interpretation of the Secretary of State's role. T. Henderson Stewart, M.P. remarked that,

"The Bill was delayed in its presentation to the House... almost entirely because of the Clauses... dealing with the machinery of administration... in substance all the rest of the Bill could have been presented to this House six months or a year ago and would have won general acceptance... for the sake of obtaining these administrative Clauses they (Johnston and Westwood) held up this Bill". 2

The Earl of Rosebery set 2 July as the 'appointed day' for the commencement of the new Act.³ All its provisions were to be brought into operation with the exception of those relating to junior colleges, the registration of independent schools, and educational endowments.

Education/

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1. S.E.J., 8 June, 1945.
 2. Hansard (Commons). 5th series. 411, 631, 4 June, 1945.
 3. The Scotsman, 3 July, 1945.

Education authorities were not to be asked immediately to submit revised schemes for the provision of primary and secondary education, but such schemes were to have received the approval of the Secretary of State in time for the raising of the school leaving age which was fixed, with qualification, for 1 April, 1946.¹ The authorities were exhorted to start reviewing the educational provision in their areas as soon as possible. New administrative schemes were not required until after the next local government elections.²

There remained many unconsidered aspects of Scottish education in general and of the bill, in particular which had been happily ignored - to the disgust of some M.P.'s - in the rush to secure the Education (Scotland) Act.³ Not least was the ability of the Scottish educational system to meet, financially and administratively, the greater range of demands that would be made upon it in the more egalitarian post-war era. "I do not believe that the finance of this Bill is sound", observed Kenneth Lindsay, "and I do not believe that the finance of Scottish education is sound.

"I doubt whether certain local education authorities can put through these large measures and whether we shall get junior colleges during the next five years. Unless some radical steps are taken in order to get teachers, I do not see the school leaving age being raised".⁴

Lurking fears existed, too, that wartime idealism and resolve would be dissipated/

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1. "... or such subsequent day within one year thereafter as the Secretary of State, having regard to the time required for enabling adequate provision to be made for a supply of teachers or of school accommodation to meet the needs of children between the ages of fourteen or fifteen years, may by order appoint". S.E.D. Circular 31, 30 June, 1945.
 2. S.E.D., Circular 55 (6 February, 1946) requested the submission of revised schemes for the local administration of education.
 3. 9 & 10 Geo 6, c 72.
 4. Hansard (Commons) op.cit., 627-628.

dissipated, thereby reducing, or destroying the bill's efficacy. The White Paper in 1943 had duly warned that legislation could do little more than prepare the way for reform. The value of such an act of parliament depends on how fully it is put into operation and how well it is administered; and this in turn depends upon the determination of local authorities and the extent of public approval and support. "If we are to make real progress" ventured Westwood, "the parents of the present generation must be as keen as the parents of the past generation, and even keener... We require a revival, such as we have never known in Scotland".¹

1. Ibid, 628.

APPENDIX I

The Education (Scotland) Bill (Bill 32), March 1945

"After the Bill was presented to Parliament and the country for the first time last October for the consideration and suggestions of everyone interested, the main discussion developed between advocates of reversion to specially elected local authorities for education only and those who favoured continuation of the "status quo" - a local authority administering education as well as other local services.

The Secretary of State for Scotland in the reshaped Bill offers a compromise which if adopted by Parliament will be something quite new in Scottish local government. While the education authorities will continue to be the county councils and the town councils of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, the education committees of these authorities will, as now envisaged, consist of a majority of town or county councillors and a minority made up of (a) church representatives nominated by the churches concerned as at present, and (b) "education members" elected by the local government electors. Like local authority representatives the "education members" will hold office for three years and their election will, if possible, take place at the same time as the election of local authority representatives. Qualifications for election will be the same as those required for membership of the county or town council.

The exact composition of each education committee will be revealed in the education scheme which local authorities will be required to submit to the Secretary of State as soon as the Bill becomes law. The number of "education members" will vary according to the size proposed for the education/

education committee, but normally they will not exceed 2/5ths of the total committee.

The White Paper explains that the scheme for the constitution of the Education committees is to divide the county or the city into a number of electoral areas for education. These will be equal to the number of education members to be elected. The education electoral areas will comprise one or more of the electoral divisions, into which the county or city is divided for local government elections. Alternatively the education area may be treated as a whole, each elector being entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of education members to be elected. Town or county councillors will not be eligible to stand for election as "education members" of their own committee, although it will be possible for a town councillor who is not also a county councillor to become an "education member" of the county education committee.

While the clause continuing fee-paying schools remains in the new Bill the conditions under which power to charge fees may be exercised have been tightened up. The substance of the new proposal is that fee-paying will only be permitted when it will be without prejudice to the adequate provision of free primary and secondary education in public schools where no fees are charged, or in other schools where pupils are admitted free of charge on the nomination of the education authority.

Clause 11, it is pointed out, also requires education authorities to provide books, stationery and practice materials free of charge for pupils who are given free education at schools and junior colleges. It also enables the authority to do the same for other pupils.

Another/

Another clause which has been reshaped is the one which deals with the delegation of powers from the local authority to the education committee. Delegation of all functions relating to education will be compulsory except some which must be excluded, and some which may be excluded.

Functions which must be excluded are:-

The raising of money by rate or loan;

the approval of estimates and the authorisation of the expenditure involved; and

the incurring of expenses not previously authorised.

Functions which may be excluded from delegation comprise:-

The acquisition and disposal of land;

the appointment, dismissal, remuneration and conditions of service of the Director of Education;

the remuneration and conditions of service of the non-teaching staff; and

the school medical services; and

Functions which so far overlap other functions of the authority that a case can be made for bringing all the functions under a single control.

Proposals for the amendment of the teachers' superannuation scheme - similar proposals for England have recently been before Parliament as a separate Bill - are also included in the new Bill. A teacher on war service will be able to have his contribution repaid to him during his period of service.

Otherwise the revised Bill remains very much as it was when first presented to Parliament last year. Its provisions include - the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 years and later to 16; adequate and efficient provision of free primary, secondary and further education; the abolition/

APPENDIX I (continued)

abolition of school management committees and the creation of local education committees; the founding of "junior Colleges" for the compulsory part-time education of young persons aged 15-18; the provision of milk and meals in all schools; the substitution of standard salary scales which all authorities must pay, for the present Minimum National Salary Scales; and marriage to be no bar to the employment of women teachers".

Source: Adapted from a Scottish Office press release.

S.R.O., ED. 14/444.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

In considering the impact and influence of the Second World War on the Scottish school system it is, quite obviously, impossible to quantify and weight the manifold facts and phenomena which would, inevitably, form part of the paradoxical equation of war - for example, the physical destruction wrought upon school buildings and professional manpower juxtaposed against the impulse given to educational reform, or reconstruction. If, however, an equation cannot be constructed and resolved in any mathematical sense, a delineation of some of the relevant facts and phenomena and an assessment of their comparative importance can offer a small contribution to a more informed historical understanding of the social consequences of the war in the educational field.

The initial impact of the war on the Scottish school system was disastrous; it brought the postponement of modest, but potentially valuable, administrative reforms which were to accompany the raising of the school leaving age, and the trauma of evacuation. The removal of over 100,000 school-children from Scotland's industrial belt, though a remarkable logistical feat, left the bulk in the danger zones, thus posing educational problems in both the receiving and, particularly, the sending areas. The rapid return of Scottish evacuees to their homes exacerbated the problems in the cities, if eventually affording a measure of relief in the reception areas, and helped to force a modification in the seemingly inflexible Government evacuation policy which brought about the re-opening of the schools and the restoration of compulsory attendance in the sending areas.

Thereafter/

Thereafter, the Scottish educational system made a creditable recovery after the 'dislocation' occasioned by evacuation that amounted to a breakdown of the service in the major cities, mitigated only by 'home service' schemes. The onset of heavy bombing in 1941 brought a relapse in the wake of further evacuation. During the remainder of the war, however, in quantitative terms, the system, unhampered by further serious aerial attack, displayed remarkable recuperative powers. The process of recovery was considerably aided by the relatively small percentage of schools damaged, or destroyed, by bombing. This fact stood the school system in better stead than the English and Welsh when it was decided to implement the raising of the school leaving age: "Owing to Scotland's comparative immunity from bombing", minuted Mackay Thomson in August, 1945, "the accommodation position should be relatively better than England's, and no worse than it would have been in 1936".¹

Even so, the restoration of the educational service was hindered by a complex set of factors: the lack of A.R.P. in the early stages of the war and the severe difficulties encountered in providing protection for Glasgow's school population; the occupation of schools by the armed forces and civilian emergency services; the shortages of materials; the curtailment of school hours; and the exemption of pupils to assist in agricultural tasks.

Perhaps the single - most damaging factor was the call-up of male teachers for national service, although the situation was stabilised in the latter years of the war through the introduction of 'deferment'.

Damage /

1. S.R.O., EB.2/1. Note by Mackay Thomson, August, 1945.

Damage to the general educational fabric was reduced by the success in retaining women in the classrooms, the redeployment of staff, and the re-employment of married women and pensioners, so keeping the number of over-size classes, particularly in the primary schools, within bounds. The lack of specialists in areas of the secondary curriculum, notably in mathematics and science, undoubtedly affected the quality of education offered in wartime and beyond. Furthermore, the shortage of teachers apparent at the war's outbreak and accentuated by the manpower requirements of the conflict, threatened any expansion and improvement of the service in the face of rising aspirations and a growing school population in the 1950's. The Emergency Recruitment Scheme and the Special Recruitment Scheme (introduced in 1951) only partially reduced the deficit: in 1956 the education authorities were seeking a further 1,800 teachers despite the greater financial attractiveness of the profession promoted by the war.¹

The qualitative effects of the war upon the performance and motivation of pupils are difficult to assess. Some contemporary observers were understandably obsessed with the negative influences: to the "noticeable, material aspects of war's destructive power," wrote one observer at the close of the European conflict, "there falls to be added the reckoning of the injury to the invisibles - the moral, spiritual and mental assets of the nation, and in no sphere has insidious deterioration forced so secure a bridgehead as in the schooling of the children".² The nature and length of the war inevitably affected pupils' attitudes towards education though not always negatively. Certainly attendance at Scottish schools/

1. Sir David Milne, The Scottish Office (1957), p.88.
2. S.E.J., 29 June, 1945.

schools suffered as elsewhere in the United Kingdom; in Lanarkshire, for example, a drop of 4 to 5 per cent - not untypical of the industrial areas - meant that some 3,000 pupils were absent daily.¹ The economic demands of the war added to this malaise with the growth in temporary and permanent exemptions and contributed to the "loosening of old moralities and standards of discipline in the homes", which was particularly marked in urban areas.²

These facts would, perhaps, suggest a decline in educational standards as a consequence of the war but, as indicated in Chapter Four, the lack of substantive evidence renders support of such a conclusion difficult. Inspectors were convinced, in the main, that the war brought a deterioration of standards in basic subjects despite their intensive efforts to stem the rot. Bone observes that by 1947 " it was being admitted that this aim had not been fully achieved, and the process of recovery was a slow one.

For the next half dozen years or so the general section of the annual report always began with a reference to the leeway that had to be made up, and though there was invariably some progress to be described, the impression continued to be given that the damage of the war years had not yet been fully repaired. It was not until 1953, in fact, that the authors of the reports began to talk less of recovery and more of making new advances".³

The examination of the wartime assertion that the war more severely reduced the educational performance of average and less-than-average pupils in primary and secondary schools is complicated by the necessity to distinguish between the effects of war from those consequent upon 'normal' educational/

1. Ibid. 29 March, 1946.

2. Ibid.

3. T.R. Bone, 'School Inspection in Scotland, 1840-1966', Ph.D thesis University of Glasgow, 1966, p.280.

educational policy which, according to psychometrists, retarded the dull child to a greater extent than to advance the bright one.

The evidence available does permit some conjecture about which sections of the Scottish school population gained or lost educationally as a result of the war and would seem to support Gosden's conclusion in respect of England and Wales, that the war "apparently had the effect of increasing both the proportion of children who got very little and the proportion who got a great deal from the schools".¹ Apart from the physically and mentally handicapped, junior secondary pupils probably suffered disproportionately from the effects of war on the schools. The postponement of the raising of the school leaving age, the consequent impossibility of introducing three year courses, the lack of status accorded to them by most education authorities, the drafting of staff from junior to senior secondaries, and increasing employment opportunities, all contributed to the rapid fall in junior secondary rolls. The war therefore added to the perennial problem of improving the attraction of non-academic courses.

Senior secondaries also suffered premature loss of pupils to a reviving economy in the early years of the war. Subsequently numbers remaining at school to complete the five-year course increased significantly and entries for the Senior Leaving Certificate, after an initial fall, rose to beyond pre-war levels. This trend, apparent also in England and Wales, would seem to support the contention that the war served to sensitise more affluent social groups to the economic and social benefits accruing from an extended school life, combined with appropriate qualifications. That/

1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.72.

That the attraction of a longer school-life was a class-related phenomenon was underlined by contemporary and more sophisticated, post-war sociological studies. An investigation into attitudes towards education in Scotland reported in 1944 that,

"When I visited working-class homes in mining areas or towns where industry was largely concentrated on a single large works, I was made aware of that inevitability with which children leave at 14 and go into the pit or the factory. To tell their parents that education in Scotland was free to eighteen, and that the Carnegie Trust would help them after that, seemed inadequate and beside the point".¹

Such long-standing values and attitudes would offer stubborn resistance to the realisation of so-called 'equality of educational opportunity'.

Nevertheless, rising educational aspirations apparent in the war years intensified in the post-war and heralded a demand for more facilities in further and higher education which resulted in an unprecedented expansion in university and college provision in the 1960's.² "More and more young people today want to avail themselves of opportunities for secondary and further education", observed a Conservative Secretary of State in 1958, "It is the Government's aim to ensure that the opportunities offered meet all their needs and aspirations".³ The expansion of the British educational services was obviously accompanied by a change in social and political values which recognised the importance of education as a personal, social and economic investment and accepted the concomitant growth in the educational budget. Gosden has pointed out that "the most striking educational/

1. S.E.J., 9 May, 1944.

2. Whereas in 1947 less than a sixth of all Scottish pupils had completed at least three years of secondary education, in 1958 well over half did so, and in some areas the proportion exceeded three-quarters. Over the same period, pupils voluntarily remaining at school beyond the age of 15 increased by nearly half. The number of candidates for the Senior Leaving Certificate examination rose from 10,286 in 1951 to 14,009 in 1958. B.P.P., S.E.D., Education in Scotland, The Next Step, Cmnd. 603 (1958), p.2.

3. Ibid., p.8.

educational consequence of the war was the apparent revitalisation of the national attitude to the educational system".¹ The contrast between the policies pursued by successive governments in the inter-war years, discussed in the opening chapter, and those which were to be followed by central and local authorities after the war "illustrated the extent of this change - itself part of the wider change towards social issues generally".²

The change in public and governmental attitudes occasioned by the war is well exemplified in the rapid growth of the school meals and milk services. The real threat to national survival led directly to their expansion and elevation from an adjunct of the old poor law into an integral part of educational provision. If this expansion was more limited in Scotland than in England and Wales, it was nonetheless remarkable in the light of geographical and other difficulties. The passage of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1942 gave tangible expression to this change in attitudes and indicated parliamentary enthusiasm for the future English and Scottish education bills.

But if the war gave a strong impulse to educational reform, the response within the Board and the S.E.D. differed in accordance with the respective historical and administrative contexts of the systems they administered; their perception of the need for reform; the extent and influence of popular pressure for change; and, not least, the attitudes of the responsible ministers. The differential response was ultimately reflected in popular estimation of the relative importance of the Education Acts, the circumstances/

1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.431.

2. *Ibid.*

circumstances surrounding the introduction of the bills into parliament and their passage. Whereas the Education Act, 1944 marked a watershed in English educational history, the subsequent Scottish measure was a more unremarkable set of improvements, gleaned for the most part from its southern counterpart and, consequently, considered to be of less moment.

Several of the interacting factors which helped to determine the character and stature of the Scottish Act require brief examination. Firstly, from the outset of the wartime reconstruction debates in 1940-1941, the S.E.D.'s basic premise was that the Scottish educational system did not require the overhaul envisaged by the Board for the English and Welsh. Despite the concept of 'parallel educational advance' in the two systems, Scottish legislation since 1872 "introduced important points of principle only subsequently adopted". in English educational law.¹ More importantly, in fashioning a solution to the religious question and establishing a system of unitary education authorities, it was claimed by bodies such as the E.I.S. that Scottish educational advance was unduly hampered by the understandable reluctance of English politicians to tackle such potentially explosive issues, until the more propitious circumstances offered by the Second World War and the advent of the determined Butler. These achievements in Scotland, together with the implementation in 1939 of a simplified school structure administered under one Day Schools' Code, represented important goals, the accomplishment of which the English reform programme came to be foremostly directed. The S.E.D. were therefore provided with a comfortable justification for borrowing from that programme the relatively minor improvements to accompany the raising of the /

1. H.M. Knox, Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education (1953), p.72. quoted in G.S. Osborne, Scottish and English Schools (1967), p.16.

the school leaving age and the introduction of compulsory continuation education. An amending Scottish measure subsequent to a comprehensive English Act would inevitably appear as small beer despite its promised enhancement of the post-war educational service.

The S.E.D.'s secretariat were perfectly attuned to the achievement of cautious, moderate improvement within the political and economic constraints inherent in Scotland's links with the remainder of the United Kingdom. There was no evident impatience over the fact that legislative progress was inextricably bound up with English and Welsh and an attitude of studied indifference was maintained towards the bouts of public ill-temper by the E.I.S. and the urgings of Kenneth Lindsay that the "tradition that Scottish legislation has always been tacked on to English Bills should be broken", and that Scotland should "do something entirely different" from England in educational matters.¹

Lindsay's wish was not politically practicable at the time. The war encouraged centralisation and a bureaucratic dislike of creating further administrative anomalies between the 'regions' of the United Kingdom. Thus there was a strong desire in Whitehall - if not always translated into practice in matters of detail - for assimilation of Scottish and English practice in education. Adherence to a common policy determined centrally and followed by the S.E.D. was illustrated in the debate over priorities with regard to the implementation of the 1944 and 1945 Acts when, despite anxieties in Scotland about the size of classes voiced by the Earl of Glasgow, the issue was firmly subordinated by central government to the raising of the school leaving age and the introduction of continuation /

1. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 381, 866, 8 July, 1942.

continuation education. No regional departures from this set of priorities was to be contemplated and the S.E.D. certainly exhibited no such desire.¹

Secondly, the air of general satisfaction with the existing system and its underlying philosophy exuded by the S.E.D. accorded well with the sentiments of the mass of the Scottish people and this helps to explain why the movement for educational reform was slower to develop in Scotland. The need for extension and improvement notably in the form of a raising of the school leaving age and a reduction in the size of classes, was seemingly accepted by a sizeable proportion of the population. In general, however, the Scots remained loyal to their belief in the quality and superiority of their educational system: a survey reported in 1944 that it was compared favourably with other systems, particularly the English, possessing the advantages of higher standards, better grounding, less class distinction and free secondary education.²

The war, though encouraging a re-examination of old values and practices in many spheres of social and economic life, seemingly did little to shake Scottish public opinion in this regard. "We have heard the proud boast", remarked the exasperated M.P. for South Ayrshire, "that Scotland holds a primary/

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1. See P.R.O., ED 136/156; and Hansard (Lords), 5th series, 137, 221-243, 10 October, 1946.
 2. S.E.J., 9 May, 1944. Professor Cyril Burt supervising research undertaken on behalf of the Home Intelligence Division of the Ministry of Information to ascertain public feeling on post-war reconstruction, found that the business and working classes agreed "fairly closely" with "educational experts on the rank order of reforms: smaller classes; raising the school leaving age; better school buildings; better teachers; more schools; maintenance grants for able children from poorer homes; and more nursery schools. S.R.O., ED.8/34/97. Document 191.

primary place in education.

A certain egoism permeates the people. The most illiterate people that you speak to will boast of the high standard of education in Scotland. ... The sooner Scotsmen get rid of this idea that they have some sort of intellectual superiority the better it will be for them in the future. If there was ever any justification for the claim, I think we can state definitely now that we have lost our place in the race, if race it can be called". 1

The popular belief had the unfortunate effect of undermining reasoned criticism. A critical voice invariably prompted unhelpful comparisons with England, a device that Johnston was moved to employ in 1944-1945. A few M.P.'s such as Lindsay, Maxton and Sloan voiced their uneasiness about the state of Scottish education both before and during the war, but with the exception of the former parliamentary secretary to the Board of Education, there was an inability, or unwillingness, to provide a clear, sustained analysis of its shortcomings and a coherent set of reform proposals. Apart from the shortage of teachers and the size of classes, there was a lack of awareness, outwith educational administration and the teaching profession, of a whole range of problems which, though not unique to Scotland, had beset the system before 1939: the over-dominating influence of the Qualifying Examination in primary schools; the undue emphasis on academic instruction in the secondaries; the failure of post-primary courses to win public acceptability; and longstanding deficiencies in the provision of technical education.²

Finally, as argued in the second half of this study, the appearance of Scottish educational legislation on the Statute Book at the end of the war owed much more to R.A. Butler than to Secretary of State, Tom Johnston, despite/

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1. Hansard (Commons), 5th series, 381, 857, 8 July, 1942.
 2. T.R. Bone, op.cit., p.254.

despite his successful, highly-acclaimed efforts to save the bill after the fall of the Coalition Government. Johnston's reputation has not apparently diminished in the years since his death. Lenman has described him as "certainly the greatest Secretary of State to date" (i.e. 1945) ¹. Pottinger does not detract from Turner's early post-war verdict that he "secured more for his country than any recent holder of the office".²

Whatever general judgement historians may reflect upon his period as Secretary of State, although zealous in pursuit of Scottish economic interests and active in the field of social welfare, he never systematically used the free hand he obtained in the unique circumstances of war and the political strength of a geographic minister to secure a stronger educational programme. Various reasons may be adduced to explain why Johnston neglected such a distinctly Scottish institution as the educational system. From the range of subjects and issues that necessarily demanded the attention of the Secretary of State, he had selected goals that interested him and which he felt to be important for Scotland's future. Educational reform held no attractions for him, although he possessed "distinctively unromantic views on the teaching of history"³ and wished to introduce citizenship and applied science into the curriculum and enhance the teaching of domestic science. He doubted Butler's ability to secure educational reform in wartime and when proved mistaken, he showed great reluctance in following England's lead. Only when persuaded, probably by Westwood, of the possibility of using an education bill/

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1. B. Lenman, An Economic History of Modern Scotland 1660-1976 (1977), p.234.
 2. A. Turner, Scottish Home Rule (Oxford, 1952), quoted in G. Pottinger, The Secretaries of State for Scotland 1926-76 (Edinburgh, 1979), p.89.
 3. Newspaper Archive Developments Ltd., Obituaries from The Times 1961-1970 (Reading, 1975), p.419.

bill to undermine the 1929 Local Government Act did Johnston show any marked enthusiasm - a belated interest which almost lost the measure. The other major educational initiative of the war - the reconstitution of the Advisory Council and attempted transformation into a Scottish educational parliament - resulted in a welter of reports which though "widely acclaimed for their relevance, comprehensiveness, and general masterliness"¹ may well have created, by their sheer number over a relatively prolonged period, a resistance to change within a conservative profession.

In Johnston's mitigation it could be argued that the great majority of his predecessors in the post since the tenure of Robert Munro had found more pressing tasks than educational matters to occupy their time, partly perhaps because, for the most part, they attended schools in England and so "tended to be indifferent to the separate Scottish Educational system".² Indeed, the years of indifference unwittingly served to entrench the local power and influence of the S.E.D. and their concept and style of educational administration. It is interesting to note that at the close of Johnston's Secretaryship, the National Committee of the Scottish Convention recommended to him that, in view of the importance to Scotland of the development of her national system, responsibility for the central control and direction of educational policy should devolve upon a minister specially appointed for the purpose, thereby relieving the Secretary of State of one of his heaviest burdens during the period of post-war reconstruction.³ Realising the difficulties inherent in such a constitutional innovation, they suggested the alternative of making an under-secretary /

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1. B.F. Skinner, 'The effects of war on education - Scotland', Year Book of Education (1948), p.62.
 2. G. Pottinger, op. cit., p.49.
 3. Kenneth Lindsay was very critical of Johnston's lack of attention to educational matters and had also suggested the appointment of a minister with responsibility solely in this field. See Hansard (Commons), 5th. series, 391, 970, 21 July, 1943.

under-secretary of state responsible for education. Johnston accepted the idea, seemingly without much hesitation.

The assertion that "the major legislation in our educational systems in Great Britain has not only occurred in wartime but is a direct consequence of war"¹ requires some qualification. The war, in throwing into relief the limitations and gaps in the systems also exposed the shortcomings of social policy in the inter-war period while creating a social and political climate which brought the popular espousal of reforms long previously canvassed but disregarded by government and public alike. If 'guided' social change in education was a direct consequence of the war, it also bears an important relationship to the economic stringencies and prevailing attitudes towards this area of State concern in the preceding years when, as A.J.P. Taylor drily observes, the greatest educational issue was that of finance.² The two major pieces of legislation which marked the first instalment of the governmental response to demands for post-war reconstruction differed to some degree in their comparative scope and significance but these differences should not be over-emphasised in retrospect. Enthusiastic contemporaries saw them together as necessary precursors of the more egalitarian and democratic society envisaged in the darkest days of the war. George Orwell in 1940 had cautioned that, in wartime, "educational reform must necessarily be promise rather than performance"³; H.C. Dent warned four years later that the full implementation of the 1944 Act might possibly make "all the difference between a happy /

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1. The Open University, War, the Arts and Ideas (Milton Keynes, 1973), p.9.
 2. A.J.P. Taylor, English History 1914-1945 (1965), p.214.
 3. G. Orwell, 'The Lion and the Unicorn' in Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Vol.2 (1968), p.98.

happy and glorious future for our country and an unhappy and inglorious one".¹ The twin acts and their underlying rationale helped to stimulate the optimism of the 1950's and 1960's when education came to be regarded as a powerful instrument in the promotion of social justice and economic growth. "On both counts", concludes W.K. Richmond, "this belief has been seriously undermined in the last decade".² Popular commitment to the cause of education, fashioned in two world wars, is "a fairly recent phenomenon; there is no guarantee that it will persist".³

1. H.C. Dent, The Education Act, 1944, op.cit., p.4

2. W.K. Richmond, Education in Britain since 1944 (1978), p.14.

3. Ibid, p.12.

Biographical Notes

BROWN, ERNEST, 1881 - 1962

M.P. (Liberal and National Liberal) 1923, 1927-1945. Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health 1931-1932; Secretary to Mines Department 1932-1935; Minister of National Service, 1939-1940; Secretary of State for Scotland, 1940-1941; Minister of Health, 1941-1943; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1943-1945; Minister of Aircraft Production, May - July, 1945.

BUTLER, RICHARD A., (later Baron), b.1902

Educated Marlborough College and Cambridge University. M.P. (Conservative), 1929-1965. Occupied various junior government posts, 1932-1941; President of the Board of Education, 1941-1945; held numerous Cabinet posts, 1945, 1951-1964, most notably those of Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1951-1955; Deputy Prime Minister, 1962-1963; and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1963-1964. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge since 1965. His name has become associated with the Education Act, 1944.

COLVILLE, DAVID JOHN (later Lord Clydesmuir), 1894-1954

Educated Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge. M.P. (Unionist), 1929-1943. Secretary of Overseas Trade, 1931-1935; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of Overseas Trade, 1935-1936; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1936-1938; Secretary of State for Scotland, 1938-1940.

CHAPMAN, ALLAN, 1897-1966

Educated Queen's College, Cambridge. M.P. (Unionist), 1935-1945; Parliamentary Secretary to Secretary of State for Scotland, February, 1938; to Minister of Health, May, 1938; to Sir John Anderson, 1938-1941; Assistant Postmaster General, 1941-1942; Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, 1942-1945.

EDE, J. CHUTER, (later Baron Chuter-Ede), 1882-1965

Educated Dorking High School and Cambridge University. M.P. (Labour), 1923; 1929-1931; 1935-1964. Parliamentary Secretary to Board (later Ministry) of Education, 1940-1945; Home Secretary, 1945-1951; Leader of the House of Commons, 1951.

FYFE, WILLIAM HAMILTON (SIR) /

FYFE, WILLIAM HAMILTON (SIR), 1878-1965

Educated Fettes College and Merton College, Oxford. Headmaster Christ's Hospital, 1919-1930; Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1930-1936; and Principal and Vice-Chancellor, University of Aberdeen, 1936-1948. Chairman of Scottish Advisory Council on Education, 1942-1946.

GRAINGER STEWART, T. 1896-1979

Educated Edinburgh Academy and Edinburgh University. Practised as Advocate, 1921-1929. Secretary of Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission, 1929-1936. Acting Junior Assistant Secretary, S.E.D., 1936-1939; Principal Assistant Secretary, 1939-1948; Under-Secretary, 1948-1949; Deputy Secretary, 1949-1959. Legal expert within the S.E.D. and author of the scheme to reform local administration of education, 1944-1945.

HAWKINS, REGINALD THOMAS, b.1888

Educated Owen's School, Islington and Edinburgh University. Entered S.E.D. 1910. Assistant Secretary, 1939-1949; Under-Secretary, 1949-1952. Secretary to Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, 1935-1938. Expert on educational finance.

HOLMES, MAURICE, G. (SIR), 1885-1964

Educated Wellington College and Oxford University. Called to Bar, 1909. Entered Board of Education, 1909; Principal Assistant Secretary, 1926-1931; Deputy Secretary, 1931-1937; Permanent Secretary, 1937-1945.

JARDINE, JOHN (DR), b.1881

Educated George Heriot's School and Edinburgh University. Medical Officer for Schools, Midlothian, 1909-1924; Medical Officer to S.E.D., 1924-1930; Assistant Secretary, 1930-1943; Principal Assistant Secretary, 1943-1945. Particularly interested in health and welfare services as well as primary education.

JOHNSTON, THOMAS, 1882-1965

Educated Lairdsland Public School; Lenzie Academy; and Glasgow University. M.P. (Labour) 1922-1924, 1924-1931, 1935-1945. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, 1929-1931; Lord Privy Seal, 1931; Secretary of State for Scotland, 1941-1945. Determinedly advanced Scottish interests during the wartime Coalition and popularly regarded as Scotland's greatest Secretary of State to date. Displayed little interest in educational reform.

MCEWEN, JOHN H.F. (SIR), 1894-1962

Educated Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Diplomatic service, 1920-1931. M.P. (Conservative), 1931-1945; Assistant Government Whip, 1938-1939; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, 1939-1940; Lord Comr. of Treasury 1942-1944.

PARKER, JOHN WILLIAMS, 1885-1961

Entered S.E.D. 1904. Assistant Secretary, 1936-1940; Second Secretary, 1940-1946; Deputy Secretary, 1946-1948. Played an important part with Mackay Thomson in determining the nature and extent of Scottish educational reform in the Second World War.

THOMSON, JOHN MACKAY (SIR), 1887 - 1974

Educated Trinity College, Glenalmond, Edinburgh University and Oriel College, Oxford. Assistant to Professor of Humanity, Edinburgh University, 1914; Sixth Form Master, Fettes College, 1915-1920; Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School, 1920-1921; H.M.I., 1921-1924; Junior Assistant Secretary, S.E.D., 1925-1935. Senior Assistant Secretary, 1935-1936; Second Secretary, 1936-1939; Acting Secretary, 1939; Permanent Secretary, 1940-1952. Established a reputation as an able administrator with conservative views.

WESTWOOD, JOSEPH, 1884 - 1948

Educated Buckhaven Secondary School. M.P. (Labour), 1922 - 1931; 1935 - 1948 ; Parliamentary Private Secretary to William Adamson, 1929; Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, 1931 and 1940 - 1945; Secretary of State for Scotland 1945 - 1947. Keenly interested in local government administration and education.

WILSON, GARNET DOUGLAS (SIR), 1885-1976?

Educated Bell Baxter School, Cupar; Newport School, Fife; and High School of Dundee. Chairman of Dundee Education Committee, 1930-1935; and 1937-1940. Lord Provost of Dundee, 1940-1946. Lord Lieutenant of County of City of Dundee, 1940-1946. Vice Chairman Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, 1942-1946. An educationist noted for his advocacy of pre-vocational courses in the secondary curriculum.

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 - 1.2 Home and Health
 - 1.3 Agriculture
 2. Documents in the Public Record Office, London
 - 2.1 War Cabinet and Cabinet
 - 2.2 Education
 3. Documents provided by the Educational Institute of Scotland

- II. Official Published Records
 1. Acts of Parliament
 2. Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)
 3. Parliamentary Papers
 - 3.1 Draft Bills
 - 3.2 Command Papers
 - 3.3 Proceedings
 4. Non-Parliamentary Papers
 - 4.1 Statutory Rules and Orders
 - 4.2 Miscellaneous
 - 4.3 Circulars and Memoranda
 - 4.31 Board of Education
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 - 4.33 Ministry of Health
 - 4.44 Scottish Education Department
 5. Local Government Records

- III. Contemporary Books and Pamphlets
- IV. Post-War Studies
- V. Articles
- VI. Unpublished Studies
- VII. Newspapers and Journals

I. Unpublished Records1. Documents in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh1.1 Education

- EB 2 Raising of the School-Leaving to 15.
The following file contains Cabinet papers and S.E.D. memoranda on plans to implement this policy between 1934 and 1947.
EB 2/1
- ED 5 Scottish Special Housing Association Ltd.
This class holds material relating to the wartime use of camps by evacuated children and the difficulties of dual control.
ED 5/10
- ED 7 Post-War Planning
Files in this class contain documents concerning the first phase of the S.E.D.'s planning of post-war educational reform.
ED 7/1/47-52
- ED 8 Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, 1920-1961
The class holds material on the wartime reconstitution of the Advisory Council and its subsequent investigations into aspects of Scottish education
ED 8/21 - 38, 103, 108
- ED 14 Legislation Files
These files contain information on the formulation and drafting of the three major wartime educational measures and the 1936 and 1946 Acts.
Education (Scotland) Bill, 1936: ED 14/307, 322, 324, 354-356
Education (Emergency) (Scotland) Bill, 1939: ED 14/347
Education (Scotland) Bill, 1942: ED 14/357, 359-361
Education (Scotland) Bills; 1944-1945: ED 14/364-368; 370-371; 437-474
Education (Scotland) Bill, 1945-1946: Ed 14/476-478
- ED 18 Inspection and Examination of Schools.
Most of these files remain closed but a few that are available for examination provide a picture of the schools' work in wartime and particularly of life in the camp schools.
- ED 18/1085 Dunbartonshire. Dumbarton Clerkhill
Notre Dame R.C. High School,
1929-39

- ED 18/1664 Kirkcudbright. Cally House School,
1939-40
- ED 18/3137 Dundee. Dundee High School
- ED 18/3142 Dundee. Belmont Camp School,
1940-1944
- ED 18/3264 Edinburgh. Tynecastle Junior
Secondary School
- ED 18/3271 Edinburgh. St. Germain's Special
School
- ED 18/3278 Edinburgh. Broomlee Camp School,
1940-44
- ED 18/3279 Edinburgh. Middleton Camp School,
1940-41
- ED 18/3478 Glasgow. Adelphi Terrace Junior
School
- ED 18/3534 Glasgow. Hillhead High School,
1885-1939
- ED 18/3545 Glasgow. Queen's Park Senior
Secondary School
- ED 18/3560 Glasgow. Dounans Evacuation Camp
School, 1940-43
- ED 18/3561 Glasgow. Glengonnar Camp School,
1940-44

ED 24 War Files

These files give an insight into the Department's preparations for war and the educational system in the early years of the conflict.

They are an important source of information on, inter alia, A.R.P., the re-opening of schools, the call-up of teachers, and the provision of milk and meals. It is evident, however, that many documents have been lost, or destroyed.

ED 24/1-16, 21-27, 30-32, 34, 37-42, 44, 48-52, 54, 61, 201-204, 206, and 208

ED 25 Establishment Files

Four valuable files contain wartime correspondence between the S.E.D.'s Permanent Secretary and the Secretary of State.

Unfortunately, the records end on 30 June, 1942

ED 25/3-6

- ED 26 Higher Education Files
One file is located in this class which deals with the establishment and experience of foreign exiles' schools in wartime, particularly Polish institutions.
ED 26/370
- ED 33 Miscellaneous Records
This class contains documents relating to the establishment of the Scottish Advisory Council on Post-War Problems and its possible effect upon the nature and control of educational reform.
ED 33/7 and 8
- ED 37 Leaving and Senior Leaving Certificate
The following files provide statistical information on the Leaving Certificate, 1939 and the wartime Senior Leaving Certificate.
ED 37/52-58
- ED 48 Primary and Secondary Education
Documents pertaining to the formulation and introduction of the Day Schools' (Scotland) Code, 1939 are to be found in this class.
ED 48/4-12, 14-16
- ED 51 National Committee for the Training of Teachers
The minutes of the Central Executive Committee are prefaced by the regulations for teacher training which indicate the changes made in the war.
ED 51/1/20
- ED 52 School Meals' Service
This class holds details of the local development of the service in Scotland.
ED 52/1-797

1.2 Home and Health

- HH 36 Private Office Papers
Material on the Clydeside Raids and departmental statements to the Scottish Council on Post-War Problems are contained in this class.
HH 36/5-7, 13
- HH 61 Local Authority Health Services
This class includes some documents relating to the School Health Services in wartime and their post-war development.
- HH 62 County Medical Officers' Reports (1st series)
The reports to the Local Government Board by local authorities provide information on medical services and the health of school children.
HH 62/1-324

1.3 Agriculture

AF 59 Agricultural Labour, Safety and Wages
The development of a Scottish policy towards the wartime employment of schoolchildren in agriculture can be traced in this class.
AF 59/23/7-8

AF 78 Annual Reports
The report of the D.A.S. on the war years gives an indication of the importance of child labour on the farms.
AF 78/28

2. Documents in the Public Record Office, London

2.1 War Cabinet and Cabinet
CAB 65, 66, 71, 75, 87, 128 and 129

2.2 Education

ED 50 Special Services. General Files, 1939-1945
These files include material relating to the development of the school meals' service.
ED 50/212, 215, 218, 221-222, 233-235, 241

ED136 Private Office Papers. Series II. 1939-1945
These files hold the papers that passed through the office of the President of the Board (later Minister). A number of files contain correspondence between the Board (and Ministry) and the S.E.D. on administrative matters, general policy and proposed legislation. They represent an important supplement to material held at the Scottish Record Office.
ED 136/83, 112, 133, 156, 160, 162, 163-164, 200, 212, 214, 215, 217, 221, 244, 250, 292, 296, 300, 329, 356, 378-379, 382, 384 and 681

ED138 History of Education in the War, 1939-1945:
Drafts etc.
This class consists of the various papers collected by Dr. Sophia Weitzman who was appointed in 1945 to write the official history of education in the war. A number of drafts for the chapters were written and are now located in the class, as well as drafts on various subjects written by civil servants. None pertain directly to Scottish education in the war years but important documents were submitted by the S.E.D. to Dr. Weitzman between 1945 and 1953 which, perhaps, explains why they are not to be found in the S.R.O. Particular mention must be made of the S.E.D.'s progress reports to the Secretary of State covering the years 1940-1945 which are included in ED 138/65. ED 138/15, 16, 18, 20-21, 62, 64, 65, and 77.

3. Documents provided by the Educational Institute of Scotland

The following files and boxes of documents, as yet not sorted or indexed, fill gaps in S.R.O. and P.R.O. records in areas such as evacuation, teacher recruitment and conditions of service, requisitioning of schools and the employment of schoolchildren.

Parliamentary Committee: Meeting Folders, 1932-1942 and Minutes.

Parliamentary Committee: Minutes, 1935-1947

Parliamentary Committee: Correspondence, 1931-1945

Parliamentary Committee: School Meals' Service and Milk in Schools

Parliamentary Committee: Nutrition and Clothing

Parliamentary Committee: School Children and Potato-Picking

Advisory Panels, 1938-1945

War: miscellaneous

Wartime conditions: Teachers and Schools

Air-Raid Precautions, 1938-1939; 1939-1945 and miscellaneous

Evacuation

Re-opening of Schools

Emergency, 1939-1945 including Pre-service Training

Teachers and National Service, 1939-1945

Miscellaneous including Duties of Teachers, Extra Duties, etc.

Emergency, 1939-1945: Salaries of Teachers on National Service, etc.

N.J.C. War Bonus, 1939-1945

Military Training Act, 1939; and National Service Act, 1939

Salaries Committee

Supplementary Service Pay

Emergency Training Scheme, 1944-1947

Supply and Recruitment of Teachers: General and Emergency

Scottish Council for Educational Advance

Educational Reconstruction

Education (Scotland) Bill and Act, 1945

S.U.E.B. Announcements, 1929-1946

Memoranda etc.

Interviews, 1935-1943

4. Documents in the National Library of Scotland

The Thomas Johnston Papers. They contain scant reference to wartime Scottish education. There is, however, a useful account of air-attacks on Scotland.

II. Official Published Records1. Acts of Parliament

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|---------|--------------|---|
| 1 | Edw 7, c.9 | Education (Scotland) Act, 1901 |
| 8 | Edw 7, c.63 | Education (Scotland) Act, 1908 |
| 3 & 4 | Geo 5, c.38 | Education (Scotland) Act, 1913 |
| 9 & 10 | Geo 5, c.20 | Scottish Board of Health Act, 1919 |
| 19 & 20 | Geo 5, c.25 | Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929 |
| 26 | Geo 5 & 1 | |
| | Edw 8, c.42 | Education (Scotland) Act, 1936 |
| 1 & 2 | Geo 6, c.6 | Air Raid Precautions Act, 1937 |
| 1 | Edw 8 & | Children and Young Persons |
| | Geo 6, c.37 | (Scotland) Act, 1937 |
| 20 & 21 | Geo 5, c.36 | Education (Scotland) Act, 1930 |
| 2 & 3 | Geo 6, c.22 | Camps Act, 1939 |
| 2 & 3 | Geo 6, c.94 | Local Government Staffs (War Service) Act, 1939 |
| 2 & 3 | Geo 6, c.96 | Education (Scotland)(War Service Superannuation) Act, 1939 |
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